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Mapping the security networks

- And the role of private security companies

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Abstract

This thesis examines the local occurrence of two global trends on a local level in Sweden, the increased privatisation of security services and the increasing tension and security problems in urban areas. The local security networks in Angered (Gothenburg) and Rinkeby-Kista Stockholm are the cases examined in the thesis. Both Angered and Rinkeby-Kista has experienced riots in the communities and in order to enhance the security private security companies are a part of the local security network in both cases. The focus of the thesis is to enhance the understanding of how local security networks are designed and functions as well as understanding what role private security companies' play: How are the local security networks designed in terms of actors, structures, roles and measures? How was the current design of the local security network decided? And how do the people involved in the local security network consider private security companies in terms of advantages and disadvantages? The tools used to answer these questions are document analysis of policy documents, evaluations and contract and interviews with the main actors in the local security network (City district municipalities, police, private security companies and youth centres).

The most decisive factor of how the design of the security networks, the more private presence in the design stage the more likely it seems that private security companies are used to preform more tasks like patrolling and outreach activities. The main features of local security networks are proactive and preventive measures like outreach activities and different forums and projects to increase the trust and respect for authorities and society. One of the main problems seems to cooperation between private security companies and different actors involved in security networks, the security companies rarely have any cooperation with city district municipalities, social services, the police and youth centres. The main advantages with private security companies are almost exclusively that they are a pair of extra eyes on the ground and can work with traditional tasks like patrolling and manned guarding. Local security networks are still a new phenomenon, the design, structures and cooperation differs a lot from case to case and also depending on who is describing it.

1. Introduction

Stockholm is burning; photos in Swedish newspapers show pictures of burning cars and buildings. During the spring 2013 youth riots started in Husby (Stockholm) and spread across Stockholm and Sweden, during a week clashes between police and rioters were a daily occurrence. This is not first time the riots in troubled communities occur in Sweden during 2009 both Stockholm and Gothenburg faced similar events with burning cars and clashes between police and youth. These events are good examples of the increasing tensions within cities in Sweden but also across Europe where major youth riots occurred in Paris and London. To solve these tensions and enhance the safety and security with cities is a major contemporary concern.

In order to solve the security and safety concerns an increased use of private security companies has been seen. This follows a general trend were private actors are playing a more crucial part in our everyday life, taking over services that usually were preformed by the state. Service delivery, like healthcare, education and security, which traditionally have been delivered by the state are to a greater extent delegated to private actors. The pluralisation of actors involved in service delivering has made private actors to a natural part of our everyday life and is not often reflected upon. In the security sector this had lead to that private security to a greater extent patrol and secure a lot of ones everyday life spaces like the office, the university, and public places. The Privatization and pluralisation of actors involved in service delivering is leading to a reconfiguration of the state, giving the state new roles such as supervisor, mediator, and business partner. This reconfiguration of the state has also occurred in the security sector and the state now plays different role then only the provider.

This thesis examines these two global trends appearance on local level in Gothenburg and Stockholm, by looking at how they solve security issues in troubled communities and what role private security companies play in the security network. This is done by looking at contracts, policy documents and interviewing the key actors from the security networks.

In order to understand why this is of any significance one must first look at the notion of security. Security has traditionally been the state delivered by the state and by scholars like Weber (1919), the monopoly of violence is held as one of the single most important factors

for state legitimacy, the state should be the only actor allowed to use force. Nowadays security services are more frequently being outsourced and private security companies are key components of the current security networks in Europe (Johnston & Shearing, 2003). In 2008 the former French President Nicholas Sarkozy and at that moment acting president of European Union (EU) recognized the increased importance of private security; *"Examining the role of private security in overall security in Europe is a way of looking after the everyday security of European citizens since private security firms are being called upon more and more to assist states in providing this protection"* [1] (Sarkozy, 2008). There is evidence that all across the world the use of private security is increasing and new firms have emerged to deliver security services traditionally delivered by the state (Atkinson, 2003; Button, 2002; Briffault, 1999; Chesterman & Fisher, 2009).

The increased use of private security has lead to a lot of academic debates around the notion and deliverance of security. The previous debates focused a lot on determining if private security was a threat to the state by intruding on a states monopoly of violence, the academic debate then shifted towards understanding how the public-private divide is reconfigured and how it is affecting the deliverance of security in forms of access and accountability (Euller, 1980; Kakalik & Wildhorn, 1977; Loader, 1997; Shearing & Stenning, 1983). The more recent research is focusing more on the security networks and assemblages looking at nodes of security, how they are governed by a mix private and public security companies and understanding how the notion of security is changing and what effects this might have had (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Shearing & Johnston, 2003; Wood & Dupont, 2006). Still there is big gap in the security research especially on the understanding of how the new security networks and assemblages' functions and how they are designed (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011).

The other global trend is that cities are becoming increasingly important from a security perspective but also from an economic and development perspective. Cities are considered centers for economic growth and development; networks of cities are driving forces for economic growth in many regions. Urban governance is therefore given more attention and

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[1] Preface from Nicholas Sarkozy, "President of the French Republic", in Confederation of European Security Services (CoESS) and Institut National de Haute de Securite

how to govern growing cities is one of our main contemporary issues (Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000). The recent development of urbanization has changed the landscape of poverty and inequality; now the biggest inequalities are found within cities and not between rural and urban areas as before (UN-HABITAT, 2012). Urban areas are becoming centers for social tension and increasing segregation, and new modes of governance are developing to solve these problems (Jessop, 2002). Cities are not only competing with each other for investment and development but also inter-urban competition is becoming more common. Being an attractive community to invest and in, is crucial from communities within cities (Sites, 2006). Communities that fail to live up to this challenged are labeled as troubled communities and research shows that the social contract is weaker in parts of cities with high unemployment; widespread poverty and high immigrant population. This has lead to the creation of advanced marginality and stigmatized urban areas (Harvey, 2012; Munck, 2005; Sernhede, 2012; Wacquant, 2008). In order to makes cities and communities more attractive, governments try to redevelop so-called stigmatized or disadvantaged communities to increase business opportunities and profit. Local security networks are often a part of these initiatives to make the communities more attractive (Eick, 2006).

The pluralisation of actors involved in services delivering has as mentioned lead to a reconfiguration of the state. The responsibilities for services deliverance have shifted from state level to cities or communities. The deliverance of security services follows the same pattern making cities and communities to more important nodes in security networks. Communities and cities can to a greater extent design their own security networks and choose different design with more or less private actors.

In this thesis the focus will be on researching nodes in local security networks, the nodes in this thesis will be troubled communities in Gothenburg and Stockholm where private security companies are involved in the security governance. This is because cities are becoming centers for social tensions and economic growth but also because the reinvention of communities within cities is becoming more important in order to sustain growth and expand markets. As noted earlier, finding ways to govern cities are one of biggest cotemporary challenges. To focus on cities and communities is also in line with the cotemporary security research, which focuses more on nodes in security networks, rather then the overall networks

that is to grand to grasp. Sweden is the country with the fastest growing differences between the group top 10 % wealthiest and bottom 10-precent (Morel et al, 2011). Even if Sweden is a relatively equal country this growing gap between the top 10-precent and bottom 10-precent becomes relevant especially because cities is the new centers of inequalities, which makes Sweden to a suitable case to study.

1.1 Aim & Research Questions

This study aims to contribute to the overall understanding of local security networks involving private security companies but also on how and why the security companies are used and involved in governance. To fulfill this aim the study uses they following research questions:

- How are the local security networks designed in terms of actors, structures, roles and measures?
- How was the current design of the local security network decided?
- How do the people involved in the local security network consider private security companies in terms of advantages and disadvantages?

1.2 Relevance & Limitations

Private security companies as a part of governance is still under researched and several authors acknowledge that there are gaps in the understanding of the new local security networks (Shearing & Johnston, 2003; Wood & Dupont, 2006). The Swedish setting still is relatively unexplored and the studies that have been conducted on private security in Sweden focus on private security companies function in a mass private property with a strong emphasis on understanding the private-public divide (Berndtsson & Stern, 2011) and how common it is with local security solution in major cities in Sweden (Lindskog & Persson, 2012; Persson, 2012). The research on local security solutions shows that is becoming increasingly common and that there is shift from government to local level (Lindskog & Persson, 2012; Persson, 2012). By looking at the two biggest cities in Sweden (Gothenburg and Stockholm) and compare how they use private security in governance, the thesis will provide a foundation for further research on private security and enhance the understanding of the use of private security in Sweden. This thesis does not aim to make generalization across

time and places but rather aim to explain this cases in preparation for further studies. The cases are Angered in Gothenburg and Rinkeby-Kista in Stockholm, the thesis is limited to these cases due to the previous knowledge that they have local security network solutions and are considered as troubled communities with a high percentage and unemployment and past experiences of youth riots (Aftonbladet, 2007; Dagen Nyheter, 2010).

1.3 Case description

In this section the two cases Angered (Gothenburg) and Rinkeby-Kista (Stockholm) first are presented and in the following section an overview of the private security situation in Sweden.

1.3.1 Angered (Gothenburg)

Gothenburg has population of about 526,000 (Scb, 2012) and consist of 10 city districts and from Gothenburg, as previously mentioned Angered city district will serve as one the cases in this Study (Göteborgs Stad, 2013). Angered has a social situation with a high percentage of citizens being born abroad or with both parents born abroad (69.9 %) (Göteborgs Stad, 2013a). Angered is one of the city districts with the highest crime rates, and the district also has high unemployment and low average income (Göteborgs Stad, 2013a). In Angered property owners have contracts with private security companies to enhance the security in the district. Gothenburg city also have a general agreement with private companies for community outreach and security enhancing activities in neighborhoods (Göteborgs Stad Upphandlingskontoret, 2012). There is a project in Angered and the other communities around Angered called Utveckling Nordost. The project seeks to make the area more attractive to live in but also for companies to invest in. 37 % (45.5 Million SEK) of the project budget is spent on enhancing the urban environment, which safety and security measures are included in (Utveckling Nordost, 2010). Gothenburg city also have a citywide project called Tryggare & Mänskligare Göteborg (Safer & Humane Gothenburg), which seek to enhance security, reduce crime and improve living conditions across the city (Tryggare & Mänskligare, 2013).

1.3.2 Rinkeby-Kista (Stockholm)

Stockholm has a population of 880.000 (Scb, 2012) and consists of 14 city districts; one of the districts is Rinkeby-Kista, which serves as one of the cases in this thesis. Rinkeby-Kista has a population of 46.000 and with a high percentage (79 %) of citizens born abroad or with both parents born abroad (Stockholms Stad, 2013). Rinkeby-Kista is overrepresented in areas of crime and insecurity; citizens in general have greater fear of crime, feel more insecure and are also to greater extent targets of crime, the most common type of crimes are robberies and theft (Stockholms Stad, 2013). In a report from 2008 youth gangs was targeted as the main problem in the district, they were said to be noisy, involved in vandalism and in general misbehavior (Stockholms Stad, 2008)[2].

The municipality is actively trying to improve the situation and living conditions in Rinkeby-Kista and currently has a project called Järvalyftet, which seeks to improve the living standards and the social/economic situation (Stockholm, 2013a). A coalition of property owners in the community (Fastighetsägare i Järva) has contracted a private security firm to enhance the security and the feeling of safety (Cubsec, 2012).

1.3.3 Private Security in Sweden

In general the Swedish security industry has been growing with an average around 5% annually over the last ten years, and in 2010 the turnover for the Swedish security industry in 2010 was 840 million euro (CoESS, 2011). The largest segment in the security industry is general guarding, which in 2010 had a turnover of 525 million euro (CoESS, 2011). In Sweden there are about 250 companies preforming private security services, the companies have approximately 8000 contracts and employ about 20.000 licensed guards (CoESS, 2011). Sweden is the Nordic country with the most licensed security guards, more than four times as much as Denmark (5000 licensed guards), more then twice as much as Norway (7750 licensed guards) and significantly more then Finland (12500 licensed guards) (CoESS, 2011).

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[2] In the report only 39% of Rinkeby-Kistas population responded which could make the numbers inaccurate and not representative for the area

In a Swedish Government Official Report on Safety against Crime[3] (SOU, 1995), local security solutions are highlighted and put forward as important pillar in the fight against crime. According to the report the municipalities are supposed to act as the main coordinator for safety measures and design of local security solutions, in cooperation with other agencies like the police. Private security companies are suggested to play a bigger part in the security network but also to work closer with the police and report more regularly (SOU, 1995). Even if the private security companies are suggested to play bigger part in the security network the report stills stress that the police is the most important actor and provider of security (SOU, 1995)

2. Definitions

In order to grasp the multifaceted and complex notion of private security companies it is relevant to create a typology over the different function that they are involved in. The American Society for Industrial Security (ASIS) International is the largest association of private security professionals in the United States and they have identified 18 functions[4] that private security companies are involved in (ASIS Foundation, 2009). ASIS list of functions is another good example of how widespread and multifaceted the private security industry is. The ASIS Foundations list of functions is not central to the study but used to show the great variety of functions that private security companies preform. It also shows the importance of limitation, what functions that are researched when studying private security companies. To casually say that one is researching private security companies is not sufficient. In order to narrow down the broad definition of private security, the private security (industry) in this thesis describes a specific part of the private security sector, which regards contracts for security guarding a mix between physical and personnel security both listed by the ASIS Foundation. The study focuses on what Wakefield (2003) define as manned guarding; *"uniformed officers to protect distinct territorial areas. These areas are traditionally*

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[3] Authors translation

[4] *Physical security, Personnel security, Information systems security, Investigations, Loss prevention, Risk management, Legal aspects, Emergency and contingency planning, Fire protection, Crisis management, Disaster management, Counterterrorism, Competitive intelligence, Executive protection, Violence in the workplace, Crime prevention, Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED), and Security architecture and engineering.*

buildings or large, privately, controlled spaces". This has also spread to residential areas and town centers under the control of local authorities (Jacobson & Saville, 1999).

It is important to notice that police and policing are different terms; *"the police is a particular organisation consisting of men and women employed by state who patrol streets, deal with crime, ensure order and who undertake a range of social service type functions"* (Reiner, 1994). Policing is a much more complex term, in order to facilitate the understanding of different functions of private security companies, Wakefield (2003) identifies five different features that policing can have; 1.) Policing as regulatory process, 2.) As work of the police, 3.) As a core set of activities, 4.) As order maintenance. In this thesis the focus will be on the fifth feature; *Policing as governance*, a notion of policing that is a more inclusive, it doesn't constrain policing to a set of tasks, but rather see policing as *"a complex of interlaced systems of agencies which work together to produce order"* (Kempa et al, 1999). Policing as Governance also recognizes the shift from state level to community level in policing, that is the scope of this study (Shearing, 2004). Even though the definition of policing as governance is used, the purpose of the policing might be more diversified then to only produce order.

This notion of policing is closely connected to the term that will be used in order to explain the new landscape of security, that term is *governance of security*: *"Programmes for promoting peace in the face of threats (either realised or anticipated) that arise from collective life rather than from non-human sources such as the weather or threats from other species"* (Shearing & Johnston, 2003). The reason for using this term is because governance of security acknowledges that governing security is nothing that is natural or preordained, *"different modalities of governance are the product of different applications of human invention"* (Shearing & Johnston, 2003). To break it down even more *security* in this study will be defined as *"shaping the flows of events" (*Parker & Braithwaite, 2003) and *governance* as *"conscious attempts to shape and influence the conduct of individuals, groups and wide populations in furtherance of a particular objective"* (Wood & Dupont, 2006) When studying the use of private security from this perspective there is no ideal type of security deliverance but the concept tries to grasp how the current governance of security was created and what implications that might have for people that design the security governance and local security networks (Shearning & Johnston, 2003)

3. Literature Review

This section provides an overview of the current literature on private security companies and the research that has been done within this topic. It is important to state before engaging with previous research that in this thesis the focus is on private security companies (PSC) and not private military security companies (PMSC), as explained above. In order to understand where the research on private security is today, it is necessary to look at the theoretical background on research of private security companies leading to the gaps in current research and empirical findings.

3.1 General theoretical background

To grasp private security one must first look at privatizations from a theoretical perspective, privatizations takes place due to the fact that private enterprises in general are considered to be more efficient then public enterprises (Boycko et al, 1996; Kay & Thompson, 1986). By outsourcing services and functions to private enterprises or to employ private managers, eases the fiscal burdens for governments. From a privatization theory perspective it is easier for private enterprises and managers to slim down organizations. Governments are reluctant to slim down organization because it might upset possible voters by giving away the responsibility to private managers they are not held accountable in the same way. This might open up fiscal opportunities to engage in other projects due to increased efficiency from the new managerial style, this is referred as the base of New Public Management (NPM) (Boycko et al, 1996).

Private security is often perceived as a new phenomenon but if one looks at the history various forms of private security and mercenaries have been used for a long period of time. Mercenaries were common during the medieval period and different forms of private security have been used ever since (Colas & Mabee, 2010). In a Swedish context the police used to be under the city (municipality) control until 1965 and the first measure to unify the police and create legislation was in 1925 with the national police law[5] (Munck et al, 2005). Until 1981 the police could give permission to private persons to preform police duties, that police as we know it today is therefore a relatively new phenomenon, which is important to keep in mind (Munck et al, 2005). To see the centralized police as the "real police" is only a façade and it

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[5] Authors translation

only reflects a short period of time, for longer period the police was something that was very closely connected to the community (Virta, 2002). One Study shows that about 50% of Sweden's police officers are proximity police officers working somewhat close to the community, the same study also show the proximity police offers primarily see their work as reactive (Holmberg, 2005).

The expansion of private security has boomed and nowadays research shows that private security guards outnumber public police in many cases (Abrahamsen & Williams; Button, 2002; De Waard 1999; Wakefield, 2003). The trend within private security is overall expansion and scholars agree on that we can see an increased use of private security companies. In general there has been a big expansion of private security in developed countries since the 1970's, the expansion has also spread to "Keynesian" states that traditionally are views as "settled" or "strong" states reluctant to outsourcing services for example the Nordic countries (Berndtsson & Stern, 2011; Walker & Loader, 2007).

The increase of what we refer to as the modern type private security took place in 1960's – 1970's, due to the increase of mass private property, neoliberal ideas (New Public Management), fiscal constraints and increasing crime rates (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Jones & Newburn, 1998; Maguire, 2007; O'Malley & Palmer, 1996; Shearing & Stenning, 1981). A lot of scholars were critical to the increased use of private security as it posed a threat to the social contract and the Weberian theory on monopoly of violence, as well as the "Keynesian" ideas of the state as the sole provider of key functions (Euller, 1980; Kakalik & Wildhorn, 1977; Loader, 1997; Shearing & Stenning, 1983). Because of this the general view of private security companies was quite negative and they were perceived as loose canons, unprofessional and some times even as oppressors (Kakalik & Wildhorn, 1977).

3.2 Old vs New Security paradigm

Scholars also argue that during 60-70's the security paradigm shifted from the "old" perception of security where punishment and reactive measures were central and the state often was the single provider of security (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003; Loader, 1997). After this shift the 'new' or 'alternative' paradigm came where more actors are involved in the delivery of security services and the focus is on

proactive measure. The new security approach is more inclusive and involves actors from civil, private and public entities. It emphasizes on proactive rather than reactive measures an example of this approach is that problems that traditionally would be solved by welfare interventions now are managed by security logistics (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003). The new paradigm is a pro community-based solution, because it empowers communities, involves more actors, opens to re-invent communities and have a higher chance of producing outcomes (Johnston & Shearing, 2003). Private security companies often are a part of these community-based solutions, because they can "provide" security guards with local knowledge and diversified backgrounds. Critics say that the community-based solutions are still focusing a lot on the "old" punishment paradigm, "new wine in a old bottle" (Johnston & Shearing, 2003). There is a big difference between "old" and "new" security paradigm in the number actors involved and what functions they focus on. This a good way to capture what measures that are used in the local security networks and grasping if the measures that are used in the networks are focused on the "new" security paradigm (Proactive, community-based, empowering) or if they are reactive (Punishment, capturing criminals and using force or surveillance).

A concept that is closely connected with the "new" security paradigm is risk; in order to be proactive security companies must be able to determine risk within a society or on a individual level. Beck (2008) argues that the "new" security paradigm has led to the creation of a *risk society*. Private security companies can become risk entrepreneurs in this new risk society, where the power to determine what is risk or not becomes a great asset (Beck, 2008). Krahmann (2011) identifies three processes that private security companies can influence; *risk identification, risk assessment and risk mitigation*. Giddens (1990) called this phenomenon *"distanciation",* that security is affected by factors beyond people's immediate knowledge and control both spatially and temporally. There are examples in Great Britain and South Africa where both police and private security influence the risk assessment of communities (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003; Wakefield, 2003). Johnston (1999) argues that communities are governed by risk, when decided on how to govern communities the perception of risk is the essential for determining from of governance in the community.

3.3 Security Networks

Dupont (2004) have created four ideal types of security networks (local, institutional, international and virtual) to facilitate the understanding of the new security networks. In this thesis the focus is on the *local* level with some overlapping features of the *institutional* level. *Local security networks* consist of a mix of public and private actors, looking to solve a specific issues cooperating with a diverse field of actors. *Local security networks* strive to be efficient and must therefor incorporate local actors and be open to involve actors that traditionally not are involved in security networks, not only state or public actors (Dupont, 2004; Huey, 2008). This is also closely related to the new security paradigm where more actors are involved and community-based solutions are in focus. The *institutional networks* are much more closed involving a certain number of government agencies and are not as open to other actors, they usually work with more overlapping issues and not as specified as the local networks. Institutional networks gather know-how and resources in order to help individual nodes to become more efficient (Dupont, 2004; Huey, 2008). *Institutional* networks relate more to the "old" security paradigm where fewer actors are involved. By looking at the ideal types it is possible to determine what roles the different actors have and how it affects the function of the security network.

3.4 Political economy of private security

In the previous academic research on private security White (2012) argues that the research either had a too strong focus on the economic factors or on the political factors. In order to truly understand the use and impacts of private security a researcher has to incorporate both concepts in a comprehensive way (White, 2012). When explaining the increased use of private security one cannot only say it was due to the growth of mass private property and the increased need for security guards or that it was only due to the roll back of the state and neoliberal ideas like New Public Management. White (2012) argues that two schools have emerged from this divide, the economic focus is often called *nodal governance* and the political focus is often called *anchored pluralism*. White is in favor of researching what he calls the *political economy of private security*, incorporating both factors. The first of questions that has to be answered in *political economy of private security* are the economic context, how did the supply and demand change to facilitate the expansion private security and how does this affect the deliverance of local security (White, 2012). The other set of

questions are connected to the political context, what political strategies are behind the descions to use private security and how does these strategies impact the deliverance of local security (White, 2012). According to the theory private security companies might change the scope of their expertise in order to match fluctuations in demand and supply and to match the current political context (White, 2012).

In more recent research on private security the focus has somewhat shifted from talking about the rollback of the state to the reconfiguration of the state. Scholars argue that private security companies are not vigilante companies anymore but rather work together with the state and gains its legitimacy from the state or in some cases even are encouraged by the state, the security is beyond the state (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Button, 2002; Howe, 1998). This kind of research focus on the *governance of security* or *nodal governance* of security, where the construction-sites of private security is in focus rather than trying to determine the exact private-public divide (Johnston & Shearing, 2003; Shearing & Wood, 2007). Even if the notion of public-private is given less attention in more recent research, scholars still argue that is has to be accounted for and especially the interaction between the public and private, especially in the decision process in order to determine who is inside and outside the process (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011). Although Shearing and Johnston (2003) sees *nodal governance* as an important tool for stepping away from the state centered approach to security in order to progress, White (2012) argues the *nodal governance* school has a too strong economic focus trying to explain the use of private security through looking at increasing opportunities with new functions-sites for private security to embrace and expand within.

The other school distinguished by White (2012) is *anchored pluralism,* the *anchored pluralism* focus more on the role of the state and normative questions. To explain the use and role of private security, the ideal role of the state and how the norm is formed around private security must be considered (Loader & Walker, 2007). Instead of looking at what new functions/sites that has opened up for private security the *anchored pluralism* focus on why these functions/site opened up for private security (Loader & Walker, 2007). The *anchored pluralism* has a stronger connection with the Keynesian ideal type of state and if one juxtaposes the two schools it is easier to distinguish the differences even though they are

somewhat overlapping. In this thesis the focus is on specific sites where private security is used, so the problem is approached from a *nodal governance* perspective but the normative questions from *anchored pluralism* will also be considered when understanding the construction of the sites. The nodal approach emphasizes that networks depend on mentalities, technologies, institutional arrangements, and resources of nodes, and that nodes and nodal assemblages should be a major focus of analyses of governance (Burris, 2004). As Castells (2000, p. 332) puts it, *"a network has nodes, not a center"*.

The political economy of private security theory is a good tool to examine the driving forces behind the use of private security companies and also the way the current security networks are designed. This is due to that political economy of private security looks at driving forces behind the use of private security and in this case also the design of the security network looking at political and economic factors.

3.5 Previous Empirical Findings

In empirical research the theoretical assumption that mass private property and the use of private security are related shows, the sites of empirical research have often been mass private property like shopping malls or university campuses (O'Dougherty, 2006; Shearing & Stenning, 1983; Wood & Shearing, 1998). Other sites of empirical research are city improvement districts or business improvement districts (CIDs/BIDs), areas of cities that are "improved" to enhance business opportunities and security. BIDs/CIDs are increasingly growing in both developed and developing countries and research on CIDs and BIDs shows that they can have a positive effect (for example Los Angeles) on business but they are also questioned for leading to increased segregation (for example South Africa) (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Eick, 2006). The BIDs/CIDs are good examples of the reconfiguration of public/private space and also the public/private functions (Eick, 2006; Rigakos, 2002). The actors involved in BIDs/CIDs are often global companies and part of *global security assemblages*, patterns are found that global security firms influence the assemblages, being simultaneously involved in public and private, global and local contexts to promote their own interest (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011).

In a European context there is some research in Germany on private security in governance, using private security guards to control squatters and cleanup communities often connected to forms of BIDs/CIDs but this research does not cover the causes of the use private security in communities and the interaction between different agencies (Eick, 2006; Eick, 2011; Holm & Kuhn, 2011). Research in skid row communities in Scotland shows that people living in these communities in general have more trust for non-police actors and are more likely to report crime to these non-police actors. The same study also shows that that police and service providers work closely together and benefit from each other through sharing information, service providers also feel that they gain legitimacy by working with the police (Huey, 2008).

The results of research shows that the attitudes towards private security companies varies even though some of the more recent research shows that the public perception of private security is becoming more positive (Nalla & Heraux, 2003; Huey, 2008). Recent studies from Netherlands and Singapore shows a more positive attitude towards private security officers from Netherlands and they are being viewed as more professional than before (Nalla & Lim, 2003; Van Steden & Nalla, 2010). Other studies show that some important factors can influence the attitudes towards private security in a negative way for example ethnicity and level of income (Howell, Perry & Vile, 2004; Nalla & Lim 2003; Nalla & Heraux 2003)

A major study in the US shows that the use of private security has a inverted U-curved, the use of private police is high in communities with low income and big Hispanic and Afro-American population, and the presence of private police is also high in communities with high income, so the scholars argue that private police can be used as an informal control on minorities and protection of elites rather then a response to serious crime (D'Alessio et al, 2005).

There is not much research conducted in Sweden, one of the few studies done focus on the public-private divide on Arlanda Airport in Stockhom (Berndtsson & Stern, 2011). There also some studies that shows that local security solutions are becoming more common in Sweden especially in bigger cities (Lindskog & Persson, 2012; Persson, 2012). These studies show that Sweden is following the trend of other traditionally "strong" or "settled," states outsourcing more of its security services (Walker & Loader, 2007). Another study in Finland

on local security networks shows that different actors can have problems to cooperate due different views on security, police define it as reducing crime and other actors have a more holistic approach (Virta, 2002). These studies also conclude that countries like Sweden and Finland that have had a strong centralized police force might have troubles to implement local security network solutions due to the fact that they are not used to cooperate with other agencies (Virta, 2002). As shown in the literature review there is gap in the research of Swedish context and in general on the new functions of private security outside mass private property and BIDs/CIDs that incorporates both the economic and political factors. Finding out how cities design the local security solutions and how they use private security companies, is a key to understanding the new form of governance.

4. Theoretical Framework

The overarching theoretical framework for the interviews and document analysis is Johnston and Shearing's (2003) eight dimensions of governance:

1. Who make the rules?

- Who decided the to use private security? How and why?

2. What is the nature of the rules?

- Whose concerns do the use of private security represent and how inclusive is it?

3. What is the focus of governance?

- What problems to the solution want to solve? What are they based on?

• **4. Who implements/executes governance?**

- What is the relation between the different agencies and what are there responsibilities?

• **5. Modes of governance**

- How is the implementation achieved?

• **6. Process of governance**

- Coercion or negotiation?

• **7. Technologies of governance**

- What tools to they use to achieve the purpose?

• **8. Mentalities of governance**

- What perceptions and thoughts are translated into actions?

In order to match the aim of the study the eight dimension are narrowed down to five dimensions, the dimensions that are left out are:

2. What is the nature of the rules? *Whose concerns do the use of private security represent and how inclusive is it,* **7. Technologies of governance?** *What tools do they use to achieve the purpose?* **8. Mentalities of governance?** *What perceptions and thoughts are translated into actions?*

These dimensions are left out because of the scope of the study and to align with the aim set for this thesis. It is clearly not possible to state how inclusive the process is if the residents in the area not are interviewed nor is this relevant to fulfill the aim, thus dimension 2 is excluded. The aim is neither to explore technical tools or mentalities of governance which dimension 7 and 8 regards.

The remaining five dimensions are connected to theories concerning the use of private security, through using this framework that has its base in the *governance of security* notion, the idea is to capture both political and economic factors in the local security network and the use of private security companies. Even though the theory is foremost used to explain the use of private security, it is also a good tool for mapping the local security networks. For all five dimensions a primary statement is taken from the document analysis and compared with the results from the interview analysis. Each dimension is also compared with previous empirical findings. The five dimensions are used according to the following structure:

1. Who make the rules? Who decided the to use private security/design of the security network? How and why?

Through White's (2012) *political economy of private security* in order to determine the driving forces behind the use private security and the current design of security network

2**. What is the focus of governance?** What problems to the solution want to solve? What are they based on? This dimension is only mapped through interviews, statistics and document analysis in order to understand the main problem and what they're based upon and only presented in the section *local security network description and design* in the analysis.

3. Who implements/executes governance? What is the relation between the different agencies and what are there responsibilities? This dimension is analyzed through Duponts (2004) *ideal types of security networks* in order to determine how the different agencies and

actors cooperate and what their responsibilities are, how the security network works in practice

4. Modes of governance, How is the implementation achieved? and **5. Process of governance,** Coercion or negotiation? Through the notions of *old* vs. *new* security paradigm, to determine if the process have a proactive or reactive focus

Dimension 1*: Who make the rules,* relates to the second research question - "how was the current design of local security network decided?" The dimensions 2, 3 and 4 all relates to the first research questions - *How are the local security networks designed in terms of actors, structures, roles and measures?* Trying to map the different features of the security network. The third dimension also relates to the third research question - *How do the people involved in the local security network consider private security companies in terms of advantages and disadvantages*, which is looking at what role the is given to private security companies. It also explores the advantages/disadvantages with this role and how the cooperation work between the different actors with focus on advantages and disadvantages. The dimensions are used to analyze the interviews by using the dimension to map the security networks and also in the document analysis. In the matrix categories were created to determine who are behind the contract dimension 1, what kind of problems it aims to solve dimension 2, which actors are involved and mentioned as important dimension 3 (A lot of actors involved/mentioned = Local security network, fewer actors involved = Institutional security network), at dimensions 4 and 5 in the matrix represent what measures that are being used old vs. new security paradigm. The matrixes are foremost a tool to facilitate the presentation of the results for the reader and they are combined with more a comprehensive discussion in text. To analyze the documents at first and the interviews after also provides a good opportunity to compare written sources with interview material.

5. Methodological framework

Due to the lack of previous research on the construction of security governance in Sweden, this thesis is looking at a small number of cases in order to break ground for a larger study. The thesis does not aim at explaining the construction of all security governance networks in Sweden, but rather focus on two cases due to the lack of data and previous research. Case studies are particularly good in the early stage research on a topic or area, due to the fact that

they can provide a foundation for further research or theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989). A case study is also suitable for a study that examines a contemporary set of events that the researcher has little or no control over (Yin, 1994). This shows that a case study approach is suitable for this thesis and the topic that is being researched due to the lack of previous research and that the local security networks are a contemporary phenomenon.

5.1 Case & Selection

As noted above in this thesis a case study is conducted examining two cases, one in Stockholm (Rinkeby-Kista) and one in Gothenburg (Angered). A case study in this thesis will be defined as Thompson (2011) describes it: *"Case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame—an object—within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates"*. Focusing on two cases instead of several will grant the thesis a better opportunity to get in-depth knowledge about the construction of security governance in two city districts (Bryman, 2012). A case study may involve several cases but the fewer cases the more intensively it is possible to study each case (Gerring, 2007). The case study is idiographic so the aim is not to generate statements that apply to all of Europe over time and space but rather to explain the unique features of the cases in Stockholm and Gothenburg (Bryman, 2012).

Stockholm (Rinkeby-Kista) and Gothenburg (Angered) are selected as *exemplifying cases,* the cases are examples of local security networks and therefor can provide exemplifying knowledge of how they are designed, what roles different actors have and what kind of measures that are used. By looking at the examples for the two biggest cities in Sweden the knowledge produced can serve as base for providing both policy recommendations and as a base for further studies. The cases are selected because they are good examples of the category that they are members of (local security networks) and will provide a suitable context for the research question to be answered in (Bryman, 2012). They were chosen due to previous knowledge that private security companies are active in both cases and they have history of security problems. Previous research shows that local security solutions are

common in both Gothenburg and Stockholm (Persson, 2012; Lindskog & Persson, 2012). Hence it is logical to choose these cases in order to examine the notion of local security network and the increased use of private security (Bryman, 2012). The knowledge produced will be solid because it comes from examining not one case but two separate cases from the two biggest cities in Sweden. In order for the knowledge produced to be exemplifying one has to make sure that they are examples of how local security networks are designed. By looking at only one case this assumption is difficult to make but when looking in two cases and finding similarities and dissimilarities, it is more plausible to find exemplifying knowledge for the Swedish context. The case study approach have been criticized for not being systematic and objective, which leads to critique about the sites of research not being typical or representative but rather chosen due to contacts or to facilitate the study (Wainwright, 1997). This critique is based on a quantitative study approach where it is essential to find cases that are representative and systematically objective in order to make generalizations and to aggregate the results. In this thesis the aim is not to make broad generalizations but rather to explain the construction of security governance in two cases, therefor the selection of cases has to have the right circumstances and be suitable for the problems that are being researched (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The importance does not lie in how the case is identified but rather on the quality of the unit (Diefenbach, 2009). In this case previous empirical knowledge can guarantee that the cases selected (Angered & Rinkeby-Kista) are good unit to study as descried previously. The cases are selected from an information-oriented selection process in order to assure that they use private security companies in their security governance. This selection seeks to maximize the utility of the information (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

To use two cases, a multiple-case approach a study with more then one case, enhances the strength of the thesis. A multiple-case approach is usually considered to give a stronger result than a single-case study (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009). In the thesis each case is treated as single case where the entire study process is conducted on each case, this also enhances the possibility of replication of the thesis, write a summary report on each case (Yin, 2009). The two cases are compared with each other trough Yin's explanation building analysis (2009) in order to find common characteristics but also key differences in the construction of security governance. By using cases that are found in a similar context (Sweden) the possible differences that are found will become more solid due to the fact that they cannot be

explained by contrasting contexts. If the cases would be selected in contrasting contexts there is a risk that the possible differences could be caused because of differences in context and not due to any other factors (Bryman, 2012).

Case studies are often criticized for being a tool for verification, a way for the researcher to verify their own assumptions and preconceived views with the help of a case study (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This critique is serious and can heavily damage the reliability of a study, previous research show that it can also work the opposite way that a researchers preconceived views are proved wrong (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Wiewiorka, 1992). In this thesis the aim is to contribute to the overall understanding of local security networks and how and why private security companies are used this limits the possibilities to influence the study but the critique will be taken seriously although the critique of subjectivity applies to all methods (Flyvbjerg, 2006). All the selections, data and analyses are handled with as much openness as possible, in order to make the thesis transparent and open for readers to draw their own conclusions.

5.2 Data Collection

Yin (2009) points out three key principles for data collection; a) using multiple sources, b) creating a case study database and c) maintaining a chain of evidence. These principles are the key to a good a study no matter what kind of sources a researcher chooses to use and are essential for maintaining validity and reliability. In this thesis two main sources of data are used, interviews and documents. The documents that are examined in the thesis will provide a stable source that can be reviewed several times and the documents are not a source that is created due to the case study (Yin, 2009). The interviews provide a personal reflection from the participants and a perceived explanation, which is something that the documents cannot provide (Yin, 2009). The documents that are used in this thesis are contracts between municipalities and private security companies and policy documents concerning local security networks. For Angered (Gothenburg) one citywide contract for security enhancing activities and outreach activities (Göteborgs Stad Upphandlingskontoret, 2012) and one policy document for crime prevention and security enhancing activities in Gothenburg (Göteborgs Kommun, 2004). The first document is chosen due to its citywide scope and central position for security and outreach activities preformed by private actors in resident areas. The second document was chosen due to its elaborate evaluation and policy recommendations for local

security work in Gothenburg. The contract is from the city municipality and the policy document is written by a consultant assigned by Gothenburg city, this might influence the study in the way that only the city municipality's views are represented but the policy document is written by a consultant, which makes it more decentralized. In general, it was hard to find document that fit the study and all contracts examined have involved municipalities (city or city district), which makes them easier to access due to law of open records.

In Stockholm the two documents that are analyzed are the contract for neighborhood safety hosts by the property owners in Järva (Fastighetsägare i Järva, 2012) and an evaluation of the neighborhood safety by the property owners in Järva with conclusions and recommendations (Fastighetägare i Järva, 2011). The documents have strong attachment to the area that serves as the case in the study, unfortunately the only two relevant documents that could be accessed where from the same organization. On the other hand the organizations consist of both private and public actors, which makes the documents, are product of a public-private cooperation and therefor might be more versatile. The documents will provide primary statements for the analysis of the security network further explained under the analytical framework section.

The documents come from two different settlings the documents from Gothenburg are from a central agency with some external presence and the documents from Rinkeby-Kista are from an organization that consists of both private-public actors. This could possibly affect the study in the way that the private actors that are involved in Rinkeby-Kista (Järva) might influence the other actors to become more positive of the use of private actors. It was impossible to find documents from the same agencies in Gothenburg (Angered) and Stockholm (Rinkeby-Kista) and to have one set of documents from a central agencies with some external presence and one from a organization that consist of a mix of public-private is still relatively close but the difference is noted as will be accounted for in the results found.

5.2.1 Validity

Validity is a central concept in research and there are several tools to use to validate the study. The participants in this thesis were allowed to review the transcripts of the interviews to make sure that the researcher interpreted their answers correctly. By creating separate case

databases and having a structure that is easy for the reader to follow also brings validity to this thesis. The quotes from interviews with the participants were translated from Swedish into English by the author which always posses a threat to the validity because of possible translating errors

5.2.2. Reliability

In this thesis all documents that are used can be retrieved trough databases online and trough municipalities. None of the documents have been given to me personally and all of them are public documents. This thesis gains good reliability as the documents used can be found online or a public archives. The data collection is also described in detail to make other researcher being able to repeat this kind of study.

5.2.3. Ethical Considerations

There are some ethical consideration in this thesis due to the sensitive issue of private security and security questions in general. In this case the participants were granted anonymity as condition for them to participate in the study. However, the way the interviews were framed with open-ended questions (see appendix I) the participants in this thesis encouraged to talk about their own experiences and views on the local security network and private security companies

When conducting in-depth interviews, there are some big challenges for a researcher to deal with for example: 1.) Asking the right questions, 2.) The researcher interpretation of the answers 3.) The researchers possible affect on the participant and 4.) The reliability of the participants' observations and experiences (Cook, 2008). In order to deal with the first challenge in this thesis, open-end questions where used which makes the participants freer to express their thought. Open-end questions should be how or what rather then why which is a more closed question (Brinkmann, 2008). In order for participant to express them freely, this also decreases the risk of the researcher trying to manipulate the participant.

The second challenge is more difficult to overcome, objectivity is hard to achieve and there is always a risk that the researcher interprets an answer in a biased way in order to suit their thesis or study. Rather to claim objectivity a lot of researchers acknowledge their subjectivity

as noted above (Miller, 2008). The third and fourth challenges relate to the interaction between interviewer and participant, as Kvale (1996) explains it: *"The human interaction in qualitative inquiry affects interviewees and informants, and the knowledge produced through qualitative research affects our understanding of the human condition"*. In the interviewing situation the power relation is often asymmetrical and the researchers often controls the interview situation and is the one with the academic knowledge, there is also a risk that the researcher will be manipulative in order to reach their desired result (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). In this thesis the participants were experts, which made the power relation less asymmetrical. All of the interviews were face-to-face interviews, which made then interaction a key part of the interviews.

In order to work around these challenge the interviews in this thesis have a *dissensus* approach*,* because of the fact the private security is a sensible topic (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). Through a *dissensus* approach it ids possible to test the respondent answer on the design of the local security networks and use of private security, by proposing arguments and counter-arguments to the reader (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). To apply the *dissensus* approach is a risk, the participants might be offended or provoked by the counter-arguments but for the validity of the research it is essential, the possible gains for this approach are bigger then the risks. In the interviews probes and counter questions are used with a *dissensus* approach, advantages/disadvantages will be countered with opposing statements from the pilot-interviews and previous knowledge about the subject mostly applied on advantages/disadvantages with private security companies. Even tough as dissensus approach was applied the answers from the respondents possibly could be influenced by my presence in order to please me as a researcher and because of the fact the topic is considered sensitive.

5.3 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews is a good tool for data collection, it is relatively cost efficient and not so time consuming. In contrast of questionnaire or survey´s in-depth interviews does not have a lot of questions but instead allows the participants to evaluate and express themselves relatively freely within a question/subject only with some guidance of the interviewer. In-depth interviews are also referred to as semi-structured interviews. To design a comprehensive study the in-depth interviews needs to be complemented with other forms of

data (Cook, 2008). In this thesis the interviews will be complemented with contracts with private security companies and policy documents on security in the city districts.

In this thesis an *exploratory* interview approached is used, this means that aim of the interview is not to be hypothesis testing looking for wording and sequences in structured manner. The interviews are open and only with some preplanned structure and the aim is to uncover new information and angels on local security networks and private security companies (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The open-end questions in combination with probes worked relatively well and the participants expressed themselves freely. In this thesis the participants are experts on local security networks. This poses a challenge for the researcher, experts have a great deal of knowledge on their subjects and in order for the interview to be successful the researcher has to posses solid knowledge about the subject. Showing that one have great knowledge about the subject will impress the expert and respect will be gained, this is essential for the quality of the interview. The expert might otherwise control the interview and no new insights or perspective are gained from the interview. To be confrontational against the experts statements might also be useful to gain new insights and perspectives (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The experts in this study are what Creswell (2009) calls 'gatekeepers', they will provide information that otherwise could not be accessed.

The "experts" that are interviewed in this study are:

Angered (Gothenburg):

- One Senior police officer, male, 30-45 year old, Responsible for the Community Policing in Gårdsten (Angered), coded as police officer 1 = PO.1
- One Coordination/Process leader for Safety projects at Angred District Municipality, female, 45-60 years old, coded as city district municipality 1 = CDM. 1
- One production manager from a private security company active in Angered, male, 30-45 years old, coded as private security company 1 = PSC. 1
- Recreation supervisor at a youth center in Angered, female, 30-45 years old, coded as Youth Center 1 = YC.1 and one Recreation Supervisor at a youth center in Angred, Male, 45-60 years old, coded as Youth Center 2 = YC.2

Rinkeby-Kista (Stockholm):

- One deputy at the crime and preventive actions unit in Rinkeby-Kista, male, 45-60 years old, coded as Police Officer 2 = PO.2
- One Manager for youth crime prevention and citizens services at Rinkeby-Kista Municipal District Administration, female, 45-60 years old, coded as city district municipality 2 = CDM.2
- One President from a private security company active in Rinkeby-Kista, male, 30-45 years old, coded as private security company 2 = PSC. 2

All the participants were granted anonymity as a condition for participating in this thesis. Unfortunately the participant from a youth center in Rinkeby-Kista did not want to participate in the study due to unknown reasons. The experts represent different key actors within the local security networks and the goal is to capture different perspectives on the design of the security networks. There is a risk that participants will answer in a way that only serves their own interest for example that the private security companies always will strive for more use of private security. The police and city district municipalities maybe have interest in giving a more positive picture of the situation in order to promote their interests in solving the problem. The knowledge of this was constantly present through the thesis and during the interviews in the analysis the quotes from the participants makes it possible for the reader to draw their own conclusions about the possible bias. To interview people from different sectors also grants more perspectives on the cooperation between agencies in the local security networks. In order to test the interview questions a pilot interview with representatives from the security group at Gårdstensbostäder (Public housing company) in Angered, Gothenburg was conducted.

5.4 Analytical Framework

5.4.1 Document Analysis

In order to make the thesis more solid the interviews are complemented with contracts for private security companies and policy documents on security in Angered and Rinkeby-Kista. The primary classification is done according the following matrix:

Matrix Documentation			
1.) Which agency is responsible for the contract/document?			
City Municipality	City District Municipality	Property Owners	Coalition of Agencies

2.) What problems does the contract/document aim to solve?				
Intervene in criminal acts	Prevent Crime	Improve business opportunities	Improve living conditions	Other

3.) Which agencies mentioned as actors involved in security networks in the contract/document?					
Police	Social Service, ex schools, youth centres etc.	NGO: s	City District Municipality	Private security companies	Other

4.) What measures are proposed to enhance the security/document?				
Patrolling	Outreach Activities	Surveillance of "hot spots"	Reporting problems in urban environment ex broken streets lights etc.	Other

The matrix is based on a mix of concepts derived from the literature review and findings in the contract and documents. Hence the matrix was created after the document analysis in order to facilitate the mapping of the network for the reader. Category 1 was created by looking at what actors were behind the documents, catergory 2 consist of a mix between results found in the document analysis and problems that local security networks been engaged in previously by looking at empirical research. Category was created afterwards based on the actors mentioned in the documents. Category 4 was created by looking at what measures are used old vs. new security combined with results from previous research that shows typical activities for private security companies. The matrix cannot answer all the research questions; the advantages/disadvantages with private security companies are foremost addressed during the interviews. The matrix is a good to tool to show the initial findings in document analysis and also serves as initial stamen according to Yin's (2009) explanation building tool further explained below.

5.4.2 Explanation Building

For doing a high-quality analysis Yin (2009) identified four basic principles; 1.) The analysis should attend all the evidence, 2.) The analysis should address all possible major rival interpretations, 3.) The analysis should address the most significant aspect of your case and 4.) The analysis should be based on the researchers prior expertise about the cases.

Explanation building is suitable for exploratory studies and explanation building is a form pattern matching. The purpose is to analyze the case study by building explanations about it (Yin, 2009, p. 141). In this case the focus is on how the local security networks are constructed and why they are constructed the way that they are. When conducting an exploratory case study, the operational terms and construction of the phenomenon examined has not been well documented and the explanation will be based on a series of *iterations* (Yin, 2009, p. 143). The process is defined by Yin (2009) as; making an initial theoretical statement or initial proposition about a policy or in this case construction of a local security network → comparing the initial case findings against the statement or proposition → revising the statement → comparing other details against the revision → comparing the revisions to the facts on the second case → repeating the process. In this thesis this method is used by first examining the contracts and policy documents connected to the security networks in Angered and Rinkeby-Kista which will be provide an initial statement about the design and construction. Then the interviews will be analyzed and compared with the initial findings this will be done in each case individually creating a case study database and afterwards the results from each base will compared and analyzed with the support of the analytical framework.

Explanation building is similar to grounded theory, it can be considered as a "light" version of grounded theory. Grounded theory is more complex as purposed by Glaser & Strauss (1967) and consists of several more steps than explanation building. Another differences between *explanation building* and grounded theory is that grounded theory aims to conclude a study whereas *explanation building* breaks ground for a further study (Yin, 2009).

The analysis of the interviews is divided in two sections first analyzing the answers concerning the design and description of the local security networks and secondly the role of

private security companies. This divide is done according to the structure of the interviews that have one section concerning the design and one concerning the role and disadvantages/advantages with private security companies. In order facilitate the reading of the thesis and to keep a strong connection between the design of the interviews and the analysis it is structured in this way. The role of private security also to further extent deals with the research question concerning disadvantages/advantages with the use of private security companies.

6. Angered (Gothenburg) Analysis

In the following sections first a document analysis is conducted in order to get a primary statement in the following section the interviews are analyzed and the statement is revised.

6.1 Document Analysis Angered (Gothenburg)

The documents that are used in the document analyses for Angered (Göteborgs Stad Upphandlingskontoret, 2012) are the citywide contract for security enhancing activities and outreach and the policy document for crime prevention and security enhancing activities in Gothenburg (Göteborgs Kommun, 2004). The two documents will provide primary statements for the analysis of the security network in Gothenburg.

The first document that is analyzed is Gothenburg City municipalities contract for outreaching activities in residential areas. The contract is directed toward civil society groups as well as private security companies.

Contract for outreaching activities in residential areas in Gothenburg			
1.) Which agency is responsible for the contract/document?			
City Municipality	City District Municipality	Property Owners	Coalition of Agencies
x			
2.) What problems does the contract/document aim to solve?			
Intervene in criminal acts	Prevent Crime	Improve business opportunities	Improve living conditions	Other

	X		X		
3.) Which agencies mentioned as actors involved in security networks in the contract/document?					
Police	Social Service, ex schools, youth centers etc.	Civil Society	City District Municipality	Private Security	Other
x	x	x		x	
4.) What measures are proposed to enhance the security?					
Patrolling	Outreach Activities	Surveillance of "hot spots"	Reporting problems in urban environment ex broken streets lights etc.		Other
x	x	x			

The contract shows that the focus is on preventive measures rather the reactive ones like intervening in criminal acts, the aim is rather to build relationships and prevent crime in order to improve the feeling of security in the residential areas and improve the living conditions. To gather the forces of good and cooperation with other agencies is also in focus in contract. Although the activities that are proposed in contract for outreaching activities in residential areas in Gothenburg are activities that consist of a mix of traditional private security activities like patrolling and surveillance of "hot spots", there is also the new service of outreach activities that are becoming increasingly common for private security companies to preform. By looking at the contract for outreach activities the use of private actors seems to focus on outreach activities rather then reactive although it is import to notice that other contracts might be used simultaneously as this contract.

The second document is policy document on crime prevention and security enhancing activities in Gothenburg; the policy document is divided into three parts first a description of the national project *Allas vårt ansvar* (together our responsibility) that also influenced the design in Gothenburg. The second part is an evaluation on the work in Gothenburg and the third part is a description of the work in different city districts in Gothenburg. The policy paper is the product of a collation between Gothenburg City and the University of Gothenburg.

Policy document for crime prevention and security enhancing activities in Gothenburg			
1.) Which agency is responsible for the contract/document?			
City Municipality	City District Municipality	Property Owners	Coalition of Agencies
X			x
2.) What problems does the contract/document aim to solve?				
Intervene in criminal acts	Prevent Crime	Improve business opportunities	Improve living conditions	Other
X	X	X	X	
3.) Which agencies mentioned as actors involved in security networks in the contract/document?					
Police	Social Service, ex schools, youth centers etc.	NGO: s	City District Municipality	Private Security	Other
X	X		X		
4.) What measures are proposed to enhance the security?					
Patrolling	Outreach Activities	Surveillance of "hot spots"	Reporting problems in urban environment ex broken streets lights etc.	Other
	X	X	X	

In the policy document for crime prevention security enhancing activities in Gothenburg, the focus is on crime prevention and security enhancing activities through social intervention in line with the project *Allas vårt ansvar*. In this document there is also a strong focus on prevention and to gather the forces of good and cooperation between different agencies. In the document there is distinction in the preventive measures between social and situational prevention, which is not seen in the city contract for outreach activities. To gather the forces of good and cooperation with different agencies and civil society is mentioned as especially important when working with local crime prevention. The documents also stress the importance that the city and the city district municipalities' works as medium for information and facts to counter myths and disinformation. In the Policy document for crime prevention and security enhancing activities in Gothenburg, the cooperation between private and public is highlighted a necessity for good preventive measures, foremost the focus is on cooperation

with public and private property owners but also private security actors are mentioned in the paper.

By looking at the contract and document is clear that the focus is on preventive rather then reactive actions, the measures that are in focus is outreach and social intervention even if the situational is given some attention. Both documents stress the importance of to gather the forces of good and cooperation between agencies and between public/private to create a successful preventive and security enhancing design. The emphasis is on governance and outreach activities, in long-term way rebuild, gathering the forces of good and build relationships in order to create an environment where people feel safe and involved in the society. In this security network it is clear that the private security companies are going to play an important role.

6.2 Interview Analysis Angered (Gothenburg)

In Angered (Gothenburg) a total of 5 participants were interviewed, one representative from the district municipality (CDM.1), one from the police (PO.1), two from a youth center (YC.1 and YC.2) and one from a private security company (PSC.1) that are working in the area. In order to establish an overview of the different perspectives on the security network and the role of private security, each interview is analyzed individually in a matrix and at the end of the section a revision of previous statement from document analysis is conducted. The analysis in divided in to two sections first the description of the security network and after the role of private security companies in the local security network.

6.2.1 Local Security Network Design and Description

In the description of the design of the local security network, the modified version of Johnston and Shearing's (2003) eight dimensions of governance are used to present and analyze the results

1. Who make the rules? Who decided the design of the security network? How and why?

The agencies that are the main actor behind the design or at a minimum the actor responsible for organizing different forum are the district municipality in Angered. During the interviews the description of who decided in the design of the security network varies a lot. CDM.1 says

the process is inclusive and that a lot of actors are involved in the security network. Through different forums and cooperation's between agencies and actors, the aim is to capture the forces of good in Angered, organizations and people who work to improve the situation from civil society, private sector and central agencies (CDM.1). The design was created in order to establish relations between agencies and actors, so they can deal with a problem fast a situation occur (CDM.2). This design was also chosen in order to improve the relations between agencies and residents in Angered.

PSC 1, YC.1 and YC.2 describe the local security network in different way, they point at the lack of the design and long-term ideas on how to solve the security and social problems in Angered. They also mention the lack cooperation and the work is primary based on central decisions, not coherent enough towards the youth centers, security companies and local needs. YC.1 and YC.2 says that are a lot of different forum but: *"These forums have significance if one tells the truth, the reality in some way but if you don't tell the truth or reality, the forum has no significance in any way…"* (YC.2). YC.1 and YC.2 also says the focus in shifting a lot and that the security and social work seems to guided by political will and trends rather then a long-term plan.

The participants who are not working directly for the authorities raised concern about the process being too much top-down orientation and not coherent enough to the people working on the field and with expert knowledge about the situation and security design. PSC.1, YC.1 and YC.2 also had concerns with the long-term plan and purpose of the current design. The design seems to shift focus in line with trends and is not stable enough, if there even exist a design or a plan is questioned. CDM.1 also stresses the problem of real political will to solve the problems: *"…They go in to the city and rob people and sometimes the city think that we have to do something but if they only robbed people and beat each other to death within their own area, they city wouldn't care but it is like is"* CDM.1. To understand this one must incorporate both the economic factors and political factors as White (2012) argues, the city has economic restraint that they must be taken into calculation but when the political pressure to act becomes too much they must take action. The new security networks might evolve just out of that mix between economic and political factors, the fiscal constraints might encourage the use on non-traditional actors like private security when the political pressure to act grows

stronger. To design these networks takes a great deal of local knowledge combined with expert knowledge if the design lacks real political will and commitment the end result might be insufficient to deal with the problems.

2. What is the focus of governance? What problems to the solution want to solve? What are they based on?

All of the participants had a similar view on what the main problems in Angered are: low trust for authorities and the society, parallel criminal-structures within Angered and big differences in socio-economic situation compared to the rest of Gothenburg which resort in crime, drug trade and other criminal activities (CDM.1, PO.1, PSC.1, YC.1 and YC.2). The lack of trust and dislike of authorities were mentioned by the participants as a big problem together with crime: *" At night guys can come, young adults who park there eight hundred thousand [SEK] Mercedes without locking it and in moment two young boys stand there and guard it. They know something, that we don't know"* CDM.1. This quote about the situation outside one of the youth centers in Angered shows the immense discrepancy in information between resident and authorities.

3. Who implements/executes governance? What is the relation between the different agencies and what are there responsibilities?

From a theoretical perspective local security networks strive to be efficient and must therefor incorporate local actors and be open to involve actors that are traditionally not involved in security networks not only state/public actors (Dupont, 2004; Huey, 2008). The data gathered from the interviews shows that the local and non-traditional feel like that they are not involved in the local security network in a sufficient way and this can also affect the efficiency of the network according to the ideal type of security network perspective and it is even possible to question if the security network is local or institutional according to the ideal type of security network perspective. In the ideal type of security networks theory, *institutional networks* are networks much more closed only involving a certain number of government agencies and are not as open to other actors, the information for interviews have features of this design (Dupont, 2004). Although it is important to notice that i*nstitutional*

networks usually work with more overlapping issues and not as specified as the local networks (Dupont, 2004; Huey, 2008).

The police in Angered work with community policing as a tool build improve relationship and build trust. It is however interesting that the private security company is not involved in outreach activities, for example the "new-actors" are not involved that much in the outreach activities. In the pilot interview the participants informed about a housing company in Gårdsten (Angered) that have their own security/landlords who part-time work with outreaching security activities and the other half as landlords.

CDM.1 and PO.1 argues that advantages with the current security network are that it is a good base from cooperation, have a long-term focus and especially community policing is widely appreciated among the residents according CDM.1, PO.1, YC.1 and YC.2. The problem is that community policing is that it relies on police prioritization and the good will of police lieutenants due to the fact that the police might be prioritized to big events like football games and that they have problem of showing statistics on their work number of for example number of arrests to their superiors. The problem has been raised by several of the participants the lack of police presence and the lack of long-term presence and continuity in the community, even though long-term and continuity are considered as a key factor by all of the participants (CDM.1, PO.1, PSC.1, YC.1 and YC.2); *"It's a lot about recognizing if you are a police, teacher or work in safety group, somewhere you build trust if the person stays. If you get a new face each time I think it's more difficult"* PO.1.

4. Modes of governance, How is the implementation achieved? And **5. Process of governance,** Coercion or negotiation?

In order to solve and improve the situation the measures used in the security network are primarily preventive and proactive and focus on building relations, improving respect and understanding for authorities as well as creating good cooperation between different actors and gathering the forces of good. Examples of these kind of activities are projects like: Skola,Socialtjänst, Polis och Fritid (SSPF) (School, Social Services, Police and Youth Centers), Människan bakom uniformen (MBU) (The Man Behind The Uniform) and

Trygghetsgruppen Hjällbo (the Group for a safer and more secure Hjällbo) (Angered). All of these projects aim to improve relationships, cooperation and understanding of the role of authorities in a long-term and sustainable way. These measures all fall in line with what is called the "new" security paradigm, in the "new" paradigm more actors are involved in the delivery of security services and the focus is on proactive measure (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003). The "new" paradigm is also pro community-based solutions: it strives to empower communities, involve more actors, open to re-invent communities and have a higher chance of producing outcomes (Johnston & Shearing, 2003). All of these features can be seen in the security network in Angered, even if the more "local" actors from the youth centers and private security companies does not feel like they played a part in designing the network.

There are some parts in the current design that still have "old" security paradigm features for example CDM.1 that they have the possibility to evict families if there kids misbehave: *The one thing that concerned them the most wasn't that the police or social service investigates them but that the investigation could affect there apartment contract*" CDM.1. This part of the network is much more reactive and repressive than the other features in the security network and consist of a "old" and "new" security paradigm mix were a housing companies cooperates with other district municipality in order to deal with security issues, a non-traditional actor (new security paradigm) involved in measures that have features of repressive (old) security paradigm.

Another disadvantages mentioned by all the participants (CDM.1, PO.1, PSC.1, YC.1 and YC.2); are that the current security design does not deal with the structural problems like socio-economic differences, housing problems, employment, health and education. These are questions highlighted in the discussion about the how to govern cities on a global level and even if the security networks are expanding and preforming more outreach tasks, the participants does not perceive that design can handle these problems. If the assumption that the problems that traditionally would be solved by welfare interventions now are managed by security logistics is true, it does not seem like the people involved in the security networks perceive it to be functional (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003).

To summarize and revise the previous statement: the design is decided by central agencies like the city and city district municipality even if the aim is to have an inclusive process. The problems that design seeks to solve are lack of trust for society and authorities as well as problems connected to the socio-economic situation (crime, drugs and social problems). In the design the focus groups are youth and young adults. The representative form central agencies and YC.1 and YC.2 seem to have troubles to cooperate with the private security company in a comprehensive way. The implementation and tools used in the security network are proactive measures that relates to the "new" security paradigm even if the still are some reactive measures as well like evections.

6.2.2 The Role of Private Security

1. Who make the rules? Who decided the to use private security/ network? How and why?

The use of private security in Angered is limited and the advantages of using private security concerns traditional tasks, they can be used as extra guards in case of disturbance; they can be an extra pair of eyes on the ground and used to patrol "hot-spots". Private security companies are not mentioned to be a part of any outreach activities or in any way working with social interventions. This is contrast to the city wide contract were private companies are used for outreach activities. The reason for this might be that the contract not is active yet or that it is up for revision. Still it is evident that private companies are not used for outreach activities in Angered.

PSC.1 criticized the design of the security network; the people responsible at the city/district municipalities lack the proper know-how to design the security networks. The networks are often designed to solve a specific issue or created because of pressure to act. According to PSC.1 they does not have a sufficient understanding of the situation and also miss the basic understanding of how to design a security network in a comprehensive way. It is often unclear if the aim of design is to increase security by patrolling/guarding or if they aim to increase to overall sense of safety in an area from long-term perspective;

"It's generally so if you look at municipalities especially Gothenburg City who don't have their own security manager, the problem is that they have no competence about what they buy instead they let a individual city district manager procure the services. They ask their

principals what they think would be good to have; they have no focus on security and they no clue about it. That's why they get what they pay for which is a catastrophic security services…" PSC.1.

PSC.1 points out that the private security companies can provide the know-how and that they would be even more useful in the planning stage of the process rather then just being used in a security network. Private security companies could possibility work as consultants from cities or district municipalities in the planning the design.

2. Who implements/executes governance? What is the relation between the different agencies and what are there responsibilities?

The participant from the private security company has concerns about the will from other agencies to cooperate with private security companies. In general PSC.1 consider the police reluctant to share information with private security companies in Angered and Gothenburg. The security companies in Gothenburg have tried to arrange continual meetings with the police lieutenants from different city districts in Gothenburg without success. In the same way the city district municipalities are very reluctant to cooperate with private security companies according to PSC.1. This also shines through in the responses from the other participants (CDM.1, PO.1, YC.1 and YC.2) were none of them said that they cooperated with private security companies to any greater extent and generally had a quite negative view of them. This might be the reason to why the citywide contract for security enhancing activities not has been used yet.

3. Modes of governance, How is the implementation achieved? and **5. Process of governance,** Coercion or negotiation?

The implementation is mostly achieved trough long-term tasks with a proactive focus, although PO.1, CDM.1, YC.1 and YC.2 questions if the private security companies can work long-term and what they could contribute in the security network:
"Its taken us two years to reach a decent level of trust and you have to have that long-term perspective if you then get a private security company I don't know how they are going to

make that unprofitable long-term perspective profitable, who's going to pay for that? That's kind of how I always feel when it comes to private companies" PO.1.

This kind of critique is reoccurring among the participants and they also perceive that the police are better equipped and educated to deal with the problems in the area. The representative from the private security company (PSC.1) agrees on this, that the security companies are not good at long-term thinking and that they are not properly equipped and educated to solve social problems but PSC.1 also sees as possible market for the security company. Another explanation can be that they have problems to cooperate due different views on security, police define it as reducing crime and other actors have a more holistic approach (Virta, 2002). From a "new" paradigm this is interesting in the "new" security paradigm, private security companies are often given big responsibilities but in this case they do not seem to be considered capable to work with preventive long-term responsibilities (Johnson & Shearing, 2003)

To summarize and revise the previous statement on the role private security: The have private security company in Angered have quite limited role in security network due to lack of trust and capability. Overall the participants involved in the security network have a quite negative view of private security companies. Even if they are considered useful as an extra pair of eyes on the ground, the police or representatives from the city are favored in front of private security companies. The disadvantages are primarily that the private security are not as well educated and equipped as other actors involved in the security network. The participants also expressed concerns over the fact that private security companies are only involved in the network due to economic interest and are therefor not suitable to work with long-term perspective. PSC.1 stresses the inadequate design and procurement processes as one of the major flaws in the current security networks and that they could provide the know-how suitable for designing security networks. Cooperation between private security companies and other actors in the security network also seems to be on a minimum level and with reluctance from the other actors in the security network

7. Rinkeby/Kista (Stockholm) Analysis

In the following sections first a document analysis is conducted in order to get a primary statement in the following section the interviews are analyzed and the statement is revised.

7.1 Document Analysis Rinkeby/Kista (Stockholm)

For the document analysis in Rinkeby/Kista two documents are used first the contract for neighborhood safety hosts by the property owners in Järva and secondly an evaluation of the neighborhood safety by the property owners in Järva with conclusions and recommendations (Fastighetägare i Järva, 2011). In the same way as the document analysis on Angered, Gothenburg the analysis provides a primary statement that is revised after the interview analysis in line with the Yin's iterations method.

The first document is a contract from Fastighetsägare i Järva (Property Owners in Järva) (Fasighetsägare i Järva, 2012), the organization consists of a mix of private and public property owners in Rinkeby, Kista, Akalla, Hjustla, Husby and Tensta, The contract was created in 2012 and the size on the contract is approximately for 14.611 man-hours per year divided between 50 % supervision of properties, streets and squares and 50 % directed supervision regulated by special needs and local demands. The contract stretches from 2012-11-01 to 2014-10-31 with a possible extension to 2016-10-31. Nordisk Bevakning first held the contract but due to financial and judicial problems, Cubsec Bevakning now holds the contract, both companies are private security companies.

Contract for neighborhood security hosts in Järva			
1.) Which agency is responsible for the contract/document?			
City Municipality	City District Municipality	Property Owners	Coalition of Agencies
		x	

2.) What problems does the contract/document aim to solve?				
Intervene in criminal acts	Prevent Crime	Improve business opportunities	Improve living conditions	Other
x	x		x	

3.) Which agencies mentioned as actors involved in security networks in the contract/document?					
Police	Social Service, ex schools, youth centers etc.	Civil Society	City District Municipality	Private Security	Other
x	x	x	x	x	

4.) What measures are proposed to enhance the security?				
Patrolling	Outreach Activities	Surveillance of "hot spots"	Reporting problems in urban environment ex broken streets lights etc.	Other
x	x	x	x	

In this contract the scope of activities covers both preventive and reactive measures, even if the preventive side is given more attention. The main purpose is to improve the living conditions and feeling of security for the residents in Fastighetsägare i Järva's houses. In the job description for the security hosts cooperation is given a central role and the hosts are supposed to become a natural part of the neighborhood visiting both schools and youth centers, and cooperating with police, civil society, school, social service and youth centers. Civil society is used in broad way covering both local organizations and sport teams. In the job description both traditional private security activities like patrolling and surveillance of "hot spots" are mentioned but also the "new" outreach activities are mentioned. The role of the private security companies have expanded from traditional activities to non-traditional activities like outreach work and reporting of problems and faults in the urban environment. The contract is focusing on the overall assignment of security hosts and does not go in to the detail in how to conduct the activities or description of the problems in the area.

The second document analyzed in the Rinkeby/Kista case is an evaluation of the neighborhood safety by the property owners in Järva with conclusions and recommendations. This report was created in order to determine what the main problems in Fastighetsägare i Järva's houses and surroundings, the evaluation was conducted in November 2011.

Evaluation of neighborhood safety by Fastighetsägare i Järva				
1.) Which agency is responsible for the contract/document?				
City Municipality	City District Municipality	Property Owners		Coalition of Agencies
		x		
2.) What problems does the contract/document aim to solve?				
Intervene in criminal acts	Prevent Crime	Improve business opportunities	Improve living conditions	Other
	x		x	
3.) Which agencies mentioned as actors involved in security networks in the contract/document?				
Police	Social Service, ex schools, youth centers etc.	Civil Society	City District Municipality	Private Security	Other
				x	x
4.) What measures are proposed to enhance the security				
Patrolling	Outreach Activities	Surveillance of "hot spots"	Reporting problems in urban environment ex broken streets lights etc.	Other
x		x	x	x

In the evaluation a systematic analysis of the crimes conducted in Fastighetsägare i Järvas properties was conducted in order to find out what kind of crime that were overrepresented in the properties, and to find patterns in the crimes conducted. Were burglaries conducted in houses that were not locked 24 hours a day? Did houses with security doors have lower percentage of burglaries? And so on. The evaluation used the broken window theory to make a connection between disturbance in urban environment and crime (Kelling and Coles, 1997). Disorder in Fastighetsägare i Järvas properties could lead to more anti-social behavior and crime. This evaluation somewhat differs from the other documents analyzed because it focus more on the situational crime opportunities, factors in the urban environment that might promote opportunistic criminal behavior. In the other documents the focus has rather been on social prevention. The measures that are proposed in the evaluation are to increase the patrolling of properties and especially criminogenic environments (Environments tending to produce crime or criminals) like basements. In the evaluation installment of security doors and refurbishment of surroundings and houses are also proposed in line with the broken window theory (Kelling and Coles, 1997).

Looking at the documents the primary statement about the design of the security network in Rinkeby/Kista is: The network consists of a mix of traditional security measures like surveillance of hotspots and patrolling, the contract emphasizes cooperation, outreach and to gather the forces of good. These measures relate to governance and can be considered as social measures rather then security measures. On the other hand the evaluation points in a different direction where the emphasis is on situational measures like security doors, new locks on the doors and similar measures. This way of thinking directs from the broken window theory, which is less concerned with governance questions and social measures. The role of private security in the design is expanded from traditional activities like patrolling and surveillance of hot spots to outreach activities.

7.2 Interview Analysis Rinkeby-Kista (Stockholm)

In Rinkeby-Kista (Stockholm) a total of 3 participants were interviewed, one representative from the district municipality (CDM.2), one from the police (PO.2) and one from a private security company (PSC.2). Unfortunately the representative from the youth center did not want to participate in the study, due to unknown reasons. In order to establish an overview of the different perspectives on the security network and the role of private security, each interview is analyzed individually in a matrix (See Appendix) and at the end of the section a revision of previous statement from document analysis is conducted. It is also important to notice that an initial coding has been conducted as a part of the interview analysis. The analysis in divided in to two sections first the description of the security network and after the role of private security companies in the local security network.

7.2.1 Local Security Network Design/Description

1. Who make the rules? Who decided the to use private security/design of the security network? How and why?

Why the local security was designed the way it currently is and the advantages with the current design differs according to the participants differs. CDM.2 argues that the main advantages are that it creates good meeting places within the community and that it provides youth and young adults with activities and possibilities. The other participant sees other

advantages that it is a good mix between public-private, good opportunity to work long-term and to build relationship (PSC.2). PO.2 considers the main advantages to be that it is based on a comprehensive analysis and have good features of improving the physical environment. It is evident that the different actors see different advantages in the design due their own interest in the design. For the district municipality it is important to get as many residents as possible in to labor market and schools in order for the area to progress. PSC.2 considers the advantages from a different perspective with a mix of economic interest and the possibility the prove that their capable of providing this service in a adequate way: *"I see a very big future within these kind of services and that we have a great possibility to grow big and even export this model we work with to other countries with similar problems"* PSC.2.

The disadvantages with the current design are that the police presence is too low due to other priorities and that it is hand hard to see the results and to find a mix between long-term and short term (CDM.2). To measures results is one of the disadvantages that two of the participants (CDM.2 & PSC.2) points out. CDM.2 says that there is a pressure on them to deliver results but it is hard to measure and that the absence of full-scale riots is a sign that the situation is improving[6]. PSC.2 finds the same problem but in there case it about being able to show results to their clients a before and after situation. The private security company has been working together with an insurance company to calculate Utanförskapets Pris (the price of alienation) and how their work can lower that cost. The private security company and the city district municipality have a common interest in being able to measure the results, but for entirely different reasons. This can be analyzed through the *political economy of private security*. The district municipality have political incentive that the results can be measured, it will enable them to stay in power if they can show improvement (White, 2012). The private security company on the other hand has an economic incentive for the results to be measurable: they have to show their clients that they are worth the investment. The security network therefor consists of a mix economic and political interest and this is one of the key factors behind the creation of local security networks.

PSC.2 criticized the procurement process in general and that they are often to focused on a single problem and lack a good understanding of the situation and a long-term solution. It is

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[6] This interview was conducted before the riots in Rinkeby-Kista (Husby) May 2013.

essential for the private security company that the procurement process is precise and grasps how to use private security companies in the most efficient way. PO.2 as noted above lifted the problem with too strong emphasis on soft values and social intervention rather the situational (physical) environment.

2. What is the focus of governance? What problems to the solution want to solve? What are they based on?

The main problems that local security network work with are the lack of respect for authorities and adults but also problems that are connected to socio-economic situation like segregation, social problems, lack of trust in society, youth crime, burglary and drugs. The focus groups are young adults (CDM.2) and youth (CDM.2, PSC.2, and PO.2) in order to break the chain of crime

3. Who implements/executes governance? What is the relation between the different agencies and what are there responsibilities?

The design of the security network in Rinkeby-Kista is a good example of a *local security network* where both private and public actors cooperate in order to deal with security issues but also in strive for efficiency by using non-traditional actors (Dupont, 2004). The private security company have done an analysis of the situation and realized that possibility to export their model on an international level. This can be understood as what Abrahamsen & Williams (2011) calls *global security assemblages.* Gobal security firms influence the assemblages, being simultaneously involved in public and private, as well as global and local contexts to promote their own interest. Even if the private security company is not active on a global level at this time it is clear that the goal of their involvement on the local level is to reach the global level. The design of the security network in Rinkeby-Kista is a good example of a *local security network* where both private and public actors cooperate in order to deal with security issues but also in strive for efficiency by using non-traditional actors (Dupont, 2004). The private security company have done an analysis of the situation and realized that possibility to export their model on an international level. This can be understood as what Abrahamsen & Williams (2011) calls *global security assemblages.* Global security firms

influence the assemblages, being simultaneously involved in public and private, as well as global and local contexts to promote their own interest. Even if the private security company is not active on a global level at this time it is clear that the goal of their involvement on the local level is to reach the global level

In Rinkeby-Kista "traditional" services are delivered by a mix of actors from housing companies, private property owners, private security companies, police and city district municipalities (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003). This makes the security network a good example of a *local security network* (Dupont, 2004).

4. Modes of governance, How is the implementation achieved? and **5. Process of governance,** Coercion or negotiation?

In the description of local security network in Rinkeby-Kista the focus is to gather the forces of good and to work in preventive way with long-term focus, all the participants emphasizes these factors as keys to success. To build relationships and create trust among citizens, different agencies and civil society groups are also put forward as one the cornerstones in the security network. PO.2 also stress an additional factor for success, to improve the physical security and decrease the opportunities to conduct criminal acts foremost burglaries. This is line with the findings from the document analysis where the physical factors were highlighted with inspiration from the broken-window theory (Kelling and Coles, 1997). PO.2 also points out that the preventive measures and social interventions sometimes are given to much attention and that improving the physical factors can be far more efficient;

"Like so often the focus is on social questions, the situational is always forgotten, I'm one of those who had to fight for the situational. It becomes foul in the bosses eyes to work situational, that hard methods, we are supposed to work with soft methods. We are supposed to motivate people but look at the history it never work and it will never work. I'm not saying that were not going to work with that, but we have look at the strictly situational as well"

PO.2.

This stands in contrast to all of the other participants who almost exclusively focused on the preventive and social interventions. According to PO.2 and CDM.2 Rinkeby-Kista has the highest rate of burglaries in Sweden and therefor it can be natural to focus on the situational

as well. The private security company plays a central part in the local security network in Rinkeby-Kista and preforms both traditional activities like patrolling and surveillance of hot spots as well as outreach activities.

To deal with the problems the attention is directed to social interventions like social taskforces working with outreach activities in the community, schools and youth centers (CDM.2), and establishing contact with different agencies and civil society groups. The private security company also works with safety hosts in the community who are mainly working on establishing relationships. All of these measures can be considered as a part of the "new" security paradigm (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003). In the security network there are also some measures that relate to the "traditional" security paradigm for example camera surveillance in youth centers (CDM.2) and patrolling (PSC.2).

To summarize and revise the previous statement: the design of local security network in Rinkeby-Kista is dominated by preventive measures (physical and social), like installing security doors and outreach activities. The current design was created by mix of actors form the public and private sector, both private and public actors preform outreach activities. The main problems that the security network aims to solve or burglaries, youth crime, enhance the respect and trust for authorities and society and social problems. The focus groups are youth and young adults. The relationship between the private security company and the social service is the main problem even if the police also have some problems to cooperate with the private security company. The responsibilities are divided between a mix of actors from the private and public sector. The tools to implemented the design are mostly proactive measures in order go in contact with youth-at-risk and establish relationship all in line with "new" security paradigm that is dominating the design.

7.2.2 The Role Of Private Security

1. Who make the rules? Who decided the to use private security/design of the security network? How and why?

Another interesting advantage put forward by PSC.2 is that they are not dependent on political will and can therefor work with long-term perspective in a different way. The

security company aims to find contract that consist of mix of public and private to make the contracts last longer (PSC.2): *"... There is no obstacle for buying these services on a long-term basis and it's also possible to procure a function, where you look at functions and that is the thing that is being price-fixed rather then capacity and those kind of things"* PSC.2. To have a mix of private and public also brings together two kinds of interests, the private property owners have an interest in that the area becomes safer and more attractive to live in this will increase the possibility to get higher rents and possible even transform the houses in to condominiums (PSC.2). The city district municipality and police have other interest they need the crime-rates to go down, employment to go up and youth to stay in school in order to break the chain of new-recruitment to crime. In order to please their superiors who have a political pressure on them to deliver results. In order to create local security networks where private security companies can work within the two key ingredients seems to be political and economic interest, the political economy of private security (White, 2012). The private security company who is active seems to find that most suitable combination of these two key ingredients are when public and private come together

2. Who implements/executes governance? What is the relation between the different agencies and what are there responsibilities?

It is surprising that CDM.2 informs that they almost have no cooperation with the private security company and that PSC.2 also points out that the social service are very reluctant to cooperate with them: *"I would say that in general we have never cooperated to any extent with social services in any project that we have managed within this area. They want to stay on their own authority exercising side… They work very isolated and by themselves"* PSC.2 This becomes problematic if the private security company manage to reach youth-at-risk then they need to be able to have a good cooperation in order to get in them into programs for employment or education. There is a possible conflict built in the *"local security network"* some agencies are used to work in more closed networks like *"institutional networks"* often only involving a certain number of government agencies and that are not as open to other actors (Dupont, 2004). This is combination with the fact the there in general is a quite negative view of the private security companies can possibly explain the situation (Nalla & Lim 2003; Nalla & Heraux 2003).

However, not all the participants from central agencies have a negative view of the private security companies, PO.2 argues that private security companies could be the only possible solution due to the fact the police have to many other prioritize and interest:

"I was in America and got to look at New Heaven and meet a professor who used to be a police and a architect, and now was working on regaining control in areas. He said that when we are going to take back control over an area, we can't use the police because if they get call and they have to take that call. Are we going to take back an area we have to have people present there 24 hours a day, therefor we employ what he calls "semi-cops", security guards with some right to exercise policing powers and with close cooperation with the police" PO.2

This is one the advantages that PSC.2 stress as well, that they can be present 24 hours a day and that the social services for example only work office hours. Examples of this have also been seen in Scotland and research shows that residents in skid-row communities have greater trust for non-police actors, a possibility for private security to play a greater role (Huey, 2008), a feature that have been stressed by PSC.2 as well. PO.2 also adds that there have been some problems for the private security company to cooperate with the police officers, possible due to the fact that they are used to work in *"institutional networks"* that are not as open to other actors (Dupont, 2004). A previous study in Finland and Sweden have made similar findings, that countries like Sweden and Finland that have had a strong centralized police force might have troubles to implement local security network solutions due because they are not used to cooperate with other agencies (Virta, 2002).

3. Modes of governance, How is the implementation achieved? and **5. Process of governance,** Coercion or negotiation?

In the security network in Rinkeby-Kista the private security company participating in the thesis have a quite extensive role as described in document analysis. They are involved in both traditional activities like patrolling, surveillance of "hot-spots" and outreach activities. The outreach activities are connected to role as neighborhood safety hosts where employees

from the private security company are present in the area during both day and night (PSC.2). With their presence in the area they are trying to establish relations with residents' mostly youth who are at risk for engaging in criminal behavior. They also visit schools and youth centers (PSC.2). This service has traditionally been preformed by central agencies like the city or the social service, but is now preformed by a private security company

PSC.2 also mentions their opportunity to employ people from the area and to have a working group with the composition as the community that they are working within. To employ residents from the community has a great value and sends a positive signal in an area where unemployment and the socio-economic situation are some of the biggest problems. According to PSC.2 the central authorities are not as flexible as private security companies and private companies have possibility to employ local residents easier, this also increase the opportunity for them to be successful in their outreach activities. From a theoretical perspective this is one of the major advantages with *"local security networks"* that incorporating non-traditional actors can increase the efficiency (Huey, 2008).

To summarize and revise the previous statement on the role of private security companies: in the security network in Rinkeby-Kista, the private security company are active in both traditional activities like patrolling and outreach activities. The main reason for private security company major role in the local security network is that it consists of a mix of traditional and non-traditional actors in the design stage. The responsibilities are also divided between private and public actors, and both the social service and private security company preforms outreach activities. This makes the network a good example of a *"local security network"*. Even if the design can be classified as a *"local security network"* the cooperation between different agencies are still problematic and the district municipality and social services have almost no cooperation with the private security company even though they preform outreach activities, the police force also have problems to cooperate with private security company due to mistrust or lack of previous experience to cooperate. The key ingredients in the creation of *local security network* seem to be a mix between economic and political interests.

8. Conclusions

The results from Angered (Gothenburg) and Stockholm (Rinkeby-Kista) shows that local security networks still are a phenomenon under construction and development, the design and roles of different actors therefor varies to great extent. The main actors in the local security networks, seems public and private housing companies, private property owners, youth centers, police, social services and city district municipalities. When describing what kind of civil society groups the general term "gather the forces of good" is often used. What role private security companies plays in the security networks seems to be based on what collations that cooperated in the creation (design) of the security network. To have a mix of public and private actors seems to influence to what extent the private security companies are going to be used. The contract in Gothenburg where private companies are given outreach task have not been activated and PSC.2 says that the main differences between Gothenburg and Stockholm is that housing companies in Gothenburg are under control of the city whereas in Stockholm (Rinkeby-Kista) there is mix of private and public owners.

Even though the design varies a lot from Angered to Rinkeby-Kista it is possible to find some similarities proactive measures are favored before reactive measures even if there still are some reactive measures. The majority of measures used in security networks are focused on establishing cooperation's and relations between agencies and civil society or agencies and residents in order to improve trust and respect for authorities and to get in contact with youth at risk. This strongly relates to what is called the 'new' or 'alternative' paradigm where more actors are involved in the delivery of security services and the focus is on proactive measure. The new paradigm is also pro community-based solution and it aims to empowers communities and involve more actors (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011; Johnston & Shearing, 2003). It both cases it is clear that the thought behind the design is based on a "new" security paradigm idea. Even if new security paradigm is dominating in both cases there are still presence of the "old" security paradigm where the focus is on reactive measures examples of this are evections and camera surveillance. The most obvious "old" security paradigm feature is the fact the district municipality and housing companies in Gothenburg can cooperate and evict persons who misbehave in the community (CDM.1). This a different way to solve the problem instead of trying to get in contact with these persons through outreach activities, the threat of eviction is used to deal with the problem. This is also in line with most severe

critique against the "new" security paradigm that even though the majority of features are in line with the "new" paradigm there still underlying features of "old" reactive measures so it only old wine in a new bottle (Johnston & Shearing, 2003).

Even if one of the main purposes behind the design is to establish good relations and cooperation's between agencies and different actors, in both cases the cooperation has been given a lot of critique. Especially the non-traditional actors like youth centers and private security seem to have troubles to cooperate and influence the design and execution of the local security networks. This is troublesome for different perspectives if the main idea behind the design is based on "new" security paradigm one of main features is to empower the community and involve non-traditional actors. If the actors from the youth centers (YC.1 and YC.2) and private security companies (PSC. 1 and PSC.2) feel like they have trouble to cooperate with central agencies and are being subjects of a top-down rather bottom-up process this is deficit for the design (Johnston & Shearing, 2003). If the aim is to have private security companies conducting outreach activities like in Rinkeby-Kista the cooperation between them have to improve in order for the network to be efficient.

In both cases the procurement process have also been criticized by PSC.1 and PSC.2 but also for the lack of design and long-term perspective by YC.1 and YC.2. The critique is two fold first the political will seems to be a key feature in how the design of the security network, depending on trends in the politics the design and aim might change (YC.1 and YC.2). This leads to lack of long-term plans and might increase the distrust of society due the varying presence of for example community policing, continuity and presence are held as keys by all participants in the study. The other critique is the procurement process among foremost cities and city district municipalities are too vague and sometimes unrealistic. It is unclear what the purpose of the contract is and if it aims to only solve one problem in the community for example burglaries or to enhance security in a long-term perspective. This kind of problem have been found in other studies as well and can be explained by the different views and knowledge on security (Virta, 2002).

The focus and problems that the local security networks aims to solve are similar in both Stockholm and Gothenburg, youth and young adults are the main focus in both security

networks. It's easier to influence youth then older people how are already have a criminal lifestyle or are involved in organized crime seems to be the general idea behind it and also the answer from all participants. The problems in the communities are foremost connected to socio-economic situation and the problems that comes with it youth crime, segregation, high unemployment, drugs, lack of trust and respect for society and authorities. Rinkeby-Kista is in one case exceptional because they have the highest burglary rates in Sweden (CDM.2 and PO.2). Due to this they have also worked more with proactive physical measures to decrease the opportunities to commit burglaries.

The main advantages with the use of private security are in most cases limited to simpler and more traditional tasks like patrolling, to have an extra pair of eyes on the ground. The majority of the respondents have a negative approach towards using private security in outreach activities or other proactive measures. It is only one of the respondents who do not work at private security company that considers private security companies as a preferable option to traditional actors like the police or social services (PO.2). This is because private security companies are more "loyal" are connected to a certain task and can be present 24 hours a day because they do not have other assignments that might be prioritized.

The main disadvantages are that they are not considered able to work with long-term perspective and not have the proper tools or education to preform outreach activities. Because they are private company, they are also considered to only have economic interest that stands in conflict with long-term governance perspective in local security networks.

To conclude the design local security network and the role of the private security companies seems to differ a lot from community to community, the design and the role relies a lot on actors involved and the know-how.

8.1 Policy Recommendations

In the design of the local security networks the aim and purpose has to become clearer, does the local security network aim to solve a specific problem or the enhance security on a long-term perspective. In this way the possibility to procure private security companies is adequate way increases. How the responsibilities are divided between different agencies and actors also

has to become clearer and if the private security companies are going to work with outreach activities, the social services and police must ensure that they cooperate on professional level otherwise the private security companies outreach work becomes inefficient and youth at risk can possible miss opportunities due to the lack of cooperation. The general term gather the forces of good also have to replaced by something that is more precise and in design and execution of the security network, systematic data gathering recommended in order to guarantee that the opinions reaches its destination. The final recommendation is to ensure that local security network is long-term and does not change due to political decisions each of the participants agreed on long-term presence of actors as key to improving the situation.

8.2 Recommendations for further research

For further research a comprehensive study of the residents opinions about the design of local security networks and the security situation in general is recommended. Too much research focus on the higher levels of the security networks but not enough is done to capture the opinions and ideas of the residents, especially in troubled communities. To solve security problems in urban areas are on of our major cotemporary concerns and comprehensive study that captures the voice of the residents would contribute immensely to the field.

9. Appendixes

9.1 Appendix I Interview Questions

Background information:

1. What is you position in your department/organisation/company?
2. How many years have you been working in that position? And how many years have you been working with local security networks?

Questions about how you are working with local security networks:

3. Can you explain what your role in the local security network is?
Policy, implementation, design, overview?

4.What is your relation to the other actors' that are involved and what are their responsibilities are?

3. How is the implementation of the local security network achieved? And what tools do you use to implement it?

Work proactive or reactive? Focus on prevention or reactive? Or a mix?

Questions relating to the design of local security network

6. How would you describe the design of the local security network? And which actors are the main actors in security network? And who decided on the current design?

Consultation, participated in meeting? Police, city, city district municipality, recommendation for central agency?

7. What kind of problems does the security network aim to address?

Crime, enhanced business opportunities, enhanced quality of life?

8. Do you feel that the current design of the security network can deal with the challenges in the communities? What can be done to enhance the security network?

Why/why not

Questions relating to private security

9. What is the role of the private security companies in the security network? How would you describe the role of private security companies?

Patrolling, manned guarding, outreach activities

10. Privatisation of traditional state functions like healthcare, education and security has been heavily debated in Sweden, why do you think that private security companies are used? What

are the pros and cons? Are there boundaries for how much private security companies can be used?

Fiscal constraints, local knowledge, increased efficiency,

Final comments

11. Do you want to add something that we have not discussed?

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