

Paul Kennedy

Not long ago, the Law Commission of Canada asked sociologist Christopher Murphy to look into the policing of Canadian cities and to find out who's doing what. He was startled by what he discovered.

Christopher Murphy

It frankly was a surprise to me — and will be a surprise to just about everybody, I think — that the public police actually have a relatively small role in the provision of general public order, safety and security. Every day when I go to work, I am, to some extent, affected by the campus security. I'm affected by private security in the banks when I visit. When I walk down Spring Garden Road, I see private security out on the streets. I see signs for Community Watch and Community Patrol. If I stroll through the casino, I'll bump into a 35-member, unregistered, unregulated security service. I see the public police relatively rarely.

Paul Kennedy

The preponderance of private police which Chris Murphy found in Halifax is reflected across the country. In some places, private security companies have begun to take on functions once reserved for the public police. One that's been particularly aggressive in challenging the public monopoly is Toronto-based Intelligarde. Tonight's program is about the public policy implications of the rapidly expanding private security industry, and we're going to spend the first half of it on the streets of Toronto, finding out what Intelligarde does. Our show is Part 1 of a special 10-hour series by David Cayley called "In Search of Security."

Ross McLeod

This was the first social housing project we ever did. We're now arresting the children of people that I arrested when I started this company.

David Cayley

We're in an alley behind the public housing projects that line Toronto's Sherbourne Street. It's a Thursday evening, and Intelligarde's Ross McLeod is telling war stories to several of his younger officers.

Ross McLeod

The first night, the very first night, there was only one fence in this place, and we had 16 people handcuffed to it. We were making so many arrests that we carried Loblaws bags full of disposable handcuffs, already threaded and ready to go. And eventually, the sergeant came over from 51 Division. He says, "What are you guys doing?" And we said, "We're cleaning this place out." He says, "Can we work together on this?" He says, "Do you want me to send a bus?" He says, "Enough, enough tonight." He says, "I'm not doing anything else, okay?" We said "Okay." He says "So, tomorrow night?" I said, "Well, how many do you want?" He said, "Don't give me more than ten." "Okay." So, we worked together that way. Because this place was totally out of control. They were just marching in column of rout through the place.

David Cayley

When Ross McLeod began, as he says, "to clean out" this alley 18 years ago, Intelligarde consisted of him and his partner. Before he set up the business, he had been involved in a string of private art galleries and an art publishing house which had failed during the recession of the early 1980s. Before that, he was a professor of sociology at the University of Regina. Today, he has 500 employees, a kennel of police dogs, a stable of police horses and a reputation - in which he seems to rejoice - for having changed the face of the private security industry in Canada. The company's hallmark from the start has been an assertive, hands-on approach which employs many of the same tools as the public police. For example, there's the fleet of police-type cruisers, which Ross McLeod shows me as we tour his Cherry Beach headquarters.

Ross McLeod

So, this is parts of the mobile fleet here. You've got marked. You've got unmarked. We have GPS in all the cruisers so we know where they are in the city. This is something that police forces would love to have, but the unions won't let them, because it tells you where all the cars are. So you can look at the big screen in dispatch, and, say, hypothetically, you could see six of your cruisers were clustered around a Tim Horton's somewhere, right? So, of course, we can get on the blower, and we can say, "Hey, your 15 minutes of fame are up, Messrs. Warhol etc. Get out of the Tim Horton's. And also of course, we can

track the speed. We set the speed at, say, 110, and the little, blue car markers that are moving around the city, if they go over that speed, then they turn red. And they leave cookies behind them, so you can see what routes they're taking and whether these are inappropriate routes. So, it's for our officers' safety, it's for efficiency and effectiveness in terms of rapid response in critical situations, and it's also a management tool. You've got 50 twenty-somethings out there in the middle of the night and a \$30,000 car, with maybe a \$5,000 dog in a cage in the back, and the more supervision that you can have, the better for everybody concerned.

David Cayley

Just across the parking lot are the kennels where Intelligarde's 26 dogs are housed. These include German shepherds, Rottweilers, a cocker spaniel, who specializes in bomb detection and even a prize bloodhound. The dogs are fully trained. In fact, they're occasionally lent to public police forces. And they're invaluable, Ross McLeod says, in the kind of policing Intelligarde does.

Ross McLeod

It's very, very common if we're in a very volatile housing project, if our officers make an apprehension of, say, a narcotics dealer, then they're holding one prisoner. That prisoner starts to shout to the flotsam and jetsam, "Come and help me. Get me out of here." Then of course, suddenly the officer is facing 10, 20, 50... the crowd grows. Every minute it grows. So, they radio for canine support. We have 30 cruisers on the road, so usually in a minute or two, a cruiser will arrive, deploy a canine and hold the crowd back until the police get there. Or you can take the prisoner to cover inside the building, out of the sight of the crowd. So, getting swarmed is an everyday occurrence for our people.

David Cayley

The dogs are the responsibility of Domenic Mammoli, a certified trainer who glows when he talks of the virtues of dogs and policing. He offers me a demonstration.

Domenic Mammoli

Ulysses, would you mind being a bad guy for 5 minutes?

David Cayley

Ulysses is an Intelligarde officer who has played this part before. He wraps a protective shield around his forearm, and Domenic sets the dog on him. Then he calls him off. As promised, the dog is absolutely obedient and stops the instant he is told. At Domenic's invitation, I tentatively pet the now docile Thunder. Thunder also makes nice with Ulysses, whom he was just furiously attacking. I'm impressed.

A few moments later, Ross McLeod and I are joined by Kirk Briscoe, one of his senior managers, and the three of us set off in a cruiser to visit various Intelligarde sites. As we drive, Kirk Briscoe explains their emergency radio codes.

Kirk Briscoe

If it's very serious, and you're going to get into a fight or the situation is totally out of control, you would just advise your dispatcher that it was a 10-78 call, and a 10-78 call is that you need some help, and you need it real fast...

Ross McLeod

You also have an emergency button on your radio so that if, for instance — and this has happened — one of our female officers a couple of years ago was jumped from behind, and the attacker took her shoulder mike, as she was trying to call a 10-78 into it, he knocked it out of her hand, wrapped it around her neck and started to choke her with it. Before she lost consciousness, she reached down and pressed the emergency button on her radio, and that overrides all other radio traffic and sends an automatic 10-78 signal to dispatch. Her radio number comes up on the screen, so they know who's calling, and, of course, because of our procedures, they know what her last reported position was. So, in that case, her first backup unit got there in about 90 seconds and managed to knock the fellow off her and to take the cord off her neck, and so she recovered. She was pretty hoarse for a couple of days, but she recovered. And subsequent units arrived, arrested the attacker, and that fellow did some hard time for aggravated assault.

David Cayley

We arrive at our first stop, an apartment building regularly patrolled by Intelligarde. Along with the officer whose beat this is, we check the underground

garage where several cars have been broken into and then the stairwells.

Ross McLeod

Our experienced officers are like... You know the old Westerns that I grew up on — I think you and I are a similar vintage, you would have grown up on them as well — with the Indian trackers? They'd go and they'd poke something on the ground. They'd say, "Many men pass here." And our experienced officers can tell the difference between animal feces, human feces, and within the category of human feces, they can tell the difference between people that are taking different types of drugs just by the pattern of the droppings. It's amazing what you learn over time. It's like reading the woods, but we're urban trackers, and so we're tracking people through buildings and parking lots and parkettes.

David Cayley

The image of the urban tracker analyzing the spoor of drug users evokes the gritty romance that Ross McLeod wants to restore to policing. The public police, he says, have lost their connections to local communities and can no longer give citizens the policing they want. Intelligarde, he tells me, as we resume our tour, is showing the way.

Ross McLeod

What people were yearning for was a type of community policing, so that when there was disorder, and there was crime, somebody would intervene and remediate and restore. And what they wanted was police, but the police would not, could not, do it. They would not deliver community policing. They delivered the rhetoric, but they would not deliver the reality, so that's what we started doing. When I came in 21 years ago, private-sector people did not make arrests. You could not buy handcuffs in Canada. We had to buy them in the States. And we had to start off very carefully, with lots of legal advice, but we started intervening. We started making arrests. And it just changed over a period of 10, 12, 15 years. It just changed the whole rhythm of the private sector. This new service was now available. The business expanded. And, at first, the police were shocked, and they even started, in a few cases, arresting our people under the mistaken notion that we weren't allowed to arrest people. They just didn't know that sector of the law very well because it had never been put to the test. They

realized, of course, very quickly that we were within our rights, but then after a while, some of them became apprehensive that maybe we were out to get their jobs, not realizing that they couldn't or wouldn't do the work.

David Cayley

Ross McLeod calls Intelligarde the "parapolice," a name he has actually registered and also the title of his recently published book on the subject. In his view, the parapolice should be to the public police as paramedics are to doctors or paralegals are to lawyers. They will do the things that would be too expensive if you had to pay a police officer to do them or that the police say they're too busy to do, in any case. And in this kind of community policing, Ross McLeod says, the parapolice have a great advantage because they're unarmed.

Ross McLeod

The gun is huge, the gun is huge, because when you've got a gun, it distances you again from the public. Because normal members of the public don't handle guns, they don't encounter guns very often, and guns make them, in my experience, fairly nervous. I've done a lot of worked armed, and when you have a gun, every call you go to is an armed call, and you're quite aware - at least I was - that, no matter how tough you are, there's always somebody out there who's tougher or more hopped up on pain-numbing drugs or just got out of prison after 11 years of working out for 2 hours a day, and they will be capable of overwhelming you and taking away the gun. And, of course, the stats show that a huge number of officers that are shot are shot with their own gun. So, I think that when it comes to community policing, most of it's going to be done by people like us, without guns, and I think that's a good thing.

David Cayley

Our next stop is the Moss Park Public Housing Complex. The company's authority here, as elsewhere, has two sources: the right of the property owner and Intelligarde, as the owner's delegate, to determine who can do what on that property, and the ancient right of any citizen to arrest a person whom he observes committing an indictable offence. But the law also requires the person making such an arrest to immediately call the police, who then have to go through the whole matter again. So, the public

would be better served, Ross McLeod tells me, as we walk the halls, if Intelligarde officers had the status of police deputies — “special constable status” it’s called in law — because then they would be able to write tickets and exact promises to appear in court themselves.

Ross McLeod

With the number of arrests that our company makes, I’ve calculated that if we had special constable status, it would free up the police and thereby save the taxpayer about \$25-million, and that’s just our company. Because in 51 Division last year, they made about 5,000 arrests, and about 44 per cent of those arrests were our prisoners turned over to them.

David Cayley

In the stairwell, we come across someone who has passed out. Neil Moran and Robert Buffone, the two Intelligarde officers who patrol here, try to rouse him.

Intelligarde Officer (actuality)

Come on. Straighten up. All right. Do you have any identification on you? Nothing?

Civilian

Georgie-Porgie.

Intelligarde Officer

Georgie-Porgie? What’s your name? Have a seat for a second. Do you live here?

George

I do.

David Cayley

Once Buffone and Moran have ascertained that “Georgie-Porgie” lives in the building, they escort him back to his unit.

George

Let me in. It’s me. It’s Georgie-Porgie.

Intelligarde Officer

Hi. Can we come in?

David Cayley

We enter the apartment and find two of his friends there. My presence with a microphone adds to the hubbub.

Jeremy

Hey, have you got this on?

David Cayley

Yes, it’s on. It’s recording.

Jeremy

Hi. My name is Jeremy. And these security guards are really out of proportion because this guy lives here, and we’re his guests.

David Cayley

Despite this assurance, the Intelligarde officers continue to press for lease papers or some other proof that this is Georgie-Porgie’s home. The request is fairly straightforward, but Georgie is in no condition to comply.

Intelligarde Officer

Listen one last time: anything with your name on it.

Civilian

George, don’t you have something like... You know lease papers...bills?

George

I do not.

David Cayley

The matter is finally settled with a call to Intelligarde Dispatch, who consult the tenant list of the building. Our man checks out, and we leave.

Intelligarde Officer

Thank you very much...Welcome to our world.

David Cayley

We cross a courtyard where children are playing, then come to an apartment unit that’s been boarded up. Neil Moran tells me the story.

Neil Moran

She was a tenant who moved in — two years ago you’d say?

Robert Buffone

About two years ago.

Neil Moran

Good girl. She gets mixed up in the wrong crowd. She meets this guy who supposedly wants to be her

boyfriend, but turns out to be a pimp, gets her hooked on drugs, crack cocaine, and she just took a downward spiral. And her unit then became a crack house for people to come, do their tricks, do their drugs. And recently, she's was evicted, and we check on it periodically because there were times the doors were kicked in, the windows were smashed. Right now, they've boarded up the window, and the unit is secure, but that can change.

David Cayley

Neil Moran tells me he's considering a career in policing or corrections. Many of his fellow officers have the same idea. "Police-wannabe" is a taunt often directed at Intelligarde's people, and former employees of the company are already working for police forces in both the United States and Canada. Ross McLeod isn't always happy to lose his best people to better-paying police jobs, but he still says that his graduates are just what the police need.

Ross McLeod

There's a very heavy institutional mentality in the police. It's what sociologists call a "total institution," and there's not many of those left, but the police is one of them. And various consultants and some intellectuals that study policing started telling the police, "Look, you've got to get people with a broader life experience, more diversity, not just kids that are brought in as cadets and form their whole mentality in the police world." So, they started looking for people with broader experience. Well, as a lot of these young officers will tell you, this is the place where you can get the most life experience that's relevant to policing. You're out here. You do not have a gun. You do not have a uniform that says "police." So, you have to use your brain, and you have to use your mouth, and you have to use all your negotiating skills. Whereas you walk in to a situation with a big gun on your hip and a uniform that says "police," you don't have to use all those skills if you don't want to, and, unfortunately, that's what's led to the situation that the public police talk the talk of community policing, but they don't walk the walk because they don't have to. But out here, we have to, or we'd be eaten alive.

David Cayley

Intelligarde, as Ross McLeod sees it, is not only training police officers; it's also creating pressure for a reform of public policing. It's often said that public

police are accountable through civilian boards and review agencies, while private police are not. McLeod turns the proposition around. To him, it's the private companies that are accountable because they have to satisfy their clients and insurers.

Ross McLeod

We're actually forcing the police to adopt modern management techniques and adopt things like transparency because we are transparent. We can't sweep things under the carpet. We can't run and we can't hide. We're subject to much more scrutiny than the public police are. We don't have the protections that they have. We are accountable. We are client driven. These are all the things that we expect in modern corporations that we deal with. Successful modern corporations are like this. And the public gets it from private security, and they're starting to demand it from the police, and they're saying, "Why won't you answer us? Why won't you deliver this type of policing? Why aren't you here at night on foot, in the community when the crime's being done? That's when we want you here. We don't want you in a car, whooshing by during the day." So, they hire us to pound the beat and give them the policing they want.

David Cayley

Our last stop of the evening is at the Atkinson Coop, a former public housing project now making the transition to self-management, where Intelligarde has the policing contract. In the office, a conversation starts about the help Intelligarde now provides to the public police. Kirk Briscoe relates a recent meeting with two detectives from a task force set up by Toronto Police Chief Julian Fantino to deal with the problem of guns and gangs.

Kirk Briscoe

That unit was three days old when we met with them on Monday out at Chalk Farm, because Chalk Farm has been targeted as a hot spot. And they sat there, these two detectives. We overloaded them with information so that they had to leave and schedule another meeting for Friday. We gave them all the files and the whole 9 yards. And they said, "Listen, the only reason we're here is because it comes right from Fantino's office. He's fed up with the guns, the graffiti, the drugs, the gangs." When Fantino and the deputy chiefs got together, and they briefed all these detectives — there's 75 of them, 3 squads of 25 —

what Fantino said was, “Go out on the streets. Go to the people who know what’s going on.” And there were two groups who they were told knew what was going on. “Go see Intelligarde, and go see Toronto Housing.” That was it.

David Cayley

After an uneventful tour of the Atkinson Coop, we head back to Intelligarde headquarters, where our tour ends. We sit in the car outside the main building, and Ross McLeod tells me finally why he thinks a blended system of public and private policing is both inevitable and desirable.

Ross McLeod

We have to talk about the public good, and we have to talk about finite resources, and there’s a better way to divide the law-enforcement pie and to share the law-enforcement budget. And a lot of the work that has to be done can be done much more efficiently and effectively by the parapolice and much, much cheaper. So let’s let cooler heads prevail and say, “Okay, we’ll do a division of labour here. We’ll contract the following functions out to the private sector and hold them to standards or benchmarks that are legislated by government... They’ll be supervised and invigilated by public police agencies and police service boards, and be accountable...” We’re already more accountable than the police in terms of market forces and being picked over by insurance adjusters et cetera, and insurance is compulsory in our industry, and if we lose it, we’re out of business. They have the power to come in and investigate everything, so it’s nothing extra to us to take on the additional pieces of accountability that the police have. We’re eager to do that. So, there’s nothing left in the road to a working together of public and private, except some old-fashioned turf protection, and also the public not realizing that this blended form of policing would be ever so much better for them. So, I think as soon as the public realizes this, they will sweep away the old dinosaurs that are trying to hold on to their privileged positions. There should be no more total institutions in modern societies. The last institution to be reformed is the police, and it looks like we’re going to be the reforming agent.

David Cayley

Ross McLeod is a persuasive character, and his vision of parapolicing seems very much in tune with the times. But not everyone is impressed. One political group that has expressed very strong opposition is the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty. OCAP, as it’s known, has been a militant advocate for the interests of the poor on issues like welfare and homelessness, and many of its people live in areas where Intelligarde polices. Gaétan Héroux is a veteran OCAP organizer who works for an agency called Street Health. Its offices are on Dundas Street, just around the corner from Moss Park, near the entrance to the alley where Ross McLeod made his first mass arrests.

Gaétan Héroux

Slowly, we began to hear stories of people interacting with private security, and the one that comes to mind was the one a few years ago involving a man, Roger Carr, who I’d known for a while...I got a call from his wife one night, saying that Roger was being beaten up by Intelligarde in the lobby. I got in a taxi. I came in. As I came in, I could see his shirt had been pulled off. His hands were handcuffed behind his back. He was bleeding from his head. He had a huge bump on his head. There was a dog there and the two Intelligarde. And it was quite a stark image, given what I knew of Roger, who was a very, very proud person.

David Cayley

Intelligarde and OCAP disagree on the facts of Roger Carr’s case. He filed charges against Intelligarde. Intelligarde filed counter-charges. Carr’s charges were dismissed. Intelligarde dropped theirs. But the incident galvanized OCAP. They began to organize against Intelligarde. They charged Intelligarde with brutality and with racism. (Roger Carr was Jamaican.) Meetings and demonstrations were held. Posters appeared characterizing Intelligarde’s people as stormtroopers and “Intelligoons,” as one such poster put it. The issue, says Gaétan Héroux, was not security as such, but a certain style of security which OCAP believed humiliated the poor and violated the rights of tenants.

Gaétan Héroux

Everyone recognizes, and not just at Dundas and Sherbourne, but in many, many areas, that security is a real issue for people, including for poor people. But at the same time, poor people have a right to a certain standard and a certain kind of policing. And what we're seeing with this kind of kick-ass attitude that Intelligarde brings to it is a lot of residual effects: for instance, tenants who are assaulted by the security guards, rules that are just totally ignored in terms of people's rights... You need a warrant to enter an apartment, in most cases. We were hearing many stories of Intelligarde, with keys, going in or forcibly going inside, knocking on the door and then pushing themselves in. Those were the kinds of stories we were hearing. And we were also hearing that the people who ran Intelligarde were bragging about the fact that they would do things that sometimes would go outside the norm, but they said, "Well, we did that because people would see us as...we're effective," and that's their argument.

David Cayley

Gaétan Héroux says that he doesn't reject policing as such. He objects only to policing as a substitute for social policy. He also thinks that the aggressiveness with which his community is policed is tolerated only because its victims are poor. He considers Intelligarde's trademark dogs to be a sign of this incivility.

Gaétan Héroux

Policing people with dogs is really, really troublesome, and I don't know if that kind of policing in any other community would be tolerated. My feeling is that the Intelligarde approach to this...very, very few other communities would tolerate that kind of policing. The reason that they're able to do the kinds of things they do in this community is because this is a very poor community. You have to understand, we have over 2,000 hostel beds in this area. It's probably the largest concentration of homeless people in Canada. We have social housing all around us. And this is where Intelligarde has put its stamp, but the truth is, Intelligarde can't resolve these issues. It's impossible for private policing to resolve these issues because ultimately these are social issues. 51 Division hasn't been able to do it, and Intelligarde can't do it. What they can do is, they can make life very intolerable for some people who maybe shouldn't be in the area. But, as

we've seen with Roger and others, the tenants get caught in the crossfire, and some very, very serious incidents have occurred. If I lived in a complex, I would fight tooth and nail and with everything I had to make sure that Intelligarde wouldn't be in that building. That's not the answer.

David Cayley

Gaétan Héroux's view of Intelligarde - it hardly needs saying - is entirely opposite to Ross McLeod's. Where one sees a new era of community policing, the other sees an occupying army. The Intelligarde people I met on my brief tour seemed obliging, intelligent and free of the swagger one often associates with police. But how people behave in front of a journalist with an open microphone on a specially arranged tour hardly counts as evidence in this debate. What is certain is that even Intelligarde's admitted practices raise a lot of questions. Many of these questions are addressed in a new book by Carleton University criminologist George Rigakos. It's called The New Parapolice, and it reports the results of several months close, on-the-spot observation of Intelligarde at work.

George Rigakos

One of the things that distinguishes them is their level of aggressive intervention: stopping people that they're not familiar with and asking, "Who are you? Where are you going? What's your business here? Provide me with identification. How do I know you live in this building? If you don't live in this building, I'm removing you, and I'm issuing you a banning notice." Patrolling areas in those buildings where they think there might be people loitering. Patrolling areas in those buildings where they think there might be people setting up temporary residences: sleeping, for example, in abandoned cars in the parking lot, underground areas, stairwells et cetera. Taking careful notice who these people are, what they're wearing, any sort of personal identification, any possessions. They have a fairly remarkable sized database on unofficial residences in Toronto because of the activities that they're engaged in. They amass quite a bit of information on Toronto's homeless population, and they use that as part of their marketing as well, the type of information that they can convey to clients in terms of the people that they've arrested and the patrols that they've made and so on. They don't collect this data for the sake of collecting data. They collect this data because it

makes them more marketable, it makes them more professional, it makes them more thorough.

David Cayley

This “thorough” policing can be dangerous work, as you heard earlier. George Rigakos has calculated from his own research that an Intelligarde officer is five times more likely to be attacked on the job than a member of Toronto’s public police force.

George Rigakos

In the book, I document a whole bunch of cases where the Intelligarde officers have put their lives in danger. Unarmed, they try to make arrests against notorious drug dealers. They’re swarmed. They’re beaten. Guys have spent weeks in the hospital. But they have themselves also faced criminal trials for abusing tenants that live in the building. So, it’s almost a “swarm or be swarmed” mentality that develops because you really do have running turf wars with regional gangs, and Intelligarde’s business is all about stifling someone else’s business, and when that happens, there’s a lot of violence. While observing these patrols in certain hallways, in certain buildings, across Toronto, I was afraid. The types of looks and the types of stares and the way that we were greeted by people in those buildings. And I was a walking target, particularly because I wasn’t wearing a uniform, so they thought I was a supervisor. It was troubling. So, it’s a very dangerous occupation, and quite frankly, I couldn’t understand why someone would want to do this, but I understood after a while that there’s a sort of camaraderie, there’s a sense of mutual reinforcement, and the subculture works in odd ways in companies like that.

David Cayley

Intelligarde officers are more at risk than public police because they are much more exposed. They have less prestige, and they are part of the places they police.

George Rigakos

It’s very unlikely that a police constable on patrol would spend hours sitting around in a residential area, hoping to come into contact with or frustrate the trade, whether that be drug dealing or whatnot, of a particular resident and make that their primary issue or primary goal. It’s too insignificant. It’s not a big enough deal. So, of course, the likelihood of

coming into contact with those individuals who are upset with them is far greater for an Intelligarde officer. They’re in their face all of the time. They’re relentless. When the police arrive, they come in force, and they’re there to make an arrest.

David Cayley

In the thoroughness and detail of their work, George Rigakos thinks that Intelligarde and companies like it are returning to a model of policing that was prevalent in the early 19th century. The control of potentially unruly populations was then called “police science.” Its purpose was to observe and control these populations, making them manageable by making them known. Intelligarde, in George Rigakos’s eyes, has similarly far-reaching ambitions.

George Rigakos

They’re really about trying to set up a new civil order on these chunks of private property. It runs the gamut from reporting on litter in hallways to checking on fire extinguishers to reading gas valve temperatures to talking to residents about securing their own community to the more aggressive tactics like making arrests for engaging in all forms of minor incivilities and nuisances to long-term investigations on drug use and dealing. It’s a one-stop management system for hire on private settings.

David Cayley

According to George Rigakos, Intelligarde regulates the people and place it polices with an intensity that goes beyond what we would expect or tolerate from the public police. And this kind of private regulation, in his view, is becoming more and more common. Commercial malls, for example, may post standards of dress and deportment and then evict those who don’t conform.

The limits to such private authority in semi-public places like malls is one of the issues which George Rigakos raises in a discussion paper he drafted for the Law Commission of Canada. Called “In Search of Security,” the paper is intended to alert Canadians and their lawmakers to a legal and regulatory vacuum. At the moment, private security companies are licensed by understaffed provincial agencies, with little or no ability to effectively supervise their operations, and there are no public complaints procedures. Several provinces have amended their laws to include minimum training standards, but

none has put forward an overall vision of the proper relationship between public and private police or of how private security is to be held to public account. The Law Commission is now following up its discussion paper with a report to Parliament. It will recommend, among other things, better integration of public and private policing.

A central argument for the integration of public and private policing rests on the idea that public police can no longer deliver all of the policing which contemporary societies require. This is the view of Stephen Schneider, a criminologist at St. Mary's University in Halifax, who has worked both for the police and for a private forensic accounting firm. He says that the police simply can't cope anymore and that what they can't cope with above all is the form of crime that actually hurts people the most: economic crime.

Stephen Schneider

Just look at Enron. Look at how many thousands of people were just absolutely devastated from Enron. How many senior citizens lost their pensions? How many people lost all the value in their shares? And this is a great irony: The crimes that have the most negative impact on society are the ones we treat with the most leniency, and most police forces will tell you that we do not prioritize economic crime. Just the other day, the Edmonton Police Force actually came out and said, "We will not respond to most reports of economic crime. If you've been defrauded of money, if you're a victim of a telemarketing scam, don't come to us because we can't respond to it." And the RCMP has said that in BC. The Toronto Police have said that. And the fact is that you can call the police now, and you can say to them, "I've just got an e-mail from a Nigerian advanced fee e-fraud scam. Could you look into that?" And they'll basically laugh at you. They'll say, "You know what? We received a million of those last week," and they wouldn't be exaggerating. The police, government, state cannot keep up, and they do not have the mandate or the resources to be the exclusive body of crime control, and that's absolutely personified by economic crime.

David Cayley

Because the police can't cope with economic crime, it is mainly dealt with by private investigators or forensic accountants, as they're known. And a lot of corporations, says Stephen Schneider, like it that way.

Stephen Schneider

The corporations would prefer that the private sector deal with it for a number of reasons, but one of those reasons is that they have more control over the investigation. If you're a corporation and you hire a private police force to do your investigation, you can completely control that investigation, and not only the investigation, but the outcome. With a public investigation, once you turn things over to police, you've completely lost control of that investigation. You have no control over the outcome. And the other thing is that most corporations don't want the negative publicity. They don't want people to know that they've been victimized. They certainly don't want their shareholders to know that their employees have been ripping them off. And the corporations don't necessarily want people put in jail; they just want to get as much of their money back as possible. And that's the role of the private investigator. The private investigator's role is to get the money back. The job of the police is to put the guy in jail. A low priority for police is getting the corporations their money back. So, there's a number of compelling reasons why you would not want to turn to police.

David Cayley

Private investigation may suit corporations that just want their money back and no bad publicity, but it can hardly be said to serve justice or the public interest. And the public interest also suffers, according to Stephen Schneider, because private firms tend to skim off the cream of the public police.

Stephen Schneider

The public sector is actually subsidizing the private sector because we're training all these police officers, and then they go to the private sector. It's a temptation that's too tough to resist. You do your 20 years. You get trained. You've developed a significant amount of expertise. You've gotten your pension. So, why would you stay in the RCMP when you could go to the private sector, make a bigger

salary plus collect your pension at the same time. It's very enticing.

David Cayley

The private forensic accounting industry siphons off public resources, but, at the moment, has no obligation to act in the public interest. The only solution, Stephen Schneider says, is to integrate this sector within a single publicly accountable system.

Stephen Schneider

The police do not have the resources anymore in society to effectively and comprehensively address all our crime problems. So, I argue that we're at the point where basically the public police should start deputizing the private-sector policing. I think there should now be a formal division of labour.

David Cayley

Stephen Schneider's proposal is still a long way from anyone's legislative agenda, but it is already stirring up debate amongst the police. When the Law Commission assembled a large international conference on security last year, the most talked-about event was the brouhaha that broke out over this issue between police executives and police union representatives. Speaking in favour of integration was career police officer Jacques Duchesneau, who was the Chief of Police in Montreal between 1994 and 1998. Montreal, he says, is one of the few Canadian cities — Edmonton is also notable — where the police have already established the beginnings of a formal division of labour with private providers.

Jacques Duchesneau

When we merged all the police services in Montreal in 1972, smaller cities felt that they lost a certain kind of service, a tailored sort of service that they had had before, and these small cities decided to have their own private security that was mainly there to patrol, to have a presence, because the cost of public service, police service was getting too high. When we merged all the police services in 1972, there were 5500 police officers. When I left, we only had 4200, so we had lost 1300. One-fifth of the whole force was gone, so they had to rely on private security. That was cheaper, and they were doing a very specific type of work which did not need full training like police officers received.

David Cayley

Did you coordinate with them?

Jacques Duchesneau

Yes, yes, we did. We worked closely. They were our eyes. When they saw something, they would call 911, and we would go over there and help them in trying to solve the situation.

David Cayley

The Island of Montreal's local patrols give citizens what they want at a cost they can afford, and cost, Jacques Duchesneau says, is the main issue driving the integration of private security and public police. During the period between World War II and today, policing has gone from a fairly labour-intensive, blue-collar occupation to a high-tech, high-cost drain on municipal budgets. And this is why Jacques Duchesneau thinks that police unions are dreaming when they argue that they should have the jobs that are now going to \$10- to \$15-an-hour security guards.

Jacques Duchesneau

If you talk with union representatives, they feel that they're losing jobs. But I don't think that is facing reality. A full-trained police officer today is very expensive. Police officers cannot be in shopping malls anymore. They cannot be in parking lots anymore. Because we've reduced the number of police officers, they don't have time to issue tickets the way we did. Parking violations, bylaw infractions cannot be taken care of by public police officers. It's too expensive. So, we have to find other ways. So, no, I don't see that as a threat.

David Cayley

Jacques Duchesneau's view of private security as a supplement, rather than a threat, to public police is not shared by Canada's police unions. Their central body is the Ottawa-based Canadian Police Association. Ontario Provincial Police Officer Dale Kinnear speaks for the association.

Dale Kinnear

We've looked at it right from Day One, and at the people who want to go down that road, and, to us, this is nothing more than a search for cheap labour. Because of the demands for higher skills and higher training and more accountability and everything else that has been placed on the police — and rightfully

so — over the last 20 years, it's driven up the cost of policing. The cause and effect is that it's getting now more expensive to put a police officer on the street. So, I think some of the people now, some of the bean counters, some of the criminologists, who may have been responsible for driving the price of it up ten or 15 years ago are now coming out with this as a solution, as a form of cheap labour.

David Cayley

According to Dale Kinnear, policing is expensive because it's in high demand. During the last 30 years, he says, the police have been made more accountable to civilian overseers, the courts have held them to more exacting standards, and legislatures have passed new laws for them to enforce. One of the results has been better educated, better trained and better paid police officers. So, is it fair, he asks, to now tell them they're too expensive and that some of their work will have to be farmed out to private security?

Dale Kinnear

We've been facing new demands since the early '70s, probably beginning with the Bail Reform Act and on through the Charter and on through complaint systems and other accountability measures. And then we wonder what happened that, all of a sudden now, some of these same groups and deep thinkers who have brought some of that upon us could consider employing private security guards to carry out some of our functions. Accountability and oversight and everything else was the issue for us, but yet now in a bid to bring in this cheap labour, they're not as concerned about the accountability mechanisms and what have you. They're not putting that in place as well. And I think what's going to happen — and I don't know why they can't understand this, we're a little bit on the merry-go-round here — what's going to happen, with an increase in authority and responsibility but without all the other things they need to do in terms of certification and training and all this kind of thing, I think you will find that people aren't going to be very satisfied with how they're being treated or what's going on. So, the same thing is going to happen with private security as happened with the public police. So, are you getting anything any different really than what you already have? You may buy a little time, buy a little relief, for a few years. But we are just amazed at the fact that after we went through this

wave of new oversight — and I'm not saying that was the wrong thing to do — that now something that is far less qualified, far less accountable than what we ever were 30 years ago is being considered for some of these areas of responsibility where they're going to bump up against people's Charter of rights and freedoms, the same as what the police do. So, I think they need to take a good, long, hard look at some of these things and just realize that the answer may be properly funding what you already have as opposed to trying to find an unsuitable solution.

David Cayley

According to Dale Kinnear, bringing private security up to the standard of the public police would in effect turn them into the public police, and we'd be no further ahead. But his solution runs into the objections raised earlier by Ross McLeod, Steve Schneider and Jacques Duchesneau: The public police can't cope with all the demands on them, and with policing already eating up the lion's share of overstretched municipal budgets, there's no money to pay for more police. It's an issue that legislatures will soon have to face. Behind it lie deeper questions: How satisfactory and how accountable are the public police? How distinct goes on. is the difference between public and private? Do we need all this security? I'll take up these questions and many others as this series

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