

## What are the main impacts of post-9/11 securitisation on policing change

This study will focus on some of the practical and theoretical principals of global securitisation on policing change in the post 9/11 era. Focusing primarily on the United Kingdom and United States, although making reference to some of the other global securitisation issues that have occurred around the world and which impact on the UK and US.

Through these aims I will concentrate on separating the paradigms of internal and external security, arguing that securitisation is now blurred requiring a transnational approach. Placing forward the argument that securitisation and policing change, are not as a result of 9/11 or even the tragic events of 7/7 in London, but simply a return to neighbourhood policing with the 'community policing the community.' Showing that it is simply a u- turn by government and senior police officers, back to a long established and effective way of policing.

This study is not going to particularly examine any area in great depth, but will instead look to draw on the areas identified to support my arguments. I will start by looking at the academics debate of securitisation (internal and external security) which directly translates into policing policy and procedure; arguing that policing is now transnational and not as simple and clearly defined as, internal and external security. Before looking at the following major areas; The Intelligence Services (MI5 & MI6), The Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA), The major restructuring of police forces in England & Wales, The National Community Safety Plan and The UK's Counter Terrorism Strategy and Threat Assessment. Finally, I will look at the relationship between the UK and US in light of 9/11 and in particular the US Homeland Security strategy.

This study does not in anyway set to underestimate the impact of the events of 9/11 or the real threat to the UK from Islamic fundamentalist, but rather to challenge the idea that policing is changing as a direct result.

Terrorism is occurring on an international stage and it is important to consider the internal and external factors of terrorism and whether they are as clearly

defined as internal and external security, or if they are both so inexplicably linked that they are merged together.

Interestingly, Anderson et al<sup>1</sup> identified the blurring of such boundaries in 1995, suggesting that security was truly an international and global issue, thus moving away from the responsibility of single nation state to that of one requiring a multi-national approach. Article 3(2) of the United Nations convention<sup>2</sup> defines an offence as transnational if it is (i) committed in more than one state, (ii) committed in one state but prepared/planned/directed/controlled in another state, (iii) committed in one state but involves an organised criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one state, or (iv) if it is committed in one state but has substantial effects in another state. Importantly, Anderson et al, also recognised the importance that the state placed on the individual for security, thus focusing on the 'Community Policing the Community.'

In other work by Bigo<sup>3</sup> he states a Mobius ribbon has replaced the traditional certainty of internal & external boundaries<sup>4</sup> therefore saying that the clear defining boundaries between internal and external security are no longer as defined and obvious as they were, and that they have in fact merged.

So, who is involved in policing the UK? In 1909 the Secret Service Bureau was divided into two thus creating MI5 (Security Service) and MI6 (Secret Intelligence Service), with MI6 taking on the responsibility for intelligence gathering overseas, and MI5 dealing with security threats within the UK. The MI being short for Military Intelligence, a direct throw back to their formation and initial role of combating the threats posed by espionage and subversion during times of war.

MI5's main purpose is to protect national security and economical well being in the UK, by working alongside UK and International law enforcement agencies, including the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA), in its fight against serious and organised crime. The focus of MI5 in the 1950 and 60's was particularly one of counter-espionage up until the 1970 and 80's, when it moved towards targeting the threat of the IRA and international terrorism. Today it is particularly concerned with global intelligence gathering against Islamic fundamentalists.

It was, however, not until 1989 with the provisions of the Security Services Act and more recently the Security Service Act 1996, that MI5 was given a

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, M., den Boer, M., Cullen, P., Gilmore, W., Raab, C., & Walker, N. (1995) Policing the European Union

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2000)

<sup>3</sup> Bigo (2002) Security and Immigration: Toward a critique of the Governmentality of Unease' Alternatives, 27, Special Issue: 63-92

<sup>4</sup> Bigo (2002) Security and Immigration: Toward a critique of the Governmentality of Unease' Alternatives, 27, Special Issue: 63-92- page 76

statutory footing under which it now operates alongside police forces and law enforcement agencies. Section 1 (4) of the 1996 Security Service Act states the following; *'It shall also be the function of the Service to act in support of the activities of police forces and other law enforcement agencies in the prevention and detection of serious crime.'*<sup>5</sup>MI5 play a key role in gathering and analysing intelligence and helping to formulate the development of the UK Threat Assessment.<sup>6</sup>

On The 3rd April 2006, the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, launched the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA), an amalgamation of the National Criminal Intelligence Service, National Crime Squad, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs and the Immigration Service. During his launch speech he stated the following, *'SOCA would take a sophisticated, integrated approach to tackle the tyranny of the most serious criminals. Anti-social behaviour and petty crime needed one form of policing, organised crime needed another.'*<sup>7</sup>

Although SOCA's focus is on organised crime it also has a specific role to interdict the flow of funds to terrorism, with the aim of cutting off the main arterial route of any terrorist organisation. Importantly SOCA is seen as a move away from traditional policing using 21<sup>st</sup> century policing techniques to tackle the modern entrepreneur of organised crime, the 'Mr Big'. The control of SOCA being much more central and outside of the traditional tripartite policing governance of, Chief Constable, Local Police Authority and the Home Office. Thus moving to a more formalised central police force structure and with it issues of bureaucratisation and independence.

So, how is the formation of SOCA going to impact on policing? In an extract taken from the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, Sir Ian Blair, Dimpleby speech in November 2005,<sup>8</sup> he addressed a number of areas, including the demands on the police service, and the focus on community policing. *'In effect, the police face a widening mission...If I can emphasise that with a single statement, it is that the Met deploys officers every day in Barking and in Kensington, tasked specifically to prevent truancy and graffiti, but also usually has officers on the ground in Baghdad and Kabul. Properly to respond to all of that mission, to move to neighbourhood policing while responding to terror without losing current mainstream services, the police will have to alter the way we work, change the make up of our workforce and seek out new partnerships with the public, together with new methods of democratic accountability.'*

So are the regional police forces, of which there are 43 (including the Metropolitan Police) really able to provide such diverse policing? The

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<sup>5</sup> Security Services Act 1996, Section 1 (4)

<sup>6</sup> SOCA (2006/07) UK Threat Assessment

<sup>7</sup> SOCA Launch (2006, 3<sup>rd</sup> April) Prime Ministers Speech

<sup>8</sup> BBC News. (2005, November 16) Transcript from Sir Ian Blair's, Commissioner of Metropolitan Police

Dimpleby Speech.

government thinks not, which is why in September 2005, following publication of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabularies (HMIC) report, 'Closing the Gap'<sup>9</sup>, they announced major restructuring plans for police forces in England & Wales. The report essentially focused on the ability of provincial police forces to deal with organised crime, including terrorism and as such revealed some serious shortcomings in the ability to tackle 21<sup>st</sup> century crime.

A direct result of the 'Closing the Gap' report was that the then Home Secretary, Charles Clarke, announced to the House of Commons in a written ministerial statement that he intended to proceed with the compulsory amalgamation of existing police forces, to create a single force for Wales, and the merger of 15 existing forces in a number of super regional forces in England.<sup>10</sup> This was even in light of very serious reservations, and concerns expressed by some chief constables and police authorities. The Home Secretary's intention was to have the new forces established and in place by the 1<sup>st</sup> April 2007, however for a number of reasons and in part the opposition to the plan from existing police forces the amalgamations have been shelved, or rather as I would suggest-put on hold.

Another significant policy, forming policing change is that of the, 'The National Community Safety Plan, (NCSP)<sup>11</sup> issued on the 16<sup>th</sup> November 2005 and updated 12 months later in November 2006.<sup>12</sup> The NCSP sets out the Home Secretary's priorities for the Police Service, into six main categories:

- Making communities stronger and more effective,
- Further reducing crime and anti-social behaviour and building a culture of respect,
- Preventing extremism and countering terrorism (added since the initial plan),
- Creating safer environments,
- Protecting the public and building confidence
- Improving people's lives so they are less likely to commit offences or re-offend.

A very important element of the NCSP is that it recognises that community safety and policing cannot be delivered solely by the police, but instead as part of a partnership at a local and national level, with the use of community support officers, neighbourhood wardens and inter-agency community safety partnerships.

Such partnerships are vital given that terrorists can come from within communities, requiring consideration to be given to the impact a counter

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<sup>9</sup> Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2005, 13<sup>th</sup> September) Closing the Gap-

<sup>10</sup> House of Commons. (2006, March 3) Written ministerial statement to the House of Commons on progress on the review of police force structures

<sup>11</sup> Home Office (2005) National Community safety plan 2006-2009

<sup>12</sup> Home Office (2005) National Community safety plan 2006-2009- UPDATE

terrorist operation can have, on relationships with the police and the community. After all, it can take many years to open up doors and build bridges between the police and a community, but only a few hours to destroy all the good work.

An example of this working together is the Muslim Safety Forum<sup>13</sup>, which was formed following 9/11 to develop and formalise a working relationship between the Muslim communities and the Police Service. Its function being one of addressing matters of concern for Muslim communities in the UK, relating predominantly to terrorism and extremism. Such a formation further enhances the 'community policing the community,' strategy and neighbourhood policing.

In light of the events of 9/11 and 7/7, terrorism is never far away from any crime agenda and as such is a fundamental part of the NCSP. So much so that it encapsulates the UK's counter terrorism strategy, which is known as - CONTEST.<sup>14</sup> This strategy is divided into four principal strands: Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Prepare. Under the prevention category the policy is engagement policing in its broadest of terms, through challenging the ideologies that extremists believe can justify violence, by tackling discrimination and disadvantage, through community-based programmes and thus impacting on countering terrorism.

In the words of Sir Ian Blair, The Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. *'National security depends on neighbourhood security. It will not be a special branch officer at Scotland Yard who first confronts a terrorist but a local cop or a local community support officer. It is not the police and the intelligence agencies who will defeat crime and terror and anti-social behaviour; it is communities.'*<sup>15</sup> Community policing is certainly being seen as the way forward and when we consider that communities will both harbour and give up the terrorist it does make sense.

As crime becomes even more sophisticated and technologically advanced so does terrorism, requiring new policing methods and legislation. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon to the UK, having been the subject of repeated terrorist attacks over some 30 years from the IRA. However what is new is the form terrorism takes. The real and serious threat of terrorism remains, with the IRA being replaced by radical individuals who use a distorted and wholly unrepresentative version of the Islamic faith to justify indiscriminate violence. Their aim is to cause mass casualties, with the terrorists prepared to martyr themselves as suicide bombers.

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<sup>13</sup> Muslim Safety Forum

<sup>14</sup> Home Office (2006) Counter-terrorism strategy

<sup>15</sup> BBC News. (2005, November 16) Transcript from Sir Ian Blair's, Commissioner of Metropolitan Police Dimbleby Speech.

Terrorism is here to stay, with The Home Office Counter -Terrorism Strategy, of July 2006 stating the following,'Overall, *we judge that the scale of threats is potentially still increasing and is not likely to diminish significantly for years.*'<sup>16</sup>

In light of this and in order to strengthen existing powers the Prime Minister on the 5<sup>th</sup> August 2005 set out a twelve-point action plan focused on strengthening community integration and tackling those committed to facilitating and promoting terrorism.<sup>17</sup> This action plan focused on creating legislation that would tackle terrorism both on the domestic and international stage.

Another important document influencing security policy is the UK Threat Assessment (UKTA) for 2004-05/, 2005/06 which was produced by NCIS. <sup>18</sup> It describes the threats against the UK as coming from serious organised crime and breaks it down into the following categories; Class A drug trafficking, organised immigration crime, fraud, money laundering, firearms, Hi-tech crime, sexual offences against children including online abuse and a final category of other threats such as armed robbery and kidnap. This clearly shows that the security threat facing the UK is greater than just one of terrorism, but also that the demands placed on the police service in the broadest of terms are immense and very diverse. Especially given that each category is a heading from which there are many more sub-categories.

This poses the question as to whether our modern day police officer is suitably equipped to tackle the diversity and complexity of 21<sup>st</sup> century crime? Or is he simply the,' Jack of all trades, and master of none', being left to chase the shadow of the modern day criminal? Is this how the authorities and the Government saw it, even prior to 9/11?

Whilst we are all aware of the events of September 2001, when four simultaneous actions, in the US killed nearly 3,000 people, there have been other significant terrorist attacks around the world, in predominately Muslim countries such as; Pakistan, Morocco and in October 2002, when 190 people were killed in a Bali nightclub.<sup>19</sup> There have also been devastating attacks in European countries, for example the multiple bombs that targeted the Madrid train network in March 2002.

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<sup>16</sup> Home Office (2006,July) Counter-terrorism strategy

<sup>17</sup> 10 Downing Street, Prime Minister (2005, August 3) Press Conference- 12 Point action plan

<sup>18</sup> National Criminal Intelligence Service (2004/5 -2005/6) UK Threat Assessment.

<sup>19</sup> BBC News (2006,September 4) Timeline : AL-Qaeda

So how has the UK developed its domestic and international approach to terrorism? In June 2003 and as a direct result of the 9/11 attacks the then Home Secretary, David Blunkett and the US Secretary of Homeland Security, formed the Joint Contact Group (JCG), which meets bi-annually.<sup>20</sup> The JCG remit is to share knowledge and good practice on joint security issues such as protecting borders, transportation and scientific and technological advances including biological warfare.

Even with this approach it is easy to see how, whilst the US acknowledges the true international aspect of terrorism the UK and US have developed different responses to it. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks in the US a new strategy of Homeland Security was created, defined as, '*... a concerted national effort to prevent terrorist attacks within the US, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur.*'<sup>21</sup>

An area of particular focus for the US was border control, integrating existing law enforcement agencies, and heightening the levels of security at ports and borders through greater examination of individual's identity, travel documents and luggage, with the aim of preventing dangerous persons or equipment from entering the country. In addition airplane security increased with the carrying of armed air marshals, as well as increased internal security between the cockpit and cabin. Further resources and attention were also directed towards gathering greater domestic intelligence, through surveillance, search warrants and arrests.

It is however important to point out that whilst a very positive pro-active approach has been adopted by the US, in its Homeland Security strategy it is not without its critics. The strategy having been criticised in reports and studies in the US for lack of focus, effectiveness, efficiency, and coordination.<sup>22</sup>

To conclude, firstly let us look at the events surrounding the bombing of Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie in 1988 by terrorists and why it has taken 19 years and the further events of 9/11 to make changes.

My argument is that it has not. The events of 9-11, the post security policies that are now dictating change, and a more centralised public policing approach, were occurring anyway. Yes, it can be argued that new legislation to cover detention, immigration and radicalisation has been significant since the events of 9/11 in fighting terrorism, but I would argue only in developing and strengthening existing terrorism legislation.

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<sup>20</sup> Home Office (2006, July 7) - Counter terrorism strategy

<sup>21</sup> Dalgaard-Nielsen, A., & Hamilton, D. (2006). Transatlantic Homeland Security. Page 2

<sup>22</sup> Dalgaard-Nielsen, A., & Hamilton, D. (2006). Transatlantic Homeland Security. Page 7

Another significant change is the need to develop the broader aspect of policing through community based intelligence and multi-agency working, to identify the rotten core from within.

Again this is nothing new, just a return to good old traditional methods of policing that existed in the 80's, with the village bobby who knew everything, being bolstered with the additional eyes and ears of Police Community Support Officers through a multi agency approach.

Even the formation of an elite national crime fighting force, now called SOCA was being discussed in the early 90's. I accept that the police officers role was becoming too diverse to effectively tackle 21<sup>st</sup> century crime. However such a national force brings with it significant change from the tripartite governance of chief constables, police authority and the home office into a much more centralised and arguably more bureaucratic approach.

My final argument is to suggest that security is no longer as clear or defined as being internal and external, arguing that terrorist see borders as no boundaries. The reality of today's society gives ease of travel and migration to all, truly shifting and blurring the effects of border control enhancing my argument that securitisation through policing of organised crime as determined by the UN convention requires a transnational approach.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon, nor a phase. It is very real and here to stay. As with everything we need to move with the times, which means policing needs to do the same. After all we cannot fight a war with swords when the enemy has guns. However, what is very clear is that although 9/11 and 7/7 have directly enhanced aspects of securitisation and policing, the real threat of terrorism and organised crime has been around for many years and is nothing new, even featuring as a key priority for the Metropolitan Police Service in 1997.<sup>23</sup>

I would therefore argue that change was occurring anyway, with a national dimension of policing being the key priority and the way forward.

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<sup>23</sup> Metropolitan Police Service (1997/98) . Specialist Operations, Security and protection.

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