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## Abstract

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This study explores the private security industry in the Philippines through the private policing of mass private property (quasi-public space) in Makati. The study has also sought to ascertain which possible consequences the policing of mass private property has had on surrounding public space. Private policing of quasi-public space takes on a global character through its manifestation in malls, gated communities, office complexes, recreational parks, and country clubs. As a result, its commonality elicits further research on the matter. How did this trend emerge? Who does the policing? And what is private security's relationship with private property?

By first deconstructing what policing really means, this paper identifies, discusses, and investigates the role of each component constitutive and influential on policing activity. The paper then analyzes this sequential information from a private security perspective. The purpose for isolating the various components is to ensure transferability of established theory on the matter of private policing to a Filipino context. A descriptive chapter on relevant topics in Makati such as demographics, land use, crime, and the private security industry form the contextual backdrop. The case study on private policing activity in Forbes Park is then analyzed within the theoretical framework and contextual backdrop of Metro Manila.

## **Acknowledgements**

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**I also want to extend my gratitude to my parents and wife.**

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## Acronyms

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ADB	-	Asian Development Bank
AGC	-	Affordable Gated Community
BSI	-	British Standards Institution
CCTV	-	Closed Circuit Television
DOLE	-	Department of Labor and Employment
DVA	-	Dasmarinas Village Association
EDSA	-	Epifanio de los Santos Avenue
FPA	-	Forbes Park Association
GC	-	Gated Community
HGC	-	High-End Gated Community
HOA	-	Homeowners Association
IR	-	International Relations
LESP	-	License to Exercise Security Profession
LTO	-	License to Operate
MGC	-	Moderate Gated Community
MIVA	-	Makati Inter Village Association
MMDA	-	Metropolitan Manila Development Authority
NCR	-	National Capital Region
NICs	-	Newly Industrialized Countries
PMC	-	Private Military Company
PNP	-	Philippine National Police

PSC – Private Security Company

SOSIA- Supervisory Office for Security and Investigation Agencies

UK - United Kingdom

US - United States

## INTRODUCTION

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Saskia Sassen points to the 'Global City' as a nexus for new Politico-Economic alignments<sup>1 2</sup>. She argues that the city has emerged as a site where globalization has brought together finance, security, social, cultural and spatial governance issues. In summary, urban areas - especially mega cities - are emerging as de-nationalized global centers where a growing number of international firms, as well as national actors are exerting pressures on matters of governance, infrastructure and public order inside the city<sup>3</sup>.

The pressures exerted by those actors in the 'global city' have become constitutive for the way urban areas develop in what she calls 'global mega cities'. In these metropolises the massive upgrading and expansion of central urban areas surrounding global financial hubs have caused large portions of other areas in the city to fall into deeper infrastructural decay and poverty<sup>4</sup>. Her sentiment has been echoed by numerous authors working on the topic in a Filipino setting<sup>5</sup>. A similar scenario has also been portrayed in Los Angeles by author Mike Davis in *City of Quartz*<sup>6</sup>. Taking Sassen's argument concerning the economic and infrastructural state of 'other' areas inside the 'global city' at face value; I believe there can be added a security dimension to this problematization.

For while Sassen's work is arguably rooted in fields of international political economy, urban development, and Globalization; her concerns nevertheless raise some interesting questions that intersect with areas of criminology, security, and matters of crime and social control. In particular, her concerns regarding the changing nature of public space in urban areas is one subject in relation to private security that has enjoyed quite some debate in the field of

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<sup>1</sup> Sassen, Saskia. "The Global City: Strategic Site/New Frontier". *American Studies* 41:2/3. (2000) : 88.

<sup>2</sup> Similar opinions have been voiced on the global mega city, but in the contextual framework of 'Edge cities' where these take on characteristics of "technopoles" and "technoburbs" by Joel Garreau, *Edge City*. Double Day, 1991; A prominent example can be seen in the formation of Silicon Valley in San Jose, California.

<sup>3</sup> Sassen, Saskia. "The Global City: Strategic Site/New Frontier". *American Studies* 41:2/3. (2000) : 87-90

<sup>4</sup> Sassen, Saskia. "Locating Cities on Global Circuits". *Environment and Urbanization* 14:13 (2002): 14

<sup>5</sup> Ballesteros, M. "Linking Poverty and the Environment: Evidence from Slums in the Philippine Cities". *Philippine institute for Development Studies. Discussion paper series no. 2010-33*. (2010); Steinberg, F. "Philippines: Strategic Private Sector Partnerships for Urban Poverty Reduction in Metro Manila". *Inclusive Cities*. (Asian Development Bank, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles*. (London: Vintage, 1992), 244.

criminology and urban development<sup>7</sup>. A debate which has involved the public-private dynamic and diffusion of these sectoral boundaries<sup>8</sup>.

However, the discussion of security and public space is as many authors have previously pointed out, more than a simple public-private dichotomy. The subject matter is a complex problem with a whole range of issues, topics, and sub-fields that include anything and everything from Private Military Company (PMC)/Private Security Company (PSC) regulation to discussions surrounding whether or not security ought to be a public good<sup>9</sup>. I, however, believe that the most defining phenomena of our era in terms of private security and public space in urban areas is exemplified through the private policing of publicly accessible mass private property. A scenario which plays out in nearly every mall across the globe and in a variety of other areas and settings. It is this phenomenon that I shall further investigate throughout the thesis.

## **1.1 RESEARCH GAP AND SCOPE**

The research gap relevant to this study was identified through a combination of several factors. First, the issue of private policing of mass private property is one that is written about extensively, but it has nevertheless been done in a western setting and case-studies have mostly originated in the US and UK as the literature review and theory will show. Second, there is an information gap on what effects the abovementioned activity has had on public space surrounding areas of mass private property. This gap was illuminated by Sassen's work on the deterioration of public space in urban areas in conjuncture with existing literature of the private policing of mass private property phenomenon. Lastly, little to nothing has been written about the private policing of mass private property in the Philippines, and this provides the essential uniqueness of the study.

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<sup>7</sup> Caldeira, T. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. (Berkeley: University of California, 2000); ; Angotti, T. "A Metropolis of Enclaves; Image and Reality in Urban North America". Transcript from a reading at the Third University of Rome. (Rome, 1997); Connell, J. "Beyond Manila: Walls, Malls and Private Spaces". *Environment and Planning A* 31:3 (1999); Warner, M. *Public and Private in Publics and counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002); Jones, T. and T. Newburn, *Private Security and Public Policing*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998; Wakefield, Alison. *Selling Security: The Private Policing of Public Space*. Cullompton, Devon, UK: Willan, 2003. Print.

<sup>8</sup> Brogden, M. & Shearing, C. *Policing for a New South Africa*. (London: Routledge, 1993)

<sup>9</sup> Singer, P.W. "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security". *International Security* 26:3 (2002); Warner, M. *Public and Private in Publics and counterpublics*. (New York: Zone Books, 2002): 21-63.; Owens, P. "Distinctions, Distinctions: public and private force?" *International Affairs* 84:5 (2008); Weintraub, J & Kumar, K. *Public and Private in Thought and Practice*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

## **1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY**

The private policing of publicly accessible mass private property is of significance because it is such a pervasive and global phenomenon. Not only through the presence of malls, but also through gated villages, office complexes, country clubs, amusement parks, and so on. Taking into consideration the proliferation such areas throughout National Capital Region (NCR), information regarding these areas are hopefully useful additions to research gap on mass private property in the Philippines<sup>10</sup>. Additionally, the method of using private security as a unit of analysis provides a different insight into the constitutive areas of urban development than those traditionally used.

## **1.3 OBJECTIVE OF STUDY**

The objective of this study is to explore the private security industry through the private policing of quasi-public space in Makati. If possible through the information acquired, I want to explore what consequences the private policing of mass private property (quasi-public space) has had on public space surrounding these areas. This will be accomplished by achieving the following goals:

Examining and reviewing literature on crime, social control, risk, policing, and space in order to understand not only the development, but also the growth and increasing demand for privately policed quasi-public spaces.

Identifying who the clients (consumers) of private security services, and private policing are. Moreover, I want to examine their location, purpose for hiring, and experience with private security.

Identifying who the private security companies (providers) are. What their services are, entry level thresholds for the sector, organizational structure, training, working conditions and so on.

Exploring possible effects and consequences of private policing of public space and role of private security in high population density areas.

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<sup>10</sup> NCR stands for the National Capital Region, the area that makes up Metro-Manila, Philippines.

## **1.4 DELIMITATIONS**

This study does not examine the justice end of policing and control. It does not examine other forms of private security services outside of the private policing of public space in urban areas. Nor does it examine the jurisprudence and government policies towards and for private policing of public space in detail.

## **1.5 STRUCTURE OF THESIS**

This thesis consists of six primary chapters.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the topic in addition to introducing the significance and objective of the study. It also outlines the limitations of the study, before providing a roadmap of the structure and content of the thesis.

Chapter 2 is a literature review. It examines the existing literature, topics, areas, and consequently the lack thereof. This is the foundation upon which the Significance and Objective of Study are built.

Chapter 3 is the methodology and methods section of the thesis. The first part outlines the general flow of the research before it proceeds to describe the area of study. The section then continues on the research design and choice of methods, before it finishes with information on the approach to data collection.

Chapter 4 is the first part of the thesis main body. It contains the theoretical framework of the thesis. It discusses the central tenets of private security and mass private property theory such as space, control, crime, risk, and policing. This framework provides the information and analytical foundation upon which the case study is later based.

Chapter 5 is the second part of the thesis main body. It contains a brief on Makati City in which provides a situational backdrop of which the case study is placed against. This section takes a brief and factual look at the demographics, regulation and use of land, crime rates, private security, gated villages and malls in Makati City. The brief on Makati is then followed by a case study on Forbes Park – a high end gated community in Makati.

Chapter 6 is the final and concluding chapter. It presents the principal findings of the study alongside a brief analysis and evaluation of these. It also looks at avenues for further research on the subject matter.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

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*Looking at Private Security in Urban Areas: A reason for examining the Private Policing of Mass Private Property in Makati, Philippines.*

### **Topic: Why urban areas?**

Besides the practical consideration of confining the topic to a spatially recognizable and comprehensible area, there are a multitude of factors which justify that mega cities warrant further research in the area of urban development and security.

Demographics. The world's population is increasingly becoming an urban one. For the first time ever, over half of the world's population now resides in urban areas<sup>11</sup>. In 2008, 3.3 billion of the world human population lived in urban areas. The Asian Development BANK (ADB) and United Nations Population Fund project that by 2030 this figure will be somewhere around 5.5 billion<sup>12</sup>. Such a large and shift in demographics is bound to be, if not constitutive, then highly influential on the direction of urban development. In literature on urban development, inequality has been a central factor of analysis. A factor that has inextricably been tied to matters of economics, social issues and citizenship<sup>13</sup>. There is however, a growing awareness of examining the security dimension attached to inequality in urban development<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Abrahamsen, R. & Williams, M. *Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics*. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010): 172.

<sup>12</sup> UNFPA. *State of the World Population 2007: Unleashing the Potential of Urban Growth*. (UNFPA, 2007); Issues, Challenges, and ADB's Approach. Asian Development Bank, n.d. Web. <<http://www.adb.org/themes/urban-development/issues>>.

<sup>13</sup> Sassen, S. *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006): Ch. 8 & 9; Dick, H.W. & Rimmer, P.J. "Beyond the Third World City: The New Urban Geography of South-east Asia." *Urban Studies* 35.12 (1998): 2303-2321; King, A.D. *Urbanism, colonialism, and the world-economy: Cultural and spatial foundations of the world urban system*. (London: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>14</sup> Caldeira, T. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. (Berkeley: University of California, 2000); Connell, J. "Beyond Manila: Walls, Malls and Private Spaces". *Environment and Planning A* 31:3 (1999): 417-39; South, N. *Policing for Profit: The private Security Sector*. (London: Sage Publications, 1988): 159.



City of Walls. A recognizable feature in the urban landscape of global mega cities is that 'fortified enclaves'<sup>15</sup>. As a response to challenges concerning physical space and proximity of social classes inside the city, we see the formation of enclaves where districts are segregated on the basis of race, class, and social status according to Angotti<sup>16</sup>. Patricia Caldeira has voiced similar concerns regarding the spatial segmentation of Sao Paolo, but it is not unique to Brazil nor confined to the city of Sao Paolo<sup>17</sup>. Rita Abrahamsen and Michael Williams argue that similar trends are taking place in Nairobi and Cape Town<sup>18</sup>. John Connell argues the same case for the Metropolitan area of Manila<sup>19</sup>.

Dick & Rimmer provide an extensive account for why such formations occur, as urban population concentrates further and demands on physical space increase. They attribute the erection of walled compounds to the post-independence climate in south-east Asia where the streets were seen as a source of danger<sup>20</sup>. The segregated and walled community became a way for the social elite and upper middle class to control their environment by avoiding uncertainties in casual social interaction with the poor<sup>21</sup>. While the original intent may have been security through physical segregation in itself, the practical implications of these developments opened the door for a whole industry.

### **Focus: Why security?**

Abrahamsen et al. posit an interesting claim when they note that security:

“while frequently seen as the last secure bastion of sovereignty in a rapidly globalizing world, the state’s much-vaunted monopoly of legitimate force is increasingly enmeshed in networks and relations that cannot be contained within boundaries of the national state”<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Caldeira, T. “Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation”. in Ed. Setha, M. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999): 231-282; Angotti, T. “A Metropolis of Enclaves; Image and Reality in Urban North America”. Transcript from a reading at the Third University of Rome. (Rome, 1997); Connell, J. (1999).

<sup>16</sup> Angotti, T. (1997). P.2.; Jonhston, L. “Policing Diversity: the impact of the public-private complex in policing”. In Leishman, F., Loveday, B. & Savage, S. (eds.) *Core issues in policing*. (Harlow: Longman, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Caldeira, T. (2000): 213-215.

<sup>18</sup> Abrahamsen et al. (2010): 175-216

<sup>19</sup> Connell, J. (1999).

<sup>20</sup> Dick & Rimmer (1998): 11.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. (1998): 15.

<sup>22</sup> Abrahamsen et al. (2010): 217.

In other words, security is increasingly becoming private in nature. Elke Krahmman has referred to this development as a transition from government towards governance in the realm of security<sup>23</sup>. But does this development entail an erosion of state power<sup>24</sup>? Or a comprehensive reconfiguration and urban planning process as Stephen Graham argues<sup>25</sup>?

Linda Weiss believes it is something else, as she claims that states are highly adaptable, and for that reason state function and power is not eroding, but changing in character to accommodate changes brought about by globalization<sup>26</sup>. Weiss further argues that states capacity for change, is dependent on whether states are first or second generation Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). As such, she argues that countries like Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, and thus their governing capabilities are more vulnerable to external pressures than their northern counterparts<sup>27</sup>.

In light of Weiss' arguments, extensive and intensive privatization of security does not automatically equate to state weakness. But it does however, warrant an investigation into the process and incentives of such efforts in second generation NICs like the Philippines. In such an inquiry, it would be logical to question the privatization of security's adherence with public opinion and public interest. After all, security has history of belonging to the domain of the state and the character of a public good, as Abrahamsen et al note<sup>28</sup>.

### **Sector: Why private security?**

Taking private security seriously, involves examining it in detail and in specific locations<sup>29</sup>. According to Barnett & Duvall:

“productive power makes some instances of compulsory power possible and legitimate, and, in turn,...compulsory power shapes the terms of meaning that influence how actors see what is possible and desirable”<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Krahmman, Elke. “Conceptualizing Security Governance”. *Cooperation and Conflict* 38: 5. (2003): 5-26.

<sup>24</sup> Crook, S., Pakulski, L. & Walters, M. *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Societies*. (London: Sage, 1993)

<sup>25</sup> Graham, S. “Constructing premium network spaces: reflections on infrastructure networks and contemporary urban development”. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 24 (1). (2000): 183-200.

<sup>26</sup> Weiss, L. “Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State”. *New Left Review* 1.225 (1997): 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. (1997): 5.

<sup>28</sup> Abrahamsen et al. (2010): 173.

<sup>29</sup> Abrahamsen et al. (2010): 221.

The term 'power' is applied broadly in this sense, and not the major focal point of this thesis. What I want to extract from their argument here is what Abrahamsen et al. have identified as private security's intimate ties to governance where:

"...their symbolic power arises in large part from their embeddedness in broader legitimated structures, norms, and discourses such as free trade and property rights, as well as their cooperation with public actors and security forces"<sup>31</sup>.

A central feature of this cooperation has been the ability of actors involved to pursue their respective interests as unimpaired as possible<sup>32</sup>. In the field of criminology, this structuring of the security realm has been labeled nodal security governance. Within this school of thought, the state is, despite of its regulatory importance and recognized legitimacy in security issues, seen as only one of many security actors<sup>33</sup>.

### **Concern: Why the private policing of public space?**

One particular point of interest in nodal security governance has revolved around the private policing of public space<sup>34</sup>.

Pinpointing policing. In this literature, there has been much debate concerning what *policing really is*. Johnston, fittingly enough, emphasizes that the term 'police' is derived from the Greek word 'polis', and that prior to the 1900s the term police entailed the governance of a

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<sup>30</sup> Barnett & Duvall "Power in international politics". *International Organization*. 59:1 39-75. (2005): 44. as quoted in Abrahamsen et al. (2010).

<sup>31</sup> Abrahamsen et al. (2010): 222.

<sup>32</sup> Krahmman, E. *New Threats and New Actors in International Security*. (Basingstroke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005): 13

<sup>33</sup> Johnston, L. *The Rebirth of Private Policing*. (London: Routledge, 1992); *Policing Britain: Risk, Security, and Governance*. (Harlow: Longman, 2000); Shearing, C. & Wood, J. "Nodal Governance, Democracy, and the New 'Denizens'". *Journal of Law and Society* 30:3 (2003): 400-419; Shearing, C. & Stenning, P. "Modern private Security: its growth and implications". *Crime & Justice: An Annual Review of Research*. 3. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).

<sup>34</sup> Wakefield, A. *Selling Security: The Private Policing of Public Space*. (Cullompton, UK: Willan, 2003); Jones, T & Newburn, T. *Private Security and Public Policing*. (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1998); Shearing, C.D. "The Relation between public and private policing". In Tonry, M. & Morris, N. (eds). *Modern Policing, Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 15 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992); Shearing, C.D & Farnell, M & Stenning, P.C. *Contract Security in Ontario, Toronto*. (Centre of Criminology: University of Toronto, 1980); Shearing, C.D & Stenning, P.C. eds. "Say 'Cheese!': The Disney order that is not so Mickey Mouse". *Private Policing*. (California: Sage, 1987).

society or city<sup>35</sup>. Jones & Newburn are more specific in their categorization of policing when they refer to the Scottish Police Act of 1956 that specifies the duties of the police officer:

“as to guard, patrol and watch so as – (1) to prevent the commission of offences against the law; (2) to preserve order, and; (3) to protect life and property”<sup>36</sup>.

We need only juxtapose the description of police work by Jones et al. with the working definition of private contract security in order to appreciate the common *modus operandi* between the public and the private<sup>3738</sup>.

Private policing, public space. As the definitions of policing and contract security illustrate, their inherent similarity is one reason why the borders of private and public security sector are so diffuse, and why emerging security formations and consequences are hard to identify. One such emerging area is the private policing of public space. More specifically, inquiry is centered around the private policing of *quasi-public space*<sup>39</sup>.

One problem with quasi-public space; is that while highly accessible to the public, it is still private property. Quasi-public space seemingly also retains a lot of the characteristics and qualities of traditional public space, but as private property, it carries with it a whole other set of legal implications. Three areas which exemplify these traits better than any are: (1) the *home* in gated communities/villages; (2) *the office*; (3) and the *recreational space* in the form of malls, country clubs and shopping complexes<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> Jonhston, L. (1992).

<sup>36</sup> Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (1998): 8.

It is important to note that Jones and Newburn also reminds the reader of the fact that there were other duties involved in the specification of police work, but these three were seen as primary objectives.

<sup>37</sup> As Nigel South (1998) writes, contract security covers a wide range of services and functions closely related to the protection of property and people. Most common and frequently used services include static guards, mobile patrols, surveillance (CCTV), and transportation of cash.

<sup>38</sup> “Contract Security” has also been called the “protection of ‘life and assets’ ” by Abrahamansen, R. & Williams, M. “Securing the City: Private security companies and non-state authority in global governance”. in Colas, A & Mabee, B. (eds.) *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*. (UK: Hurst & Co. Ltd., 2010): 221.

<sup>39</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003). In *Selling Security* calls private policing of mass private property with seemingly public features for Quasi-public space.

<sup>40</sup> Jones & Newburn (1998).

The phenomena of private policing and public space has in fact been studied in greater detail by a wide range of authors<sup>41</sup>. Unfortunately, their work, has largely concerned such activity in North America and United Kingdom. This however, has presented an opportunity to examine the causes and consequences of nodal security governance in a South-East Asian setting.

### **Location: Why Manila?**

While the bulk of literature on private policing of public space takes place in a western setting, some authors have demonstrated its transferability to other regions in the world. As Mentioned earlier, Abrahamsen et al. have discussed similar issues in Nairobi and Cape Town. Authors like Caldeira and Connell have also, though implicitly, addressed the security issue of urban development in global mega cities such as Sao Paolo and Metro Manila respectively<sup>42</sup>.

Connell, however, while discussing gated communities, has not addressed the dimension of security in urban development in detail. Nor has he explicitly discussed the issue of privately policed public space. Lastly, Connell's work while highly relevant and informative for urban development trends in -Manila, is rapidly becoming outdated being written in the late nineties. To my knowledge, the latest addition to literature concerning mass private property in Metro Manila has been the work on gated villages in the NCR by a Japanese PhD student named Kenneth Tanate in 2005, and Dr. Kristina Kuvaja in 2007. Tanate's work however, while thorough in its investigation of gated villages in terms of layout, structure, laws, living conditions, is still lacking from a private security perspective. The private security apparatus while mentioned, is done so in a small note mainly concerning static guards at the gates<sup>43</sup>. Kuvaja on the other hand explores how residents and members of gated communities and members of the national elite view themselves in relation to the greater city. It is a study which is concerns how the gated community members act as observers, and remain apathetic and distrustful towards the surrounding city, rather than fearing crime.

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<sup>41</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003); Print; Jones, T & Newburn, T. (1998); Button, M. *Private Policing*. (London: Willan, 2002); Shearing, C.D (1992); Shearing, C.D & Stenning, P.C (1987;1983;1981).

<sup>42</sup> Caldeira, T. (2000); Connell, J. (1999).

<sup>43</sup> Tanate, K. "Gated Communities in Metro Manila: An Empirical Analysis on Living Condition and Social Functions". (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tsukuba, 2005); Kuvaja, K. *Organization of Urban Space, Participation and Sustainable Development: The Case of Upper-Class Gated Communities in Metro-Manila*. (2007).

Given the information above, I want to examine private security in a Filipino context through the private policing of quasi-public space in Makati.

## METHODS & METHODOLOGY

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*Means to an end.*

### 3.1 GENERAL FLOW OF RESEARCH

The research began very broadly by reading and reviewing general literature on private security. What became clear from this process, was that private security in an international relations (IR) context is compartmentalized into different areas of study. Whereas those of PMCs, mercenaries, anti-piracy activity, and so forth were irrelevant to my study, there were other areas that were. Most notably, the phenomena of privately policed mass private property proved to be of particular relevance to private security in an urban areas.

In turn, this led to further exploration of literature traditionally belonging to fields of criminology, urban development, and international political economy. I was at the intersection of these three areas, through the work of Sassen, Shearing & Stenning, Abrahamsen & Williams, and Connell that the research gap was first identified. It was also topics belonging to these areas which now make up the theoretical framework. The eventual purpose of the study was to develop a topic that would make a useful contribution to literature on private security in the Philippines. The challenge remains in ensuring transferability of established theory rooted in an US and UK setting on the private policing of quasi-public space to the Filipino setting.

Due to the scarcity of data, exploratory research was conducted to gather enough information concerning mass private property in Makati, Philippines. This information was later used to direct more specific investigative research including telephone interviews and research concerning private security operations in the case study of Forbes Park Gated Community.

To add additional purpose and meaning to the study, I decided to also explore what possible impact private security through mass private property had on surrounding public space in Makati, Manila. This decision was prompted by Sassen's remarks on the deterioration of certain global mega city urban environments.

The final stage of the research was allocated to concluding remarks and identifying possible avenues for further research.

### **3.2 AREA OF STUDY**

Metro Manila became my chosen study area. Despite several other urban regions in the Philippines displaying similar characteristics in terms of mass private property and private security, Metro Manila was the logical choice. This was for two reasons; firstly, the research-gap was identified through literature on global mega cities; and secondly, Metro Manila has the greatest density of mass private property forms in the Philippines.

Due to this density, the area of study had to be narrowed down geographically, and so the city of Makati was chosen. It was chosen because it displays characteristics most similar to those of a global financial capital discussed by Sassen. Makati is not only home to the wealthiest families, most luxurious gated villages and malls, but also the Philippine financial district. Makati is loosely speaking the Manhattan of Metro Manila.

In Makati itself, a specific case study was chosen; Forbes Park, the most luxurious gated village in the Philippines. A gated community (GC) was chosen because key literature on private policing of quasi-public space had examined it in the form of malls<sup>44</sup>. This should provide a more comprehensive overview by contrasting the varying degree of “openness” of the two forms whereas the Mall is more readily accessible, and the gated community more restricted.

### **3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN**

The research approach taken in this study has been one done in increments. There was employed an exploratory design in establishing the theoretical framework for private security in urban areas. Once the key unit of analysis was identified in the form of private policing of quasi-public space, it was examined and broken down into central and constitutive components. These were in turn researched through a reflexive causal design, aimed at identifying and demonstrating the underlying factors for, and process of the emergence of the private policing of quasi-public space.

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<sup>44</sup> See Wakefield, A. (2003) for three case-studies on three separate malls throughout the UK.



A descriptive design was then employed to establish information concerning the area of study. This had two primary purposes; ensuring the transferability of theory to the Filipino setting; and secondly providing a situational backdrop of which the case study was later placed against.

Lastly, a case study design was chosen for a residential location in Makati. This was a conscious decision in order to provide a more comprehensive overview of the private security industry in Makati, and its modus operandi through examining it in a case specific context.

### **3.4 CONSTRUCTING THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION**

The process of constructing a theoretical foundation has been a gradual and quite tedious process. I started out with a broad scope of literature on private security. I quickly found that while interesting, most of the literature was irrelevant to my research topic; private policing of quasi-public space. Evident, that sifting through endless works on private security was not the way to go, I chose to focus on key works within the topic of private policing of mass private property. Through examining and deducting the structure and components of these works, I identified several key sub-topics highly relevant, and some even constitutive of the development of mass private property.

After mapping out these topics, I turned to key works on these specifically. Additional literature was added as a supporting cast whenever necessary. The aim was to illuminate the underlying factors facilitating and causing the emergence of the privately policed mass private property phenomena. In turn, I pieced these together in order to demonstrate their relationship, relevance and place in this process. The recurring challenge, however, has remained in ensuring that a theoretical foundation based upon a western setting remains transferable to the Filipino environment. This awareness, has specifically impacted the choice of study area, alongside the universality of arguments pertaining to certain core elements, especially that of space, control, and risk management.

In addressing the matter of mass private properties impact on surrounding space, I have emphasized the methods and modus operandi most common of private security companies. This has been used to highlight the importance of displacement and regulation of access,

two factors which I believe are highly influential on public space surrounding privately policed mass private property.

### **3.5 CASE STUDY**

A methodological triangulation was used in the case study to provide a more accurate and nuanced result. Aware of possible inherent biases in interviewees, answers have been cross-referenced with statistical data, theory, and other open sources of information. Interviews have also been used to fill informational gaps in statistical data as well as some theoretical parts.

#### **3.5.1 Sources of Information**

The thesis as mentioned earlier is founded upon recognized theory and literature on areas relevant to the case study including; Urban development, Private security, private policing, governance, social control, public space, property and inter-field discussions of these. Printed literature such as books were acquired through extensive searching in the Norwegian public library database, SAMBOK. Examples of key search terms are “urban development”, “Private security+governance”, “private or public security”, “private security+history”, “private policing” and so on. Academic articles were obtained by using Google Scholar in a similar fashion to SAMBOK. Factors influencing search criteria first originated in class literature, and was then later directed and specified through the methods discussed above in the sections *3.1 general flow of research* and *3.4 constructing the theoretical framework*.

Other avenues of information have included online newspaper articles found through Google and other search engines. Company, government, and organization websites have been used frequently to gather data and other information such as descriptive background material, statistical data, services and so forth. Lastly, telephone conversations/interviews and email correspondence with relevant actors and people have been used to gather additional primary data where needed.

#### **3.5.2 Primary Data**

Primary data was collected through telephone conversations/interviews in addition to questionnaires provided through email correspondence with the relevant organizations and

individuals. The focus of data collection has been purpose for hiring, services, risk assessment, and general perception of security performance from the client side. In regards to the private security company side, information regarding the structure, manpower, tasks, services and other relevant information have been the focus.

### **3.5.3 Secondary Data**

Secondary data has been collected through a wide array of sources ranging from government documents and statistics to law archives and company information provided through their respective websites. Statistical data used in the section 5.1 *Brief on Makati* was collected from the government website of the City of Makati. Moreover, legal data such as the statutes concerning the operation of Private Security and Investigation Agencies in the Philippines in addition to presidential decrees and addendums were found through the legal archives of the Arellano Law Foundation and Chan Robles Virtual Law Library. Miscellaneous information concerning the clients and private security companies they contracted were found on each of their respective websites.

### **3.5.4 Experience made through Interviews**

Experience made through interviews has been a mixed bag. I was first surprised over how effective interviews were as means of acquiring specific information regarding very precise topics. The interview process also revealed the fact that respondents whom I thought would not have that much information on the private security regime in Forbes Park, in fact proved to be very knowledgeable on the subject matter. I was also positively surprised over the respondents' ability to answer precisely in a detailed and structured fashion. In general, the respondents answered the questions provided throughout the conversation without digressing noteworthy. The interviews also surprised me in how aware the average upper class Filipino is about their security situation.

## **3.6 ASCERTAINING CONSEQUENCES FOR SURROUNDING SPACE**

As stated above in section 3.4, the aspect of displacement and of criminal activity and regulation of space through preventive private security strategies are two central tenets in my analysis of mass private property's consequence for surrounding space. This information was then viewed in conjunction with trends in zoning permits, land usage, crime rates, and

net population growth/decrease in the City of Makati. The aim was to first, confirm or deny my assumption that privately policed mass private property has lower levels of crime than surrounding areas. Secondly, if possible ascertain what the presence of these mass private properties entail for their surroundings. E.g. is there a correlation between increases in amounts of mass private property and factors such as crime, land use, zoning, and poverty levels?

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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*What is the private policing of mass private property? Where does it occur, and what factors have contributed to its seamless emergence and made it an accepted everyday component of our lives?*

### 4.1 SPACE

Space in its broadest sense as argued by Wakefield is “the field of action subject to varying levels of organization, boundedness, sharing and situation; criteria which fit well when applied to many of the spatial forms common in our everyday vocabulary – including ‘public space’, ‘private space’, ‘open space’, ‘personal space’, ‘cyberspace’, and ‘outer space’”<sup>45</sup>.

What we can draw from Wakefield’s argument is the term ‘space’ is a diverse and ambiguous concept. When discussing space, it is important to be aware of the several functions and distinguishing features attached to space such as physical, legal, social, and economical. This thesis is concerned with is the transformation taking place in the relationship between society and space<sup>46</sup>. At the local level, transformation of urban space has been dictated by the four factors mentioned above. This thesis argues that this transformation has been constitutive in urban development and directly influential in the emergence of mass private property and consequent private policing of quasi-public space.

#### 4.1.1 Urban Space

Urban space has according to Weintraub been a location for tension between the ‘public’ and ‘private’, and the ‘open’ and ‘restricted’<sup>47</sup>. What the public and private signify is the legal ownership over a set physical space. The open and restricted parameters refer to the accessibility of such spaces. The public/private, open/restricted nexus is a four part structure which includes: (1) Open public space; (2) open private space; (3) restricted public space; and (4) restricted private space<sup>48</sup>. Of particular concern for this inquiry are the open forms of

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<sup>45</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003): 11.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. (2003): 11.

<sup>47</sup> Weintraub et al. (1997).

<sup>48</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003): 24.

public and private space. Open private space, because it constitutes one of the main units of analysis – mass private property, or quasi-public space as Wakefield has labeled it. The Open public space is also of interest because I want to investigate how the emergence privately policed quasi-public space has impacted and influenced surrounding public space from a security perspective in urban development.

#### **4.1.2 Public Space**

Wakefield, as opposed to Weintraub, uses the label ‘public’ in reference to ‘accessibility’<sup>49</sup>. For a space to be labeled public, it must fulfill one primary criteria which separates it from restricted space. That criteria is the reasonable unimpeded access to the location by the general public. It logically follows from this argument that to gain access, the individual need not have to fulfill any form of requirement related to admission such as being a member, or employee, etc<sup>50</sup>. Below, I delve deeper into the details in which we use to discern the private from the public on the basis of ownership in relation to public space.

##### ***Publicly owned public space***

Space which is state owned, either nationally, or locally and open to the public in which they engage in social interaction. Such areas may include the street, the parks, the market, and other open spaces inside the city.

##### ***Privately owned public space***

Space which is privately owned, either by a corporation, organization, individual, etc., but where access is open on a regular and reasonable basis to large groups of people such as malls, gated communities and office complexes<sup>51</sup>. It is within this definition that the term ‘quasi-public space’ arises. A definitional conundrum which is hinged upon the regulation of access.

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> A greyzone which emerges in this context of admission is the problem surrounding “paid admission”, either through membership fees, or pay to access on a one time basis such as cinemas, public pools etc. It is incorrect to label such spaces for ‘restricted’ as they are accessible to the ‘public’, but discriminate on class and wealth.

<sup>51</sup> Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (1998): 162.

## 4.2 CRIME & CONTROL

'Control', like 'space', is another ambiguous concept. In discussing control, I am doing so in the previous context related to the access of space, and through the means of security in order to pursue *public order*. The issue of control in relation to public order is highly relevant to the emergence of mass private property and consequent policing such quasi-public spaces. As Dick et al. already alluded to in the introduction, these enclaves of private owned public emerged as a consequence of the middle and upper classes perception of the public space as something dangerous. The result was a private initiative on behalf of the wealthy to regain control over the public order agenda through the creation of such quasi-public spaces<sup>52</sup>. Discussing control through public order is as implied, more than just whether there is littering and driving on the correct side of the street, it is also increasingly about crime and social control. After all, walls are not erected to stem littering and to ensure that drivers drive responsibly. Rather, walls have historically been, and continue to be, erected in order to keep unwanted elements outside or inside a given physical space.

### 4.2.1 Crime & Social Control

In uncovering the link between crime and the emergence of private security and mass private property we need to examine crime from different angles and in different contexts. This involves looking at causes for increases in crime, as well as the mechanisms of crime control. By doing so, we can hopefully better understand the growth of private security in urban areas. A trend which is increasingly private in nature of its delivery, but public in their significance and consequence<sup>53</sup>.

### 4.2.2 Causes for Increases in Crime

David Garland has summarized much of the work on causes for crime in the late modernity. He argues that there are four identifiable dimensions where late modernity was constitutive of increases in crime: (1) The first involves increased opportunities for crime; (2) The second is reduced situational controls; (3) The third was an increase in the population at risk (both

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<sup>52</sup> Dick & Rimmer (1998): 11,15.

<sup>53</sup> Arendt, H. *The Human Condition*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1958): 35; Owens, P. (2008): 981

offenders and victims), and lastly (4) A reduction in the efficacy of social control mechanisms<sup>54</sup>.

Increased opportunities came with post-war capitalism and later the globalization of trade which lead to an exponential increase in portable high value goods attractive for theft. Moreover, situational control mechanisms were lessened as stores and malls increasingly became self-service in the manner that customers had access to items in the store shelves as opposed to the old days where the store clerk would get the item for you from behind a counter.

Third, several shifts in demographics and urban development led to increases in break-ins and property damage. This had two contributing factors; one was the increased commonality of the automobile which aided the emergence of the suburbs located outside the city and which would remain empty during the work-day. The second factor was an increased urbanization; as population density intensified, strains were placed on physical space inside the city area, bringing people together in closer proximity. It also severely impacted the income levels of many residents, bringing about increasing poverty. Poverty levels, had a direct connection to the large cohort of young males becoming susceptible to criminal activity<sup>5556</sup>.

Lastly, city-life led to the anonymization of personal space. In the city, social control mechanisms such as the large extended family, the tight knit small town neighborhood, and supervision of the local townsfolk disappeared. In summary, the social ecology had changed<sup>57</sup>.

#### **4.2.3 High Crime Rates as a Normal Social Fact**

The social ecology of the populace and corresponding crime levels in western societies had in fact changed so much that by the 1990's, crime rates where ten times greater than those

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<sup>54</sup> Garland, D. *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). P. 90.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. (2001): 91.

<sup>56</sup> Vanderschueren, F. "From Violence to Justice and Security in Cities". *Environment and Urbanization* 8:1. (1996): 1.

<sup>57</sup> Garland, D. (2001): 91; Vanderschueren, F. (1995): 8



40 years earlier<sup>58</sup>. What happened was that crime became a central factor in every-day life. A factor, which was both feared and one to avoid through behavioral patterns. What essentially happened, was that high crime rates, and corresponding responses to it, increasingly became the organizing principle of common life and the constitutive part of social organization<sup>59</sup>. This awareness eventually led to the emergence of a private security sector, and attached measures of protecting life and property assets. One could, and I dare argue, that *fear of crime* in concert with inadequate public security services has played an integral part in the emergence of the private security sector.

#### **4.2.4 The Crime Control Apparatus: Relocating and Redefining Responsibilities**

Garland writes that government authorities have acknowledged the fact that crime control is increasingly 'beyond the state'. In doing so, he argues that this has two distinct features. First of all, it is beyond the state inasmuch as public security services are incapable of maintaining 'law and order' to an extent which is satisfactory to the public. Second, it is beyond the state as far as crime often taking place outside the boundaries of the state, the public realm so to say. Consequently, state institutions have undergone reforms to address these challenges, but more importantly, non-state mechanisms and resources have been harnessed and utilized to support the policing and crime control efforts of the public control apparatus<sup>60</sup>.

#### **4.2.5 The Community Solution**

One tried and tested crime control strategy involved transitioning away from an exclusively state-based policing activity towards including the community as a possible solution. From the 1960's and onward there were multiple community programs targeting crime such as community corrections, community policing, community crime prevention and so forth<sup>61</sup>. What happened was that the community became *the* method for how to combat criminal activity locally.

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<sup>58</sup> Smith, D.J. "Less Crime without More punishment". *Edinburgh Law Review*. Vol 3. (1999): 294-316; Brewer, J. *Crime in Ireland, 1945-1995: Here be Dragons*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). As quoted in Garland, D. (2001): 106.

<sup>59</sup> Garland, D. (2001): 107

<sup>60</sup> Garland, D. (2001): 123.

<sup>61</sup> Cohen, S. *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment, and Classification*. (Oxford: Polity, 1985).

These programs were, while not directly state-led, nonetheless sanctioned, carried out, and supervised by state employees, institutions and government guidance<sup>62</sup>. There was overall, little use of non-state actors in the community programs until the 1980's. In fact, despite the pervasive rhetoric of community policing, most of the practices and strategies were rather conventional in nature<sup>63</sup>. There was however, behind the wall of rhetorical populism, some although small - but real -progress being made in diversifying the policing apparatus to include non-state actors. In these efforts, informal crime control efforts and private security regimes were used in cooperation with state policing to enhance overall security provision and became a central strategy in both the US and UK<sup>64</sup>.

#### 4.2.6 The Responsibilization Strategy

The process of linking the state crime control apparatus with non-state actors such as private security companies and furthermore the community has by some been labeled the *responsibilization strategy*<sup>65</sup>. It is a strategy that seeks to improve delivery of security and better crime control through dispersing crime control over an informal network of state and non-state actors. This is done in order to extend the control of the criminal justice state. In this agenda to form broad alliances with non-state actors, the government is seeking to enlist the governmental capabilities of the private security sector through granting it authority and legitimacy. This trend is illustrative of Elke Krahnmann's argument of a transition from 'government' toward 'governance' in the realm of security.

One might ask why non-state agencies, private organizations, and individuals would assume that responsibility, when security provision has such a history of belonging to the domain of state. From a supply perspective, the responsabilization strategy opened the doors for a whole industry, the private security industry. We can by growth numbers in this industry see that it was an opportunity the private security companies took full advantage of. On the other hand, as a consumer and client, non-state actors have seemingly 'bought into' the responsabilization strategy through employing private security companies, and participating in community policing projects. But have they really? I argue that such a response is more a

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<sup>62</sup> Garland, D. (2001).

<sup>63</sup> Jones, T. & Newburn, T & Smith, DJ. *Democracy & Policing*. (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1994).

<sup>64</sup> Garland, D. (2001).

<sup>65</sup> O'Malley, P. "Post-Keynesian Policing". *Economy and Society*, 25:2 (1996): 137-155; O'Malley, P. "Risk, Power, and Crime Prevention". *Economy and Society* 21 (1992): 252-75.

matter of accepting high crime rates as a social fact, and viewing the state crime control apparatus as inadequate, rather than buying into a government policy. As a result, the private sphere has adjusted accordingly to minimize risk and to deter criminal activity, a topic I will discuss next.

### **4.3 INSECURITY & RISK MANAGEMENT**

Jonathan Simon has characterized the increasing awareness of responsabilization and governmentality of crime and control efforts as a 'strategic realignment of social control mechanisms'<sup>66</sup>. For social control and public order in light of responsabilization and entry of private security actors has increasingly moved towards a 'risk-society' as Ulrich Beck labels it. Where managing and minimizing 'risk' is at the core of the security provision rather than apprehension and disciplining. It signifies perhaps one of the more drastic developments in combating crime in urban areas.

In short, its primary objective is prevention and deterrence through controlling space by regulating access, monitoring and establishing risk profiles<sup>67</sup>. Not only has this activity become the corner-stone of private security sector services, it also demonstrates what Dick & Rimmer argued as the middle and upper classes desire to avoid social interaction with the poor and potentially dangerous, through controlling space. The consequence of this development has essentially led to a commodification of risk and security, as something to be bought and sold, and no longer an aspect of the social and interpersonal relationship amongst members of the community<sup>68</sup>.

#### **4.3.1 Space & Control Deficit**

Ericson & Haggerty, as quoted by Abrahamsen et al. have noted the following about the concept of 'risk':

“Rationalities of risk are designed to reduce uncertainty to the point where the actor feels confident in taking action. Grounded in probabilistic thinking and predictions, they allow de-selection of specific factors and thereby point to

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<sup>66</sup> Simon, J. *Governing through crime: How the War on Crime Transformed American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

<sup>67</sup> Abrahamsen & Williams (2010): 71.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. (2010): 76.

preferable courses of action. They are hyper-rational and deeply pragmatic, always scanning for technical solutions to problems that incapacitate action. They eschew causality in favor of laws of regularity that establish standards of objective fact and the basis of objective knowledge”<sup>69</sup>.

In light of their argument, and previous sections of this thesis, the responsible individual and corporation is one that utilizes contract security services; they install CCTV systems, alarms, employ manned guards and other services in order to protect their homes, businesses and persona by reducing risk. According to Ericson & Haggerty, freedom of choice in relation to security services becomes an imperative. Those who can afford to, and take this imperative seriously are rewarded with enhanced protection. On the other hand, those who chose to abstain, caused by either financial constraints or simply disregard their responsibility to ensure one’s own security through relying on the state and the social fabric of the community are left as potential victims and with heightened levels of risk<sup>70</sup>. In global mega cities where crime levels are constantly high, physical proximity is unavoidable and opportunity, and need for criminal activity omnipresent; contemporary security regimes encourage those who are prudent, rational, knowledgeable, and last but not least, wealthy.

In an interesting analysis of the commodification of security and transformation of social control, Steven Spitzer has noted the following:

“Paradoxically, the more we enter into relationships to obtain the security commodity, the more insecure we feel; the more we depend upon the commodity rather than each other to keep us safe and confident, the less safe and confident we feel; the more we divide the world into those who are able to enhance our security and those who threaten it, the less we are able to provide it for ourselves”<sup>71</sup>.

This security catch-22 has two dimensional nature to it. On one side, the wealthier patrons and clients of security enhancing services are becoming increasingly dependent on the same

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<sup>69</sup> Ericson, RV. & Haggerty, KD. *Policing the Risk Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): 87.

<sup>70</sup> Abrahamsen & Williams. (2010): 68

<sup>71</sup> Spitzer, S. “Security and Control in capitalist societies: The fetishism of security and the secret thereof”. In J. Lowman, R. J. Menzies and T. S Palys (eds). *Transcarceration: Essays in the sociology of social control*. (Aldershot: Gower, 1987): 43-58.

services through alienating themselves from the greater community. But it also places similar challenges in the lives of those who live in areas left outside these safe havens and locations of trust. The segmentation of urban life first and foremost perfectly illustrates the shattering of social control mechanisms in relation to crime control<sup>72</sup>. But it also demonstrates the displacement effect of criminal activity through the heightened risk of those who are incapable of participating in the responsabilization strategy for various reasons. The result is an ever increasing demand for private security services, and an increasing inequality of security potentially leading to a perversion of public space.

#### **4.4 POLICING & PUBLIC ORDER**

Crime, social control, public space – they all share a common denominator: public order. But what is *public order* exactly? Just how does one *achieve* public order, by what means, and how can we determine what acceptable levels of order are in the public sphere? My answer to those three questions are: ‘it’s a complex matter’, ‘it depends’ and ‘you can’t really’. I also want to expand on the matters of order, and demonstrate the centrality of policing activity in social control and order maintenance.

Jones & Newburn comment on the vexing nature of policing activity remaining inescapably attached to the state body of a police force by referencing the commonplace of “it’s what the police do”. However, Bittner has shown that much like the general public, even policemen themselves struggle to formulate a justification for their existence and even everyday activity<sup>73</sup>. So what is policing then?

##### **4.4.1 Defining Policing**

In sorting out a working definition for policing it is important not to view every instance of social control, rule enforcement, and order maintenance regardless of their nature and how they are carried out as policing. But to establish a definition of policing entails drawing the line somewhere. And for this thesis, that has involved utilizing a definition which takes into account the previously discussed topics of control, space, risk management, and

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<sup>72</sup> Newman, Oscar. *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design*. (New York: MacMillan, 1972).

<sup>73</sup> Bittner, E. (1974). “Florence Nightingale in pursuit of Willie Sutton: A theory of the Police”. in Jacob, H. (ed.) *The potential for reform of criminal justice*. (Newbury Park: California: Sage, 1974).

responsibilization process of the security environment. Here, the definition of policing used by Jones & Newburn proves to be most fitting:

“Those organized forms of order maintenance, peacekeeping, rule of law enforcement, crime investigation and prevention, and other forms of investigation and associated information brokering – which may involve a conscious exercise of coercive power – undertaken by either individuals or organizations, where such activities are viewed by them and/or others as a central or key defining part of their purpose”<sup>74</sup>.

There is nothing according to this definition that explicitly ties the activity of policing to any state body such as the police force or other state agency for that matter. What it does, however, is to analyze the activity, the purpose, the recognized legitimacy and ability of the actor to exert pressure in a given space. Consequently, this definition applies to both public and private actors alike. A useful tool when you consider Johnston’s argument that policing is a field which is currently subject to an ‘organizational bifurcation’. Herein exists a spatial polarization where at the national and supra-national levels, a small number of conceivably coordinated and centralized actors make up the policing bodies. Whereas at the local level, policing is fragmented and dispersed across a wide variety of actors, both public and private alike. Here boundaries can be hard to identify<sup>75</sup>.

It is identifying the spaces, the actors, and the activities of these actors that I will discuss in the following sections concerning *mass private property & property rights* and the *private security industry*.

#### **4.5 MASS PRIVATE PROPERTY & PROPERTY RIGHTS**

Few things are more illustrative of the ‘new socio-spatial order’ in urban areas as Sassen calls it, than the emergence of Mass private property. The next section looks at what mass private property is and how it relates to private security.

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<sup>74</sup> Jones, T & Newburn, T. (1998): 18.

<sup>75</sup> Johnston, L. “Privatisation and Protection: Spatial and Sectoral Ideologies in British Policing and Crime Prevention”. *The Modern Law Review* 56:6 (1993): 790.

#### 4.5.1 Defining Private Policing of Mass Private Property

A strictly pedestrian summary of mass private property would be to say it is the culmination of the previously discussed topics of space, control, crime, and risk. A more nuanced and useful definition would be to view mass private property as *physically segmented spaces where ownership has actively pursued avenues of public order maintenance through private security using methods of policing*. As public everyday life increasingly takes place within privately controlled spaces<sup>76</sup>; such a classification of private policing of quasi-public space naturally invokes several questions pertaining to it as a source of authority, and the recognized legitimacy of its governmental capacity in society.

#### 4.5.2 Mass Private Property as a Source of Authority

The concept of authority has been characterized as notoriously elusive by Richard Friedman<sup>77</sup>. He argues that authority “is perceived to lie somewhere in between coercion and persuasion”. This view of authority entails seeing it as an effect rather than a capacity<sup>78</sup>. It also perfectly demonstrates the social perspective of authority. But authority has also an embedded attachment to law, and thus authority is socially endogenous and legally a consequence.

One such legal aspect is that of property ownership and property rights. The most significant source of authority in relation to private security and private policing of quasi-public space is derived directly from the legal standing of property rights<sup>79</sup>. Sarre points out that in contrast to the public police force, whose policing activities, corresponding authority, and recognized legitimacy are vested in the various law enforcement statutes; the private security apparatus relies mainly on being the ‘legal agents’ of owners of private property<sup>80</sup>. Mass private property thus becomes a source of authority, both legal and social, through which the property owner holds the right by ‘the law of contract’ to set the conditions for the code of

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<sup>76</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003): 224.

<sup>77</sup> Friedman, R. “On the concept of Authority in Political Philosophy”. In Joseph Raz (ed.) *Authority*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>78</sup> Lukes, S. “Perspectives on Authority”. In Joseph Raz (ed.) *Authority*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>79</sup> Sarre, R. (1994). “The Legal Basis for the Authority of Private Police and Examination of Their Relationship to the Public Police”. In Biles, D. & Vernon, J. (eds.) *Private sector and community involvement in the criminal justice system*. (Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1994): 169.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. (1994).

conduct for visitors. Moreover, it also grants the property owner the right to control access, through the 'law of property' in which also includes the right of exclusion<sup>81</sup>.

#### **4.5.3 Mass Private Property & The Legitimacy of Private Policing**

In most, if not all liberal democracies, private property rights have carved the way for how we structure space in neo-liberal societies. On this basis, through the manifestation in law, property owners are legitimately entitled to govern their property as they see pleased in accordance with the law. Any private security company, performing policing and public order maintenance tasks will therefore derive their legitimacy from being actors contracted on behalf of the property owner as custodians.

#### **4.5.4 Identifying Mass Private Property in Urban Areas**

Mass private property by virtue of its inclusive definition encompasses a wide variety of publicly accessible private spaces. Examples range from private amusement parks, to shopping malls, and include everything from office complexes to country clubs in between. Patricia Caldeira has labeled cities where such features are prominent as 'private worlds for the elite'. What characterizes these areas are that they are often walled and gated compounds, are manned with armed security personnel, and are more prosperous than their surroundings<sup>82</sup>. In south-east Asian countries, mass private property has traditionally manifested itself residentially through gated communities, recreationally through shopping malls, and increasingly also through office complexes<sup>83</sup>. The next section will examine the private security industries role in the policing of these mass private properties.

### **4.6 THE PRIVATE SECURITY INDUSTRY**

Shearing & Stenning write that the growing pervasiveness of private security can be seen as associated with the growth of mass private property<sup>84</sup>. As such, their interrelationship has contributed to the transformation of the security sphere and security governance. Today, urban private security is a strictly professional and recognized industry in business as

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<sup>81</sup> Abrahamansen, R. & Williams, M. "Securing the City: Private security companies and non-state authority in global governance". in Colas, A & Mabee, B. (eds.) *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*. (UK: Hurst & Co. Ltd., 2010): 221.

<sup>82</sup> Caldeira, T. (2000): 256-258.

<sup>83</sup> Connell, J. (1997).

<sup>84</sup> Shearing, C.D & Stenning, P.C (1981; 1983).



illustrated by its commonplace name 'private contract security'. The business structure of private contract security has three core components; that of the client (consumer); the private security company (provider); and the services provided<sup>85</sup>.

#### **4.6.1 The Private Security Client**

The 'security client' refers to the end user and purchaser of security services. This can be through contracting private security companies or by hiring security personnel directly as an 'in-house' arrangement<sup>86</sup>. According to various research the industries clientele is diverse and expands across multiple sectors, both private and public. This has come to include everything from governments, local and national, to commercial and industrial enterprises to the private citizen<sup>87</sup>. However, data has shown that clients are primarily from the private sector, and that these in turn are mostly comprised of commercial and retail entities<sup>88</sup>. According to Wakefield, empirical research on the requirements set forth by those who employ private security services is scarce. Those who have conducted such research, like McManus have examined client requirements as part of larger case studies<sup>89</sup>. What McManus' study showed was that the primary concern of the clients were heightened levels of risk through increases in crime, and public disorder in their areas<sup>90</sup>.

##### **4.6.1.1 The Client's ability to shape the industry**

Respondents in McManus' study expressed a desire to take control over their surroundings through employing private security services<sup>91</sup>. In light of this information, the growth trends of mass private property in the form of malls, gated communities, and office complexes appears to coincide well with public perception of their security situation. Shearing & Stenning have noted that the coterminous development of mass private property and

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<sup>85</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003).

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. (2003): 58.

<sup>87</sup> Shearing et al. (1980); Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (1998).

<sup>88</sup> Shearing et al. (1980).

<sup>89</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003): 59.

<sup>90</sup> McManus, M. *From Fate to Choice: Private Bobbies, Public Beats*. (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. (1995).

private security services is really a consequence of accommodating private property owners' control needs<sup>92</sup>.

The result of this development has been the client's ability to shape and determine what private security services dominate the industry today, and how private security companies structure and organize themselves. This is largely due to the client's instructive ability to dictate security regimes on their property.

#### **4.6.2 The Private Security Company**

While the client alongside market demands exert influence upon how private security companies are structured, these firms nevertheless retain a quite rigid organizational structure and integrity. This means that there is a need to explore the organizational characteristics of companies within the industry if only to better our understanding on the private security industry, and the major differences between private and public policing. Here, the term 'security company' refers to all firms and companies that provide private security services of some kind. This section will look at the size of the industry, the make-up of a traditional security company, and brief discussion of standards and accountability attached to private security services.

##### **4.6.2.1 Reasons for Growth & Size of the Industry**

As previously noted, growth in the private security sector has been associated with the growth of mass private property, and directed by security clients. But growth in the private security sector should not simply be seen as a 1:1 consequence of 'more mass private property, thus more private security'. A contributive factor to private security growth has also come through how clients structure their business, where increasingly non-core/essential services are contracted out to specialist firms. In regards to security, for those clients who don't have an in-house security regime, this job has been outsourced to private security companies<sup>93</sup>. The global private security industry was in 2009 estimated to be worth 150 billion USD. In 2012, the figure is projected to be somewhere around 200 billion USD on

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<sup>92</sup> Shearing, CD. & Stenning, PC. "Modern Private Security: its growth and implications" (1981); "Private security: implications for social control". *Social Problems* 30:5 (1983): 493-506.

<sup>93</sup> Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (1998); Wakefield, A (2003).

basis of a 7.5% annual growth rate<sup>94</sup>. Hereof, the Asia & Pacific market make up for 16-17% of the total market. Contrasted to the 43% market share of North America, and 26% of Western Europe, this may not seem like much, but the region is expected to experience massive growth during the next decade<sup>95</sup>.

An interesting explanation for this trend is the absence of barriers to entry. John Donahue in the *Privatization Decision* explains through the example of garbage collection how the industry has low entry-level thresholds. Private sanitation companies rely for the most part on low economies of scale, simplicity in technology, low investment costs, and hire primarily low-skilled labor which makes for low wage costs<sup>96</sup>. In this regard, private security companies and private sanitation companies are very similar. The absence of barriers also explain the responsiveness of the industry in terms of growth.

#### **4.6.2.2 The Security Firm Typology**

Wakefield notes that research on the companies that make up the private security industry is rather limited. She refers to Jones & Newbury's study of British security actors where they employed a telephone survey contacting 304 companies advertising in the *Yellow Pages*<sup>97</sup>. What they found out was that of the 99 respondents actually working within the field of private contract security; 25 percent were sole contractors, 11 percent were partnerships, 59 percent were private limited companies, and lastly a meager 4 percent were public limited companies<sup>98</sup>. Moreover, the study also uncovered that the sector was largely dominated by single establishment companies constituting 78 percent of the total market.

In fact, there was little about the survey that indicated that large corporations such as Group4Securicor and Securitas are the norm of the private security industry. Jones & Newburn's research unveiled that 81 percent of the companies employed less than 50 people, and where another 32 percent employed less than 5 people. Of the 99 respondents, only 13 percent employed more than 200 people<sup>99</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Security & Intelligence Services Limited. The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India. The Knowledge Chamber of India. N.p., May 2011. Web. Nov. 2012. <<http://www.assochem.org>>.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. (2011).

<sup>96</sup> Donahue, J. *The Privatization Decision: Public Ends, private means*. (US: BasicBooks, 1989): 67.

<sup>97</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003): 65.

<sup>98</sup> Jones, T & Newburn, T. (1998).

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. (1998).

### 4.6.3 Private Contract Security Services

Studies on private security services have indicated that private contract security involves four primary services: Static and mobile guarding; cash and valuables transportation; responding to alarms; and CCTV monitoring and audio surveillance<sup>100</sup>. Here, almost 70 percent of security personnel are employed as static or mobile guards; 20 percent are used for CCTV and monitoring; 10 percent transport valuables and cash; and 1 percent are employed in alarm response stations<sup>101</sup>.

The distribution of labor across the sector is a precise reflection of the demands mass private property place on security needs, where 90% of the private security staff are employed in areas highly relevant to the security regime of mass private properties; namely guard services and CCTV monitoring. While the majority of the private security companies are able to provide these two basic functions, larger and more resourceful companies can provide clients with additional functions and services such as alarm response stations and information such as best management practices and security consulting<sup>102</sup>.

### 4.6.4 Standards, Accountability, and Authority

In light of the private security sectors operation limitations and absence of barriers to entry, what does this mean for industry standards and accountability? Private security officers have for the most part the same legal powers as any other regular citizen, and are from enjoying the operational range of the regular police. Instead, what separates private security officers from regular citizens in circumstances related to their work is their recognized authority and legitimacy. On private property, private security officers are in fact on basis of their contract acting on behalf of the property owner, and this grants them certain powers including the power of exclusion<sup>103</sup>. Moreover, private security officers enjoy a recognized legitimacy by the general public, and in many cases the police, as solid and trustworthy sources of

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<sup>100</sup> South, N. (1988); Jordan & Sons Ltd. *Britain's Security Industry*. (London: Jordan & Sons Ltd., 1993); Jones, T. & Newbury, T. (1998).

<sup>101</sup> Wakfield, A. (2003): 66.

<sup>102</sup> Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (1998).

<sup>103</sup> Stenning, P.C. "Powers and Accountability of private police". *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 8:3. (2000): 325-352.

information, and are frequently relied upon as such<sup>104</sup>. In the US, security officers have even been granted special legal powers to detain shoplifters<sup>105</sup>.

Lastly, in terms of accountability, private security companies and thereby security officers, are as long as operating within the law, only accountable to their clients. That is to say, the private security sector need not, and frequently does not have the public interest in mind. This subtle, yet important difference between private policing and public policing is at the core of any security discussion.

In terms of legal regulations specifically targeting industry standards, these vary greatly from country to country. In the Philippines Republic Act. No. 5487 and Presidential Decree 1919 make up the Private Security Agency Law and Regulations<sup>106</sup>. Each security guard and security agency will also need a respective License to Exercise Security Profession (LESP), and a License to Operate (LTO) which are issued by the Philippine National Police (PNP)<sup>107</sup>. In the UK, British Standards Institutions (BSI) provide certifications and requirements that conform with BSI code 7858, *Security screening of individuals employed in a security environment. Code of practice*<sup>108</sup>. In summary, standards and accountability will vary from country to country, which affects the industry in each respective country, distinguishing them from each other.

#### **4.7 SUMMARY**

As theory shows, the private policing of mass private property is a complex matter, and a consequence of an equally complex process. A process, which at times, has consisted of a combination and everything in between haphazard events and detailed strategies. In

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<sup>104</sup> Abrahamansen, R. & Williams, M. "Securing the City: Private security companies and non-state authority in global governance". in Colas, A & Mabee, B. (eds.) *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*. (UK: Hurst & Co. Ltd., 2010): 221.

<sup>105</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003): 70

<sup>106</sup> REPUBLIC ACT No. 5487: An Act To Regulate The Organization And Operation Of Private Detective, Watchmen Or Security Guards Agencies." Philippine Law Jurisprudence Databank. Arellano Law Foundation, June 1969.. <[http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra1969/ra\\_5487\\_1969.html](http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra1969/ra_5487_1969.html)>.;"PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NO. 1919: PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NO. 1919 - AMENDING FURTHER REPUBLIC ACT NUMBERED FIFTY FOUR HUNDRED EIGHTY SEVEN OTHERWISE KNOWN AS "THE PRIVATE SECURITY AGENCY LAW"" PRESIDENTIAL DECREES. Chan Robles Virtual Law Library, Apr. 1984. Web. Sept. 2012.

<sup>107</sup> Philippines. Philippine National Police. Supervisory Office for Security and Investigation Agencies. License to Exercise Security Profession. 2012. Web. <<http://www.sosia.org.ph/license-prof.htm>>.

<sup>108</sup> "BS 7858:2012." British Standards Institution, Oct. 2012. Web. <http://shop.bsigroup.com/en/ProductDetail/?pid=00000000030237324>.

keeping matters brief, however, I argue that the phenomena of privately policed quasi-public space arose as an answer to increasing demand for security. Private security companies not only seized opportunity for business when it presented itself, they also filled a security gap through simple supply and demand mechanics. As crime rates increased, especially in areas such as theft and robbery, private security companies helped fill a void that traditional police forces could not dedicate resources towards. This has primarily been achieved through preventative measures, which is really what lies at the core of the private security *modus operandi*.

That the private security industry has become a billion dollar industry is a testament to its effectiveness, simplicity, and availability to customers and clients. The next section private policing of Mass private property in Makati will examine the central tenets of private policing and mass private property discussed above in a real life and every day setting.

## PRIVATE POLICING OF MASS PRIVATE PROPERTY IN MAKATI, MANILA

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*What is private policing of mass private property like in Makati? What forms do these properties take? Who polices them? And what does this all mean for surrounding public space?*

### 5.1 BRIEF ON MAKATI, METRO MANILA: A CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

Metro Manila is according to Peter Murphy and Trevor Hogan one of the world's most fragmented, privatized and un-public cities<sup>109</sup>. It is emblematic of private order, and public chaos. But what are the reasons for this? Metro Manila is probably the best example of a city where the meanings of private and public have become ambiguous concepts rather than identifiable markers. Society is based upon a network of informal, but visible networks of social interaction. Without going into further detail about the process, one of its main consequences is the confusion it causes pertaining to whether one is currently occupying private or public space<sup>110</sup>.

None other form of space elicits more conjecture of its patrons in regards to occupancy than that of mass private property. We know these areas as malls, country clubs, gated communities, recreational facilities, and office complexes. In Metro Manila these forms of quasi-public space are constitutive of everyday life and defining characteristic of the city. To add some perspective to that statement, Metro Manila currently has 120 malls, and 1784 gated residential areas of one type or another<sup>111</sup>. Of these, Makati has 9 sub divisions (gated communities) and 17 malls. At first glance, these numbers appear to be rather modest, but it is their location and features which makes them interesting, especially in the context of Sassen's global city.

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<sup>109</sup> Murphy, P. & Hogan, T. "Discordant Order: Manila's Neo-patrimonial urbanism". *Thesis Eleven* 112:1 (2012): 10-34.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. (2012).

<sup>111</sup> This does not include the 8 currently under construction, and it does not include the 17 large flea markets most of which are located on private property. The larger flea markets are 1200 sq. m. in size. Data on residential area, sub divisions is gathered from Tanate, K. (2005). The 1784 amount is from 2004, and is projected to be significantly greater today.

Makati is by all means 'Metro Manila's Manhattan'. It houses the financial district, but more importantly it has the most luxurious, expensive and sprawling subdivisions and malls. This has a couple of implications which makes it an interesting geographical area to study. First, the wealthiest areas, both residential and commercial are likely to have the best and most expansive private security apparatus<sup>112</sup>. They are also likely to be more exclusive and physically detached from their surroundings<sup>113</sup>. The next sections will look at the factors these two assumptions are traditionally derivative of, namely that of demographics, regulation and use of land, and lastly crime rates. This provides a situational backdrop of which the case-study is placed against.

### 5.1.1 Demographics

The area of Metro Manila has experienced an increase in population from 9.9 million in 2000 to 11.85 million in 2010<sup>114</sup>. Interestingly enough, the population of Makati city has remained stable. Compared to the rest of Metro Manila, Makati has had a rather uneven growth curve. In 1995, the population was 484,176, however in 2000 the population had dipped by 2.6% to 471,379 before increasing again to 567,349 in 2007 and was projected to reach 586,477 by 2010. In terms of population density, Makati ranks among the middle of the 12 cities that make up Metro Manila with 20700 people pr. Sq. km compared to the Manila average of 18632 pr. Sq. km<sup>115</sup>.

An interesting feature of Makati is the extreme inequality in housing accommodations. Despite having the highest GDP per capita in the NCR, this figure is obscured by a portion of extremely wealthy individuals. Forbes Park for example, the most luxurious gated village and barangay in the Philippines has a population density of 2800 people per sq. km<sup>116</sup>. While the barangay of Cembo has a population density of 123700 pr. Sq. km<sup>117</sup>. With an average population density at 20700 people per sq. km. in Makati land and space it at a premium,

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<sup>112</sup> Abrahamsen and Williams (2010). Argue that Private Security follows the lines of wealth.

<sup>113</sup> Tanate, K. (2005); Caldeira, T. (2000).

<sup>114</sup> "2010 Census of Population and Housing: National Capital Region". National Statistics Office of the Republic of the Philippines. Retrieved 6 April 2012; Tanate, K. (2005).

<sup>115</sup> Philippines. City Government of Makati. Population Distribution and Density. N.p., 2012. Web. Nov. 2012. <<http://www.makati.gov.ph/portal/main/index.jsp?main=15&content=0&menu=0#top>>.

<sup>116</sup> A barangay is the Filipino term for a Ward or District. It is the smallest administrative division in the Philippines. The denomination was formerly known as "barrio".

<sup>117</sup> Makati Gov. Population distribution and density.



but how is this land put to use? The next section provides a brief overview of the regulation and use of land in Makati.

### 5.1.2 Regulation and use of land

Land has always come at a high premium in high density mega cities. Makati as a part of Metro Manila is no exception in this regard. According to Tanate, the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA) identified two major trends in the use of land throughout the NCR; (1) first is the increasing density of squatter settlements in core city areas such as Makati; (2) and second, the growth of large commercial enterprises along major thoroughfares in the city such as EDSA<sup>118</sup>. The MMDA has also estimated that 65% of total land use in the NCR was devoted to residential purposes in 1992. Compared to Makati in 1998, 37.69% of total land was dedicated to housing purposes. Land use figures on Makati draw a more balanced picture of zoning and land use distribution compared to Metro Manila as a whole when we take into account that 15.22%, 14.24%, and 24.41% were used for commercial, institutional and transportation purposes respectively<sup>119</sup>. Open and recreational space account for 1.25% and 5.77% of total land use, although a large chunk of the recreational space belongs to Makati Golf and Country Club.

If we take the projections of the MMDA seriously, there is quickly becoming a shortage on true public space in the barangay of Makati as squatter settlements are forced to lay claim to the remaining land available. The ongoing development of major commercial enterprises alongside thoroughfares is a prime example of the pervasive trend of increasing privately owned public space in the form of mass private property. According to Makati government there has been a doubling in commercial land use since 1986 from 203.10 to 415.76 hectares in Makati. Herein the major proponents within development have been the Rockwell center<sup>120</sup>. In summary, trends in Makati point towards decreases in Industrial, open, and institutional spaces, while residential and commercial spaces are on the rise.

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<sup>118</sup> Tanate, K. (2005).

<sup>119</sup> Philippines. City Government of Makati. Land Use. N.p., 2012. Web. Nov. 2012.

<<http://www.makati.gov.ph/portal/main/index.jsp?main=15&content=0&menu=0#top>>.

<sup>120</sup> Since Taguig is still laying claim (unresolved dispute between Makati and Taguig) to the Fort Bonifacio area, Rockwell Center is still the single largest development project tied to a commercial undertaking in the city of Makati.

### 5.1.3 Crime Rates in Makati

Crime, social control, and public order are central themes in the organization of public space. The desire to organize and control space is a highly influential component and driving factor of development and construction of mass private property such as gated villages and mall complexes<sup>121</sup>. By all standards, privately policed forms of mass private property serve a preventative purpose. More specifically, it aims to prevent the theft, damage, or destruction of private property and to ensure the wellbeing of its patrons<sup>122</sup>.

By examining the crime statistics of Makati and Metro Manila we see a pattern emerge. A pattern where types of crime such as robbery and theft are well represented within the top echelons of the statistical pool in terms of volume. Of the 443 total incidents in Makati, robbery constituted 70, and theft 116 of them respectively. Compared to murder at 3 and homicide at 6 and rape at 4, the numbers for robbery and theft are high. On a side note, non-index crimes stood for 221 of total reported incidences in 2007<sup>123</sup>. Another important trend that data on crime in Metro Manila presents is that crime rates are proportional to population sizes. Crime percentage compared to total population in each city remains roughly the same and differences are negligible<sup>124</sup>. Moreover, studies show that increases in the amount of gated communities do not lower crime proportionally, it only keeps crime levels constant. What appears then to have a direct impact on crime level *trends* is the % increase in population per city<sup>125</sup>. Population increases in an already jam-packed city will naturally cause further strains and pressures in terms of not only crime and tension through increased physical proximity, but also housing and squatting.

In Makati, where gated communities and mass private property already lay claim to huge lands masses, and where % increase in population is among the highest this displaces these pressures to areas outside of the gated communities. An explanatory reason for why GCs do not lower crime rates in total per se, they simply displace it. To support that argument, the

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<sup>121</sup> Caldeira, T. (2000); Dick & Rimmer (1998).

<sup>122</sup> Rita Abrahamsen et al. in Colas and Mabee. *Securing the City*. (2010).

<sup>123</sup> Philippines. City Government of Makati. Peace & Order. N.p., 2012. Web. Nov. 2012. <<http://www.makati.gov.ph/portal/main/index.jsp?main=15&content=0&menu=0#top>>.

<sup>124</sup> Tanate, K. (2005).

<sup>125</sup> Tanate, K (2005); Philippines. City Government of Makati. Population Size, Annual Growth Rate and Household Population. N.p., 2012. Web. Nov. 2012.

<<http://www.makati.gov.ph/portal/main/index.jsp?main=15&content=0&menu=0#top>>.

city of Manila has one of the lowest numbers of gated communities, but also one of the lowest % in population increases and crime levels have remained stable<sup>126</sup>. Moreover, respondents to a survey carried out by Tanate showed that residents in gated communities in general felt more secure than residents living in ordinary housing arrangements<sup>127</sup>.

#### **5.1.4 Gated Communities in Makati**

The first GCs in the Philippines emerged in Makati in the late forties when an American businessman and soldier by the name Col. Joseph McMicking together with the Ayala corporation first developed Forbes Park. But Forbes Park was only the first of several to come. In the 1950's other GCs such as San Lorenzo, Bel-Air and Urdaneta were established. And in the 1960's they were joined by Dasmarinas and Magallanes. Today, these GCs are home to the national Filipino elite, alongside foreign ambassadors and other wealthy individuals<sup>128</sup>.

The typical GC in Makati consists of four parts. The common property of the Homeowners Association (HOA); the common streets; the walls and gates; and lastly the respective individuals' homes. Common property often takes the form of a club house, recreational facilities, small parks, and so forth. The idea behind these is to create a sense of exclusivity and amenities only accessible to members, guests of members and select visitors. The higher the standard of the GC, the more prominent and well developed such common areas will be. The quality of common areas like those mentioned above is the single most defining difference between low-end and high-end GCs<sup>129</sup>. Experience has shown that the best way in preserving these areas is to wall off the compound entirely by fences and gates. In addition to employing private security staff, the respective HOA and GC can ensure the exclusivity of its patrons, facilities, and areas through regulating accessibility.

GCs in Makati are classified according to housing law and project type. The laws set a cut-off price for each housing unit in each type of residential subdivision project. In other words,

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<sup>126</sup> Philippines. City Government of Manila. N.p., 2012. Web. Nov. 2012. <<http://www.manila.gov.ph/>>.

<sup>127</sup> Tanate, K. (2005): 98.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. (2005).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. (2005).

they define the development standards per project<sup>130</sup>. According to Tanate, there are three identifiable types of GCs in Makati<sup>131</sup>:

***“High-end Gated Community (HGC) – an exclusive Open Market residential subdivision of PD 957 that emphasized the provision of large homelots and houses, and offer high-end amenities.***

***Moderate Gated Community (MGC) – an exclusive Medium Cost residential subdivision of PD 957 that basically features moderate amenities. It mainly differs from HGC in terms in terms of price of the housing package and minimum design standards.***

***Affordable Gated Community (AGC) – an exclusive Economic Housing of BP220 with basic amenities and small home-lot sizes intended for the average income families.”***

Makati, as population density, land use figures, and studies show have a large portion of HGCs, of which my case study Forbes Park is one of<sup>132</sup>. When not spending time in their villages, patrons frequently chose the mall as an alternative. The next section takes a brief look at the mall culture in Manila.

### **5.1.5 Malls and spending in Makati**

Veronica Soriano for Research Review, a journal for the International Council of Shopping Centers writes that ‘mallings’ has become a lifestyle in the Philippines<sup>133</sup>. With 6.5 million sq. m of shopping centers within an area of 636 sq. km. that makes up the NCR, Metro Manila is dense on two things, malls and people<sup>134</sup>. Included in these calculations are several types of shopping centers. It ranges from major malls, community malls, lifestyle malls, to strip malls and big box stores. Of these, Makati currently has 17 shopping centers. While 4 of these are

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<sup>130</sup> As mentioned earlier, PD957 and BP220 are the major laws that provide the minimum design standards for subdivision developments. Basically, there are four types of housing project categories: Open Market, Medium Cost, Economic and Socialize housing. They differ essentially in terms of their selling price, minimum lot size and floor area, and road network. Tanate, K. (2005).

<sup>131</sup> Tanate, K. (2005): 66.

<sup>132</sup> City Government of Makati. <http://www.makati.gov.ph>; Tanate, K. (2005).

<sup>133</sup> Soriano, V. “The Philippine Shopping Center Landscape: Well-designed, Professionally Managed and Highly Dynamic”. *Research Review, International Council of Shopping Centers* 14:2 (2007): 61.

<sup>134</sup> Soriano, V. (2007); Manila is also the 10 densest city in the world in terms of population.

considered 'major malls' and another 5 'community malls', they are not the largest in Metro Manila<sup>135</sup>. They are, however, some of the most upscale and high end malls in the Philippines. Of these Greenbelt and Powerplant mall are two of the most renowned ones.

In regards to the private policing of public space in the form of Malls, the enclosed mall is the most typical. Enclosed malls are malls that fall under the 'major mall' or 'community mall' category. These are malls where there are identifiable perimeters and where landowners can regulate the flow of access and control the mall environment. Major malls such as Greenbelt and Powerplant are designed to be more than a place for shopping; they are entertainment centers and also include restaurants, bars, cinemas and even arcade halls<sup>136</sup>. The purpose of the modern mall is not simply to house stores, it is to provide a pleasant environment where patrons can enjoy themselves while removed from the noise and unpleasentries of the city.

Lastly, it should be noted that the Philippines is primarily a cash country<sup>137</sup>. A significant factor that contributes not only to a non-existent online retail sector, but also a need to avoid theft as one carries cash on ones persona. Malls provide a location to accommodate both these factors. The next section discusses the Private security companies which are employed to ensure the safe and enjoyable experience of patrons at Makati malls and gated communities.

### **5.1.6 Private Security Companies in Makati & Metro Manila**

Of the 1,510 PSCs in the Philippines in 2010, 923 of them were located in the NCR. Figures show that PSCs in the Philippines employed 445,416 security personnel in 2010 up from 260,517 in 2000. Of these 364,477 were hired through companies based in the NCR. A quick calculation then shows that on average, each PSC would employ a total of 394 security personnel throughout the NCR. If anything, these figures demonstrate the current growth

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<sup>135</sup> "List of Shopping Malls in Metro Manila." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, 09 Dec. 2012. Web. 09 Dec. 2012. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_shopping\\_malls\\_in\\_Metro\\_Manila](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_shopping_malls_in_Metro_Manila)>.

<sup>136</sup> Directory. Rockwell Land Corporation, 2012. Web. Oct. 2012. <<http://www.powerplantmall.com/directory.php>>; "Greenbelt Makati Stores Directory." Makati City.com. N.p., 2012. Web. Oct. 2012. <<http://www.makaticity.com/shopping/greenbelt-stores-directory.php>>; Soriano, V. (2007).

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. (2007).

and size of the Philippine private security sector, one which is already a billion peso industry<sup>138</sup>.

Of the total figures for the NCR, 321,217 and 40,426 were licensed Security Guards (SG) and Security Officers (SO) respectively. These positions have low entry thresholds, and are typical of unskilled labor. Requirements are basic, such as being a Filipino Citizen, 18 years of age, a high school diploma in addition to the minimum requirements in order to have a 'License to Exercise Security Profession' which can be acquired through the training provided by the PNP<sup>139</sup>.

Other classifications such as Private Security Consultant (SC), Private Detective (PD), Security Training Officer (TO) or Instructor (TI), and Training Consultant or Director (TD) are also included in the total figures. Herein, SCs account for 843, PDs for 268, TIs for 205, TOs for 204 and TDs for 330 all in the NCR. Common criteria for all of these positions are high education. Mostly BSc or MSc in either criminology, Law or the equivalent. They also require more advanced forms of LESP<sup>140</sup>.

Lastly, the Supervisory Office for Security and Investigation Agencies (SOSIA) has currently registered 984 security personnel currently working for the Philippine Ports Authority. This includes personnel working dockside or on vessels<sup>141</sup>.

It may seem then, that the Filipino Private Security Industry is one which is strictly regulated and a vital part of Filipino society in terms of Order maintenance, but also employment and revenue. Moreover, the police has stated on their pages that:

“The private security personnel are the Police’s Force Multipliers and frontliners in the fights against crime and terrorism<sup>142</sup>.”

However, the industry has not always been this regulated. It was first in late 2009 that the PNP first announced that PSCs and personnel would have to register with the PNP and undergo training and licensing as an addition to already existing legal status pertaining to the

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<sup>138</sup> Philippines. Philippine National Police. Supervisory Office for Security and Investigation Agencies. Statistics. N.p., 2012. Web. Oct. 2012. <<http://www.sosia.org.ph/statistics.htm>>; in dec 2012, 1 USD = 41 PHP.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid. <http://www.sosia.org.ph/license-prof.htm>

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. <http://www.sosia.org.ph/statistics.htm>

private security sector<sup>143</sup>. Of these the Republic Act No. 5487 of 1969 to 'Regulate the Organization and Operation of Private Detective, Watchmen or Security Guard Agencies', and the amendment through Presidential Decree No. 1919 of 1984 consolidated and finalized what has hereby been known as the 'The Private Security Agency Law'<sup>144</sup>. Its scope is concerned with the organization, operation, business and activities of private security personnel<sup>145</sup>.

The announcement by the PNP that all companies had to register with PNP for licensing and training was to avoid Security guards from becoming the 'jack of all trades' and a response to the cut-throat competition among companies in the industry<sup>146</sup>.

PSCs cater to a wide variety of clients, and their personnel can be spotted pretty much anywhere in the City of Makati. A brief summary of the form of clients PSCs cater to includes every sector from residential, commercial, industrial and even government. They perform a wide variety of tasks from manning the entries of gated communities, to working the malls, in addition serving as sentries outside Banks, restaurants, stores and other establishments that can afford their services. The security guard, in many ways, is a common feature of urban life in Makati.

### **5.1.7 Summary**

In summary, the NCR, and by extension, Makati are densely populated areas and both feel pressures of dwindling space. For space is at a premium, for housing, commercial, and recreational areas alike. This premium is caused by a Filipino populace increasingly seeking work and housing in an already crowded urban center. For Makati, this had led to two things: First, there is a growing inequality in living conditions as slums and less attractive areas are becoming more and more crowded. Secondly, the trend in migration to Makati can also be seen as one of the major constitutive factors in crime levels. As a response, mass private property in the form of GCs and enclosed malls are "fortifying" themselves through

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<sup>143</sup> Ramos, Marlon. "PNP to Require Specialized Training for Private Security Guards." Philippine Daily Inquirer. N.p., 21 Oct. 2009. Web. Oct. 2012. <<http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/breakingnews/nation/view/20091021-231509/PNP-to-require-specialized-training-for-private-security-guards>>.

<sup>144</sup> "Private Military and Security Services (PMSCs) Regulation Database: Philippines." Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2012. Web. May 2012. <<http://www.privatesecurityregulation.net/countries/results/taxonomy:237.157>>.

<sup>145</sup> "Republic Act No. 5487"; "Presidential Decree No. 1919". Philippines.

<sup>146</sup> Ramos, M. (2009).

the use of physical barriers and private security to ensure the wellbeing and safety of their patrons, but also the safeguarding of property and the prevention of theft and robbery. As demand for these services have increased, the government and PNP have taken measures to regulate, train, and license the industry through laws and mandates. The next section will explore the private policing of mass private property in a residential case study setting.

## **5.2 CASE STUDY: FORBES PARK & EL TIGRE SECURITY AGENCY**

### **5.2.1 The Client: Forbes Park Association**

#### ***5.2.1.1 Brief on Forbes Park & Forbes Park Association***

Forbes Park, known as 'Forbes', is a private subdivision and gated community in Makati City. It was developed as the first gated community in the Philippines during the 1940s. Forbes Park North and Forbes Park South the two sections of which the village is divided, are bounded by Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) to the northwest, Fort Bonifacio Global City to the east, the Maricaban Creek to the south and southeast, and Acacia Avenue / Dasmarinas Village to the west<sup>147</sup>. Forbes Park and Dasmarinas Village form the Makati Inter Village Association (MIVA) which is headed by the Dasmarinas Village Association (DVA) and president of DVA, Raymund Bryan Manaloto. While a member of MIVA, Forbes Park also has their own homeowners association (HOA), Forbes Park Association Inc. (FPA) which is headed by president Alexander Ledesma<sup>148</sup>. The Barangay (local government unit) of Forbes Park currently has 2533 inhabitants as of 2010, down from 3420 in 2004<sup>149</sup>. Total land area covered amounts to 2.5 sq. km. which is 9% of the total land area of Makati City.

#### ***5.2.1.2 Site function, village design and layout***

Forbes Park Gated Village falls under the classification of "High-end Gated Community" (HGC). As a HGC, Forbes Park (like any form of GC) is subject to legal statutes; PD957 and

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<sup>147</sup> "Map of Forbes Park, Makati." Google Maps. Google, n.d. Web. 10 Dec. 2012. <<https://maps.google.com/maps?q=Makati,+Metro+Manila,+Filippinene&hl=no&ll=14.552245,121.036205&spn=0.017799,0.032315&sll=37.0625,-95.677068&sspn=58.72842,132.363281&oq=makati&t=m&hnear=Makati,+Metro+Manila,+Filippinene&z=16>>.

<sup>148</sup> Salazar, Tessa R. "Urban Experts Plan 'future' of Metro Manila." Philippine Daily Inquirer. N.p., 3 Aug. 2012. Web. 12 Nov. 2012. <<http://business.inquirer.net/74901/urban-experts-plan-future-of-metro-manila>>;

<sup>149</sup> Philippines. National Statistics Office. 2010 Census of Population and Housing. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Total Population by Province, City, Municipality and Barangay: As of May 1, 2010. NSO. Web. 2 Nov. 2012. <<http://www.census.gov.ph/sites/default/files/attachments/hsd/pressrelease/National%20Capital%20Region.pdf>>.



BP220 and stipulates a series of requirements and regulations which are placed upon subdivisions<sup>150</sup>. Of areas covered in the statute are matters related to location, physical suitability, accessibility, land use and, so forth. As a consequence, Forbes Park features identifiable markers of this regulation process.

First, Forbes has a well planned, developed, and maintained road network. Moreover, lot sizes are spaciouly placed with plenty of yard space surrounding each dwelling. The minimum floor space is reflected in the grand houses located inside, and infrastructure such as water, sanitation, and electricity are all in good condition. Additionally, Forbes provides its residents with a community center, green areas, small parks and other communal amenities managed by the Forbes Park Association. The FPA is funded through an annual fee collected from each homeowner, and totals to approx. PHP 40 000.00 a year. A portion of these dues are allocated towards paying for security services which are in-sourced from El Tigre<sup>151</sup>. The Forbes Park subdivision is physically segmented from the surrounding city by a tall concrete wall, topped with barbwire and shards of broken glass. The access-points are gated, and manned 24 hrs a day by private security guards.

### **5.2.1.3 Patrons**

The FPA is responsible for a diverse, but wealthy and VIP demographic. Patrons currently residing in Forbes Park include everything from Filipino national elites, to sports stars, to foreign embassies. Often referred to as 'millionaires row', Forbes is home to boxing legend and national hero Manny Pacquiao, in addition to a wide range of wealthy individuals and families including Felipe Gozon, chair and CEO of the GMA 7 television network, and businessman Tonyboy Cojuangco<sup>152</sup>. Of the 32 foreign embassies and ambassador

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<sup>150</sup> Philippines. Office of the President. Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council. REVISED IMPLEMENTING RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR BP 220 (WITH AMENDMENTS). 2008. Online. <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/30277078/Revised-IRR-BP220-2008>>; Philippines. Office of the President. Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council. REVISED IMPLEMENTING RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR PD 957. 2009. Online. <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/56139701/Revised-IRR-PD-957-2009>>.

<sup>151</sup> Gatchalian, Leslie. Interview. 01 December 2012.

<sup>152</sup>"Makati." Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 11 Aug. 2011. Web. 8 Dec. 2012. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/359184/Makati>>; San Diego, Bayani, Jr. "Pacquiao Moves to Forbes but Not Mother." Philippine Daily Inquirer. N.p., 11 June 2011. Web. 7 Dec. 2012. <<http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/13885/pacquiao-moves-to-forbes-but-not-mother>>.

residences currently located inside Forbes, some of the most notable include the Russian embassy, Indian Embassy, Japanese embassy, and US ambassador residence<sup>153</sup>.

#### **5.2.1.4 Risk Assessment**

Located at the heart of Makati City, Forbes Park is surrounded by main arteries such as EDSA, the financial district, and popular recreational areas like the Greenbelt and Glorietta mall complexes. Due to its proximity to busy roads, crowded areas, and symbols of wealth; Forbes Park finds itself in an area where possibilities of criminal activity can flourish.

One of the most potent, and devastating crime risks faced by Forbes is the threat of terrorism. Makati has repeatedly been exposed to terrorist activity through a series of hijackings, bombings, and threats. Just recently, a bomb went off on a bus full of passengers right outside the west gate of Forbes facing EDSA<sup>154</sup>. In 2002, as a response to terrorist attacks in neighboring Indonesia, security was tightened around Forbes as a precaution due to the presence of 32 foreign embassies currently located inside Forbes Park. The Barangay Capt., Jose Concepcion Jr. made this comment to the Philippine Star:

“We are reviewing the security measures here in Forbes Park. This is just a precaution because of all the recent bombing incidents”<sup>155</sup>.

In addition, Col. Julius Abanes, spokesperson for the NCR Police Office later told the Philippine Star:

“We have prepared for the worst case scenario in all embassies in Makati and Manila”<sup>156</sup>.

Another concern and risk faced by residents of Forbes Park is that of petty theft and robbery. According to Makati City Government, petty theft and robbery are the two most common

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<sup>153</sup> "United States Ambassador to the Philippines." Wikipedia. N.p., 20 Oct. 2012. Web. 1 Nov. 2012. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Ambassador\\_to\\_the\\_Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_the_Philippines)>; Sy, Marvin, and Christina Mendez. "Security Tightened in Forbes; Embassies on Alert." The Philippine Star. N.p., 16 Oct. 2002. Web. 18 Sept. 2012. <<http://www.philstar.com/metro/180027/security-tightened-forbes-embassies-alert>>.

<sup>154</sup> Morelos, Miko, Tina Santos, Jeannette Andrade, and Norman Bordadora. "EDSA Bus Bombing: 4 Dead." Philippine Daily Inquirer. N.p., 26 Jan. 2011. Web. 2 Dec. 2012. <<http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/inquirerheadlines/nation/view/20110126-316610/EDSA-bus-bombing-4-dead>>.

<sup>155</sup> Sy, Marvin. & Mendez, Christina. (2012).

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

index crimes committed in the city of Makati<sup>157</sup>. As late as in 2012, the Iranian Ambassador Mohammed Ali was robbed at his home in Forbes Park. The thieves had taken watches, a cell phone, and some cash. Despite having security guards posted outside his residence, and around the Forbes park perimeter, the robbery still occurred<sup>158</sup>.

Vandalism and Public order is an additional concern for the FPA and residents of Forbes Park. The tall perimeter walls surrounding Forbes Park are not simply elitist barriers serving a decadent purpose of maintaining exclusivity; they are also means of ensuring Public Order through avoiding damage to property and injury to person. Placing this concern into context, we can use the nearby unison decision among homeowners in Forbes Park to down-vote the re-classification of adjacent McKinley Road into a commercial zone. In a statement to the Philippine Star, at the time FPA President Fred Borromeo said:

“Close to 70 percent of the 628 homeowners vetoed the proposal not just once, but thrice...an overwhelming majority of Forbes Park Homeowners Association members are against any move to commercialize the 1.6 km stretch of McKinley Road<sup>159</sup>”.

Placing further emphasis on how important order maintenance is, the re-classification would take place *outside perimeter walls*. The road nevertheless separates Forbes Park from Dasmariñas Village and The FPA’s concern was quickly echoed by three embassy officials who commented that:

"The two villages were villages chosen as sites of chanceries, headquarters and domiciles of foreign governments and their representations for various home government reasons. They are normally, by an unwritten courtesy and tradition of amity, accorded exclusion and privacy against general public vehicles and such are respected as reciprocal accommodation for friendly countries”<sup>160</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> *City Government of Makati*. Peace & Order. 2012

<sup>158</sup> Calleja, Nina. "Iranian Envoy Robbed of Cash, Valuables inside Forbes Park Home." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. N.p., 20 May 2012. Web. 1 Dec. 2012. <<http://globalnation.inquirer.net/37447/iranian-envoy-robbed-of-cash-valuables-inside-forbes-park-home>>

<sup>159</sup> "Forbes Folks Want Zoning Plan Copy; Embassies Worried." *Philippine Star*. N.p., 16 Feb. 2000. Web. 10 Nov. 2012. <<http://www.philstar.com/headlines/94788/forbes-folks-want-zoning-plan-copy-embassies-worried>>.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

The many gated villages in Makati are also quickly becoming the only green areas left in the city, as squatters are increasingly laying claim to any vacant space in the city. In a comment to the Philippine Star, an older resident by the name Policarpio Ascalon stated that:

“The enclave was not designed to be a commercial area, and that the exclusive villages are the only areas in Makati that continues to maintain greenery”<sup>161</sup>.

Lastly, kidnapping, while rarely occurring in the NCR, nevertheless remains a real threat to wealthy Filipino nationals and foreigners. According to *Agora Business Intelligence*, the modus operandi of ‘kidnappers for ransom’ (FKR) is to exploit the crowded streets and lack of transportation during rush hours. They target particular profiles such as foreigners, business people, and women. They also target children at up-scale private schools<sup>162</sup>. In May 2012, the wife of wealthy American Businessman, Aiko Moore, was kidnapped along with her driver in Makati. They were later released against a ransom of PHP 6.1 million<sup>163</sup>.

In addition, there are concerns regarding numerous forms of other crimes such as trespassing, and squatting. The crime risk situation nevertheless remains a real and serious threat, and is reflected in the security regime of Forbes Park.

#### **5.2.1.5 Security regime, structure, and physical features**

Due to a combination of several factors such as housing VIPs and Embassies, in addition to a real and diverse security threat, Forbes Park has a 24 hour security regime<sup>164</sup>. The regime and structure is centered around regulating access to gated community through exclusion. My observation is that the purpose of controlling space is achieved through combining physical features, private security services, and stringent security policies. Physical barriers such as tall perimeter concrete walls topped with glass shards and barbed wire enable the gated community to insulate itself from the rest of the city. Access in and out of the GC is

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Agora Business Intelligence. An Alarming Rate of Kidnapping Incidents in the Metro. N.p., 15 May 2012. Web. 8 Nov. 2012. <<http://www.agora.ph/article.php?id=667>>

<sup>163</sup> Maceda, Ernesto M. "Resurgence of Kidnappings." Philippine Star. N.p., 12 May 2012. Web. 9 Nov. 2012. <<http://www.philstar.com/opinion/805806/resurgence-kidnappings>>.

<sup>164</sup> Gatchalian, Leslie. Interview. 01 December 2012.

regulated through four entry points: *McKinley/Banyan, Buendia, Harvard/Talisay, and Global City*<sup>165</sup>.

Each of these points of entry have different durations of operation. The main entrances Banyan and Buendia are two-laned and can be used by both guests, residents, and vehicles marked with the inter-village stickers. While the Banyan entrance is open at all times, the Buendia entrance/exit has operating hours from 0600 to 2200 daily - including weekends. The smaller entrances Talisay and Global City are restricted for people or vehicles with granted access to Forbes (residents, their marked vehicles, house help equipped with access cards, and village employees). These entrances have limited operation hours, as follows: Talisay, open from 0600 to 1800 every day, except Sundays when hours of operation are shortened. Global City, open from 0600 am to 1800 pm every day, and closed for operation on Sundays<sup>166</sup>.

All entrances, with the exception of Banyan, are closed off during times of instability or unrest. The typically two-laned Banyan entrance is closed off to a one-laned entry way. Lastly, all gates are equipped with the electronic e-pass system. A sticker that marks all residents' registered vehicles allows for automated access into the village. These stickers are compliant with the inter-village agreement. All entrances are featured with guard booths and a boom which can be raised and lowered<sup>167</sup>.

These physical barriers are then complemented by a rigid security structure. Here, the chain of command starts at the top with the FPA Village Manger, and continues down the chain to the Security manager/supervisor, and from there to the security guards<sup>168</sup>. The Village Manager and Security Manager both have offices inside the Forbes Park Village. The office of the Security Manager functions as a HQ of security operations, and guards are in constant communication with HQ through radio communication. The Security Manager and Guards are El Tigre employees<sup>169</sup>.

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

On top of physical barriers, and a rigid security regime comes a set of stringent security policies. Just how stringent? Until recently of May 2012, the Makati City Police was not allowed to patrol inside the Forbes Park perimeter. It wasn't before after the robbery of the Iranian Embassy that the FPA "loosened up" on their policy towards the Makati City Police. In a statement to the Philippine Star, Superintendent and Makati City Chief of Police, Jamie Santos said the following:

"...that one obstacle in the anti-crime operations of the Makati City police is the policy of the city's posh subdivisions not to allow police officers inside the villages...This is some sort of a soft opening. From time to time, our police officers will be allowed to conduct police visibility and security patrols inside these subdivisions. However, the subdivision homeowners have set certain conditions<sup>170</sup>".

According to Santos, these conditions involve the Makati City Police HQ to identify the officers who will conduct the patrol prior to their arrival, and the officers will also have to provide homeowners with their cell phone numbers. Reasons given for their concern, was that homeowners reiterated that Forbes Park houses many VIP's and foreign embassies, in addition to the rampant red-tape and corruption among some members of the PNP<sup>171</sup>.

## **5.2.2 The Security Company: El Tigre Security Agency**

### **5.2.2.1 Organizational Structure & Profile**

*El Tigre Security and Investigation Agency* and *El Tigre Integrated Security Services* (El Tigre) are a part of a larger private security group named *CAT Security Group* (CAT). CAT is there again a part of the *Building Care Corporation* (BCC). Starting at the top, BCC is a diversified company and divided into four distinct units; Security Services; Engineering Operations & Maintenance; Building Sanitation & Allied Services; and Construction & Repair Services<sup>172</sup>.

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<sup>170</sup> Frialde, Mike. "Cops Secure Makati's Posh Villages." Philippine Star. 25 May 2012. Web. <<http://www.philstar.com/breaking-news/810329/cops-secure-makatis-posh-villages>>.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> *Affiliated Security Companies*. Building Care Corporation, Web. [http://www.bccgroup.com.ph/cat\\_security\\_group.htm](http://www.bccgroup.com.ph/cat_security_group.htm)

In addition to *Alert 1* which provides Alarm Monitoring & Electronic Security systems, CAT functions as the Security Services unit of BCC. CAT is then divided into nine affiliated security companies, of which two are El Tigre. The decision to affiliate was made through the desire to maximize profits by a unified marketing service through CAT and sharing procurement of logistical needs and services for the affiliated security agencies<sup>173</sup>.

CAT, through BCC caters to a diverse client portfolio. In addition to providing services to Forbes Park, CAT security is also providing security services to Multinational Companies (MNCs), Buildings & Condominiums, Education Institutions, Bank Institutions, Retail Establishments, Restaurants, Hospitals, and Hotels. This entails that CAT, and by extension El Tigre are currently employed across residential, commercial, and institutional sectors<sup>174</sup>.

### **5.2.2.2 Security Personnel**

According to the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), as of May 2012, El Tigre through its two divisions currently employs a total of 346 security personnel of all kinds<sup>175</sup>. Hereunder, 326 of the employees were male, as opposed to only 20 females. In turn, 277 of the male personnel and 19 of the female personnel were assigned to a total of 28 clients<sup>176</sup>. Of these, approximately 25-30 are assigned to Forbes Park<sup>177</sup>.

Information acquired from the BCC website provides an image of a rather young average demographic. The average age of security guards spanning from 25-35 years of age. The demographic is as data from DOLE illustrates, also heavily skewed towards a male dominated workplace. This appears to be due to a variety of reasons tied to hiring preferences. One such preference is height; CAT security states on their website that applicants must be at least 5'7" or taller which excludes most Filipino females<sup>178</sup>.

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<sup>173</sup> *Products & Services*. Building Care Corporation, Web. <<http://www.bccgroup.com.ph/>>

<sup>174</sup> *Client Industry Profile*. Building Care Corporation, Web.

<sup>175</sup> Please see section 5.1.6 for an overview over the various types of security personnel.

<sup>176</sup> Philippines. Department of Labor and Employment. Regional Office No. 5. Master List of Registered Contractors/Sub-Contractors. Apr. 2012. Web. <<http://ro5.dole.gov.ph/fndr/mis/files/DOLE-RO5%20Master%20List%20of%20Registered%20Contractors%20and%20Sub-Contractors.pdf>>.

<sup>177</sup> Gatchalian, Leslie. 01 December 2012.

<sup>178</sup> *Job Opportunities*. Building Care Corporation, Web.

### 5.2.2.3 *Training and Working Conditions*

The amount of training and educational background varies greatly depending on what position the employee has. Senior personnel such as Directors and Operations managers are expected to hold BSc or MSc degrees in Criminology, Law, or other relevant fields. Additionally, they are expected to hold certain certifications such as Certified Security Professional or Certified Security Management Specialist. They are also expected to have over 10 years of experience from the private security industry. These requirements come in addition to basic qualifications such as License to Exercise Security Profession (LESP). For basic security guards and security officers, a LESP in addition to a high school diploma is sufficient<sup>179</sup>. These accreditations are issued by the Philippine National Police, Security Agencies and Guards Supervision Division<sup>180</sup>.

Through the LESP programme held by the PNP, E1 Tigre personnel are subject to training within identifying and recognizing risks, communication skills, responding to emergency situations and demonstrating marksmanship in addition to learning various self defense techniques.

For security guards and security officers, the security profession is a minimum wage job. This is due to low barriers of entry, as these two basic positions 'only' require a high school diploma and a LESP issued by the PNP-SOSIA after completed training at SAPI. The average security guard/officer

working in the NCR can expect to make somewhere between PHP 10 000 to 15 000 a month depending on years of experience, background, and in which sector they work<sup>181</sup>. A Security



**Figure 1.** "Security Stand Guard outside the Philippine Stock Exchange at Manila's Makati Financial District". Photo: Cheryl Ravelo.

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Philippine National Police. Supervisory Office for Security and Investigation Agencies. License to Exercise Security Profession.

<sup>181</sup> Security Guard. "Salary Report, JobStreet.com". Web. <http://myjobstreet.jobstreet.com.ph/career-enhancer/basic-salary-report.php>



Manager/Director, depending on the same criteria can expect to make significantly more, ranging between PHP 35 000 to 45 000 a month<sup>182</sup>.

El Tigre security guards are positioned throughout the Luzon area, and are expected to clear a neuro-psychiatric test and a drug test. Many of the security personnel also come from military backgrounds. Unlike with western scenarios, where clients and companies try to keep a social and toned down profile; Filipino security guards maintain an image of authority and their uniforms resemble police uniforms<sup>183</sup>.

#### **5.2.2.4 Standards and Accountability**

Just like the security personnel they employ, private security companies such as El Tigre must possess a License To Operate A Private Security Agency/Company Guard Force (LTO). In addition to a basic LTO, companies must renew their LTO every 2 years.

An interesting fact about the legal regulations for Private Security Companies & Agencies in the Philippines is that the ownership must be entirely 100% Filipino owned. This explains in large part the absence of the major private security companies such as Group4Securicor and other MNCs. For an exhaustive account of the various laws and regulations concerning LESP and LTO, please see Republic Act 5487, which covers the organization, operation, business and activities of private watchman/security or detective agencies, security training institutions/systems as well as private security and training personnel<sup>184</sup>.

#### **5.2.2.5 Services provided to Forbes Park**

Services provided by El Tigre encompass many of the traditional contract security services one has come to expect from private security companies. For example, El Tigre frequently uses mobile patrols around the Forbes Park premises. Moreover, they also enforce access regulation through sentry and static guard services at gates and entry points. There are always one or more guards at each point of entry to Forbes. The main gates have two guards manning them at all times, whilst the smaller ones only have one. The guards also approve/disapprove the entry of visitors, deliveries, etc. These persons have their identities checked and are subject to an inspection for any harmful objects. Guards also check people

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<sup>182</sup> *Security Manager*. "Salary Report, JobStreet.com".

<sup>183</sup> Wakefield, A. (2003) p. 168; Ravelo, C. (2010).

<sup>184</sup> Republic Act No. 5487.

who exit the village premises to deter theft<sup>185</sup>. El Tigre security guards also regulate traffic flow on public roads outside the Forbes Park perimeter walls. This is done to ensure that resident vehicles are able to enter and leave in a timely fashion due to heavily trafficated and congested roads in Makati<sup>186</sup>. In addition, El Tigre, through Alert 1 also provides CCTV services at the entry points after encouragement from the Makati City Police<sup>187</sup>.

El Tigre also provides information and security awareness sessions held by the BCC group at Forbes Park once every quarter<sup>188</sup>. Here representatives from El Tigre, training directors from the Security Academy of the Philippines (SAPI), FPA Village manager Jun Medina, and other authorities on private security were gathered to inform Forbes Park residents on recurring and relevant criminal activities and their modus operandi<sup>189</sup>. In relation to the event, SAPI Training Director Alexander Fabreag Jr. commented:

“Some of the known criminal *modi operandi* are making a comeback, not to mention the new ones popping up. There is a need to be better aware of such activities so that we know how to act upon them”<sup>190</sup>.

The session involved topics mostly related to money scams and typical syndicate crimes including robbery, theft, extortion, kidnapping and ATM scams.

#### **5.2.2.6 Cooperation with the Philippine National Police**

Literature on private policing has shown that private security and regular police can cooperate and complement each other in policing activities. So is also the case with El Tigre and the Philippine National Police. Despite past history, and in wake of the Iranian Embassy robbery, El Tigre have agreed to provide PNP with copies of CCTV footage. CCTV equipment was recently installed around the entry points to Forbes Park. FPA has also, as mentioned earlier, recently agreed to allow Makati City Police to perform patrols inside the village - something they have not been able to do before. El Tigre and the Makati City Police are also involved in knowledge sharing, and benefit from each other's insight

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<sup>185</sup> Gatchalian, Leslie. Interview. 01 December 2012.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Frialde, Mike. "Cops Secure Makati's Posh Villages." Philippine Star. 25 May 2012. Web.

<sup>188</sup> Gatchalian, Leslie. 01 December 2012.

<sup>189</sup> *Spreading the Need for Security Awareness*. Building Care Corporation, Web.

[http://www.bccgroup.com.ph/security\\_awareness.pdf](http://www.bccgroup.com.ph/security_awareness.pdf)

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

### **5.2.3 Summary**

Forbes Park is a High End gated community (if not *the highest* in the Philippines). As such, Forbes Park attracts a lot of wealthy, important, and famous residents. Not only does private security follow the lines of wealth as Abrahamsen et al. claim, wealthy and important communities demand enhanced protection of their life and assets. This demand has been filled by El Tigre private security agency which provides common contract security services such as CCTV, mobile/static guard services, and information and knowledge sharing. For El Tigre and Forbes Park, this is not only a lucrative business, it is also a serious business. For the as shown, the security threat to Forbes Park and its resident members is a real concern. A concern reflected in its enhanced security through physical features, services, and policies.

## CONCLUSION

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This thesis has explored the private policing of mass private property in Makati, Metro Manila. This has involved examining the constitutive factors of private policing, and its relationship with mass private property. The process entailed identifying the key components and factors that underpin policing activity of quasi-public space.

The paper then described the current security, land, population, social, and geographical situation of the greater Metro Manila area, and specifically in Makati. Research then progressed to applying key concepts, ideas, and theory from the deconstructed theoretical framework and placing them in a Filipino context. A case study on Forbes Park, a gated community and residential form of mass private property would serve as a the research site. Findings here were based on data and information extracted in accordance with the theoretical framework.

### 6.1 Principal Findings

The study set out to explore the private security sector in the Philippines through the private policing of mass private property. The study also sought to ascertain which possible consequences and influences private policing of mass private property had on surrounding public space.

The study has shown that overall; the Filipino private security industry is a big business. Moreover, the study has also shown that mass private property occurs in large volumes across the National Capital Region (NCR). Furthermore, it is evident through the results that private policing is something that is present in everyday life in Makati. I draw this conclusion is based on frequent occurrence of indicators related to private contract security services delivered to the research site, Forbes Park.

Findings show that services rendered by the PSC El Tigre Security Agency were indeed very similar to services attributed as policing activity per definition in the theoretical framework. Amongst these, the mobile patrolling of the premises; the surveillance of property through CCTV; the knowledge brokering and information sharing; but most of all the enforcement of

regulation practices related to accessibility through exclusionary methods proved most prominent of all. The focus on regulating who, when, and what could enter the village proved as findings showed, the main focus of the security regime. This not only meant the screening of visitors, ID checks, pat downs, vehicle searches, and other precautionary services performed by El Tigre personnel; but also the physical deterrents such as a walled perimeter and gated entrances with physical barriers.

The industry itself while large, is still heavily regulated. This is as results demonstrated attributed to various governing legal statutes in the form of Presidential Decrees, Republic Acts, and certification and licensing. Here, four components have played an integral part: (1) Republic Act No. 5487, *An Act to Regulate The Organization And Operation Of Private Detective, Watchmen Or Security Guards Agencies*; (2) Presidential Decree No. 1919, *Amending Further Republic Act Numbered Fifty Four Hundred Eighty Seven Otherwise Known As "The Private Security Agency Law"*; (3) the Philippine National Police - Supervisory Office for Security and Investigation Agencies, *License to Operate*; (4) and *License to Exercise Security Profession*.

Findings also showed that only Filipino nationals and Filipino owned companies are granted 'Licenses to Operate'.

Lastly, in ascertaining what possible effects private policing of mass private property has had on surrounding public space in Makati I would like to draw on a couple of examples from the findings. First, private policing through the directing and regulation of traffic outside the Forbes Park entrances directly affects public space as road networks are quickly becoming the only true public spaces in Makati. Moreover, concerns from homeowners, has impacted the local government zoning regulation of McKinley road. Findings showed that the increases in amount of gated communities did not proportionally lower crime rates in the city.

The findings in this study will hopefully make useful contributions to the literature on private security and private policing in the Philippines. Specifically in the areas pertaining to regulation of the private security industry in the Philippines; the security operations in gated communities; and lastly the nature of private policing in mass private property.

## **6.2 Implications**

It appears, given the findings that it is impossible to insulate and safeguard oneself entirely from the surrounding threats of the city. Even in a strictly guarded gated community such as Forbes Park, the Iranian embassy was still robbed. This suggests two possible security gaps inside Forbes Park, and in gated communities in general.

The first is that of helpers, maids, gardeners, and other employees with regular access to the residences. These can go relatively unnoticed around the premises, and carry out various crimes. One hitch is the visitation and search of such personnel and vehicles leaving the village. Resourceful criminals, however, will always find a way around such obstacles.

Second, the Makati City Police indicated that organized crime syndicates had purchased lots inside the village, and were using them as bases for their operations. Making the entire community an 'inside job', with the lot serving as a 'Trojan Horse'.

For Public Space, future implications are mostly related to displacement of criminal activity and the gated communities ability to influence its immediate surroundings, even outside its perimeter walls. As findings showed, there was no statistical proportional correlation between the increase in amounts of gated communities and lower levels of crime. In fact, one factor which appeared to have a direct impact on crime levels was net increases in population. What this suggests is that gated communities, as suspected have a displacement effect. Increasing the security inequality by keeping the inside safe, and the outside increasingly more unsafe.

## **6.3 Avenues for Further Research**

Further research on the correlation between the presence of mass private property forms in Makati, both residential and commercial, and their surroundings would greatly aid literature on both urban development and private policing in urban areas.

It would also be beneficial to examine the private policing of mass private property in the forms of malls and other recreational areas. It would be useful in ascertaining whether commercial sites use different security schemes than those of a residential nature. This would greatly broaden the appreciation of private policing in urban areas, and especially in the Philippines.

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