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Trust in private security: Current research in Finland

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Abstract:

Finland as a Nordic welfare state traditionally has a strong emphasis on the state and its police and trust in the police is exceptionally high. Recently, global changes in policing landscape and pluralization of policing have occurred as the private sector participates in delivering security in private, public, and quasi-public spaces. However, even globally, we do not have much information on how these changes in the policing landscape affect trust and how citizens perceive private policing. This chapter points out that trust in private policing is important to study. It suggests that in addition to general trust, trust created or challenged in specific encounters between private policing agents and citizens, particularly among vulnerable groups, is important to consider. We start by describing the current context of the plural policing landscape in Finland. Secondly, we present current empirical research considering (a) citizens' general trust in private policing, (b) experiences of typical objects of policing, young people and ethnic minorities, and (c) victimization of security guards at their work. Throughout this chapter, we compare the empirical findings of private security in relation to police. Finally, we suggest some ways of how to improve trust. This paper offers new insights for an international audience from different empirical fields of study and contexts, and it maps out future research agendas to further develop trust in policing.

Introduction

In recent years we have witnessed a global growth in the private security sector. The industry has grown historically from a small number of enterprises into a multibillion Euro industry with at least two million employees in Europe (e.g. Button and Stiernstedt 2017). Private security operates in global and local contexts and therefore different contexts are important to study (LeLoup and White 2021). Although the private security field has a long history, in our study context in Finland, and more globally, the extensive rise of private security and the extension of its role indicates interesting changes in policing landscape. For instance, blurring borders of public and private policing is widely discussed (e.g. Wakefield 2003; White 2012; Moreira et al. 2015; Button and Stiernstedt 2017; Gurinskya and Nalla 2020; Leloup and White 2021). Based on growing research on plural policing, we now have a greater understanding of different pluralized, blurred, and networked modes of policing (ibid.). However, despite the increase of operations of private security companies, and plural policing research, the lack of academic research still characterizes the industry as compared to police research. Overall, these changes in the policing landscape call for a need to have more information also on how citizens are affected. We still lack empirical research and understandings of trust, or lack of trust in private policing, and how citizens formulate their conceptions of trust and perceive private policing. Furthermore, there is little information on how the security officers themselves experience their work. These are issues of which this chapter focuses on.

Prior research studying trust in policing has focused on public police and developing rapidly growing procedural justice theory; however, only a small number of studies has focused on the question of citizens trust in private security (see however e.g. Fagan and Tyler 2005; Gurinskya and Nalla 2020; Saarikkomäki 2016; Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021; Fielder and Murphy 2022). Similar to the public police, private policing agents use legal rights to “control” citizens (albeit more limited), and they can infringe basic rights of citizens; the field is therefore particularly sensitive to trust issues. Furthermore, the field where these policing agents operate is sensitive to experiences of violence, which can also diminish mutual trust and relations between citizens and policing agents. Important questions relate for instance on general trust in private policing and on how citizens feel treated by security officers, and do they perceive the authorities as procedurally just and fair, or the opposite. Topical issues relate also to the experiences of ethnic minorities, as ethnic profiling, which diminishes trust, is discussed increasingly in the public policing field (e.g. Keskinen et al. 2018).

Furthermore, this chapter can provide understanding from a fresh context as studies have typically focused on Anglo-American countries (e.g. LeLoup and White 2021). Finland provides an interesting context since it is a Nordic welfare state which traditionally has had a strong emphasis on state and high trust on the state and its police. Today, Finland, a Nordic welfare state of about 5,5 million people, is no exception in the global changes of policing. Like many other Western countries, Finland has witnessed transformations of policing, increasing pluralization of crime control as policing has become a mixture of public and private policing agents.

In this article, we review our prior empirical studies conducted in Finland. An overarching question this chapter focuses on relates to citizens' trust in private policing and how trustworthy and fair encounters between citizens and private security guards can be accomplished. We wish to raise a question also for the future of how to improve trust in private security – both in practice and in research. This chapter proposes that we need novel research angles to develop methods to study different aspects of trust and trust deficits. We move from general views to more specific encounters. Firstly, we turn to see how citizens overall trust in private security companies (as compared to the police) and are there differences in the level of trust among different socio-demographic groups. Secondly, we focus on those groups who have experienced security guard interventions and are typical subjects of policing: young people and ethnic minority youths. In addition, we discuss a new work method that has been developed to improve trust between security guards and young people in the shopping mall context. Thirdly, we look at private security guards' side to their work, focusing their experiences of victimization. Finally, we discuss how trust can be studied by using different methods and suggest some future research avenues. Before going to review these studies, we briefly introduce our plural policing context.

Private security in the Finnish plural policing context

Private security guards are referred here as policing agents or security officers used by the private or public sectors. They are typically employed by a private company, guarding private, quasi-public and public places, with a public mandate of order maintenance or a private mandate of securing private property. Even though the private security field is fundamentally private, it is not completely distant from the state in the Finnish context (see e.g. Paasonen

2020, 2021; Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021). Although security guards are defined as policing agents and they share many similarities to police officers, they also differ in multiple levels in their nature from the police work (see e.g. Kerttula 2010; Saarikkomäki 2018; Paasonen 2021).

Security services refer to a strong international field that has a very visible role in many countries and the operation fields are varied, such as in maintaining prisons and training security authorities. The number of operators in private security services has grown strongly during the past years. Finland has one of the lowest ratios regarding private security officer number to population (fifth lowest among 34 European countries) and police force number to population (second lowest) (Paasonen 2021). However, the numbers must be interpreted with caution, and it is difficult to obtain reliable statistics. Indeed, it is surprising how little information is available on the field, and Finland is not an exception. Studies and different kinds of market reports have been carried out (e.g. the field classification of the Central Statistical Office of Finland), but only very limited conclusions can be drawn. In the future, this needs development. Currently, there is not even an ongoing discussion on how the statistics and definitions could be improved.

In Finland, security officers who work for example in stores and on public transport and who are allowed to maintain public order and safety have 40 hours of basic training. It is possible to work as a part-time security guard with a temporary licence that consists of 40 hours of education; however, to work fulltime the 120 hours of training is mandatory (see e.g. Paasonen 2020). Training is organized for instance by security companies or adult education centres.

Private security industry regulation has a long history in Finland. The first provisions date back to 1924, when an order was given regarding public entertainment in the countryside which decreed the tasks and jurisdictions of doormen. Private security industry regulation in Finland is based on a different regulatory body model, which is also fairly common in many other countries (Paasonen 2020). The Private Security Services Act (1085/2015) covers guarding services, security steward services, security system installation services and security check services. Locksmiths and installers of burglar alarms are examples of security system installers. Companies offering private security services must have a licence. Nowadays in Finland, public administrative tasks, such as crime control, is firstly a state authority task, but private security can be also involved in order maintenance.

Similar to many other countries, the legal rights and jurisdiction of private policing in Finland is limited when compared to police. However, Finland is among those countries who regulate the field more than some other countries in Europe. Furthermore, harmonization of private security industry regulation at the European Union level has been raised; however, it may be very difficult to achieve considering that countries such as the United States and Australia have been unable to standardize the regulation of their private security industry within their country (Hakala 2007; Paasonen 2020). The private security industry and the European Committee for Standardization (CEN) have been developing standards that also apply to the Finnish context. For instance, a new certifiable standard EN17483-1 (Private security services. Protection of critical infrastructure General requirements) was just released. It lists quality criteria for the provider's structure, contracts, staff, and service delivery. In the future new standards will come: EN 17483-2 on Aviation Security (integration and update of EN16082), EN 17483-3 on Maritime Security (integration and update of EN16747) and other business environments such as energy, transport, and healthcare. All in all, private security is an interesting phenomenon as it is at the same time local and global.

Next, we turn to see studies conducted in Finland related to trust in private security and their work environment. When possible, we compare the findings in relation to the police to gain comparison points.

Citizens' general trust in private security companies

We focus next on how citizens overall trust private security companies and are there differences in the level of trust among different socio-demographic groups. Country representative studies on citizens' general trust in private security are scarce, and studies have mainly used student samples (e.g., Moreira et al. 2015; Brands and Doorn 2018; Gurinskaya and Nalla 2020). In this subchapter, the key findings are introduced based on Haarla's (2021) master's thesis, which is based on the Police Barometer surveys collected in 2001, 2005, 2010 and 2014. Overall, there were 4040 respondents. (When this research was done, the most recent data from 2018 was not available for the analysis.) The Police Barometer is an interview survey, based on a population quota sampling, commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior (Vuorensyrjä and Fagerlund 2016).

The respondents were asked, *how much you trust the actions of private security companies and the police* on a four-scale measure (a great deal, a fair amount, fairly little and very little). For the analysis, this was modified into a two-scale measure: trusts a lot and trusts a little. On the questionnaire there was no further explanation what was meant with ‘private security companies’, so the respondents may think of very different actions. Therefore, the results might be different if respondents were asked to assess their trust in security officers or differentiate between different sectors (e.g. bouncers, airport security, CCTV cameras, cyber security companies, etc.). Even though these definitions are linked to each other and are often used as synonyms, people might have different ideas of what they mean and what they represent when considering trust. Furthermore, it is challenging to define what trust means for the respondents. Often it is defined that at the core of the assessment of trust are assumed expectations for actions (Kasperson et al. 1992), therefore one explanation is that the level of trust is based on how well these institutions meet the assumed expectations. In addition, trust may reflect for example the general image or procedural justice. Procedural justice means whether the treatment is perceived as equal and fair (e.g., Fagan and Tyler 2005; Saarikkomäki 2016, 2018; Gurinskya and Nalla 2020).

We first show descriptive statistics and then the multivariate analysis. Multivariate analysis was done with logistic regression and average marginal effect (AME), and the results presented in table 1 are statistically significant. The analysis compares the mean effect of X on the probability of Y, and the results of logistic regression are given in percentage points instead of odds-ratio due to the use of AME. Percentage points express the difference in the probability of (mean) trust in private security companies or police when compared to the control group and when other variables are standardized.

The study found that most of the respondents trusted the actions of private security companies (avg. 70 %) and nearly all trusted the police (avg. 94 %). Trust towards the police remained the same but the trust towards private security companies has decreased between 2001 and 2014 (figure 1). In 2001, every fourth (25 %) and in 2014 every third (35 %) of respondents reported little or some amount of trust in the private security companies. The respondents left the question on trust more often unanswered when it considered private security companies. The respondents who reported high levels of trust were more likely to have trust in the other institution as well. Accordingly, this might measure general confidence also and not specific trust in the actions of a control agent.

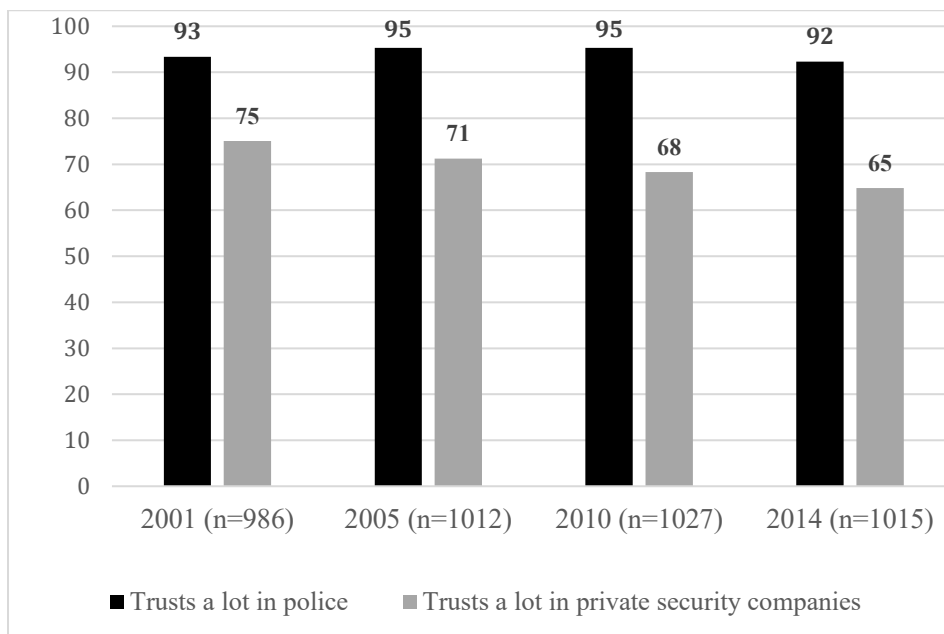


Figure 1. Trust (a lot) in the police and private security companies 2001-2014 (%).

The study, based on the combined data of the years 2001, 2005, 2010, 2014, found that gender, age, and educational background influence the level of trust in the private security companies and the police, when all variables were standardized (see later table 1). The effect on trust varies. We also look at descriptive statistics of age and education as they produced more varied results than the other variables in the logistic model (figures 2 and 3; created for this article).

All the age groups trusted less in private security companies as compared to the police (figure 2). When age group and trust in each year are cross-tabulated (without controlling for other variables, figure 2), the effect of age group is slightly different than after the analysis of logistic regression (table 1). Interestingly trust in public and private policing seem not to go hand in hand. When the trust in the police typically increases among older age groups, trust in private security is more varied (figure 2). Regarding multivariate analysis of age and trust in private security companies, older people trust less in private security as compared to youngest age group (less than 25, table 1). However, the oldest age groups trust more in the police actions as compared to the youngest age group (table 1).

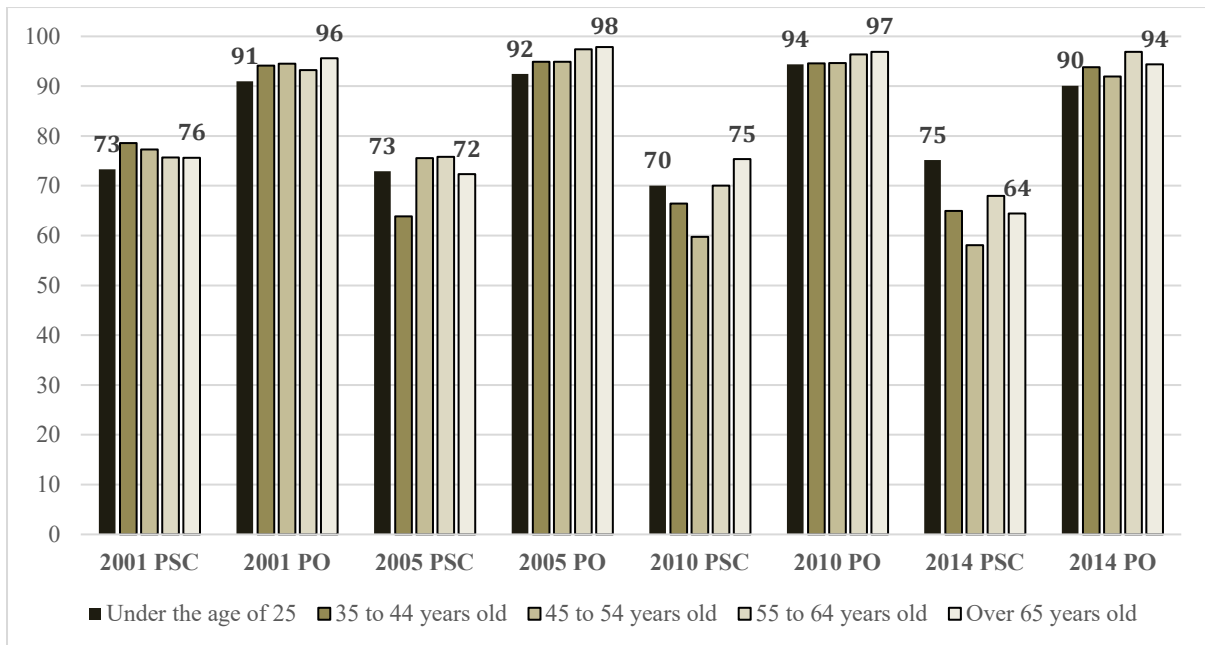


Figure 2. Age groups and trust (a lot) in the private security companies (PSC) and police (PO) in 2001-2014. (%)

In addition, educational background influenced trust. When educational background, trust and year were tabulated before the multivariate analysis, those who were highly educated seem to trust less in the private security companies and more on the police than those with lower education background (figure 3). In the multivariate analysis, a control group consisted of respondents that had completed primary education level (table 1). When other (higher) educational levels were compared, the probability to trust in the action of the private security companies was lower on higher educational levels. Again, trust in the police varied differently. The probability to trust the police increased nearly on all the higher education levels when compared to the primary education background.

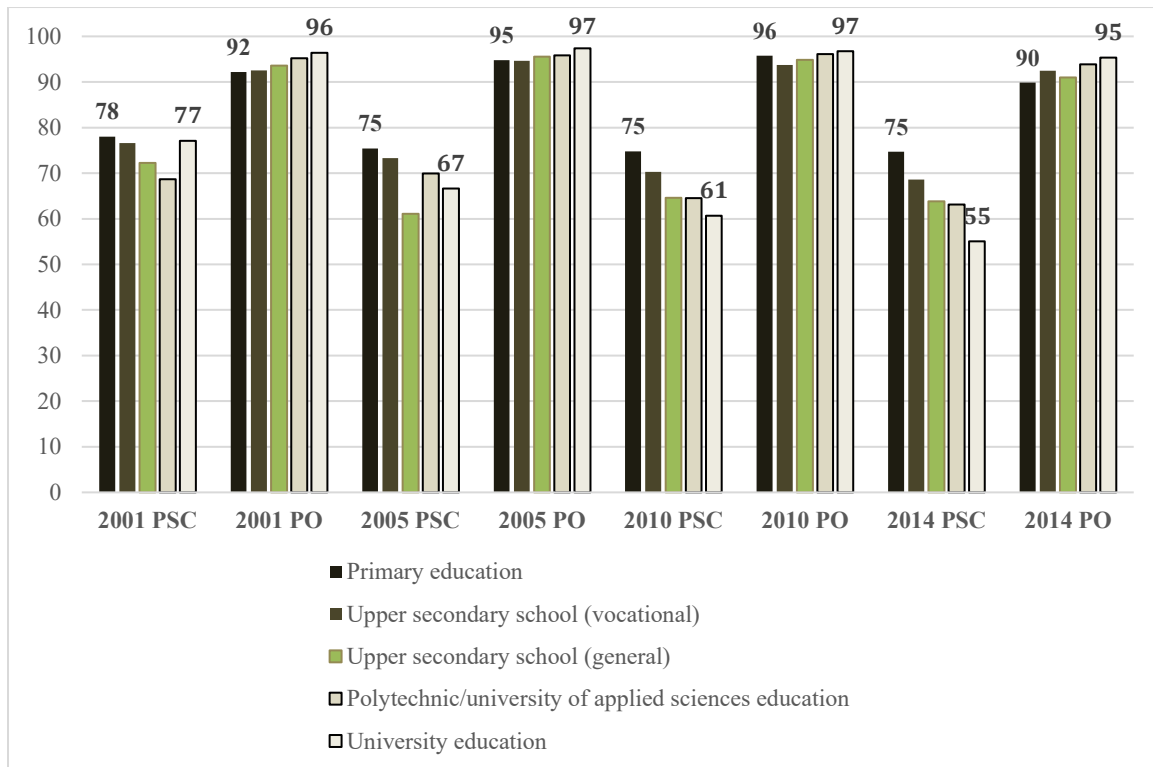


Figure 3. Education and trust (a lot) in the private security companies (PSC) and police (PO) in 2001-2014. (%)

Compared to women, men were less likely to trust the actions of private security companies than the police. The difference between men and women's trust in the police was small (table 1). Moreover, when the other variables were controlled for, being an eyewitness to crimes decreases the probability to trust in the actions of private security companies when compared to those who had not witnessed crimes.

Table 1. Variables that explain the probability (in percentage point) to trust the actions of private security companies or police more or less than the control group, when other variables are standardized.

Variable (control group)		PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANIES	POLICE
Gender (when compared to women)	Men	10 percentage points less***	2 percentage points less*
Age (when compared to under the age of 25)	25 to 34 years old	6 percentage points less*	x
	35 to 44 years old	x	x
	45 to 54 years old	6 percentage points less*	4 percentage points more*
	55 to 64 years old	6 percentage points less*	5 percentage points more***
	Over 65 years old	8 percentage points less**	6 percentage points more***
Educational background (when compared to primary education)	Upper secondary school (vocational)	x	x
	Upper secondary school (general)	8 percentage points less**	4 percentage points more**
	Polytechnic/university of applied sciences education	7 percentage points less**	4 percentage points more**
	University education	8 percentage points less**	5 percentage points more***
Eyewitness to crimes (when compared to not eyewitnessed crimes)	Eyewitness to crimes	6 percentage points less***	x

Police Barometers 2001, 2005, 2011 and 2014 (n=4040). Logistic regression, marginal effects (AME). * P < 0,05, ** P < 0,01, *** P < 0,001. Standardized variables in the model: year, gender, age, education, income, residential area, being victim of a crime, eyewitness to crime, victim of violence, eyewitness to violence, trust in police (only in analysis of PSC) / private security company (only in analysis of PO), fear of crime (sum of variables) and fear of crime.

To conclude, the results show that trust in public and private policing can be considered somewhat high in Finland; however, trust is not equal, and security companies were trusted less than the police and general trust in private security has diminished over time. One interpretation is that Finnish citizens trust the police more than the private security sector because police meet more of their expectations than private security companies. Maybe it is

not clear what is expected from the private security companies. Therefore, the decreasing trend of trust might be rooted on unclear assumptions and expectations. Also, the legitimacy of private vs. public policing might be a concern as noted in other studies (e.g. White 2012; Fielder and Murphy 2022). Furthermore, perceptions related to procedural justice likely also influence. Aspects we focus more next.

Trust varies to some extent between variables such as gender, age, and educational background. Based on the survey, we do not know exactly why, and we need more information on the quality of trust and more precise questions of “what” and “where”. One possible explanation for gender differences is that men are more likely to be objects of security guard control procedures because of their gender. Regarding age, on the one hand, older generations may have accumulated more negative experiences on private companies over the years than younger and consequently trust less in private security companies. However, this would not explain the higher trust in the police. So perhaps older generations might know the phenomena of privatization of policing less, and therefore “trust the old system”. When considering educational background, one explanation could be the identification of respondents. In Finland, it is possible to work as a security officer with a low educational background. For people with lower educational background, it might be easier to identify them with security officers. Similarly, a higher educational background might explain higher trust in police who is also highly educated in Finland. Similar explanation may be for the age group effect also: young people may identify more with private security guards who are typically rather young or more familiar with technological development such as CCTV cameras that are typically associated with private security. Lastly, those respondents who had witnessed crimes trusted less likely the actions of private security companies. One explanation could be that they trust less the ability of private security companies to prevent crimes. At this point, further research on the subject is required to understand the subject on a deeper level. Moreover, the results do not indicate whether respondents have experiences of their own on encountering security officers or police or what kind of experiences they have had. A question we focus on next.

Young people’s encounters with private security guards and ethnic profiling

Globally, and in Finland, there is a lack of research on how targets of private policing experience the interventions and how it affects their trust. A Finnish nationwide survey among young people aged 15 to 16 indicated that many had experienced security guard interventions

(Saarikkomäki and Kivivuori 2016). In this chapter, we review prior Finnish qualitative research that used procedural justice framework to study ethnic majority and ethnic minority young people's experiences and perceptions of private policing. Procedural justice-based research has grown rapidly, and it has focused on the question of how policing affects citizens and how policing practices that are perceived as unfair can diminish trust (e.g. Fagan and Tyler 2005; Bradford et al. 2017; Fielder and Murphy 2022). Yet prior procedural justice research has not paid much attention to those people who have direct experiences of policing, as prior studies have mainly focused on surveying confidence and general views (of the police) (Schaap and Saarikkomäki 2022). Furthermore, there has been limited attention to the private security sector as compared to the police in procedural justice field, but the research has recently grown (see e.g. Fagan and Tyler 2005; Gurinskya and Nalla 2020; Brands and Doorn, 2018; Saarikkomäki 2018). A recent survey in Australia found that perception of procedural justice, e.g. fair and neutral treatment, were important for the citizens to build trust in private security, but the security agents were typically perceived negatively and to lack legitimacy (Fielder and Murphy 2022).

The public and private policing sectors are often compared to each other, so it is somewhat surprising that the citizens' experiences and perceptions of the two have seldom been compared (see however e.g. Saarikkomäki 2018; Brands and Doorn 2018). Based on in-depth qualitative interviews of underaged young people (nine focus group interviews with 31 young people, conducted in Helsinki), perceptions of private security guards compared to the public police were analysed thematically (Saarikkomäki 2018) and young people's perceptions of procedurally just policing were analysed with narrative analysis (Saarikkomäki 2016). The study suggested that the interviewed young people based their perceptions of the police and security guards on their views of personal or their friends' face-to-face encounters (termed trust) and on general assumptions and attitudes towards policing institutions, and on views of legal rights, and education (termed confidence) (Saarikkomäki 2018).

Saarikkomäki (2018) found that young people interviewed had more trust and confidence in the police than in the security guards. Although the findings of this qualitative study and the previously presented Police Barometer survey are not fully comparative, the finding of citizens' lower trust in private security than in the police is analogous. Furthermore, a qualitative approach and these comparisons can also give insights of what trust consists of and what is important for young people in fair and just policing. The police were appreciated as they were

seen as more educated, professional, predictable, useful, and experienced, and it was perceived to be more demanding to become a police officer (Saarikkomäki 2018). Police officers were considered as more trustworthy and procedurally fair as compared to private security guards. Trust in security guards was occasionally challenged as they were perceived treating young people sometimes unfairly, aggressively, threatening people, using coercive measures, feigning their authority, or exceeding their legal rights (Saarikkomäki 2018; 2016). The young people perceived that they were approached more often for no apparent reason by security guards than the police. The security guards were seen to intervene in more minor things, as can be seen in a statement of an interviewee (Saarikkomäki 2018): *‘I have noticed that security guards are a bit more aggressive towards young people whereas police officers act as if it’s semi-amusing. The police seem like they think of us as a nuisance, that we are only a minor disturbance.’*

However, the findings also suggest that security guards have some legitimacy, they were seen as a partner of the police, some were emphasized as friendly and helpful, and being closer to young people than the police (Saarikkomäki 2018). These findings supported White’s (2012) argument that private security should be conceptualized as having a vast impact, power and agency but also still being shaped by the legacy of the state monopoly, in which the public police are prioritized. Furthermore, the study proposed that education is one crucial factor in creating perceptions of confidence, fairness, professionalism, and neutrality. Many interviewees raised concerns about the short training of security guards and that it could lead to unfair policing, for instance of selective treatment of ethnic minorities (Saarikkomäki 2018).

Recently, issues of ethnic profiling and public police treatment of ethnic minorities have awakened much research and media attention globally. Again, issues related to private policing have been discussed and studied less. Private policing is defined as disproportionate and selective when over-policing is found based on characteristics such as male gender, young age, low socioeconomic status and minority ethnic background, termed ethnic profiling (Saarikkomäki and Kivivuori 2016; Keskinen et al., 2018; Saarikkomäki and Alvesalo-Kuusi 2020; outside Finland see e.g. Wakefield 2003; Manzo 2004). A survey indicated that young adult respondents of Somalian and Middle Eastern backgrounds reported security guard interventions more often than the Finnish majority respondents, for no apparent reason (Keskinen et al. 2018). When they interviewed racialized minorities from different age groups about their experiences of ethnic profiling, the study also found experiences related to security

guards, of being frequently stopped and discriminated against, disturbing the daily life and creating exclusion (Keskinen et al. 2018).

A Nordic cross-country project ‘Experiences of policing among ethnic minority youth in the Nordic countries’ focused on the police (e.g. Saarikkomäki and Alvesalo-Kuusi 2020). Interestingly, however, in the Finnish data set, the interviewees raised instances of frequent encounters with security guards. Encounters with security guards seemed not as common in the other countries studied, or at least they were not raised by the interviewees. Accordingly, one sub-study of the project focused on day-to-day interactions between security guards and ethnic minority youths in Finland (Saarikkomäki and Alvesalo-Kuusi 2020). The article was based on in-depth thematic interviews with 30 youths aged 15 to 23 living in the capital region of Finland (total 18 interviews of which 12 were individual interviews and 6 group interviews). Nearly all the interviewees raised experiences of security guards asking them to move on from the shopping malls, stores, metro, or train stations. Reasons for being approached are often rather trivial: playing music or chatting too loudly or being in the wrong place. In addition, being under suspicion or being followed by security guards was typical when they conduct daily errands in grocery stores. The interviewees interpreted security guards’ motives for intervening as discriminatory in many of these situations, raising concerns of ethnic profiling. For instance, suspecting ethnic minorities, but not ethnic majorities, of the same activities, eroded belief in the neutrality of security guards. Perceptions of procedural injustice were clear if the participants had faced excessive use of force, racist terms, and escalating conflicts. When the intervention was reasoned, the young people usually emphasized understanding it. The participants however also shared situations in which they felt treated fairly and suggested that not all the security guards are similar (Saarikkomäki and Alvesalo-Kuusi 2020). Due to increased policing, city spaces risk becoming unwelcoming and exclusive for young people and ethnic minorities. New methods of how to improve these relations have been experimenting, an issue we focus on next.

How to improve trust: practical experiment in the shopping mall context

Trust in private security seems lower than trust in the police in Finland, and regarding young people, concerns have been raised that in the shopping malls and city spaces the young people do not have safe places to go when they are moved on due to increased surveillance. Furthermore, previously discussed negative face-to-face encounters and ethnic profiling can diminish trust. To improve relations, a Finnish NGO (Youth Service Association) developed a

'youth focused security guard' work method, in cooperation with the worldwide security company (Securitas) and Citycon (Nordic shopping centre owner). The idea is to cross boundaries and merge the professional skills and ideologies of youth work with security guards' work. Special attention was paid to recruit the right kind of security guards who are interested in working with young people. The Youth Service Association facilitates cooperation, monitors, and trains the youth-focused security guards in three separate three-hour sessions, and an additional training is organised on a yearly basis. The training includes for instance knowledge of youth from a biological, psychological and social perspective and information of difficult life circumstances for understanding different situations. This special training is not included into the basic training of security guards, but it is based on this cooperation and voluntary participation of selected security guards from Securitas. The training is paid with the government funding, or if the funding is not received, by the participating private companies.

Recently, Saarikkomäki and Lampela (2021) studied the work of these ten trained security guards (all the 'youth focused security guards' in Finland during the study time), who worked as normal security guards in common areas of six shopping malls. Used were qualitative content analysis to analyse data that has not been typically used before, even globally: security guards' daily reports (n=1139). The security guards filled up a short report of their encounters with young people after each work shift in 2019. The reports were sent to the Youth Service Association to gain information of the daily encounters. The reports were not meant for research purposes but to reflect the quality of the encounters, but the permissions were obtained later for this study. These reports indicated what types of situations these security guards intervened in and how they intervened.

The study found that the encounters between youth focused security guards and young people consisted of control, care, and cooperation (Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021). In line with the more traditional role of security guards, different types of youth activities and delinquency were controlled for. However, the study also found that the role of security guards was more extended than this, and the security guards used a lot of time to talk and chat with young people and helped them when in need. They used procedurally just and fair policing tactics also in intervention situations, which seemed to work well based on the reports to create friendly and trusting relations. Improved relations were beneficial for both parties: the young people had more freedom in using the space and got help when in need, they were more eager to talk with

security guards. The security guards were able to learn new procedures and about work with young people and prevent situations from becoming difficult and coercive. The security guards also aimed to help and solve the problems of those young people who had troubles rather than just merely controlling them or moving them on. The study argued that the role of security guards is even more multifaceted and blurred than previously understood, including sometimes a social orientation, and cooperation with public, private and third sector agents. Prior research has focused on cooperation between police and security guards, but new types of cooperation arising with different sectors should be also studied in the future (Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021).

The findings are promising, suggesting that even with increasing and improving training, which was still rather short, and paying attention to the recruitment, situations can be improved drastically. This requires however that the shopping mall hiring security guards are encouraging for this type of new work format. On a positive side, this can be a sort of win-win situation for both parties if the relations become more friendly and fair and mutual trust is built. This study was limited to focus on the reports that the security guards had written themselves; the study did not have a control group, and one could speculate if the security guards wish to give a positive impression of their practices. However, the reports also indicated reflections of difficult situations to handle, giving some confidence that the guards reflected their work from different sides, even if some sides may have been left out (Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021). In the future, it would be interesting to interview security guards about how they see the work with young people and other groups.

Security guards' victimization at their work

Trustworthy and mutually respectful relations between security guards and citizens might be difficult to accomplish if the relations are at worst conflicting, aggressive or even violent. We present Finnish research regarding how likely it is for security guards to experience victimization at their work based on survey and register data.

The limited number of studies to address work-related victimization of security officers in Finland suggest that it is rather common (see e.g. Leino et al. 2011; Paasonen and Aaltonen 2020). Paasonen and Aaltonen (2020) used survey data of 539 respondents to study victimisation at work among private security officers in different sectors. About three quarters

of the respondents had experienced offensive behaviour and two-thirds had been threatened with violence in the past year. The most common form of physical violence reported by the security guards was pushing, experienced by roughly half of the respondents. One in four had experienced kicking or hitting. Altogether 55 % reported physical violence, and about one in five had sustained an injury due to violence. The most common injuries were bruises (40 %), contusions (17 %) and wounds (15 %). Verbal insults and threats of violence were even more common. Despite the high risk of victimization, the respondents were not especially worried about experiencing various forms of violence at work in the future. 32 % of those who had experienced violence during the past year had at least one act of violence against them reported to the police, and the same proportion also stated that at least one such report led to a fine or conviction for the offender (Paasonen and Aaltonen 2020).

The risk of experiencing violence at their work varies considerably within the work sector, order maintenance duties being the ones with the highest risk (Paasonen and Aaltonen 2020). On average, those who work as doormen in restaurants, hospitals and social services appear to be at the highest risk of physical violence victimization, compared to workers in other locations, such as offices. The risk of violence decreased with age, and women were at a lower risk of violence, even after controlling for location and position (Paasonen and Aaltonen 2020).

To gain comparison points, figures based on register data are next compared between security guards and police as well as over time. Aaltonen and colleagues (2017) examined the extent to which private security officers are involved in police-recorded violence as either victims or offenders, by using national Finnish data on police-recorded crimes. Results indicate that in the year 2000, the levels of violence against police and the private security officers were almost equal. However, around the years 2005-2006, violence against security officers started increasing faster, relative to both violence against public officials and all assaults. Since the year 2008, the levels of all three types of violence seem to have levelled off. Some part of the increase in police-reported assaults in Finland is however likely due to increased sensitivity and likelihood of police notification and legal reforms. The results suggest that violence against security officers is now more common in absolute numbers than violence against public officials. There are roughly 2,500 annual cases of violence against security officers and around 1,600 against public officials. As police-recorded violence excludes hidden crime, it is likely that especially much of the less serious cases are left out (Aaltonen et al. 2017). Security guards use of force and violence at their work was also studied using police register data (see more

Aaltonen et al. 2017). Victimization at work creates obviously negative relations with targets of policing and violence conducted by the security guards can diminish citizen trust in many ways not only for those who experience it but also for those who witness it.

Concluding discussion

In this article, we have reviewed plural policing studies in Finland to gain a broader view of the empirical context of private policing in this Nordic welfare state context. This is the first paper to cover all these studies and it aims to briefly review current private policing studies in Finland. As presented earlier, so far there has not been much research on trust between private security and citizens, even globally, despite the fact that police studies have increasingly focused on the issue. In this chapter, we have proposed that in addition to measuring general trust and confidence, trust created or challenged in specific encounters between citizens and security guards is important to consider.

We pointed out that there is overall rather high general confidence in the private security sector in Finland, similar to public police. However, based on surveys, trust in the private security companies was lower than in the police in all the groups studied (Haarla 2020) and youths' interviews indicated the same (Saarikkomäki 2018). Trust in the actions of private security companies and police varies somewhat depending on the social economic status: men, older people and respondents with higher education backgrounds were less likely to trust private security companies. Furthermore, a decreasing trend of trust towards private security companies warrants more attention in the future.

In addition, we focused on those who are typical targets of policing and have personal experiences of security guards, young people and ethnic minority youths. We pointed out that the young people interviewed have had encounters that were perceived as negative, such as too much force used and discriminatory practices, and that they diminished trust (Saarikkomäki 2016; Saarikkomäki and Alvesalo-Kuusi 2020). Low trust in private security guards compared to the police was reasoned based on negative and unfair experiences (such as unprofessional use of force or ethnic profiling) and based on general views of security guards being less educated, less calm and professional than the police (Saarikkomäki 2018). In addition, we looked at a new experiment to improve trust in the shopping mall context. Even a rather short

education helped the security guards to improve their work and to build more trustworthy relations with young people (Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021).

Finally, we looked at the nature of violence at private security guards' work (Paasonen and Aaltonen 2020; Aaltonen et al. 2017). Many had faced violence at their work, as victims or as perpetrators, particularly in the order maintenance duties. Violence against security officers appeared more common in absolute numbers than violence against public officials. This obviously creates challenges for trustworthy relations between citizens and security guards and trust-building is particularly important in the risky sectors.

Studies conducted in Finland are unfortunately still scarce and fragmented and many research topics are understudied. However, we could see some variety of methods used and different angles: the sides of citizens' general views, from those who regularly meet security guards, and the work environment of the security guards. One angle missing though in Finland is views of police officers of private security, as well as ethnographic studies. New study approaches and developing methods are still needed to analyse citizens' views of trust in private security in different contexts and in comparison to public police.

Our studies produced somewhat differing findings. Based on the Police Barometer Survey older age groups trusted less likely private security companies and more likely police when compared to under the age of 25 (Haarla 2021). Yet qualitative studies and impressions of the youth workers in the field are that many young people have sometimes very conflicting relations challenging trust (Saarikkomäki 2018; Saarikkomäki and Lampela 2021). Furthermore, notions of ethnic profiling related to private policing similarly warrant close attention in the future, and in different contexts, an issue which the police studies have long focused on (Keskinen et al. 2018; Saarikkomäki and Alvesalo-Kuusi 2020). It may be that these studies have measured somewhat different aspects of trust, or different populations, and the questions measured different aspects of the private security field (companies vs. security guards at city space). Surveys typically measure more general views ('confidence') whereas interview studies come close to personal face-to-face experiences. All in all, this suggests that in the future studies we need multiple ways and methods to study trust and confidence, in different population groups and contexts. Many police studies on trust have focused on the general population, whereas it is suggested that experiences of minorities and vulnerable groups, who potentially have the worst experiences, are crucial to include too (e.g. Schaap and Saarikkomäki

2022). Overall, when we talk about trust in policing, we talk about very multifaceted phenomena in which personal, friends' and families' experiences as well as general views through the media, socialisation, trust in the state, and so on simultaneously affect.

The findings suggest that not only more research on definitions of trust but also development of better practices for improving trust between security guards and young people, older age groups and ethnic minorities is important, as is the need for sufficient training and avoidance of over-coercive and frequent interventions. To amend and lengthen the short training of security guards may be a crucial solution to many issues, both related to general trust and personal experiences and to increase work safety of security guards. Furthermore, those young people interviewed who raised experiences of excessive use of force and violence had not reported it to the police as they worried the adults would not believe their word over the security guard's word (Saarikkomäki 2016, 2018). This suggests that we also need new ways to increase the willingness to report if targets of policing feel unfairly or illegally treated. Similarly, the security guards need more support to enhance the work safety at their work that is socially and physically demanding. It is likely that these incidents too are under-reported to the police.

Regarding some limits of the methods used, the targets of policing see the situations from their part, the policing agents see the situations from their part, and the parties can experience the situations differently. Accordingly, we need several types of data sources and methods to gain multi-sided views. If we were interested to understand more of those points where coercive measures or violence is reported to avoid it, different methods could be used to widen the angles. In addition, the initial police reports of violence by security officers could be followed up through the criminal justice process to define the legal boundaries of use of force, and to investigate how and to what extent such cases proceed through the criminal justice system and lead to sanctions.

Nevertheless, focusing on procedural justice, fair treatment and strategically aiming to improve the encounters, seem to be beneficial for both parties. This cannot be, however, the only answer and only the responsibility of security officers but more structural solutions are needed also in the level of workplaces, training, cooperation with different sectors, and legislation. The private security officers in Finland have voiced a need to clarify and expand their powers, improve criminal liability and criminal law protection issues, to enhance supervision and cooperation between the private security industry and public authorities (Paasonen and Santonen 2016). It

is likely that longer training and paying attention to recruiting people could help to improve these issues to some extent, and especially if the training could be developed to cover issues such as avoidance of profiling and respectful treatment. This also leads to a more comparative question of how training is organised, and how different models of regulation and the operational boundaries in different countries are working and known by the practitioners. This kind of study might reveal a significant shortcoming in education and/or to suggest that private security industry regulation is poorly drafted. These questions too are relevant for procedural justice and trust building. Since our attempt to understand private security is limited by national-level data, generalisation on the European and especially on the global level is limited to some empirical and theoretical insights. Accordingly, cross-country comparisons between different countries are therefore suggested to consider to further understand plural policing from different angles and contexts in the future.

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