

THE PRIVATIZATION AND CIVILIANIZATION OF POLICING CRIMINAL JUSTICE The essay concludes with a look to the likely future of privatization and civilianization, including an identification of critical issues related to cur-

Related Introduction The past few decades have seen an increase in demand for private security driven primarily by the apparent return of mercenary activities Adams With the shift to private policing, investors in the security industries have seen their earnings steadily increase. This trend has stimulated a growing interest in contemporary international politics and has become the focus of widespread journalistic coverage. As pointed out by Garland , the pervasiveness of private firms is an indication of the impotence of governments in addressing the most basic demands. It does not necessarily mean that the state is dying but rather diversifying and developing. Several key questions arise when debating on this topic. Why the increase in fragmentation of policing? In the midst of the far-reaching transformation, how best can the multiplicity of institutional reforms involved in policing be governed? This paper addresses these questions with evidence drawn from various perspectives from various perspectives. In order to understand the trend towards private policing and the reasons for the increasing fragmentation, it is important to first explore the historical development. Since it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the 1st world war and the 2nd world war more in depth, the paper will briefly touch on some of the important transformations. Historical context The involvement of the private sector in crime control and prevention can be traced back to the cold war. During the cold war, the private military sector provided services ranging from logistics to direct combat Cusumano Whilst the growing trend towards privatization of policing is not a new phenomenon It is clear that the involvement in security tasks is not a new phenomenon and has been there since the cold war period. However the transformations that followed after the cold war triggered the tectonic change and led to the increasing fragmentation of policing. With the demise of the cold war, the losing parties saw their military personnel transfer to other theatres. Having lost in both wars, Germany became the major source of private proliferation. The transformation that took place with most of the armies increased the demand for external contractors. The, Second, the strain on human resources and the increase in emphasis on specialization led to outsourcing of functions other than direct combat, such as foreign military training. This is evident with the planned gradual privatization of activities other than combat by the US Department of Defense in Cusumano Neoliberal reforms Apart from transformations that took place during the post-cold war period, this trend was further reinforced by the rise of neoliberals. The emergence of neo-liberal ideas that emphasized on the importance of fragmentation of power has played a key role in this trend. Neoliberal ideas such as outsourcing, privatization and public private partnerships that were aimed at streamlining bureaucracies played a key role towards this trend. Neoliberal reforms aimed at limiting the power of the state by finding means of rendering them accountable Button In this regard, the rein of power can be said to have been taken over by the private sector appears to have been taken over by private corporations. As emphasis was placed on conflict settlement that goes beyond the state, this led to the widening of police infrastructure to include private bodies. Whereas these places may be open to the public, in reality, they are private spaces. This seems to have contributed to the growth of private security to the extent that private firms have mimicked nation states, a form of Button Rising cases of impunity across the globe have increased the demands for private security. Sierra Leone is a prime example. Despite its small size, it is known globally as a paradigm case of security privatization. The highly publicized activities of private security firms such as Sandline International and Executive Outcomes have made this small sized country globally recognized as the target of transnational security firms. Of course, this resulted due to the intense conflict in the country and presence of numerous rebel armies and civil defense militias. The increasing demand for security across the globe has no doubt led to this momentous growth. Unrest and violence across various parts of the world including Syria, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan have further strengthened the need to have these transnational security companies. Group 4 Securicor officers are currently providing protection to US troops in Kosovo. Given the rising cost of training and maintaining standing armies, many states have sought more cost effective ways of policing such as outsourcing security

tasks to private sectors. Expertise of the private sector A more convincing argument for the proliferation of private security firms is related to expertise. The expansion can be attributed to the increasing emphasis on specialization of personnel. That is, the states have felt it necessary to outsource other security functions other than combat such as military training. It is a fact that success in military operations today is dependent on the state of the art technology. But most of the public military personnel do not have the necessary training for use of sophisticated technology. For example, the US relies on private military firms in using and maintaining sophisticated technology such as the Global Hawk unmanned aircrafts and the Predator Tzifakis Private firms have an advantage in terms of their expertise especially given their practice of hiring regional expertise. Paradigm cases of global security assemblage can be seen in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In Sierra Leone, private security firms have used their material resources including technical expertise to wield significant influences within global security assemblages. Through this contract, Group4Securicor replaced most of the local security companies that provided manned guarding together with the police. Whilst this private company was mandated to guard the CNL headquarters, the operational base in Escravos and the two logistical bases in Warri and Port Harcourt; it has used its material resources and legitimacy to expand its mandate beyond guarding these areas. Geographical fragmentation A further probable reason for the increasing fragmentation of policing is the geographical fragmentation. This has led to the shift from government to governance within the transatlantic community Krahan , p. Two developments are linked to this geographical transformation: While the sideways shift to privatization of security functions can be seen with the proliferation of various private security firms. Growing awareness of importance of private sector in global governance Finally, the trend has been reinforced by the growing awareness of importance of the private sector in global governance. In fact, a with Global Compact Initiative has been established to create partnership between the UN and private sector on human rights issues. Today, we have many private agencies providing military assistance to the UN, Nato and even African Union peacekeeping missions. Whilst the idea of a private police established to achieve accountability of public police may sound realistic, there is little persuasive evidence regarding the effectiveness of the private institutions in performing this role. In fact, it is case that the private sector is largely unaccountable. However, there is no persuasive proof to support this claim in practice. Notorious examples can be seen with the recent events which Some of the recent infamous events that unfolded in California. This indicates indicating how difficult it is to convict public police offenders Stenning Fragmentation and privatization of policing a global phenomenon The trend towards private policing is clearly evident across the globe. For example, in Russia, there has been an explosive growth in private security personnel since the collapse of the Soviet Union. A similar trend can be seen with emerging economies of Asia. In China, private guards are forecast to grow from the current 3 million to 5 million in the coming years. The US employs approximately 1. Similarly, the private security personnel in the UK outnumber the state police by a ratio of two to one. This growth is also reflected in the Latin American countries, African countries and even across Central and Eastern Europe. Almost all countries now have their private security personnel exceeding the police number. A further trend that has been observed and has perhaps been under-theorized or under-evaluated is the increasing emergence of transnational policing. Besides privatization of policing, there has been an expansion in cooperation between member states in areas of policing Button Traditional forms of cooperation based on distribution of information through bodies such as the International Criminal Police Organization Interpol have now been transcended by organizations such as the European Criminal Police Office Europol Button , p. In addition, there has been an increase in information sharing and the exportation of ideas among private security firms. However, in some countries, private policing is still at its infancy. For example, In Greece, the ratio between the private and public security personnel remains relatively small. Other countries with a relatively low private security to police ratio include Italy, Portugal, Malta, Cyprus and Spain. Most of these countries still make more use of the police officers than private security guards. Nonetheless, the momentous growth of private policing is inevitable and is occurring across the globe. This raises key questions such as: Or rather it can be questioned: The only thing that is new is the increasing fragmentation and the expansion of private security. Of course, there are concerns with this trend of privatization of policing with the greatest dangers being the subversion of public interests into profit

maximization. Another concern relates to the fact that privatization results in more unequal access to protection and security with differential treatment in the provision of security services to the rich and the poor. Stenning The increasing fragmentation of policing is evidence of a new social world where governance is no longer monopolized by the states, but rather one in which the rein of power is taken over by the private sector. The hope of many is for governance to be controlled by the local communities. However, the reality is the emergence of a pervasive and intrusive corporate governance where in capital interests become the priority and are more pursued than that the interests of the local communities Ndlovu-Gatsheni Other problems relate to issues such as the lack of transparency and accountability and political control over the operations of these private firms. The fundamental goal of outsourcing such service is obviously to protect the citizens from harm and against human rights violations. Whereas the outsourcing of security services to private firms is justifiable, it may be subject to violent manipulations. One variant to this manipulation can arise through coercion towards prospective clients by the private security firms with the aim manipulating them to buy into their services. Another maipulation can arise where these firms invite others to commit crime in order to increase demand for their protection. This is a clarion call to pay attention to issuses of accountability for attention to paid more on control and accountability especially given the increasing fragmentation and privatization. But, as argued by Les Johnston , some of these concerns are not unique and do not constitute compelling arguments against private policing. For example, the concern over the subversion of public interests into profit maximization is not unique. This concern is also evident with the public police where corruption and political interests have led to public disservice. For example, Siera Leone is far from entirely private as the government still plays a key role by integrating public forces and setting the legal framework. Future of private security market Nonetheless, there is a clear momentous growth of the private security sector. The massive growth is evidence of expansion of this type of market. The future for private security firms seems promising given the increasing demand of security services driven by the rise upsurge in conflicts, war and human right violations across various sectors of the globe. However, much of this growth would be mainly concentrated in the emerging economies.

Chapter 2 : Decentralization - Wikipedia

Privatization is the process by which the responsibility of producing goods and services is transferred from the public sector, the government, to the private sector. Privatization can generally.

A growing spatial fragmenta- Centre-University of Buenos tion accompanies growing levels of inequality. The metropolitan area fails to provide Aires. Casilla de Correos built environment is reshaped and constructed in response to private demands. They are affected by a whole set of processes that impact on economic activities predominantly financial and advanced service-sector activities , the labour market increasingly differentiated and polarized and the territorial configuration and functioning of the 1. Sassen, S , The Global City. These changes occur not only in cities that host the control centres London, Tokyo, Princeton of globalized activities, or global cities, 1 but also in those cities within University Press, Princeton, economies that, in general terms, are internationally subordinate. These urban changes are the result of concrete processes that take place in every city, based on the impacts of the new international insertion and on the changes affecting the main economic, social and political actors. This paper presents some of the processes that took place in the city of Buenos Aires during the s. For that purpose, the city will be analyzed as a metropolitan unit, which consists of a centre the historical city and 19 municipalities belonging to the province of Buenos Aires see Map 1. In the mids, some municipalities were further sub-divided, increas- ing their number to The available census information for does not include these new divisions. Politically, the metropolitan city has a plurality of governments. Since the constitutional reform in , CABA is institutionally analagous to the Argentinian provinces. The city has its Downloaded from eau. In Argentina, the municipal regime is defined by the provincial constitutions, which vary in each case. In the case of the province of Buenos Aires, a legal framework drafted in the s is still in force. This gives the municipalities very little autonomy. This section is based on This paper first describes the metropolitan configuration and inequal- previous works: Then the current changes are analyzed, with particular attention to , Buenos Aires privatization and fragmentation in the city. Finally, the article advances metropolitana. The periphery still within the territory of Buenos Aires City received the second generation of immigrants who could afford to purchase small properties. Since then, poorer social sectors have had to solve their housing problems in the city by themselves. Historically, territorial expansion was underpinned by the railway system that connected the city centre with nearby localities to the north and west. The trams, and later on the buses that worked together with the train system, completed the transport network. Fuelled by internal migrations, subsequent demographic growth led to urban expansion beyond the boundaries of Buenos Aires City. By , this had dropped to less than half. From then on, growth in the surrounding districts also decreased. The opposite, however, was taking place in the more peripheral districts, with a notice- able deterioration in the housing and living conditions of low-income groups. The low-income populations settled chiefly in loteos populares land sub- divisions providing small, affordable, plots in settlements lacking adequate basic infrastructure , made possible by non-existent or minimal official regulations. A growing labour market allowed a certain economic redistribution, which allowed people access to land and a house in instal- 5. The municipalities of ments and through self-help building processes. Ten years later, that had increased to around 70 per cent. Two realities were thus created: The more important demographic growth took place in the Tigre, General Sarmiento, second ring see Table 1 and Map 1. These changes were consolidated during the military dictatorship Berazategui and Quilmes. During this period the city expanded in all directions. The north was the favoured area for expensive residential developments; the rest grew on the back of poverty. In , the province of Buenos Aires issued government decree , which abolished the formal supply of loteos populares. Policy changes from the beginning of the s included a reform of the state, economic deregulation and the privatization of basic urban serv- 7. The weight of international actors also became noticeable in this decade, through increased participation in financial activities, provi- sion of services by private companies and land operations. A double territorial process began in the metropolitan area. The first was a large expansion of the built-up area, caused by the development of new low-density residential settlements for middle- and upper-middle- class families.

These settlements were linked to new forms of entertain- Downloaded from eau. Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area: See Mignaqui, Iliana , arcades. Nevertheless, there is an increasing number of families who 9. Buenos Aires City use these houses as permanent residences. In aggregate, these devel- territorial terms, although they opments represent 1. They are concentrated within a kilometre radius of the communities catering for high-income groups. See reference 8, Mignaqui metres from the city centre. Because of their peripheral location, in many cases these developments All these processes lead to a renovated in the s. Land uses in Buenos Aires City are largely oriented to consump- high-quality flats. An old popular district to centres. This area has become a development Riachuelo, which serves as a pole which is closely linked to gated communities in the periphery. The boundary between Buenos Aires City and the province of transformation began in the northern area of the city and later extended Buenos Aires. The capital city of the province of Buenos Aires, City. Metropolitan inequalities The metropolitan area consists of two areas: Neither area is homogeneous in terms of living standards, income and access to basic infrastructure and services. The income share of the richest deciles is higher here than in the rest of the metropolitan area, while that of the poorest deciles is lower. This pattern of income distribution is associated with the predominant economic activities. More than 50 per cent of employment in Buenos Aires City is in the service This index measures the proportion of households sector, whereas in Greater Buenos Aires it is mainly distributed between with at least one of the services and industry, each with 40 per cent see Table 4. Privatization has taken place not only in urban service provision but also in matters relating to territorial expansion. These processes, together with growing political fragmentation, give shape to new forms of metropolitan governance. Management of urban services in the metropolitan area: Infrastructure services provide a good example. Each is autonomous, with no common guidelines. The metropolitan area is served mainly by private companies to which the state transferred its institutions in the s, while maintaining control and regulatory functions. Some service Downloaded from eau. Buenos Aires City and metropolitan municipalities: Not long ago, there were municipalities in charge of water provision. There are also cooperatives involved in service provision. The private compa- nies, including two telephone companies and two electricity companies, act as monopolies within their service areas. Each local authority is responsible for solid waste collection but, in most cases, this is restricted to regulating and controlling a service dele- gated to a private company. All this results in different policies and services, which leads to different stan- Although water and sanitation services for most of the metropolitan area have been transferred to a private firm Aguas Argentinas , in what was the largest privatization in that sector worldwide, and in spite of rate increases for all customers, the service has not been extended to cover the Fiszbein, Ariel and Pamela Lowden , had to resort to self-help efforts to create a substantial part of the neces- Trabajando unidos para un sary infrastructure, which has subsequently been transferred to Aguas cambio. Small or medium-size sions regarding coverage, areas of operation and investment, according buses, with a fixed route to their market needs. The result does not always meet the more pressing that connect metropolitan needs of the population. Although towns and territories are served, oper- localities with the centre of ations with faster and greater returns to the companies are developed first. Customers pay a pre-established fare for An example of this is the expansion of the water provision system, which using the system within was not followed by a corresponding expansion of the sewerage system certain time limits. Private cars for hire with The privatization of public services increased urban inequalities. Users in residential areas with more Natural gas and electricity supply in Privatizaciones e impacto en los sectores popu- lares, Editorial de Belgrado, Buenos Aires. In the case of electricity, the transference is from small Between and before and after privati- page For prices, see reference poorest quintile of the population rose from 9. The introduction of market principles in the management of infra- These relative increments in structure services meant that rate rises were accompanied by the elimi- the rates are based on nation both of subsidies and of any leniency towards illegal connections. Electricity and gas rates, for instance, are adjusted b. Private urban planning and metropolitan expansion biannually following US inflation rates. The Metropolitan expansion takes place in the absence of public guidelines adjustments are made and is based on two parallel processes. One consists of market transac- despite Argentina having no inflation. The other lies predominantly outside the market and is Alexander, Myrna aimed at meeting the needs of low-income groups. This is compounded by the incapacity of local

governments to meet the Following the example taneously seeking to prevent the social exclusion of low-income groups. Behind this decision lay a form of private transferred.

Chapter 3 : Advantages and problems of privatisation | Economics Help

Space fragmentation is a phenomenon studied by the scientific community, particularly by environmentalists and urban planners. There are numerous works available which refer to the problem of.

Alexis de Tocqueville , French historian The word "centralization" came into use in France in as the post-French Revolution French Directory leadership created a new government structure. The word "decentralization" came into usage in the s. In the mids Tocqueville would write that the French Revolution began with "a push towards decentralization Tocqueville was an advocate, writing: And from the accumulation of these local, active, persnickety freedoms, is born the most efficient counterweight against the claims of the central government, even if it were supported by an impersonal, collective will. All my political ideas boil down to a similar formula: It blamed large-scale industrial production for destroying middle class shop keepers and small manufacturers and promoted increased property ownership and a return to small scale living. Hatfield , [14] Mildred J. Loomis [15] and Bill Kauffman. Schumacher , author of the bestseller Small is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered. Towards a Post-Welfare Agenda describes how after World War II governments pursued a centralized "welfarist" policy of entitlements which now has become a "post-welfare" policy of intergovernmental and market-based decentralization. According to a United Nations Development Programme report: This trend is coupled with a growing interest in the role of civil society and the private sector as partners to governments in seeking new ways of service delivery Decentralization of governance and the strengthening of local governing capacity is in part also a function of broader societal trends. These include, for example, the growing distrust of government generally, the spectacular demise of some of the most centralized regimes in the world especially the Soviet Union and the emerging separatist demands that seem to routinely pop up in one or another part of the world. Rather, these developments, as we have already noted, are principally being driven by a strong desire for greater participation of citizens and private sector organizations in governance. Those studying the goals and processes of implementing decentralization often use a systems theory approach. The United Nations Development Programme report applies to the topic of decentralization "a whole systems perspective, including levels, spheres, sectors and functions and seeing the community level as the entry point at which holistic definitions of development goals are most likely to emerge from the people themselves and where it is most practical to support them. It involves seeing multi-level frameworks and continuous, synergistic processes of interaction and iteration of cycles as critical for achieving wholeness in a decentralized system and for sustaining its development. An important property of agent systems is the degree of connectivity or connectedness between the agents, a measure global flow of information or influence. If each agent is connected exchange states or influence to all other agents, then the system is highly connected. In such a decentralized system, there is no single centralized authority that makes decisions on behalf of all the parties. Instead each party, also called a peer, makes local autonomous decisions towards its individual goals which may possibly conflict with those of other peers. Peers directly interact with each other and share information or provide service to other peers. An open decentralized system is one in which the entry of peers is not regulated. Any peer can enter or leave the system at any time Decentralization in government, the topic most studied, has been seen as a solution to problems like economic decline, government inability to fund services and their general decline in performance of overloaded services, the demands of minorities for a greater say in local governance, the general weakening legitimacy of the public sector and global and international pressure on countries with inefficient, undemocratic, overly centralized systems. Participation In decentralization the principle of subsidiarity is often invoked. It holds that the lowest or least centralized authority which is capable of addressing an issue effectively should do so. According to one definition: Decentralization brings decision-making back to the sub-national levels. Decentralization strategies must account for the interrelations of global, regional, national, sub-national, and local levels. Johnson writes that diversity plays an important role in decentralized systems like ecosystems , social groups , large organizations, political systems. Decentralized is defined as a property of a system where the agents have some ability to operate "locally. Decentralization promises to enhance

efficiency through both inter-governmental competition with market features and fiscal discipline which assigns tax and expenditure authority to the lowest level of government possible. It works best where members of subnational government have strong traditions of democracy, accountability and professionalism. Brancati holds that decentralization can promote peace if it encourages statewide parties to incorporate regional demands and limit the power of regional parties. According to the United Nations Development Programme, it is "more than a process, it is a way of life and a state of mind. They can be initiated from the centers of authority " top-down " or from individuals, localities or regions " bottom-up " , [46] or from a "mutually desired" combination of authorities and localities working together. Governments deciding to privatize functions must decide which are best privatized. Existing types of decentralization must be studied. The appropriate balance of centralization and decentralization should be studied. Training for both national and local managers and officials is necessary, as well as technical assistance in the planning, financing, and management of decentralized functions. While in earlier years small towns were considered appropriate, by the s, 60, inhabitants was considered the size necessary to support a diversified job market and an adequate shopping center and array of services and entertainment. Appropriate size of governmental units for revenue raising also is a consideration. The unit may be larger than many decentralist bioregionalists prefer. Even when it happens slowly, there is a need for experimentation, testing, adjusting, and replicating successful experiments in other contexts. There is no one blueprint for decentralization since it depends on the initial state of a country and the power and views of political interests and whether they support or oppose decentralization. However, it may occur as "silent decentralization" in the absence of reforms as changes in networks, policy emphasize and resource availability lead inevitably to a more decentralized system. In both China and Russia, lower level authorities attained greater powers than intended by central authorities. In many countries, political, economic and administrative responsibilities may be decentralized to the larger urban areas, while rural areas are administered by the central government. Decentralization of responsibilities to provinces may be limited only to those provinces or states which want or are capable of handling responsibility. Some privatization may be more appropriate to an urban than a rural area; some types of privatization may be more appropriate for some states and provinces but not others. In his *The History of Nations* Henry Cabot Lodge wrote that Persian king Darius I BC was a master of organization and "for the first time in history centralization becomes a political fact. Sanderson wrote that over the last years chiefdoms and actual states have gone through sequences of centralization and decentralization of economic, political and social power. Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall review other works that detail these cycles, including works which analyze the concept of core elites which compete with state accumulation of wealth and how their "intra-ruling-class competition accounts for the rise and fall of states" and of their phases of centralization and decentralization. Government decentralization has both political and administrative aspects. Its decentralization may be territorial, moving power from a central city to other localities, and it may be functional, moving decision-making from the top administrator of any branch of government to lower level officials, or divesting of the function entirely through privatization. It may be associated with pluralistic politics and representative government , but it also means giving citizens , or their representatives, more influence in the formulation and implementation of laws and policies. This process is accomplished by the institution of reforms that either delegate a certain degree of meaningful decision-making autonomy to subnational tiers of government, [71] or grant citizens the right to elect lower-level officials, like local or regional representatives. Decentralization reforms may occur for administrative reasons, when government officials decide that certain responsibilities and decisions would be handled best at the regional or local level. In democracies, traditionally conservative.