

The Safest Country in the World? Notions of Risk and Security in the Japanese Private Security Industry

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Abstract

This paper tackles the question of what kind of views on risk and security prevail in the Japanese private security industry and analyses its discursive structure. A theoretical framework based on the Copenhagen School's concept of securitisation and its modification by Olaf Corry—the model of riskification—is used to explain processes of shaping notions of risk and security within the discourse. By analysing newspapers and professional magazines, it can be observed that by constantly pointing out the risks, the environment of the private security industry slowly changes, giving private companies further opportunities to act as a positively acknowledged part of society. It is not them, however, who actively shape these circumstances; rather, the broader range of activities are enforced and legitimised by the police that seems to be increasingly interested in joint crime prevention strategies.¹

Keywords: private security companies, securitisation, Japan, risk, crime prevention, security, newspaper, discourse analysis



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Introduction

Providing security has become part of daily life in Japan. Elderly men, standing in front of a construction site and securing the passing citizens and cars, is a common image on Japanese streets. Private security companies in Japan show some differences in relation to their counterparts in other countries, but have nevertheless grown into an important business sector during a relatively short period. While many scholars highlight the global significance of this industry, they mostly concentrate on the US, South Africa, or on the globally acting so-called ‘private military companies.’ This paper stresses that Japan’s security companies show certain specifics in their historical, political, and juridical context that should be considered when analysing their presence in Japan.

Although the number of crimes committed in Japan has been decreasing in the last fifteen years or so, Japanese citizens seem to feel insecure. The phenomenon of subjectively perceived security is called *taikan chian* 体感治安 and is not necessarily related to the crime rate portrayed by police agencies. Atrocious crimes such as murder and their broad mass media coverage are identified as some of the causes behind a growing feeling of insecurity (Tanaka 2012: 147, 166). Former notions of security that view Japan as one of the safest countries on earth (where even locking the door seemed unnecessary for the longest time) are thus challenged by possible threats of vicious crimes. What is considered to be an appropriate counter-measure against possible crimes may be subsumed under the term *bōhan* 防犯 (‘crime prevention’). The concept of *bōhan* contains a broad range of actions that cannot be undertaken by the police alone.

Police officers, who concentrate mainly on the overall security of the public space, face increasingly difficulties with guaranteeing feelings of safety for individuals in private spaces. Private security companies (PSCs) try to fill this gap by offering security services via private contracts to their clients. This is connected to beliefs on security, according to which citizens themselves are deemed responsible for the safety of their own home and belongings. Although private security companies were not fervently welcomed by Japanese society at the time of their establishment in the 1960s, they have become a large industry. Today, security guards outnumber police officials and are increasingly involved in tasks that are ‘traditionally’ seen as belonging to the state’s duties, such as guarding prisons.

By offering various kinds of services to private clients, security companies can be viewed as important actors within the discourse of security at large. In this respect, questions arise about what is conceived as a potential risk that can successfully be avoided by choosing their services. What kind of notions of risks and security are being discussed within the private security industry? How is the acceptance of a critical public audience for actions of the security industry achieved that might delve into the private realm? Sociologist Thierry Balzacq offers a framework for analysing

this process, which he derives from the concept of ‘securitisation’ developed by the Copenhagen School of International Politics. With this framework, a process can be analysed in which an existential threat is curbed by enabling extraordinary measures to secure a certain referent object that is perceived to be in danger. Balzacq stresses the importance of the audience that needs to be convinced in order to enable securitisation: who holds the power to implement these changes and how is this person able to gain legitimization?

The risks that private security companies in Japan must cope with are in most cases set on a different scale than those analysed by the Copenhagen School, as they are not ‘existential’ for the Japanese nation. More accurately, they constitute possible future incidents. Political scientist Olaf Corry thus suggests taking the ‘conditions of possibility’ into account (Corry 2012: 246): rather than directly tackling a problem that is portrayed as dangerous, the context should be permanently altered to prevent a potential risk from happening. He uses the term ‘riskification’ to identify this process. This paper suggests that Japanese private security companies, whose actions consist mostly of precautionary measures, play a significant role within this process described by Corry. Inspired by these theoretical concepts, this paper concentrates on the following questions: What notions of security and risk can be identified as dominant conceptions within the private security industry in Japan? How can an audience be convinced that the actions of the companies are necessary and legitimate?

To answer these questions, it is important to be aware of the discursive context of security in Japan. Siegfried Jäger’s Critical Discourse Analysis offers a critical and clear method to analyse the discursive formations behind the discourse and to reveal processes of discourse and power. By analysing newspapers and magazines published by the private security industry, this paper identifies the dominant notions of security and risk within the industry and shows how it tries to legitimate its actions.

The following section gives an overview of the literature on private security companies. As only little research has been done on the Japanese private security industry so far, a second section tries to comprehend the position of the industry within the discourse on security. The analysis of the newspapers and magazines is structured into two parts: the first part shows how the structure of the discourse on risk and security in the private security industry (PSI) is constructed, while the second part focuses on a detailed analysis of one specific text which is a part of this discourse.

Literature Review

A broad range of literature exists that covers different approaches to the concept of ‘security.’ The so-called ‘security studies’ situated in the field of political science are concerned with international power relations. During the Cold War, scientists

emphasised a realist view of security in the world where ‘strong’ nations struggle for hegemony and ‘weak’ nations find allies to survive in this struggle for power. They stressed the bipolarity of the world order that would lead to stability in an anarchic international space (Wohlforth 2012: 12). After the more or less unexpected end of this period, novel approaches arose trying to analyse the new situation in international politics. Constructivist theories pointed out the constructivist nature of relations between and within nations, which led to the securitisation theories this paper draws its attention to. The so-called Copenhagen School and its main contributors, Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, explain the emergence of a security issue as “a self-referential practice, because it is in this practice that the issue becomes a security issue – not necessarily because a real existential threat exists, but because the issue is presented as such a threat” (Buzan et al. 1998: 24). Thus, what can be called a threat does not only depend on how an issue is portrayed,² but also on how it is perceived by the audience. Thierry Balzacq emphasises the importance of the so-called ‘securitising actors’ to use different strategies to persuade the target group—the so-called ‘audience.’ These strategies may consist of using a certain type of language or, broadly speaking, of proving a discursive context that favours the process of securitisation (Balzacq 2012: 64). Closely linked to this act of persuasion is mobilisation—for example, by evoking emotions (Balzacq 2011: 3). The desired result is to gain legitimation from the target audience to act in the name of a defined vulnerable group, the referent object. If successful, the target audience is persuaded to support the idea that “a customised policy must be undertaken to block [the] development [of a threatening situation or matter]” (ibid.). What follows is an overcoming of traditional measures of dealing with everyday problems by taking extraordinary action that affects the given society to a certain degree.

But how can we differentiate between an act of securitisation and a strong tendency of politicisation? Even if a potential threat is not existentially endangering a whole nation, processes of persuasion, legitimation, and changing the institutional boundaries may still occur. Corry tries to overcome this by introducing the concept of ‘riskification.’ Rather than concentrating solely on existential threats, this approach stresses the notion that some risks need time to manifest or become true sometime in the future (Corry 2012: 244). If the potential risk does not consist of an acute threatening situation, emergency actions are not the best way to cope with it. The author paints a different picture of effective counter-measures: due to processes

² Especially in the case of Japan it should be noted that there are some exemptions to this observation. Natural disasters, for instance, challenge a purely discursively orientated analysis of potential threats as the reality of their disastrous effects may be seen as undisputed (Balzacq 2011: 12). A closer look on the strategies of coping with a disaster or on the policies that aim at preventing possible damages may nevertheless result in a fruitful discussion of the discursive background of seemingly ‘obvious’ threats.

of riskification, a given society can be changed more or less permanently by gradually introducing new policies in the name of the referent object. Corry calls the objective of these measures ‘govern,’ whereas in case of securitisation it may be referred to as ‘defend’ (ibid.: 247).

Private security studies focus especially on private security companies. Political scientists highlight the complex relation between the state and private actors concerning security issues. Rita Abrahamsen and Michael Williams, for example, offer an approach inspired by Saskia Sassen’s famous work *The Global City* (1991), which they call ‘global security assemblages’ (Abrahamsen and Williams 2011). Together with Anna Leander, Abrahamsen edited the *Routledge Handbook of Private Security Studies* (Abrahamsen and Leander 2016b) that contains a variety of articles from historical perspectives on the relationship between the state and PSCs (de Carvalho 2016) to cyber-security (Dunn-Cavelty 2016). Other social scientists emphasise the saliency of the question of security and surveillance: Vida Bajc’s concept of ‘security meta-framing,’ which has been significantly influenced by securitisation theory, shows how processes of increasing surveillance can be implemented successfully (Bajc 2013).

Concerning case studies in the private security studies, much research has been done on South Africa (Sefalafala and Webster 2013) since the end of the Apartheid regime, as the private security industry has grown into an important security agent. Japan has in this regard not received much attention. Yoshida Naoko discusses this topic, while referring to white books from the ministry of justice (Yoshida 1999), but her research only includes the period until the end of the 1990s. Starting with *Keibigyō no shakaigaku (A Sociology of the Private Security Industry)*, 2009), sociologist Tanaka Tomohito 田中智仁 published several works on private security that focus on Japan. Referring to Tanaka’s research, Endō Yasuo 遠藤保雄 (2014; 2015; cf. Endō and Tanaka 2013) concentrates on economic aspects of the PSI. Segawa Akira 瀬川晃 (2010) analyses the development of the industry in Japan considering the enforcement of the Law for PSI Keibigyō-hō 警備業法 from the 1970s until today.

Aside from these scholars, some research has been done by the All Japan Security Service Association (AJSSA) (Zenkoku Keibigyō Kyōkai 全国警備業協会). This organisation is responsible for the growth of the PSI and publishes the magazine *Security Time*, which is part of the material analysed below. The AJSSA published a volume in 2010 that contains several articles by different academic scholars: Miyazawa Kōichi 宮澤浩一 (Miyazawa 2010) compares European traditions of private security with their Japanese counterparts and Narita Yoriaki 田頼明 points out the juridical development and the role of the state (Narita 2010). Big companies such as Secom セコム also publish reports that discuss the rising of the PSI in Japan in detail (Osada 2012), but do not necessarily adhere to academic standards.

Apart from these few publications, not much research has been done on the PSI in Japan so far. This paper tries to fill this gap and offers a discussion of the role of private security companies concerning the discourse about security and risk in Japan. It therefore uses surveys on feelings of (in)security and the official crime rates from the ministry in addition to the aforementioned objects of analysis.

Private Security Companies: Challengers of a Traditional Conception of the State?

Today's differentiation between the public and the private realm of security services is closely linked to an understanding of the state as the only legal actor that has a monopoly on violence, as Max Weber argued (Weber 1997: 272). Although this interpretation of the state was prevalent over the last century, literature on PSCs stresses that there has been a shift in recent decades towards governance or multi-level governance, where several aspects of governing are increasingly outsourced to private enterprises (Williams 2016: 131). Other approaches to private security studies show that this monopoly has never been fully realised in several parts of the world (Shearing and Stenning 2016: 142), or that the dividing line between the private and public realm in terms of security has never been clear, but rather a matter of interpretation (de Carvalho 2016: 11).

Abrahamsen and Williams link the rise of PSCs to the development of globalisation and neoliberalism. Their concept of global security assemblages try to overcome the strict distinction between private and public security (Abrahamsen and Williams 2011: 3). Rather than focusing on the question of whether PSCs can be seen as private or public actors, they stress the importance of the global dimension of several big companies in this sector, whose influence crosses national borders. The influence of neoliberalism can be identified in the continuing outsourcing from the state towards private companies: with the shift of security services into the private realm, consumers increasingly feel responsible for their own safety. Purchasing surveillance cameras or taking part in neighbourhood watches are some examples of these developments (ibid.: 67). As PSCs are usually profit-oriented actors, they engage in regions where a high turnover rate seems likely (O'Reilly 2011: 184). Those do not necessarily have to be countries or cities with a high number of crimes; they might also be highly developed countries. What is considered a potential income source might greatly differ from region to region.

Attention should also be given to the connection of PSCs and risk assessment or crime prevention. Abrahamsen and Leander argue that the preventative aspect of the services provided by PSCs is situated in a risk-oriented way of thinking that is not per se interested in solving a certain dangerous situation, but rather in influencing the future (Abrahamsen and Leander 2016a: 3). Through present services provided

by PSCs, future incidents may (or may not) be prevented. German sociologist Ulrich Beck expresses similar thoughts in his famous remarks on the so-called '*Risikogesellschaft*' or 'risk society.' He emphasises the symbolic nature of policies that are concerned with questions of risk. When dealing with probable risks, the potential revenue that might be gained may be considered "interminable, infinite and self-produced" (Beck 2015: 30). Although a close link to PSCs may be drawn at this point, Beck refers to academics and mass media as important actors, as they are those who generate and spread information (ibid.: 62).

This paper argues that PSCs do exercise influence to a certain degree when it comes to framing risks in society or finding solutions to potential dangers. It supports O'Reilly's view, who stresses the importance of public-private networks of experts that manifest in PSCs (O'Reilly 2010: 191) and connects it to the notion of Beck's 'risk society.' Beck's concept involves the idea of a society that is mainly oriented towards preventing a certain (negative) incident from happening (Beck 2015: 65). This negative view of a utopia of security is maintained by installing various measures to curb potential risks that enjoy a certain degree of priority, while other aspects might be neglected (O'Reilly 2010: 192; Bajc 2011: 5-6). What may be labelled as risk or security is embedded in a complex network of various actors with different social status.

Japan's PSI and the Views on Security in one of the Safest Countries in the World

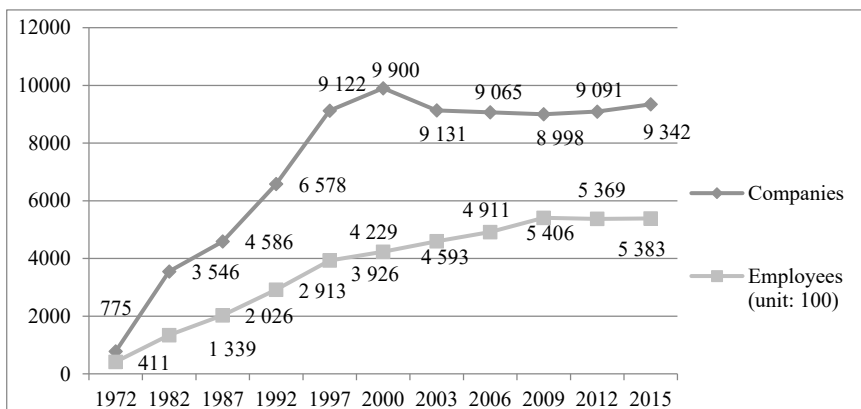
PSCs in Japan (*keibi gyōsha* 警備業者 or *keibi gaisha* 警備会社 in Japanese) have a comparatively brief history. Jurist Segawa Akira divides their development in three phases (Segawa 2010: 10-13): Formation (1960s), juristic consolidation (1970s), and further development (1990s–today). The first PSC in Japan³ was founded in 1962 by Iida Makoto 飯田亮 and Toda Juichi 戸田寿一, who developed a Japanese model of PSCs after having learned from a friend that PSCs were already a part of the security business in Europe (Osada 2012: 69). After the 1964 Olympic Games in Tōkyō 東京, the company received considerably more orders, leading to a slow image change of PSCs (Segawa 2010: 11). Along with the growing importance of the PSI, voices that asked for legal regulations became louder.

In 1972, the Law for PSI (*Keibigyō-hō* 警備業法) was passed. It states the rules for employment, training, and equipment, among others, and several amendments have been made since. Most of the companies offer services that guard buildings, parking areas, and public places, or concentrate on crowd control at festivals or

³ The first company was called Nihon Keibi Hoshō 日本警備保障. Under the name Secom, it remains the biggest company until today.

construction sites. Especially the latter can be considered as a characteristic feature of the Japanese PSI, as the guarding of construction sites is particularly widespread. Legally, the police is stated as the supervising institution that is in regular contact with the PSI. The following graph in Figure 1 shows the development of the PSI in Japan from 1970s onwards. We can conclude that even in the so-called ‘lost decades’ (1990s and 2000s) the rising of the PSI seems rather unaffected. After the 2000s, the growth slightly declines, but the numbers of employees remain stable until today. Focusing on the revenue of the PSI draws a similar picture: not only the number of companies increased, but so did sales gradually until they reached their peak in 2007 by recording 3.6 trillion Yen. Most of this sum is generated by a few big enterprises, such as Secom or Alsok.

Figure 1: Development of PSCs and employees from 1972 onwards



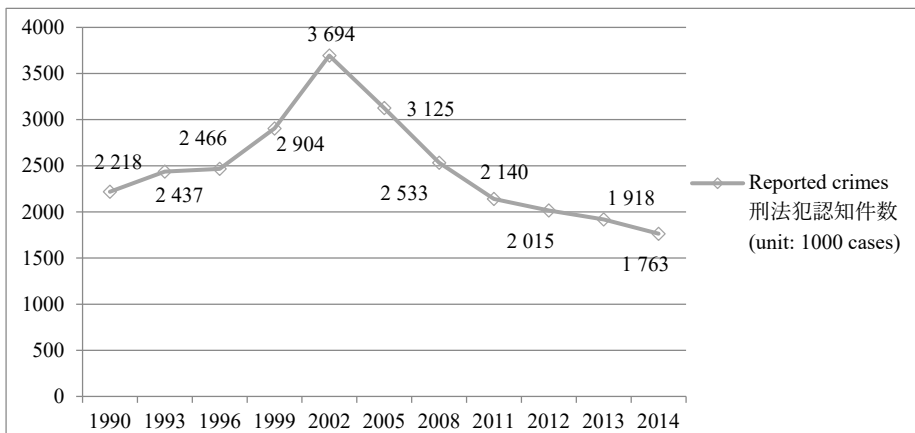
Source: Heisei Keisatsuchō Seikatsu Anzenkyoku Seikatsu Anzen Kikaku-ka 2016 and Tanaka 2012: 38.

The reasons behind this growth seem to be manifold. Endō Yasuo draws his attention to the increasing importance of big buildings whose first floor is accessible to the public. Due to a high number of people entering and leaving such buildings, guarding by employing security guards and services is considered a suitable solution for this challenge (Endō 2014: 117). Additionally, it was mainly office buildings that were targets of crime, which resulted in a notable pressure on the respective companies to provide a sense of security in their buildings (ibid.: 115). Changes in society on the other hand accelerated the growth of the PSI even further. Having reached a certain amount of material wealth, recreation or services are increasingly consumed—such as services that protect the material goods at home (Tanaka 2012: 44).

Although the PSI recorded a significant growth until the mid-2000s, it should be noted that it has been repeatedly challenged by arguments that consider the services of PSCs unnecessary. When researching about security in Japan, one quickly comes

across the saying *mizu to anzen wa tada da* (水と安全はタダだ, ‘water and security are free’). This notion of security can be traced back to the popular book *Nihonjin to Yudayajin* 日本人とユダヤ人 (*The Japanese and the Jews*, 1974 [1970]) by Yamamoto Shichihei 山本七平. In his discussion about security in Japan, he states that the Japanese do not pay for security as they take it for granted (Ben-Dasan 1974: 14-15). Segawa makes this view responsible for the rather bad image of the PSI within Japanese society (Segawa 2010: 11). This conception of a ‘safe Japan’ came into focus when the crime rates continued to decline in the 2000s. In the *Hanzai hakusho* 犯罪白書, the white paper on crime, the changes can be seen when looking at the crimes reported to the police (*keihōhan ninchi kensū* 刑法犯認知件数; see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Crime rate in Japan from 1990 onwards



Source: Polak-Rottmann 2017: 62.

After a peak in 2002, the crimes reported in Japan have continually been decreasing. Although this development can be seen as an improvement of crime prevention in Japan, it does not necessarily tell us much about how security is perceived within society. What shall be taken into account here is the term *taikan chian*: surveys on how security is perceived in Japan show that the majority of the Japanese population feels safe (Jūmin no Ishiki Chōsa ni Kansuru Yūshikisha Kenkyū Iinkai 2016: 30; Nikkōso Shakai Anzen Kenkyū Zaidan 2015: 28). However, when asked whether the feeling of security has improved or declined over the past ten years, a survey conducted by the secretary of the cabinet reveals that eighty-one per cent of the respondents think that the situation in Japan has deteriorated (Naikakufu Daijin Kanbō Seifū Kōhō Shitsu 2012: 1). It shows that although crime rates decreased in the past fifteen years, this does not necessarily influence the sense of security within society.

Several reasons may be identified as to why people do not feel as safe as they did several years ago. According to the survey of the secretary of the cabinet, the named main reasons behind an increasing feeling of insecurity are: a feeling of declining solidarity in local communities; the decreasing importance of norms; unsatisfactory education of children; easy access to information; as well as the economic recession (Naikakufu Daijin Kanbō Seifū Kōhō Shitsu 2012: 1). Tanaka emphasises that extraordinarily cruel crimes (*kyōaku hanzai* 凶悪犯罪) may result in long lasting changes in the sense of security in a society. He shows how a stabbing incident in a Japanese school resulted in the reinforcement of security standards in Japanese schools nationwide (Tanaka 2012: 147). This paper links the observations of a deteriorating feeling of security with the popularity of private security companies by pointing out the practices and ideas about risk and security within the PSI and showing how it takes place in the respective discourses. The data analysed in this paper can be seen as expressions that enable to identify the role of PSC, especially within the discourse about *taikan chian*.

Method

When discussing notions of security and risk in a highly discursive context, such as the process of securitisation, the different approaches of discourse analysis offer suitable ways to understand these phenomena. Most of the research in this field show close links to Michel Foucault's understanding of discourse. Especially the aspect of power is of significant importance when it comes to the main characteristics of discourse: of all that may be argued, only little can actually be said due to relations of power within society (Foucault 2013: 550). Siegfried Jäger's approach of the Critical Discourse Analysis⁴ (CDA) opposes a static view of discourses and stresses the changeability over time. According to Jäger, discourses can also be seen as active forces that generate "societal reality and socio-cultural interpretive frames" (Jäger 2015: 27). Thus, discourses on security and risk cannot be reduced to a passive picture of what society thinks about these terms, but should rather be viewed as influential actors within society that shape the opinions and actions of its members. The aim of CDA and of this paper is to reveal the effects of power that resulted in the given situation in respect to matters of security and risk (ibid.: 39).

Jäger's concept of CDA consists of a detailed manual of how to analyse a discourse. Of the ten aspects listed below (ibid.: 90-91), the deciphering of the structure and the in-depth analysis require the most attention:

⁴ Jäger's concept shows many similarities to Normal Fairclough's understanding of Critical Discourse Analysis, which is strongly influenced by Antonio Gramsci's idea of hegemony or Louis Althusser's discussions on ideology (Fairclough 2003: 45; Keller 2004: 30).

1. Outlining the context
2. Naming the research objective
3. Collecting material
4. Analysis of the structure
5. In-depth analysis
6. Determining the discursive context
7. Concluding analysis
8. Critique and ethical considerations
9. Proposals to deal with the discourse analysed
10. Reflections on the research

Data

The *Keibi hoshō shinbun* 警備保障新聞 was the first nationwide newspaper of this kind and was first published in 1962. In 2011, it was renamed to *Keibi shinpō* 警備新報 and is issued every ten days. Several bureaucratic institutions are some of the more prominent subscribers. While the content of the articles published was the main object of research, the layout and structure were also analysed. The number of articles was narrowed down based on the following considerations: existing literature on private security in Japan show that changes within the structure and role of PSCs occur especially after dramatic events such as the incident in the primary school in Ikeda in Ōsaka 大阪府 prefecture (Tanaka 2012: 147). As this paper is interested in an up-to-date understanding of security, two discursive events were identified: the Great Tōhoku Earthquake in March 2011 and the terrorist attacks in several European countries in 2016. Thus, nine editions from 2011 and twelve from 2016 were read and analysed.

Keibi hoshō taimuzu 警備保障タイムズ, another newspaper, was first published in 2013 and receives support from Secom, the biggest PSC in Japan. Today it is considered more popular than *Keibi Shinpō*, but since its publication has only started in 2013, it could only give insights to recent developments. It is published every ten days; in total fourteen editions from 2016 were included into the material. As both nationwide newspapers are rather small in size (around four to eight pages), the material was expanded to two periodicals that are released monthly. In *Security Time*, the journal of the AJSSA, various interviews and problems within the PSI are discussed in detail. The other periodical, *Keibi hyōron* 警備評論, is published in western Japan and is similar to *Security Time*, but not as profound. In total, twenty-one editions of *Security Time* from March 2011 to July 2016 and fifteen editions of *Keibi hyōron* were analysed.

In order to get a better understanding of the different notions of security in the PSI, three expert interviews were conducted in Japan. The interviews were held in

Japanese and the interview partners were members of three PSCs of different sizes. All data from the interviews and the newspaper articles were collected and important articles were categorised, catalogued, and labelled as discursive fragments. In sum, 130 fragments were collected this way and analysed for this paper. At first, general information about the newspaper, the section in which the text was published, and the text itself were noted. If pictures or background designs were included in an article, this was documented accordingly. After taking a closer look at the content of the article, its discursive context was determined and potential discursive events were noted. Topics and significant terms (in Japanese) were collected. If certain institutions or persons were referred to, their names were considered in the analysis. Rhetorical means, such as metaphors, were noted. After these first steps of analysis, similarities with other fragments were pointed out and, if possible, included in a broader category, such as the triple disaster in north-eastern Japan.

Analysing Security: Who to Protect and How to Prevent Risks in the PSI

Out of the analysed 130 discursive fragments, two major tendencies could be identified. On the one hand, the discursive context of the triple disaster in the Tōhoku region and the terror attacks in Europe were closely linked to notions of security and risk in the past years. On the other hand, violent crimes and the current situation of crime and crime prevention strategies were referred to on a regular basis in the material.

The Triple Disaster in North-Eastern Japan and Terrorism as Discursive Events

The 2011 triple disaster in north-eastern Japan could be identified as a discursive event that had an influence on the perception of PSCs. Especially the manner in which the PSI explained their role in this context was of main interest for this paper. After the disaster, security patrols were organised by the AJSSA to support the police. It was their goal to prevent potential crimes from happening and to keep the public safe (*chian no iji* 治安の維持). It was feared that more crimes might occur, thus it was the duty of the security guards to build a relationship of trust (*shinrai kankei* 信頼関係) between the villagers and themselves to effectively watch over them and give them a sense of security (*anshin-kan* 安心感). Affected by the disaster, social networks were destroyed or attacked, leading to a feeling of helplessness (*muryoku-kan* 無力感) among local residents. PSCs took on the role of supporters of everyday life, who metaphorically try to repair the heavily affected society in the respective region. They moved beyond their traditional task of providing safety for

contractors and contributed to society by providing stability in a situation of insecurity. This aspect can be found in their rhetoric as well. In this sense, it was their duty to bring light into the ‘shadow of uncertainty’ (*fuan no kage* 不安の影) that laid over Japan. By using strong and dramatic language, the PSI depicts itself as a necessary part of society that can be trusted. The legitimization for patrolling and thus watching over the villagers is drawn from the necessity that arose due to the disaster. In some articles it was even stated that it was the PSI’s social responsibility (*shakai-teki sekinin* 社会的責任) to contribute (*kōken* 貢献). On the other hand, the police play a crucial role for the scope of possible aid services. As the police supervise the PSI, it is them who officially ask the PSI via the AJSSA to provide support in affected areas.

Another discursive event are the terrorist attacks of 2016. In Japan, counter-terrorism measures are subsumed under the term *tero taisaku* テロ対策, usually containing actions to be taken by the police but also the PSI to a certain degree. Especially regarding international events, such as the G7 summit in Ise-Shima 伊勢志摩 in May 2016, PSCs play a crucial role by dispatching patrols and guarding buildings. To ensure a smooth cooperation with the police and a proper way of dealing with potential problems, special training had to be undertaken. At this point, the strong emphasis on the ‘working-together’ can be conceived by paying attention to the rhetoric used in the articles. As it was the case with the post-disaster work, the PSI considers it as its responsibility to contribute to society. In addition to that, the form of cooperation is perceived as a ‘unity of the public and the private’ (*kanmin ittai* 官民一体) and as ‘the Japanese form of counterterrorism operations’ (*Nihon-gata tero taisaku* 日本型テロ対策).

Violent Crimes, Financial Fraud, and the Current Situation of Crime

Terrorism and natural disasters thus can be conceived as discursive events that differ greatly from the daily kind of work PSCs have to perform. In order to get a better understanding of the notions of security and risk within the PSI, it is important to pay attention to the industry’s ‘traditional’ business. Several articles discuss topics that are portrayed as atrocious crimes or the current crime situation. It is stated that vicious offences are increasingly getting more severe and organised compared to previous years. A cooperation with the local community should be enforced to ‘provide a feeling of security’ (*anshin-kan o motte morau* 安心感を持ってもらう) and ‘protect the security of the people’ (*jūmin no anzen o mamoru* 住民の安全を守る). New forms of crimes that increased in recent years are portrayed as a threat to society. In this study, *furikome sagi* 振り込め詐欺, or financial fraud, is conceived as a potential danger as it targets ‘the weak’ (*jakusha* 弱者). It is the elderly that are mainly included under this term, but in other contexts it is not unusual to label women or children as ‘the weak’ as the discussion in the next section will show.

Further attention should be drawn to the way the actual situation of security is discussed in the respective articles. A common strategy of argumentation can be found in this respect: it is mostly representatives of the police who comment on the current developments in crime. They usually note that the overall security is improving, but discuss remaining threats to society in detail. By allowing police officials to make such statements, the role of the PSCs is implicitly legitimated, as the necessity of security services is pointed out. Sometimes it is even explicitly done, by praising the effective teamwork between the police and the PSI. The goal of this form of cooperation is a utopian one: ‘a society, where there is no crime / where it is difficult for crimes to occur’ (*hanzai no okinai / okinikui shakai* 犯罪の起きない/犯罪のおきにくい社会). According to this line of argumentation, the services provided by the police and the PSI will always be necessary and thus legitimated.

The analysis pointed out that natural disasters and terrorism are perceived as potential threats, where little may be predicted. A sense of powerlessness is experienced by the local people, whom the police and the PSI seek to protect. A closer relationship with local security agents and local communities against terrorism is displayed as desirable counter-measure ‘in a Japanese way.’ Concerning specific forms of crime, PSCs again see it as their duty to contribute to a society that allows no crime to occur. This form of negative utopia is based on the feeling of responsibility to protect ‘the weak,’ although crime rates have been decreasing for years. The following section provides an in-depth analysis of one article that I consider as representative for most of the findings of the structural analysis.

‘Together We Will Solve the Problems’: An In-Depth Analysis of One PSI Newspaper Article

Based on Jäger’s CDA, this section analyses one discursive fragment in detail and focuses on the following points: In the first part, the background of the article is provided, the context is explained, and the mentioned persons are introduced. The second part is concerned with how the text is structured and which topics are discussed. In the third part, linguistic expressions and rhetoric phrases (as well as the use of verbs and nouns) are taken into account. In the case of this article, ideological statements could not be identified in vast numbers. They are therefore included in the overall analysis, which concludes this section.

Background of the Article

The article chosen was published in the newspaper *Keibi shinpō* on June 15, 2016. Its title is “Shizuoka keikyō: Mondai sanseki mo ichigan de taiō: Heisei 28-nendo tsūjō sōkai 静岡警協:問題山積も一丸で対応:平成 28 年度通常総会 [Association

for private security in Shizuoka: The pile of problems will be solved together as well: General meeting of the year Heisei 28 (=2016)].” It is located on the second of four pages and nearly fills the whole page. The size of the title is considerably larger than the letters of the text, which is written from top to bottom. The entire article is printed black-and-white as well as the three pictures attached to it. The main topic is related to actual discussions about the social insurance in the PSI in Japan. As comparable articles could be found in the other newspapers and magazines, this text is no exception.

Most of the text can be labelled as a report, but it should be noted that two rather long parts are direct quotations from two persons: Tomizawa Shizuo 富澤静雄 and Morita Yukimitsu 森田幸光. Tomizawa is president of the association and chair of the meeting. He is in charge of awarding the prize for excellent work in the PSI that he himself received some years ago. In addition to his position in the association, he works as CEO of Chūō Bōhan 中央防犯, a security company in Shizuoka 静岡県 prefecture. Morita on the other hand was invited as a guest to the general meeting and is the head of the main department for life security (*seikatsu anzen-bu* 生活安全部) of the police in Shizuoka prefecture. Both may be considered to be experts since they speak for their respective communities. Moreover, Morita also acts as a supervisor overlooking the current situation of the PSI in the prefecture.

Several discursive and possible discursive events should be pointed out that are mentioned in the text. At the beginning of the article, reference is made to the 2016 Kumamoto Earthquake that resulted in several dozens of casualties and thousands of injuries. Future events, such as the 2020 Olympic Games in Tōkyō and the 2019 Rugby World Championship, are cited as important dates for the PSI. Among other forms of violence, *tokushu sagi* 特殊詐欺 or ‘special forms of fraud’ receive the most attention. What can be understood under this term might not be obvious to everyone, but shows that this newspaper is oriented towards a certain audience that has specific knowledge about crime and crime prevention.

Analysis of the Structure of the Text

The entire article is subdivided into eleven parts, but can thematically be divided into eight sections. The article begins with an explanation of the date and the number of persons present at the meeting. In the second part, the awarding of two prizes is reported, which is partly covered by an extract of Tomizawa’s speech. The third part consists of a reference to the Kumamoto Earthquake, where the damages to the local association and the support from other associations from surrounding areas are pointed out. Subsequently, Tomizawa mentions the crime rate in the prefecture and stresses the problems concerning crimes against women, children, and the elderly. He then talks about the current problems of the PSI in Japan, which is the main objective of this article. He calls attention to the shortage of manpower in the indus-

try and to problems with social insurance. Following Tomizawa, Morita, who expresses his gratitude and respect for the PSI, congratulates the awarded employees and discusses the actual crime situation. He refers to several developments in a more detailed way than the CEO of the association. What he finds alarming are stalking incidents, exceptional cases of fraud, and domestic violence. He explains the increasing number of financial losses due to fraud, as well as attacks on guards at cash machines being increased. Morita emphasises the need for a better cooperation of the local community and its respective institutions, especially in respect of the Olympic Games and the Rugby World Championship. He holds great expectations from the PSI regarding these events. At the end of the article formalities concerning the association are discussed.

The two speeches by the experts highlight the article to a great degree: On the one hand, they show the cooperation of two relevant actors within the field of security—the PSI and the police. On the other hand, they also indicate the different emphasis the speakers put on their speeches. While Tomizawa draws the listener's attention mainly to the earthquake and covers the general crime rates only slightly, Morita discusses the latter in more detail and highlights the importance of joint measures against threatening developments. At first glance, the objective of the text seems to show that there are several structural problems within the PSI that may be overcome in the future. The article is simultaneously used by the editors to stress the salience of PSCs to provide security, as there still are dangerous things happening in Japanese society. He does not criticise Tomizawa's organisation, but rather praises the good relationship between the police and the PSI. On the contrary, Tomizawa focuses on the problems of the industry and it is possible that he shows respect to his co-speaker by referring to the Kumamoto Earthquake, which took place in the home prefecture of his guest.

Analysis of Phrases and Linguistic Expressions

An analysis focusing solely on the structure leaves out an investigation of the subtle messages that might be grasped by taking a closer look at the language used in the article. The differences in the way the two quoted experts speak, for instance, underline the fact that they put emphasis on different topics. As the discussion turns to the recent crime rate, Tomizawa explains that “crimes show a tendency to decrease, but [...]” and mentions a few examples for this trend without giving too much emphasis. Morita's speech, on the other hand, concentrates solely on this aspect, as can also be seen in the language he uses: “The number of crimes reported to the police has been decreasing for 13 years. However [...]” By using the word *shikashi* しかし (‘however’) he contrasts the crime rate to certain cases of crime that evoke feelings of insecurity—concentrating in detail on fraud.

In order to cope with this insecurity, Morita supports the cooperation with local communities, which may be subsumed under the term *kanmin ittai*. The combination of the characters *kan* 官, which stands for the public, and *min* 民, which signifies the people, highlights this conception of crime prevention. It is further strengthened by adding *ittai* 一体 or ‘one body.’ The CEO of the association addresses inter-industry problems in a similar fashion: he stresses that the respective offices would act ‘together as one’ (*ichigan to natte* 一丸となつて). Although crime rate is decreasing, it seems that the current situation cannot be handled by the police alone. This is made clearer by the short passage about the Olympic Games: the police have ‘high expectations’ (*kitai wa ōkii* 期待は大きい) by the PSI. The aim of this form of cooperation can be understood as ‘providing security and safety’ (*anzen anshin o teikyō suru* 安全安心を提供する). The combination of the two different conceptions of *anzen* and *anshin* is common in the context of crime prevention and contains the notions of physical security and the feeling of safety. Rather than distinguishing between them, they are often used as a pair signifying security in a broader sense.

An examination of several substantives used in the text reveals a more detailed picture of what is conceived as a risk. The explanation of the current crime situation is supported by the use of several terms that have an explicit negative connotation. The naming of domestic violence, stalking, child abuse, and financial fraud is connected to words such as *higai* 被害 (‘damage’) or *jiken* 事件 (‘incident’). Even the positively mentioned crime rate is referred to as *genshō* 減少 (‘shrinking’). It should be noted that by closely examining the text, it becomes clear that nothing is mentioned about improvement, but rather there exists a shrinking number of incidents which, however, do not seem to contribute to an improvement of the feeling of security. This line of argumentation becomes obvious when we seek to detect the police’s ultimate goal: rather than promoting positive utopian scenarios, what the police aims to is a ‘society [...] without crimes’ (*hanzai no nai* [...] *shakai* 犯罪のない [...] 社会)—this again represents a linguistically negative expression. One of the most striking rhetoric features of this issue is the way it should be achieved. Morita praises the PSI for their ‘knowledge’ (*chishiki* 知識) and for ‘working hard day and night’ (*doryoku* 努力, *nichiya* 日夜)—in contrast to the rather negatively connoted language used for describing the crime situation, strong and positive nouns were chosen for the work of the PSI.

A similar pattern can be identified if we take a closer look on the verbs used in the article. Positive words are used alongside cooperation and problem solving, while negative ones can be found in connection to crimes. Especially strong wording was used in the latter case, as it was noted that exceptional cases of fraud ‘do not come to an end’ (*ato o tatanai* 後を絶たない). Backed up with statistical data that show the rise of certain aspects of this kind of crime, Morita is clearly concerned to convey the conviction that Japan is currently experiencing a dangerous situation. It is children and women who are depicted as main victims of certain crimes. Thus, it

is them who may be considered as referent objects and in the name of whom policies to curb crime are being passed.

Overall Analysis

Major differences could be found in the way the two speakers presented their information. CEO Tomizawa only made a short remark on the crime situation and concentrated mainly on structural problems of the PSI that were the reason this article was published in the first place. In contrast, Morita, the guest speaker from the local police department, put great emphasis on the various risks in today's society, while expressing his admiration for the decent work of the PSI and his expectations for the future. Rather than offering concrete solutions for the perceived problems, Morita uses vague conceptions of a form of cooperation between the police and the local communities. This might be due to nationwide policies that increasingly support citizen participation in crime prevention strategies (Maeda 2012: 345). Morita's aim is to build a society without crime, which is obviously an impossible task. It shows, however, that there will always be a necessity for services provided by the police, but also by PSCs to a certain degree—as this goal might never be achieved, further engagement will always be welcome.

Although the article did not intend to give an overview of the current dangers Japanese society is facing, certain kinds of crimes were highlighted. Regardless of the positive development of the crime rate, the guest speaker points out certain facts that still or right now need to be considered as a threat to vulnerable groups of citizens, such as women or children. In comparison to many other articles that were analysed, this text was no exception in this sense: it is common to let representatives of the police speak about the actual trends regarding crime. By doing so, the PSI is able to receive legitimization for their engagement—not only in the private sector, but also in the form of a cooperation with public security services.

Discursive events taking place in the future are seemingly important for both the PSI and the police. The expectations from PSCs in this regard are labelled as high—this may be a result of previous experiences, for instance the Olympic Games in the 1960s, or rather recent events, such as the G7 summit in Ise-shima. Experts in security PSCs are considered a reliable support for the police and a contribution to social security. Thus, it is once more not only the private realm that companies have influence on, but also society as a whole. When examining the opinion of the police towards the growing importance of actors other than the police in crime prevention, we can see that it is not surprising that the PSI is increasingly accepted by both the police and the public. The article analysed in this paper supports this observation as it tries to point out the importance of joint measures against crime.

Conclusion

This paper presented how PSCs may be located within the discourse of security in Japan. It was its aim to analyse the views on security and risk of the PSI. As PSCs have more employees than the police in Japan, their role in crime prevention is considered influential. Risks and crimes are the core of their business; thus, examining how potential risks are portrayed and what strategies are seen as necessary to cope with them is deemed important. Olaf Corry's concept of riskification proved to be a useful theoretical tool for this research. Clear goals of the involved actors could be identified throughout the analysis of the 130 discursive fragments collected in newspapers: the aim of the police is to establish a society where crimes do not occur, and they strengthen the position of the PSI by pointing out their relevance for crime prevention measures. This linguistically negative form of a utopia—as is characteristic for risk societies in the sense of Ulrich Beck—might however never be reached, as certain kinds of crime will still take place. The saliency of specific crimes is highlighted, so that the necessity of the relevant actors of security policy—such as the PSI—is reinforced. While this way of politicising is not new to influential actors who seek recognition by the state or the people, what may be considered as striking is how 'traditional' structures of power are under constant reconstruction. Max Weber's notion of the state as the sole source of legal violence is being challenged by the growing importance of private companies: they receive acknowledgement both from the state, as the police actively encourages them to participate in certain activities, and from the people, who regard them as a part of everyday life and a means to provide security for places and belongings for which the state is not responsible. Thus, legitimisation for gradual changes in the policies concerning the security of Japanese society may be influenced not only by the police, but also by the expertise of private actors that are asked to provide their skills and knowledge.

Although it might be in the interest of PSCs to deliver a picture of an unsafe Japan, such statements are made only reluctantly. It is the police that points out threats and ask for cooperation. What the PSI considers as a potential danger to society is thus closely linked to what the police officially labels as such. PSCs are more concerned about how to provide a feeling of security, which is not always necessarily related to crime. In the aftermath of the Tōhoku Earthquake, for instance, it was seen as a crucial task to make the local community feel safe and make people laugh again. Building a relationship of trust is seen as a major part of the work of PSCs. By setting up connections with the local communities and the police, the PSI gradually gets more involved with issues that affect society as a whole. It is not surprising then that PSCs consider such efforts as a 'contribution to society' or a 'societal duty.'

This process strongly reflects the growing blending of former boundaries and a “continual negotiation of what is and what is not the state” (Williams 2016: 137).

The intensifying relationship between the actors involved in the discourse about security represents a solution for the prevention of potential crimes. It is the opposite of the term *muen shakai*—where the bonds of community are weakened—which is depicted as a reason for an increasing feeling of insecurity according to national surveys in Japan. Depending on what kind of crime is expected, certain target groups are identified, who are regarded as most vulnerable under these conditions. In case of children, for example, crime prevention strategies have resulted in a shift in society due to processes of riskification: nearly every school in Japan has measures against suspicious persons, who are prevented from entering the school grounds. This paper concentrated on the prerequisites that lead to such permanent changes in society: it analysed the views and notions behind these actions. It becomes clear that further analysis of the cooperation between the different actors might result in even more fruitful observations that might enable a deeper understanding of ‘invisible’ processes going on in society. Furthermore, this paper only concentrated on a specific section of the broad discourse about security. It tells little about how the people addressed by the services of the PSI or the police actually perceive the growing importance of security actors. What are the motives of the people who decide to buy a surveillance camera or an alarm system? In order to have the whole picture of the different processes involved in shaping the discourse of security and risk, these questions have to be included in future analyses. This paper, however, has shown that processes of riskification within the PSI and the police result in gradual changes in the way potential problems are discussed, addressed, and if possible resolved. The increasing chances of cooperation between the police and PSCs are just an example of this development, which might be considerably accelerated during the 2020 Olympic Games in Tōkyō.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJSSA	All Japan Security Service Association
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
PSCs	Private Security Companies
PSI	Private Security Industry

GLOSSARY

<i>anshin</i>	安心	security
<i>anshin-kan</i>	安心感	feeling of security
<i>anshin-kan o motte morau</i>	安心感を持ってもらう	to have sb. feel relieved
<i>anzen</i>	安全	safety
<i>anzen anshin o teikyō suru</i>	安全安心を提供する	to provide safety and security
<i>ato o tatanai</i>	後を絶たない	never ending
<i>bōhan</i>	防犯	crime prevention
<i>chian no iji</i>	治安の維持	maintenance of public order
<i>chishiki</i>	知識	knowledge
<i>Chūō bōhan</i>	中央防犯	Chūō bōhan (company in central Japan)
<i>doryoku</i>	努力	effort
<i>fuān no kage</i>	不安の影	shadow of insecurity
<i>furikome sagi</i>	振り込め詐欺	financial fraud
<i>genshō</i>	減少	decline
<i>Hanzai hakusho</i>	犯罪白書	Whitepaper on crime
<i>hanzai no okinai shakai</i>	犯罪の起かない社会	society without crimes
<i>hanzai no okinikui shakai</i>	犯罪の起きにくい社会	society, where it is hard for crimes to occur
<i>higai</i>	被害	damage
<i>ichigan to natte</i>	一丸となって	to become one; together
<i>Ise-shima</i>	伊勢志摩	Ise-shima (Region in Japan)

<i>ittai</i>	一体	one body, unity
<i>jakusha</i>	弱者	weak person
<i>jiken</i>	事件	incident
<i>jūmin no anzen o mamoru kan</i>	住民の安全を守る官	to protect the safety of the citizens bureaucracy
<i>kanmin ittai</i>	官民一体	unity of public and private
<i>Keibigyō-hō</i>	警備業法	Law on Private Security
<i>keibi gaisha</i>	警備会社	private security company
<i>keibi gyōsha</i>	警備業者	private security company
<i>Keibi hoshō shinbun</i>	警備保障新聞	old name of <i>Keibi shinpō</i> , professional newspaper on private security
<i>Keibi hoshō taimuzu</i>	警備保障タイムズ	professional newspaper on private security
<i>Keibi hyōron</i>	警備評論	professional magazine on private security
<i>Keibi shinpō</i>	警備新報	professional newspaper on private security
<i>keihōhan ninchī kensū</i>	刑法犯認知件数	crimes reported to the police
<i>kitai wa ōkii</i>	期待は大きい	expectations are high
<i>kōken</i>	貢献	contribution
<i>Kumamoto-ken</i>	熊本県	Kumamoto prefecture
<i>kyōaku hanzai</i>	凶悪犯罪	violent crimes
<i>min</i>	民	the people
<i>mizu to anzen wa tada da</i>	水と安全はタダだ	water and security are free
<i>muryoku-kan</i>	無力感	sense of powerlessness
<i>nichiya</i>	日夜	day and night
<i>Nihon Keibi Hoshō</i>	日本警備保障	Nihon Keibi Hoshō (former Name of the company Secom)
<i>Nihon-gata tero taisaku</i>	日本型テロ対策	Japanese way of anti-terrorist measures
<i>Ōsaka-fu</i>	大阪府	Ōsaka prefecture
<i>Secom</i>	セコム	Secom (biggest private security company in Japan)
<i>Seikatsu anzen-bu</i>	生活安全部	Bureau for the safety of living
<i>shakai-teki sekinin</i>	社会的責任	social responsibility
<i>shikashi</i>	しかし	however
<i>shinrai kankei</i>	信頼関係	relationship of mutual trust
<i>Shizuoka-ken</i>	静岡県	Shizuoka prefecture
<i>taikan chian</i>	体感治安	feeling of security
<i>tero taisaku</i>	テロ対策	anti-terrorist measures
<i>tokushu sagi</i>	特殊詐欺	special forms of fraud
<i>Tōkyō</i>	東京	Tōkyō
<i>Zenkoku Keibigyō Kyōkai</i>	全国警備業協会	All Japan Security Service Association (AJSSA)