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# **Towards safe city centres? Remaking the spaces of an old-industrial city**

**Gesa Helms**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Faculty of Social Science  
Department of Geography and Geomatics  
University of Glasgow  
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# Abstract

Situated at the intersection of economic restructuring and crime control, this thesis explores the practices and policies of economic regeneration, community safety and policing in the city of Glasgow. In particular old-industrial cities and regions have felt the pressures to 'revitalise' and regenerate their failing economic base, as well as to change the modalities of governance, and subsequently embarked upon local economic development and attracting growth industries. Examining the interest in quality-of-life offences within such regeneration agendas, my thesis explores the importance of crime control, policing and community safety in a series of empirical 'cuts' through the subject, starting with wider issues of crime control, imagineering and city centre upgrading. Practices of regulating city spaces are carried out in distinctive fields of community safety policies, the policing of homeless people and street prostitutes, and also include the regulating of businesses in the wake of economic regeneration. Furthermore, a city centre warden project, the City Centre Representatives, is studied in detail in relation to their work remit, encompassing a tourist service as well as a range of ordering tasks in the newly regenerated spaces of the city centre.

Explicitly framing these substantive debates in a theoretical context, the first part of the thesis engages in questions of social ontology, working towards a research perspective of a reworked critical Marxism. Such critical Marxism is arrived at by discussion of current approaches, both in policy and academy, of how to account for processes of economic restructuring and crime control in late-capitalist societies. While maintaining concepts of a(n), although fragmented, social totality, held together in dialectical processes, social praxis as mediation between social totality and agency becomes the central hinge for researching such ontology. As embodied, routine and partially reflected upon social practices that centre on people's work practices, such social praxis is subsequently spatialised by drawing on Lefèbvre's work on the production of social space and employed in a detailed empirical study. In so doing, this thesis puts forwards a proposal of how a reworked critical Marxism can fruitfully engage with current theoretical debates within geography and the social sciences more widely without neglecting the importance of in-depth empirical research to develop and strengthen any theoretical engagement.



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# Glossary

CCP	City Centre Partnership
CCR	City Centre Representatives
CSP	Community Safety Partnership
CWCSF	Central West Community Safety Forum
GCC	Glasgow City Council
GDA	Glasgow Development Agency (now SEG)
GDC	Glasgow District Council
GOMA	Gallery of Modern Art
GW	Glasgow Works
ILM	Intermediate Labour Market
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
ODPM	Office of Deputy Prime Minister
SEG	Scottish Enterprise Glasgow
SIP	Social Inclusion Partnership
SWPR	Schumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime

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# 1 Chapter One:

## Introduction – Towards safe city centres?

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There is here a rough justice of *exclusion*<sup>1</sup> and *full-force surveillance* that has become more and more routine in our experience and which is increasingly viewed as a necessary condition for securing the safety and pleasure of consumers and decent citizens. In this respect, ‘crime consciousness’—with its dialectic of fear and defensive aggression—has come to be built into our physical environment (in shopping malls, leisure complexes, airports, train and bus stations, city centres, etc.) and thus into the habitual routines of our everyday lives. [...] The new ‘criminologies of everyday life’—rational choice theory, routine activity theory, crime as opportunity, situational crime prevention—that are becoming to be so influential in the shaping of contemporary policy thinking, are usually credited to authors such as Ron Clarke, Marcus Felson, George Kelling and James Q. Wilson. But it might be more accurate to attribute authorship of these ways of thinking and acting to the countless unnamed managers and security staff, whose job it has been to come up with practical solutions to counter the problem of crime as it affects their particular enterprise. (Garland 2000, p. 365)

The social effects of economic restructuring have been highly uneven within both cities [Edinburgh and Glasgow]. [...] [P]eople in manual occupations, particularly men, have been hit hard by deindustrialisation. Job loss has had severe cumulative effects for individuals and communities through lower incomes, poor housing conditions, break-up of family structures, ill-health, high crime and low educational attainment. This has been translated into a more polarised map of urban society, particularly across Glasgow. (Bailey *et al.* 1999, p. 86)

Since the demand for formalized policing services has so far outstripped the ability of public police organizations to respond, commercial security and citizen-led approaches have unsurprisingly seen a major growth. But we would suggest that rather than see these developments as a fragmentation of ‘policing’, with non-state provision benefiting at the expense of public constabularies, what we are seeing is a general trend towards the formalization of social control. In particular, we would argue that the current growth in alternative forms of policing is related to a restructuring in forms of social control not directly connected to formal ‘policing’, private or public. (Jones and Newburn 2002, p. 139)

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<sup>1</sup> Please note that all emphases in quotes are as emphasised in the original, unless specified.



These three quotes provide us with inter-related entry points to this doctoral research project. All three are concerned with observable changes in the social ontology of late-capitalist societies in relation to safety, crime and restructuring. They do so, however, by approaching such an ontology from different angles. Firstly, Garland (2000) identifies a safety consciousness which is increasingly built into the urban fabric of regenerated cities and their spaces of consumption. Such a strategy of joining together the policies of economic development with issues of surveillance, policing and crime control is not only found in the core of service- and retail-orientated urban economies. It is also reflected within emerging approaches to the social inclusion of individuals and large parts of the peripheral and inner city residential areas. Secondly, Bailey *et al.* (1999, p. 86) introduce the city of Glasgow and comment on how the economic restructuring of recent years has arguably contributed towards the polarisation of urban societies. The third quote cuts across different localities and addresses the changes in the organisation of policing. Rather than regarding current developments as expressions of fragmentation, Jones and Newburn (2002, p. 139) put forward the notion that policing must not be seen in isolation from other forms of social control and discipline. Consequently, the rise of alternative forms of policing, such as privatised security and street warden programmes, is indicative of a wider change in how discipline is organised in late-capitalist society.

In addition to this perspective on the urban, Garland (2000) makes a poignant observation about the rise of theories of the everyday. He reminds us that it is not only a matter of theorists putting forward concepts, but that indeed, through practical experience, the numerous managers and practitioners of the crime control industry have been the ones formulating and shaping the majority of current criminologies. With such an observation, he brings up questions of conceptualisation and methodology. Following on from this, I want to supplement the first three quotes with a fourth. Unlike the ones that precede it, this one concerns an explicitly methodological question, a question of how to do research in an urban context. But it does much more than just illuminate a technique, it links the 'how' question with those being asked about my whole research object.

Engels [in *The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844*] has completed his first examination of what lies behind and between the network of main streets. It is Manchester itself in its negated and estranged existence. But this chaos of alleys, courts, hovel, filth – and human beings – is not a chaos as well. Every fragment of disarray, every inconvenience, every scrap of human suffering has a meaning. Each of these is inversely and ineradicably related to the life led by the middle classes, to the work performed in the factories, and to the structure of the city as a whole. (Marcus 1974, p. 198)

Friedrich Engels does not merely refer to the conduct of empirical research, but instead places his research object, which started as a descriptive mapping of

the inner city of Manchester, in close inter-relationship to a particular social ontology. Taking this a step further, he employs a particular research method, that of dialectical investigation, to place together apparently disparate phenomena and processes, thereby striving to see the physical environment of the city in connection to the social relations of 1840s Manchester. This thesis concerns itself with the city of Glasgow at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a city which is not only divorced from Engels' Manchester by over 150 years of history but by a history filled with the lives of successive generations. However, there remains something intriguing and fascinating about both Engel's account and the workings of the city that he discloses and places into relation to each other. It is a city marked by the brunt of the industrial revolution and the making of an industrial working class. Its social relations not only imprint themselves on the city, they in fact make the city, hiding working-class poverty, and seemingly segregating the bourgeois city from the factories and the working-class quarters. It is the interrelation and the tension within these social relations that are skilfully brought to life by Engels.

It is this combination of method and social ontology that I borrow from Engels' work, and I hence want to posit a number of initial questions for this thesis: how are such tensions played out in another city (Glasgow) which, after having undergone prolonged periods of industrial decline, has put enormous efforts into re-imagining itself in the restructuring from old-industrial wasteland to a post-industrial, service- and retail-based city? Outlining, tracing, filling and explaining these tensions are the tasks of this thesis. As a first step towards this task, the following pages sketch out the spaces set up by the introductory quotes before presenting an outline for the work as a whole.

### ***1.1 The remaking and rethinking of spaces in an old-industrial city***

The remaking of cities has been a common theme for both practitioners and academics of urban studies. Following the demise of the industrial powerhouses throughout many late-capitalist societies over the last 20 or so years, practitioners have drawn up and implemented various strategies of urban regeneration to respond to the decline of old-industrial regions and cities within the UK and elsewhere. Integral to this response is the active promotion of cities, as part of a more widely adopted entrepreneurial stance towards inward investment by local authorities and economic development agencies. The justification for taking such an entrepreneurial perspective by these agents is put forward as the need to respond to and benefit from globalisation, which is seen to shape current world economies. While a critical stance needs to be adopted towards the impact that the whole terminology of globalisation has had in pushing forward the neo-liberalisation of political economies and societies on

a global scale<sup>2</sup>, it is nonetheless without a doubt that exactly these ‘facts’ of a now existing globalisation are routinely rehearsed for justifying a large number of changes in politics and policy (Jessop 2002). This is for the reason that on the level of policy-making these facts often form the baseline knowledge and underlie thinking, strategy and policy. Furthermore, these changes set the backdrop on a local level for institutional re-ordering. Within regulationist approaches this institutional reordering has been captured as a change in the mode of regulation, from Fordist to post-Fordist or flexible accumulation (Harvey 1989b; Jessop 1995).

Let us consider in more detail what these changes look like at the level of urban regions, a scale which has received sustained attention by economic policy makers. The reasons for this heightened attention lie in the importance that inter-urban competition for direct investment and government funding, as well as for consumer and leisure spending, has acquired (Harvey 1989b). The mechanisms which led to such a rescaling of economic and, consequently, political, activity are set in motion by changes in economic competition, an increased internationalisation of company activity and, resulting from this, a higher flexibility towards location and relocation of businesses. In turn, these changes in economic practices have become reflected in a political, and institutional reorganisation so as to capture in the most efficient way investment and capital that had become more ‘footloose’. The key concept to capture the institutional changes on the local scale has become known as urban entrepreneurialism or boosterism<sup>3</sup>. It is this context of local economic development in an environment that is increasingly self-conscious of inter-urban competition and benchmarking *vis-à-vis* other localities that poses the political-economic background for my research on the remaking of the city of Glasgow.

One of the key moments why such entrepreneurial measures have been increasingly adopted from the late-1970s lies in the experience of rapid and dramatic decline within Britain’s old-industrial centres, and this experience of deindustrialisation of the heartland of what was once the British Empire sets the

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<sup>2</sup> Despite being sceptical about the value of ‘globalisation’, a concept which remains vague and fails to acknowledge prior internationalisation across the globe, as Hirst and Thompson (1996) argue, this globalisation nonetheless displays a number of characteristics involving the functional integration of internal economic activity. However, I agree with Smith (2002) when he criticises the globalisation debate for its obsession with finance capital and command functions of global cities, and for, thereby ignoring the role of production processes.

<sup>3</sup> Qualifications are desperately in order. Heavily steeped in neoliberal rhetoric and ideology, it is more than doubtful how ‘flexible’ is such a capitalism. Furthermore, the ways in which such an entrepreneurialism can indeed produce extra investment, or whether it is just another means of capitalist competition, must be debated.

These concepts of local economic development were first established within Thatcherite Britain, and hence clearly showed aggressive free-market agenda. This aggression has somewhat mellowed throughout the 1990s and when Labour came in power. However, I contend that many of the mechanisms are still in place, and that the neoliberal agenda of stakeholders, best value, etc. is also in place and very much alive.

tone for one of this project's main themes. It is exactly this past of heavy industries with its associated imagery<sup>4</sup> of the 'old' Glasgow that has become the subject of intense policy strategies to restructure the urban economy. But before industrial wastelands could be tidied up and turned into promising real estate for new developments, another campaign had to be fought. Preceding the actual investment, there was a wide-scale image campaign to propagate the 'Glasgow of the new days', and to counter images of poverty, dereliction and political unrest that had all marked the old-industrial Glasgow.

More recently, the entrepreneurial agenda has been supplemented by another theme. Under the heading of quality of life and liveability<sup>5</sup>, crime politics have increasingly become part of the 'sustainable urban growth' equation. The newly created urban public spaces encompassing the 'new economies' of consumption, need to be kept safe and secure, so that people sightsee, shop, drink and eat and entertain themselves. To safeguard these new spaces of consumption, new laws and regulations have been passed and measures have been established such as Closed Circuit Television (CCTV), street wardens, environmental modification and so on (Oc and Tiesdell 1997). These developments have thrown up questions about the use and accessibility of public spaces, particularly because these spaces have become tied to consumption and leisure, thus excluding large parts of the urban population (Christopherson 1994; Fyfe and Bannister 1996; Smith 1996)<sup>6</sup>.

Given this precondition of safety and the absence of crime, image politics surface again: it proves pivotal to minimise the extent to which even *perceived* risks and fear of crime can present obstacles for development. The *imagineering* of safe city centres, and with this I mean the efforts to engineer particular images of safety and to bring them into circulation, then goes hand-in-hand with new policing practices and marketing activities. As one can imagine, the content of 'crime' is part of the engineering too: what constitute crimes,

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<sup>4</sup> An imagery which was much more than visual: it includes the smells and the noises of busy, working docks, the working class quarters with the noisy closes and backyards, the entertainment in the dance halls and pubs and much more.

<sup>5</sup> Whereas, for instance, the Urban White Paper (OPDM 2000) talks about the improvement of quality of life for the inhabitants of British towns and cities, the American concept of liveability has become more prominent over the past couple of years since it was addressed in a speech by Tony Blair. Here, liveability is used "as a short hand for all the things which improve our daily experience of life where we live." Consequently, "[t]o deliver this we have to tackle the small concerns, which can turn into big problems. It is important that we break the sense of fatalism about parts of our public sphere - everywhere we can make a start will make a difference. That is why we are addressing low-level crime and disorder and local environmental degradation alongside serious crime and pollution" (Blair 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Smith's concept of the 'Revanchist City' (Smith 1996, 1998c) is the most conceptually-grounded ones of these critiques. It focuses on the interrelationship between urban restructuring within inter-urban competition and its accompanying ideology of 'revanchism', which "blends revenge with reaction" (Smith 1998c, p. 1). This revanchism claims that the city has been stolen from the white middle class by all sorts of minorities. Within both ideology and practice of this type of revanchism, "crime [...] has become a central marker" (Smith 1996, p. 213) as it legitimises a crack-down on the poor who are now treated as criminals and made responsible for social and economic problems rather than being treated as victims of socio-economic restructuring.

offences or simply undesired behaviour is influenced by economic growth considerations.

Following these considerations, the core of my thesis explores the concerns of crime, safety and, more widely, regulating and monitoring practices that are directed at the control of new economic spaces and are part of economic regeneration strategies. And, as a second step, I am asking how these strategies are drawn up, put to work and enforced; who draws them up and what are their consequences? By asking these questions, it should be clear that I am not looking for an input/output evaluation of policy research. Instead, the processes and their relations are of interest to me. It is at this point that the earlier made reference to Engels' work on 1840s Manchester come into play as a methodological strategy. Bringing into play a critical stance on seemingly disparate policy efforts to make safe the city and the city centre, I intend to 'unhide' key moments of the city's political economy that has undergone significant restructuring over the past thirty years. I will return to this notion of 'unhiding' in Chapter Three.

Such an approach, being sensitive to the actual social and spatial practices through which city spaces are remade, reflects the theoretical investments of this project. The thesis sets out to explore the works of Marxist social praxis, by interrogating ethnographic research on social practices, and by looking into various traditions of recent Marxist scholarship that integrate 'subjective' or 'cultural' approaches into historical materialism. The latter regard practices as an embodied way of 'doing', but keep in sight the particular social, geographic and historical specificities of such practices. The project thus re-examines and puts into (research) practice a critical Marxism. As a non-dogmatic project, this Marxism is able to accommodate a fragmented totality, employs a dialectical method, and considers as the starting point for theory and praxis the sensuous, situated concrete human being. Such a theoretical endeavour, I argue, is timely in the light of current debates within human geography. These debates have highlighted the need to account for political economy, and hence to consider the problems of social and cultural geography in the face of representation and relevance<sup>7</sup>. Drawing on Marx, rather than non-representational work as proposed by Nigel Thrift, to explore social practices which often are *non-representational* allows me to consider these practices as a dialectical moment

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<sup>7</sup> This work is, without a doubt, highly indebted to a wealth of social and cultural geography which in the past fifteen years has highlighted the shortcomings of structuralist and economic studies. Just briefly, I would like to mention some of the achievements of this work as lying in the sensibility with which particular localities are researched, wherein culture has become conceptualised not only as inextricably linked to the social and the economic but also as a routine and often very mundane practice. Questioning dominant explanations has necessarily problematised the researcher and her positionality and enabled an inspiring discussion around reflexivity.

of social relations and to regard them as integral to political economies<sup>8</sup>. With such a perspective this work sees itself as an intervention within these debates to address some of those urgent concerns within a Marxist framework, which, in the guise of structuralist Marxism, was exactly the departure point of many of the critiques in the 1980s.

With these theoretical considerations, the project deliberately cuts across traditional policy domains. Community safety, urban planning, social work and policing all have their say about “Towards safe city centres? Remaking the public spaces of an old-industrial city”. Nonetheless, in telling their stories from the institutional position of mainstream service, they often have a blurred vision, if any at all, regarding some of the borders of disciplines as well as the geographical margins of the city centre. One common concern of all these policies is reflected in Michel Foucault’s studies on surveillance, discipline and self-discipline: the ordering of a city and its people. Hence, positioning itself at the conjunction between economic restructuring and crime control, this project is strongly influenced by Foucault’s work on surveillance and discipline. This influence is admittedly stronger in relation to the substantive field rather than drawing explicitly on Foucault’s post-structuralist theoretical input. Instead of following his discourse-analytical work, this project hence picks up on the close attention he has paid to the micro-practices of power operating on the level of disciplined and docile bodies. This line of thinking has been strongly developed in work around social control and discipline, often within the field of criminology. As a theme running throughout the thesis, the means of ordering and regulating urban spaces are explored – preventing, enforcing, fixing, but also practices which are about helping and overlooking. In so doing, the thesis engages with research on social control but tries to avoid, where possible, concerning itself too much with the conceptual baggage<sup>9</sup>.

However, social cohesion as a recent policy concern for regenerating deprived urban communities argues for close-knitted, yet diverse communities as being central to urban revival. Community safety is one of the strategies to support social cohesion, and thus explicitly addresses questions of social control. In a city centre context, this is more often than not the foundation for displacement of undesired people, heavy-handed law enforcement *à la* Zero Tolerance for drug users, drunks, youths hanging out on the street and so on. This approach can be contrasted with a number of ‘street-level alliances’ between street

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<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, as well as disappointingly, the most prominent theoretical project at the moment with Marxist roots, regulation theory, remains rather neglectful to the practices through which social regulation is actually played out on the ground. Also, little work of this kind considers issues of crime, but see Lea (1997).

<sup>9</sup> Stanley Cohen’s (1985) *Visions of Social Control* has been influential in proposing a Foucauldian perspective on social control, regarding social control not as every social process to induce conformity but rather ‘organised’ and ‘planned’ activities’ to do so.

workers and parts of the police, which try to shift the balance from homeless people as dangers towards homeless people *in* danger throughout the city centre. These agencies exhibit a hands-on approach to the 'running of the streets' which throws up different assumptions about 'whose safety?' and 'whose community?' to those pervading official discourses and practices of community safety, and may be out of kilter with the kind of input that community safety receives from economic development or town centre management agents. Another recent approach to social regulation can be found in some of the projects designed to increase people's safety and well being in the city centre. The City Centre Representatives (CCR) as a warden scheme for Glasgow's city centre receives its funding from being a training programme for local long-term unemployed people. Dressed in red uniform, the 'reps' acquire not only service sector skills in dealing with the public and patrolling the city centre spaces, but are also trained to be 'work-ready' to take up jobs in the new economy.

These two fields of how city centre safety is produced through a range of practices, be they discursive or non-discursive, are researched with a methodology that reflects the conceptual concerns. Participant observations across the city centre have been carried out as well as a range of in-depth interviews with lower-level management and supervisory staff, employees across a wide range of agencies engaged in urban regeneration and city centre safety. The practical expertise and experience of being in the city centre was an important aspect for the selection of interviewees. Besides talking about their daily tasks, several of the interviewees were accompanied through the city centre in 'guided tours' through their work routines. All of this has been supplemented by documentary analysis.

Through all of these themes, the attempts to remake Glasgow, to create something new, to break with the old-industrial past shine through. In a sense, these attempts to remake the city divide between the old Glasgow and the new Glasgow. The 'old Glasgow' is regarded as an assemblage of shipyards, factories, a working-class way of life with its negative associations of poverty, violence and 'slum' housing. As a continuation of this, the relics of Glasgow's old-industrial past, namely large derelict industrial sites, peripheral housing schemes belong to old Glasgow too. Similarly part of this are the social consequences of economic restructuring, such as poverty, social exclusion and various social pathologies such as addiction, anti-social behaviour and so on. The 'new Glasgow' needs to be imagineered, marketed and also put to work across the city. But the old and the new remain in tension and relationship, however much the new seeks to hide the old: the two consistently inter-penetrate one another, compromise one another and put limits on one another. With this perspective, I argue that the picture of a fragmented, patchy city

appears – while at the same time, many of the city spaces are tightly inter-related: people are moving across the city for work, leisure, to access services, to score drugs, to sell their bodies, to hide and sleep, and to shoplift. By doing so, they move and flow through a patchwork of regenerated and decaying city spaces, and are subjected to various policing agents, approaches and intensities. These spaces bear witnesses to new urban fortunes and to the permanences of urban decline, just as much as people's lives and experiences are inscribed within processes of economic restructuring.

My own role in setting up the research project and pursuing it along a specific line of theory and praxis makes this work in some sense a blurred story too<sup>10</sup>. It is partial to commitments which should arise throughout the research: the anger about both current homeless policies and, closely linked, the drugs issue, the sanitisation of places, shoving people away who are 'out of place', the disciplining of unemployed people into training schemes with doubtful outcomes. My partiality allows me take a position that works across policy fields. In this sense, while incorporating intimate knowledge of policy-making processes within the fields of urban regeneration, policing and labour markets, this thesis maintains a position of critiquing the policy initiatives that it researches. It does so not by questioning some of the best practices or particular choices of performance indicators but, along with Peck (1999, p. 132), by emphasising the necessity of an analysis and critique of policy where "the policy process [is conceived of] as a contested, politicised domain in which the parameters and exclusions of policy-making are themselves objects of policy-making [...]." In such a logic, Peck sees geographers as state-theorists who conduct 'deep' policy analysis.

## **1.2 Outlook of the thesis**

The basic grounds of this PhD thesis have now been charted in this chapter. I have not attempted to do so by means of a detailed literature review, but instead have provided a series of substantive as well as conceptual 'cuts' through the topic of "Towards safe city centres? Remaking the spaces of an old-industrial city." Setting out with a number of quotes where economic restructuring and crime control have been joined together in the field of urban policy, this chapter has begun to explore those substantive links, and to trace their development through the current phase of economic restructuring. Furthermore, I have introduced the theoretical concerns of this project as lying

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<sup>10</sup> 'Story' is a difficult metaphor. Though reflecting the 'post-' critiques of grand theories, I still maintain that a piece of scholarship is also more than merely a story. If it was only a story, a different story could just as well have been told, without many consequences. However, it is this particular account that I give within this research, and the reasons for this arise not only from my personal investments but are also tied to theoretical and practical considerations.



with a reworking of critical Marxism so that it allows us to address issues of the everyday, the production of social space and discipline in a manner sensitive to more recent post-structuralist critiques of traditional, structuralist, Marxism.

Following on from this, I would like to outline the particular route in which my thesis will set up, develop and study these initial concerns in both theoretical and empirical depth. The first part of the thesis will address the conceptual leanings through three chapters. Chapter Two begins by discussing in more depth current accounts of crime and the post-industrial city. It does so initially by examining the concepts that significantly shape British urban policy. These largely technical and administrative concepts are 'complicated' through the introduction of academic work which presents different accounts of contemporary social ontology. Moving through these complications, the discussion turns towards Marxist theory and philosophy to address some weaknesses found in earlier approaches. From those insights, Chapter Three grounds those philosophical issues in a discussion of social praxis, tracing its development through 20<sup>th</sup> century critical Marxism which understands its philosophical arguments as inherently critical insofar as, by practical engagement with society, it moves beyond philosophy. Such a 'non-' philosophy of social praxis is characterised by a number of key tenets, namely its focus on active embodied praxis in a fragmented social totality as well as an emphasis on a dialectical methodology. Chapter Four, then turns towards the production of social space, and brings an understanding of social praxis as inherently spatial praxis into contact with the earlier discussions. For this, Lefèbvre's triad of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space is employed as a framework, linked back to the philosophy of social praxis. One guiding thread throughout these theoretical chapters is the question of how these debates can be translated into empirical research, and an attempt is therefore made to relate these theoretical considerations to substantive matters of urban regeneration, policing and discipline.

The task of formulating a research project is presented in Chapter Five, after pulling out the methodological concerns of social praxis for a research design that employs in-depth interviews, documentary analysis and participant observation. Six Vignettes are then sketched out as empirically-rich descriptions, and these open the thesis towards its empirical part. This empirical part comprises four chapters in which, successively, the research focus is narrowed down in scale. Throughout these chapters, footnotes are provided to contextualise empirical findings in respective academic debates. Chapter Six explores the connections made between economic restructuring and crime control, and does so by charting the politics and policies of Glasgow's regeneration. Here it focuses on the sustained efforts at marketing and imagineering particular notions of Glasgow as a vibrant, safe city. Crime control

is, in the course of this chapter, broadened into an understanding of regulating the city and its spaces. Key to such an understanding are the disciplining and the social cohesion of the local workforce and inhabitants, as bound up in the attempt to integrate them and to bring them on board with the project of the 'new' Glasgow.

This understanding of regulating city spaces is developed further in Chapters Seven and Eight. As the most prominent policy of crime control, community safety operates across a range of mainstream urban policies and hence puts forward particular strategies, as well as concepts of safety, security and crime control. These policies are juxtaposed in Chapter Eight (as a continuation of the previous chapter rather than a new separate Chapter) with the social groups that most commonly feature in crime policies as the dangers to city centre spaces and their safe consumption. Looking more closely at the practices of outreach workers for organisations that work with homeless people as well as street prostitutes, another layer of regulation is introduced. Finally, almost in a three-stage dialectical step, the focus on regulating city spaces steps outside of this dualism of community safety and homelessness and brings into perspective the policies and practices of regulating business activities within the city centre. The third empirical focus rests in Chapter Nine on one project that cuts across many of these compartmentalisations of discrete policy fields. The City Centre Representatives project operates as a warden project in the city centre spaces of Glasgow. It provides information and support for users of the city centre, while also performing a wide range of low-level regulatory activities in these spaces. Simultaneously, it presents a training programme for long-term unemployed Glaswegians. In this respect, it ties notions of city centre safety and security back to a disciplining of a local workforce, attempting to render them 'employable' and to integrate them, mostly at the level of the National Minimum Wage, into the restructured labour market.

Eventually, Chapter Ten as Discussion brings together both empirical and theoretical considerations of thesis. After providing a summary of key empirical findings, I will spell out the implications for urban policy and policy research. The main section of the Discussion reflects upon empirical concerns with the theoretical lens of Marxist social praxis so as to 'anchor' the empirical study not only in terms of its substantive field of policing and economic restructuring but really to make an argument for a conceptually-strong position to research a particular social ontology.

## 2 Chapter Two:

### Laying foundations – On Marxist ontology and philosophy

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The introduction to the thesis has charted the grounds of crime control, policing and economic restructuring. It has also provided us with a first sighting of current debates, practices and policies centred around the production of safe city centres as part of attempts to remake an old-industrial city such as Glasgow. From the light touch of narrating a story, the thesis now moves towards grounding these narratives of economic regeneration, crime control and community safety. Grounding them firstly necessitates us to regard them not as narratives but as both content and means of policy-making. In so doing, these policies become open to scrutiny, and provide a starting point for theoretical investigation. The first step will be to examine more closely the content of particular approaches to crime control. I am particularly interested in deconstructing the assumptions that inform those practices and policies.

To ground these stories and fill them with content also involves the intellectual practice of accounting for what is regarded as 'realities of the urban' by practitioners and theorists. In this sense, I contend that any statement about current problems, policies and solutions to them is necessarily bound up with ontological statements, by which I mean assumptions regarding the existence of a particular world or particular worlds. These ontologies are not necessarily well-formulated, explicit or promoted as such, but are, nonetheless intrinsic to both policy-making and academic practices. This contention takes on board Bhaskar's (1978) claim that there exists no statement without an ontological content.

However, ontology and statements about the real have become subject to criticism, notably from post-structuralism. In some ways this is rightly so, as the claim to truth is immediately linked to claims of power as Foucauldian, feminist and post-colonial studies have argued so convincingly. In this sense, a heading titled 'laying foundations' invites criticisms for being foundationalist, and for

designating certain sorts of representations and processes a 'basic', 'privileged', and 'foundational' role (Rorty 1979, p. 318f.), as well as for making claims to legitimate knowledge by defining and identifying illegitimate knowledge.

As a first reply, the social ontology discussed here is the one employed by the agents themselves. And they, for sure, do not have a problem with identifying reality and truth – practices which have deservedly been the very object of the criticism above. This is a criticism that this thesis gladly adopts. Secondly, however, the next chapters themselves engage in a discussion of social ontology, offering a perspective and epistemology on such ontologies to understand the processes of economic restructuring and crime control. The notion of ontology put forward here is a 'weak ontology' in the sense of not pointing towards a rigid *a priori* ontology (as a totally theoretically specified one). Rather, it is an ontology that allows for the countless, fragmented, partial views of situated agents a certain ontological status. In this sense, I meet Thrift's (1996) proposal of a flattened ontology to allow for non-representations half-way as I do not deny the worldly role of representations altogether.

In discussing those theories that inform current debates on crime control and community safety and by taking issue with their blind spots, I critique them and juxtapose them with current academic debates. I would like to call this strategy one of adding 'complications' to the policy realm of crime control and crime prevention. To me, they present ways of grappling with late-capitalist social ontology in a more complex, and complicated, manner than does conventional policy-making. By considering ethnographic, post-structuralist and regulationist approaches, the discussion moves on so as to sketch out a picture of the particular ontology in question. Studying the respective merits and weaknesses of these additional approaches finally enables me to discuss not only ontological concerns, but indeed to connect these concerns to methodological and philosophical debates around a historical and geographical materialism. Here, I will argue that a particular strand of Marxist theory equips us with an understanding of social ontology to study city make-overs, economic restructuring and the production of social, safe space.

## **2.1 Policy and ontology of late-capitalist policing**

Growing concern about crime and ways of guaranteeing the safety of those who use public spaces is situated in the wider context of crime control. In criminology, crime control as part of a particular theory can hardly be discussed without considering theories of delinquency and crime causation. However, over recent years, crime control in Britain and other Western countries has concentrated more strongly than before on one particular aspect, the *prevention* of crime. Along the same lines, crime prevention has been organised as crime

prevention through environmental design, concerned with altering the physical environment to harden targets, to increase detection and to deter the potential criminal. Hughes (1998, p. 4) notes the fact that, if crime prevention has been theorised, it happened in the context of a “body of technical and pragmatic knowledge aimed at helping those in power to put their ideas into practice through technical evaluations.” The emergent body of crime prevention literature is hence of a ‘technicist’ and ‘administrative’ nature (like, for instance, Tonry and Farrington 1995). The Conservative Government under Thatcher undertook, through the Home Office, extensive research into the effectiveness of crime prevention, in particular that of *situational* crime prevention (Clarke and Mayhew 1980). The advantage of situational crime prevention was the opportunity it offered to leave out of consideration (or policy implementation) further socio-economic background factors that were previously central to dispositional crime causation models; instead, it could seemingly prove that ‘something works’. Situational crime prevention stresses that it is possible to alter potential offenders’ decision-making by employing various techniques of risk maximisation and opportunity removal. Consequentially, situational crime prevention is geared towards changing the (physical) environment of potential crime sites, and in so doing deterring potential offenders.

Situational crime prevention [...] refers to a pre-emptive approach that relies, not on improving society or institutions, but simply on reducing the opportunities for crime [...] Situational crime prevention comprises opportunity-reducing measures that are, (1) directed at highly specific forms of crime (2) that involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in as specific and permanent a way as possible (3) so as to increase the effort and risks of crime and reduce the rewards as perceived by a wide range of offenders. (Clarke 1992, p. 4)

Similar to other policies, and as an example of the shift from government to governance, British crime policies have concentrated on moving away from the police as the only agent of crime control to including not only private sector interests (as exemplified by the rise in private security services) but also the community and its active citizens. Whereas this was originally promoted by the Conservative Government under the neo-liberal rhetoric of the responsible individual, multi-agency partnership, with a much less aggressive proposal of individual responsibility, is now well established as a concerted action against crime (Bottoms 1990; Crawford 1998). One prominent example of situational crime prevention is the introduction of video surveillance. Whereas it is nowadays common in Western countries to have large-scale video coverage of most businesses, such as shops, banks and service providers, Britain also possesses an extensive number of towns and cities where public spaces are constantly observed by a CCTV scheme. Constant surveillance is regarded as particularly effective to deter opportunistic criminals, and also to follow up crimes such as vandalism, theft and breaches of the peace, because all actions

and perpetrators can potentially be recorded and tracked down by video evidence. Whereas these schemes have enjoyed widespread support with practitioners, the evaluation and assessment of the effectiveness of these schemes is more ambiguous (Ditton and Short 1998; Skinns 1998; Tilley 1998). As with most situational crime prevention measures, questions of displacement – merely transferring a particular crime from one place to another, or the fact that new methods might be pursued – are at the centre of criticisms about effectiveness.

Certainly the ‘noisiest’ crime prevention strategy has been the concept of Zero Tolerance Policing (ZTP) which has been adopted by the New York Police Department since 1994. “Learning from New York” titled one of the leading German weekly political magazines on 1997 its article on the ZTP strategy of New York’s police department. This strategy concentrates:

[...] upon low-level public disorder offences such as graffiti, vandalism, public drunkenness [...] The premise being that strong and authoritative use of coercive police powers, in respect of these types of behaviours, can prevent more serious types of disorder and crime from occurring. (Innes 1999b, p. 398)

The philosophical underpinning for this is the Broken Windows concept by the conservative criminologists Wilson and Kelling (1982). They suggest that in those areas where signs of physical decay (graffiti, dereliction, vandalism and litter) prevail and are not acted upon, criminal behaviour will grow and become dominant. Hereby, generally the public’s fear of crime and its calls for fighting crime – or more appropriately, public nuisances and incivilities is called upon to police “[...] disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people: panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed” who are responsible for the “anxiety now endemic in many big-city neighbourhoods” (*ibid.*, p. 31).

The measures applied under ZTP are curfews, orders for people to leave certain areas, limitation of movement of people, CCTV surveillance and other technical equipment, strong police presence in streets and more<sup>11</sup>.

These matters of policy concern seem to address in a straightforward manner the problems that are found in relation to crime and safety, and so why should this concern us for a discussion of ontology or even philosophy? Rather than

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<sup>11</sup>Zero Tolerance is less called upon under that name in a British context, as Strathclyde Chief Constabulary John Orr pointed out in respect to Strathclyde Police’s Spotlight initiatives (Dennis 1997), only a few British police forces, namely Cleveland and London have adopted that terminology but various initiatives of police forces, such as Spotlight or Safer Cities have largely been driven by similar assumptions and solutions Note also the controversy about confident policing as part of ZTP: British police officers and practitioners prefer to call they approach to low-level offence as one of confident policing: high presence, fast response but with more distance to criticised police brutality.

Confident policing of low-order offences involves at the mildest – but also at its very effective – simply letting the boy or the young man know that if he pushes high spirits into intimidation, if he spray paints the bus seats, if he sniffs glue under the old railway bridge, if he smashes the seat in the park, the chances have been considerably raised that someone will effectively know that he was the culprit (Dennis and Mallon 1997, p. 67)

'merely' presenting administrative solutions for obvious problems of crime control, I would insist that these policies are also presenting ontological statements, in which they identify and define the key problems of contemporary society, and judge how these should be tackled. Although apparently pragmatic in their approach and not concerned with wider issues of social relations, these policies nonetheless embody particular theories of social interaction and causal explanation.

In the case of situational crime prevention, the search for its theoretical currency is not too difficult: it consists of an almost pure methodological individualism and a rational choice model of human behaviour<sup>12</sup>. In fact, this type of theory is found in a large number of concepts and reasonings along the lines of current policing and crime control debates, and has gained most of its academic weight through Ulrich Beck's (1992) *Risk Society*. Following Beck's central claim that assessment and minimisation of risk present the key to managing social change, many authors who do not necessarily align themselves with the positivist assumptions of situational crime prevention still talk about the perceived fragmentation and individualisation, identified by a risk-based perspective (e.g., Johnston 2000). As a common trait, the rational choice of the individual (albeit in imperfect conditions) is emphasised. The solution to dealing with and containing risk, it is then supposed, rests in turn on the labelling of groups of individuals characterised by the risk they pose<sup>13</sup>. This labelling of crime or, more appropriately, *deviance* is inherently tied up with social norms and values, rather than the individual pathology of the 'criminal', or 'outsider' (Becker 1963). Such definitions form the building blocks of the criminal justice system, and thus the positivist basis for any policing practice.

## 2.2 *Complications in late-capitalist ontology*

Having taken the policies and strategies of crime control and urban regeneration as a starting point, I have discussed the theoretical assumptions that inform policy and deserve our attention. I want to make two related arguments about theory and policy, and thereby situate my research project within current debates by human geographers concerning the policy relevance

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<sup>12</sup> Popper's Critical Rationalism amended the logical positivism of the 1920s Viennese Circle, notably their distinction between analytical and synthetic statements as the basis for truth statements, by the principle of falsification as only means to dismiss a statement (final verification not being regarded as possible). This scientification of social knowledge provided the basis for much of the spatial science 'revolution' within geography in the 1960s, as well as providing the principles of neo-classical economics. The latter in particular builds on the ontological assumption of rationally operating individuals, striving to maximise their positive outcomes. Similarly, part and parcel of the *a priori* is a methodological individualism which insists on the view that every social event can be fully explained by referring to the individuals that contribute to it with their actions and motives (Werlen 1993).

<sup>13</sup> Also note that ZTP and social crime prevention are based upon concepts and discourse of social control and, an often authoritarian, communitarianism. For the contradictions and dilemmas, this combination of rational choice and communitarianism, see Hughes (1998) and Crawford (1998)

of geographical scholarship, as well as focussing more closely on the manner in which policy draws on theory and concepts.

It is relatively easy to construct policy as non-theoretical, not concerned with concepts and reasoning but with practical matters and the implementation of strategies<sup>14</sup>. In fact, one finds plenty of examples in the current wave of discussing geography's relevance and policy impact (Dorling and Shaw 2002; Markusen 1999; Martin 2001) where authors emphasise the moral obligation of human geographers to improve society, and to contribute to current policy agendas. The discussion of technical crime prevention has provided us with a starting point to go beyond these claims of neutrality in relation to crime prevention policies. I have followed Hughes' (1998) line of argument to counter the claim of neutrality by discussing the positivist, individualistic and rational choice assumptions made within current prevailing crime control policy. In addition to this positivist attitude, these policies strongly favour 'anything that works', resulting in a practical eclecticism. Gilling (2001, p. 385) discusses community safety policies, and observes that such a problem-led rather than practice-led approach allows for flexible solutions. However, he rightly asks the questions of how such a problem-led approach can "remain untainted by the inevitable politics of community safety?"

In order to be able to study these policies as well as the processes of their making and implementation, we need to develop a framework for this research; a framework which simultaneously accounts for particular practices of policy-implementation, for producing safe city centres, as well as a framework for paying attention to the contexts of these practices. While deliberately phrased in such a vague manner, this dual requirement will be more clearly defined, or rather actively fleshed out, over the course of this chapter and the next.

Trying to overcome the obvious limitations of a rational choice framework, as well as of a proclaimed non-theoretical approach, I will turn to a number of academic approaches which, each in their own tradition, have tried to understand and to conceptualise the social ontologies of crime control and economic restructuring. This will help us to explain not only the policies being made, but also the mundane practices that support policy, rarely explicitly specified as policy but vital to the production of safe city centres in the light of restructuring.

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<sup>14</sup> Student politics at many German universities in the mid-1990s were marked by the attempts of student associations, which 'did not do politics but provided value and service', to take over student representative councils with a solid left majority. A central criticism levelled at such 'neutral' student services was that there is no such thing as a neutral, apolitical position and that anyone claiming such a position was, in fact, supportive of the *status quo* of current politics and policy. These debates presented the activist version of the well-known debate of 1920s German sociology about Max Weber's claim of value neutrality and objectivity (see Albert and Topitsch 1971; Weber 1949).



### 2.2.1 First complication: human agency and practice

Taking the individual of rational choice as a starting point, I will firstly discuss ethnographic approaches with their long-standing and well-established tradition of researching in depth the intricate matters of social practices, in particular those of a routine and everyday nature. In so doing, these studies try to describe, understand and interpret not only these practices but the very constitution of subjectivity and identity. Although being aware of a longer-standing tradition within anthropology, I will focus on two aspects of ethnographic research. The most recent proliferation of ethnographic, or more commonly called humanistic, geography resulted from criticisms levelled against the positivist spatial science tradition within human geography in the late-1960s and its introduction of a behavioural spatial geography (for a good introduction to and debate of this, see Cloke *et al.* 1991, pp. 57-92). Central to this humanistic geography became the subjectivity of agents, processes of identity formation as well as a keen interest in embodied, everyday practices and routine. Humanist geography thus reflected wider social sciences debates around phenomenology and existentialism, enriching these traditions with a people-centred agenda of place and spatiality.

Within the social sciences more broadly, as well as within anthropology, the study of social practice and human agency has been influenced strongly by Pierre Bourdieu's early work on the Kabyle society (1977). With his concept of habitus he contends the presence of both structuring moments, the disposition of agents towards particular practices, as well as these practices themselves. Hence, 'habitus' presents a set of 'general generative schemas' which are durable and can be transposed into different settings. Tying habitus closely to the human body, Bourdieu outlines that it is a body that "believes in what it plays at: it weeps if it mimes grief. It does not represent what it performs, it does not memorise the past, it enacts the past, bringing it back to life" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 329). Having focussed on social practice throughout his academic life, Bourdieu has nonetheless paid relatively little attention to questions such as improvisation and creativity, and has thereby been criticised for a narrow and, at points, economistic understanding of human agency (Alexander 1995). In contradistinction, human geographers who became interested in questions of resistance as part of the discipline's cultural turn have taken up another French anthropologist's work, that of Michel de Certeau. He (Certeau 1994) discusses the power relations of current society by introducing the corresponding terms of strategy and tactics. His main focus rests on cultural consumption, where he attributes a use of tactics as ways for ordinary people to resist dominant strategies. Another influence has been the work of Clifford Geertz (1983), who introduces 'thick description' as a tool to study and understand everyday

practices and routine not by pressing it into a system of behavioural patterns but instead by:

[...] setting down the meaning particular social actions have for the actors whose actions they are, and stating, as explicitly as we can manage, what the knowledge thus attained demonstrates about the society in which it is found and, beyond that, about social life as such. (Geertz 1975, p. 28)

Geertz (*ibid.*, p. 28) goes on to posit the aim as “to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics.” He clearly sets out the linguistic turn of cultural studies when he wants to examine culture as an ‘assemblage of texts’ (*ibid.*, p. 448), doing so in the vein of interpretative and hermeneutic approaches.

In all this, ethnographic work approaches social ontology not from the assumptions of rational individuals seeking to maximise their profits but by exploring the taken-for-granted world (or life-world) in which, largely through routinised social practices, social identities are constructed, negotiated and resisted. What does this work have to contribute to the study of crime control and urban regeneration? To answer this question, let me discuss three recent studies which are based within a broadly ethnographic setting. Pain and Townshend’s (2002) work on community safety and women’s fear of crime employs a qualitative research methodology with the intention to study not only women’s identities *vis-à-vis* street dangers and notions of these dangers but to explore also how safety and danger are addressed through routine practices in the city. Another example of ethnographic research around crime control is carried out by Hobbs and co-workers (Hobbs 1995; Winlow *et al.* 2001), studying the work of door stewards and bouncers as part of both violence and violence control in the nighttime economy of UK cities and towns. Here, the main research objective lies in researching:

[...] bouncers, or doormen, those individuals who are employed as private security guards in pubs, bars and clubs. We wanted to explore a culture that from our previous works [...] we felt was grounded in violence, and we wanted to be so conversant with that culture that we could understand it from its viewpoint. (Winlow *et al.* 2001, p. 537)

Here resides one of the difficulties of ethnographic research. Whereas these researchers go to great length to ‘thickly describe’ and ultimately to understand in a hermeneutic manner various others, they easily overplay identities, agency and subjective interpretation. Wacquant (2002), by critiquing recent ethnographic work which focuses on the American working poor, offers us a first hint at the problems associated with such ethnographic research. Wacquant highlights the dangers of not only glorifying particular cultural ‘deviancies’ but highlighting the greatness or goodness of street life in American inner cities, and in so doing imposing a moral code onto social practices and the resistance of the working poor, street gangs and ethnic minorities. He argues that such “neo-

romantic tales spun by Duneier, Anderson, and Newman at the close of the regressive nineties suggest that U.S. sociology is now tied and party to the ongoing construction of the *neoliberal* state and its 'carceral-assistential complex' for the punitive management of the poor, on and off the street [...]" (*ibid.*, p. 1471). Here, we have a conjunction between the earlier 'non-theoretical' approaches being accomplice to policy-making and ethnographic approaches, with a more intimate 'local' knowledge arguably doing exactly the same, as their 'authentic' stories of cultures of poverty seemingly provide a more legitimate basis for the same type of policy intervention.

### 2.2.2 Second complication: Foucault, surveillance and the decentred subject

Whereas a large section of the policy-related academic literature gives credibility to current policies by drawing on (modified) rational choice models, a more critical engagement with issues of policing, crime control and, in particular, surveillance has arisen from studies influenced to a large extent by Foucault's work on the production of knowledge, the constitution of the subject and particular modes of surveillance, discipline and punishment (Cohen 1985; Foucault 1979a; Fyfe and Bannister 1996; Herbert 1996a; McCahill 1998; Shearing and Stenning 1996). In contrast to the previous mentioned ethnographic approaches, this work explores social ontology from a very different vantage point, that of post-structuralism, deconstructing the subject rather than elevating the status of the individual. Post-structuralism does so by concentrating on the discourses by which knowledge and, hence, power is produced. Another cornerstone in this is 'governmentality' as a concept by which power is dispersed and applied to establish structures of government and governance (Burchell *et al.* 1991; Imrie and Raco 2000).

Much has been written and said about Foucault's contribution to the study of power, knowledge production and the 'death of the subject'. Within human geography as well there exists by now an immense literature applying, developing and critiquing Foucault's work. For the purpose of this research, I will only reference these debates and highlight a few issues which bear relevance to my questions about theoretical approaches towards ontology<sup>15</sup>. In a recent collection of chapters to do with geographies of resistance, Sharp *et al.* (2000) provide a good overview of geographical work concerned with Foucault's writings, setting out with Foucault's own questions:

In my studies of madness or prison, it seemed to me that the question at the centre of everything was: what is power? And, to be more specific: how is it exercised, what exactly happens when someone exercises power over another? (*ibid.*, pp. 101f.)

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<sup>15</sup> In the course of the thesis, I am coming back to Foucault's work at various points in relation to more empirical research concerns to do with surveillance, discipline and non-discursive practices.

In contrast to orthodox accounts of power as power over, Foucault provides a fascinating historical account of how knowledge is produced and circulates in discourses. His equation of knowledge and power serves as the basis for a forceful critique of the autonomous, bourgeois subject which in the process is not only decentred but deconstructed.

Much of Foucault's (1979a) work on power is developed in *Discipline and Punish*. Here he studies the rise of a disciplinary power of punishment from a historical perspective. Being obviously situated in the field of criminal justice and social control, this is also Foucault's work which possesses most relevance for this project in terms of the topical field. Foucault's arguments have been taken up widely by criminologists, and have also been used to account for the rise of those situational crime prevention methods mentioned earlier. Gary Marx (1995) explains the success of situational crime prevention within the overall efforts of governance to engineer society in such a way that risk is being minimised. Here situational crime prevention is placed in a broad discourse, within which it is supposed that social engineering can be carried out in such a way that a perfectly manipulated environment makes any further interference with human subjects unnecessary. These broader issues of social control, through which not only criminal behaviour but a wide range of action and practices arguably become subject to control and influence in ways seen as desirable by policy-makers (but not only by them), have also been considered by critiques of recent themes within urban policy. The main proponent within criminology of this 'radical totalitarian' critique is Stanley Cohen (1985). Incorporating Foucault's (1979a) 'surveillance society' notion, Cohen has developed an argument about the extent to which social control is becoming ever more extended and penetrative. He charts the diversion of control tasks from a narrowly defined body of the police into broader parts of civil society, and conceptualises what is occurring as a 'net-widening' of surveillance. Within geography and urban studies there has emerged a set of literature that 'maps' these social trends onto the urban fabric, identifying the restructuring of public spaces as one expression of blurring the boundaries between 'official' policing and more subtle forms of social control. Norris *et al.*'s (1998) collection of essays relating these considerations of social control to the practices of CCTV surveillance is a good example of how Foucauldian concepts of a disciplinary society are discussed (see also, Fyfe and Bannister 1996, 1998; Reeve 1998).

At this point I will only to a limited extent focus on the 'textual' as a research object. Whereas Foucault's orientation has to a large extent been taken up and developed by scholars mainly interested in the discourses of knowledge production, I am eager to keep in sight what Foucault has called the non-discursive practices of knowledge production or, rather more important in the context of this research, those of surveillance and discipline. With these non-

discursive practices, he identified those activities which provide the 'horizon' or background "to what [discursive] strategies actually get chosen and what actually gets said" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, p. 77). Foucault's (1972) theoretical explorations of these background practices later led him to study the details of 'rituals of powers' in the specific context of disciplinary institutions such as the Panopticon. It is through these rituals of powers that Foucault is able to show how power works (for a more detailed discussion, see Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, pp. 76-78, 108-110).

### 2.2.3 Regulation theory and political economy

The critique targeted at post-structuralist approaches has been their all-pervasive yet elusive notion of power, and also their conception of context which almost evades examination (Becker 1996; Harvey 1996; Mitchell 2001). The latter has been addressed from a different strand of social, or rather economic, theory, that of regulation theory.

The aim of the early French regulationists was to develop a theoretical framework which could encapsulate and explain the paradox within capitalism between its inherent tendency towards instability, crisis and change, and its ability to coalesce and stabilize around a set of institutions, rules and norms which serve to secure a relatively long period of economic stability. (Amin 1994, p. 7)

Its theoretical impetus clearly stemmed from the economic recession of the early-1970s and this focal point has remained central to not only the first generation of French regulationists, but also to, what MacLeod (1997) has called second generation British regulation theory, most notably Jessop's work (Jessop 1995; 1999) and that of a number of human geographers (Jones 1997; Painter and Goodwin 1995; Peck and Tickell 1992).

Regulation theory tackles questions of ontology with a set of tools for probing the dominant modes of regulation. By doing so, it does not focus on discourses and power but on political economies and, in particular, their institutions which are established to work through, and are supposed to resolve, the systemic contradictions of late capitalism. Consequently, most regulationist work has focussed on economic development and its regulation. However, there are a number of studies which not only take on the issue of social regulation but even more specifically touch upon the fields of urban regeneration, crime prevention and crime control. North American authors such as Mike Davis (in particular, 1991, 1998) and Sharon Zukin (1992), as well as others (Sorkin, 1992), have put forward arguments on the general theme of law and order extension and intensification as part of building the post-modern (US-American) city. In particular, attention has been paid here to the privatisation of public space (Christopherson 1994; Fyfe and Bannister 1998). Christopherson's thought-provoking article on an exclusionary *Fortress City* is one of the early

contributions to a by now well-covered debate. These authors rehearse the arguments regarding a putative transition to a post-Fordist or post-modern ontology, as impacted by political and economic restructuring. They thereby closely align these political economic arguments to city cultures, notably those of exclusive consumption in regenerated city spaces (Amin 1994; Harvey 1989a).

Researching British town centres, Reeve (1998) lays out the impetus for increasing CCTV surveillance and the 'panopticism' of city centres as simply the securing of high profits for the retail and leisure industries. He identifies as key agents for this process Town and City Centre Management organisations which have now been established in over 300 British cities and towns. Here, the process of establishing public-private partnerships to manage the city, such as local economic development agencies or city centre management partnerships, is indicative of how the politics of city centre regeneration are now operating. This shift in urban governance, which places non-elected quangos at the centre of economic regeneration and city centre management, has facilitated many of the changes towards entrepreneurial management approaches which rely on crime prevention and policing strategies such as ZTP (Coleman and Sim 1998; Newburn 2001).

#### 2.2.4 Requirements for researching the topic

Post-structuralism and regulation theory are both context-sensitive theories, with post-structuralism concentrating on the discourses and power surrounding, for instance, the development of punishment. Regulation theory, in contrast, largely considers political economy on different levels of scale as relevant. Taking seriously the historical and geographical specificity of processes, while examining these specificities, clearly presents the strength of the two approaches. However, regulation theory, albeit talking of social regulation, is still largely considering processes of economic restructuring and the institutionalisation of these, thereby bypassing small-scale processes and practices. The conjunction of not only economic restructuring and crime control, but questions of how these are produced, not through discourse but as practices, extraordinary and routine, does not primarily concern regulationists. Similarly, albeit for different reasons, discourse analysis is often as much disinterested in these questions of production. A consequence of this certainly lies in the often apparent smoothness and evenness of regulationist or discourse-based studies, but simultaneously, they miss out the successes or

indeed failures, of policies put into action and the way in which interpretations are put into practice<sup>16</sup>.

Many social scientists, philosophers and human geographers have grappled with this methodological issue before. Let us read again what David Harvey (1973) said at this point thirty years ago in his groundbreaking work on *Social Justice and the City*, justifying the need for an historical materialist approach.

How should we accomplish such a revolution? There are a number of paths we could take. We could, as some suggest, abandon the positivist basis of the quantitative movement for an abstract philosophical idealism [...]. We could also reject the positivist basis of the 1960s for a phenomenological basis. This appears more attractive than the idealists' course since it at least serves to keep us in contact with the concept of man [sic] as a being in constant sensuous interaction with the social and natural realities which surround us. Yet phenomenological approaches can lead us into idealism or back into naïve positivist empiricism just as easily as they can into a socially aware form of materialism [...]. Therefore the most fruitful strategy at this juncture is to explore that area of understanding in which certain aspects of positivism, materialism and phenomenology overlap to provide adequate interpretations of the social reality in which we find ourselves. This overlap is most clearly explored in Marxist thought. (*ibid.*, p. 129)

Rather than just taking the *overlap* of these different approaches, though, I would also suggest that a Marxist approach provides another distinct advantage in relation to the binarism pointed out above. As a non-analytical approach in the sense that it does not stem from Cartesian analytical logic<sup>17</sup>, it operates on dialectical terms. Thereby it avoids the reduction and disjunction introduced by the 'mental' separation of entities such as agency and structure. I will come back to these claims and elaborate throughout the remainder of this chapter.

### 2.2.5 'Unhiding' the workings of the city?

Firstly though, this chapter turns its attention towards a particular piece of classic historical materialism and, by so doing, I will begin to sketch out a particular philosophy, in a practical sense, coupled with a methodology to help us study social ontology. The piece of practical research and scholarship in question is Engels' (1892) study on *The Condition of the Working Class in*

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<sup>16</sup> Looking at the manner in which this chapter is organised so far, it seems to establish a particular binarism, that of structure versus agency. In fact, this binarism possesses a long history within epistemological debates, as Giddens (1979) has shown. Whereas structuration theory, as well as critical realism, both attempted to overcome this binary, the former in particular did so only by reproducing the analytical division of structure and agency (Callinicos 1989). The far-reaching consequences of such an epistemological move have been discussed widely in the wake of Giddens' structurationist agenda. For a more current but similar debate within German-speaking human geography, see the debates surrounding Benno Werlen's (1993; 1995; 1997) concept of an agency-orientated human geography and everyday regionalisations (See Chapter Three for a more extensive debate of the structure/agency problematic).

<sup>17</sup> I refer to Levins and Lewontin (1985) for explicating Cartesian rationality, which according to the authors is based on "four ontological commitments, which then put their stamp on the process of creating knowledge" (*ibid.*, p. 269). These four statements are that there is a natural sets of units of which every system is composed; that these units are in themselves homogenous; that the parts exist prior to and independently from the whole and come together to form a system; that causes and effects are independent from each other and hence subject and object can be clearly identified (paraphrased from Harvey 1996, p. 60).

*England in 1844*. Having lived in Manchester and researched the working class communities of the city over the period of almost two years, Engels had set out to describe in intricate detail working-class life and the social relations integral to England's industrial revolution. In this, he focused on the towns "where the proletarians are the infinite majority, and how they fare, what influence the great town exercises upon them" (*ibid.*, p. 22). What starts as a thick description of not only working-class life amidst the rapid industrialisation turns towards the role that cities played in the social relations of the time. By relating apparently loose and fragmented segments of urban Manchester to each other, Engels conceived of the city as indeed integral to the concealment of working class poverty and misery. He set himself the task to bring to the fore and to articulate what he observes and experiences:

In this way, anyone who knows Manchester can infer the adjoining districts from the appearance of the thoroughfare, but one is seldom in a position to catch from the street a glimpse of the real labouring districts. I know very well that this hypocritical plan is more or less common to all great cities; I know, too, that the retail dealers are forced by the nature of their business to take possession of the great highways; I know that there are more good buildings than bad ones upon such streets everywhere, and that the value of land is greater near them than in remoter districts; but at the same time I have never seen so systematic a shutting out of the working-class from the thoroughfares, so tender a concealment of everything which might affront the eye and the nerves of the bourgeoisie, as in Manchester. And yet, in other aspects, Manchester is less built according to a plan, after official regulations, is more an outgrowth of accident, than any other city; and when I consider in this connection the eager assurances of the middle-class, that the working-class is doing famously, I cannot help feeling that the liberal manufacturers, the 'Big Wigs' of Manchester, are not so innocent after all, in the matter of this sensitive method of construction. (*ibid.*, pp. 47f.)

Such is his method of observation and interpretation that he is able to bring together apparently unrelated moments of urban development and social relations. Central to this is the observation that urban spaces conceal and cover the social relations that actively produce such spaces. He hence engages in a practice that Cindy Katz (2001) has recently called 'unhiding'<sup>18</sup>. This practice challenges ethnographic experience and identity while examining its context without merely resorting to a simplistic account of dominating power. It employs a less coherent and homogenous framework than does, say, regulation theory, and instead it allows for complications and fragmentations.

Interestingly, the power of the visible and the power of seeing is a theme which runs through much of cultural geography. Furthermore, the visual and the power of 'watching over' are central to most of the recent crime prevention strategies. Relating this to Foucault's discussion of Bentham's Panopticon develops the

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<sup>18</sup> Soja (1989) has also taken up the contention of space as key to understanding social ontology and, similarly to Katz, refers to Berger's (1974, p. 40) contention that 'now' "it is space not time that hides consequences from us." None of them, however, relates this back to Engels' work. Harvey (1973) is one of the few human geographers who explicitly revisits Engels and his work on urban space and capitalist development.



pragmatics of vision and visibility within academic debates. The ability to watch over subjects, in prisons, factories and schools, has thus been extended to public spaces (Fyfe and Bannister 1998)<sup>19</sup>. Such a gaze applies to a range of surveillance practice in the context of my research project; pulling everything into the vision of the CCTV camera, the gaze of the wardens as 'eyes and ears on the streets', alongside the watchful security guards and beat officers. In all this, crime prevention employs a positivist, in the sense of visual, apparent and obvious understanding of the problems of crime control and prevention. This positivist approach is fuelled by technological advancement of camera and surveillance equipment (Graham and Marvin 1996) – facial recognition technology is one example.

Engels' historical piece, by providing us with a particular method, is still able to challenge exactly those assumptions of immediate visibility and surface appearance. It challenges the powerful perspective of scanning and surveying the appearances of city centre streets and back lanes, and the apparent unrelated chaos which is broken down in small pieces and units by surveillance practices. The urban fabric is here conceptualised as fragmented and apparently unrelated in segregation and concealment of two different cities, the working-class squalors of the core city itself, and the bourgeois suburbs where the owners of the industries reside and entertain themselves.

Asking pertinent questions, Engels' work reconstructed the social relations embedded and embodied in the, apparently, chaotic urban spaces. He journeyed through the labyrinth of filth and misery that was 1840s Manchester, seeking to conceptualise its deeper courses as he did so, repeating the quote from the beginning of the thesis:

Engels has completed his first examination of what lies behind and between the network of main streets. It is Manchester itself in its negated and estranged existence. But this chaos of alleys, courts, hovels, filth – and human beings – is not a chaos as well. Every fragment of disarray, every inconvenience, every scrap of human suffering has a meaning. Each of these inversely and ineradicably related to the life led by the middle classes, to the work performed in the factories, and to the structure of the city as a whole. (Marcus 1974, p. 198)

Engels' insights into how urban space is produced as a moment of capitalist society and its social relations not only presents us with a research tool to 'unhide' what is concealed, but takes us onto a path of considering a research praxis for a particular social ontology: one where an apparently unrelated society indeed presents a fragmented totality which can nonetheless be researched and understood by a dialectical approach.

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<sup>19</sup> Haraway's 'god-trick' (1991) highlighted the power asserted by an, supposedly, all-seeing yet invisible (male) critic as part of a feminist critique of geographical theory and practice. For a more general overview of visual culture, see Mirzoeff (1998). On a related issue, note that Amin and Thrift (2002) visit and re-conceptualise the issue of legibility of the everyday city. They do so in a vaguely dialectical way as they focus on processes, flows and movement, but firmly locate their approach in the tradition of Actor-Network-Theory (ANT).

### 2.3 *Historical materialism, critical Marxism and social praxis*

Having reviewed the key approaches of conceptualising not only social ontology but also human agency, I am now moving on to step outside of the binary logic opened up by the previous three approaches of rational choice behaviourism, post-structuralism and ethnography to consider human agency not as an abstract given but to situate it historically and geographically as concrete human beings (taking serious Harvey's proposition and looking at Engels' Manchester for inspiration). In addition, there are a number of other problematics which an alternative ontology needs to address. These problematics have to do with totality and fragmentations; to do with the methodological correlates of ontology (analytics to dialectics); to do with the political correlates (neutrality to commitment but not 'bias').

#### 2.3.1 Concrete human beings as socially and historically specific

For such a concrete approach, I suggest to turn towards conceptualisations of human being in Marxist thinking. The starting point for this is marked by Marx's concept of nature. Alfred Schmidt (1962, p. 19) outlines the differences between Marx in this respect and Feuerbach's ontological materialism, which regarded humans as "[...] a void subjectivity, equipped with mere natural qualities, as opposed to the dead objectivity of nature in a passive and contemplative and not practical manner.<sup>20</sup>" In contrast to this, nature for Marx is not a pre-given principle, but only becomes significant through the social mediation of human subjects.

Not only because the labouring subjects mediate the natural material with themselves, one cannot talk about this as a primary principle of being. People are never involved with matter *per se* in their production but always only in its concrete, qualitative and quantitative determined mode of existence. Its general, the independence from consciousness, only exists in the particular.<sup>ii</sup> (*ibid.*, p. 25)

From this perspective, it becomes clear that 'matter' can never be the founding principle of a materialism<sup>21</sup>, since this abstraction again bypasses human

<sup>20</sup> Please note that I translated these quotes from the German (if there does not exist an English edition), keeping the original German quotation in an endnote.

<sup>21</sup> In rejecting such a formulation, Marx draws on Hegel's non-identity dialectic, which does have to set nature as unequal to human nature. But this formal setting is not an ontological one, since people are always naturally mediated and nature is always socially mediated. This is expressed in the concept of a metabolism [*Stoffwechsel*], a historically determined process by which people are naturalised and nature is humanised (Schmidt 1962). This hints at what Schmidt calls 'Marx's speculation about nature [*Naturspekulation*].

In as much as all nature is socially mediated, in as much is, of course, society part of a totality mediated by nature. [...] The different, historically changing economic modes of society are as many modes of the self-mediation of nature. Separated in humans and the material to be worked on, they are in this separation always with themselves. In the human being, nature gains a self-consciousness and by the theoretical-practical activity of this self-consciousness, it joins with itself. Although the human activity on something alien and external appears for this initially as something similarly alien and external, it proves to be the 'condition of nature for the human existence', which itself is a part of nature, and thereby as its self-motion. (*ibid.*, p. 65f.)

activity as a concrete activity occurring in a specific place and time<sup>22</sup>. This mutual 'referencing' between society and nature allows us to investigate more closely what exactly the social mediation of human being involves – within a specific social and historical context, that of a late-capitalist society<sup>23</sup>. From such an observation, the existing mode of production is denaturalised. Hence, every human need and instinct is understood as already socially mediated.

These elaborations are called for since materiality and the seeming reduction of human life, society, economics and culture to materiality within Marxism has been one of the most often raised criticisms of Marxist theory (Duncan and Ley 1982; Giddens 1979; 1981). Critical materialism has easily led to a vulgarisation of Marxist thought into the fetish of materialism, along the lines that people need to feed their hunger, therefore historical materialism links humans to nature by their material (i.e. biological, physiological) needs. Determining 'materially' as being alive, the sense of living [*Lebendigkeit*], seems to be too little for some materialists, so that they need human corporeality and the integration of human bodies into a natural organism as a more obvious reference point (Fleischer 1991). This shifts the emphasis onto an *internal* materialism. Vulgarisation occurs when neither material subject reality nor intimate social being is enough unless the process of material production comes into play, thereby turning historical materialism into an economic materialism, regarding every part of human life as materially determined<sup>24</sup>. The limits and shortfalls of this argument are significant as it closes off the concept for an understanding that extends beyond the materialism that was criticised in the *Theses of Feuerbach*. The central question of human being becomes the one asking how material needs are transcended in the social and conscious being human. Swyngedouw (2000b, p. 97) addresses the critique of materialism and determination levelled at Marxism by reflecting on how geography's preoccupation with Marxism has tended to focus on a particular brand of structuralist-economistic Marxism while by-passing "a whole generation of Marxist writings that came from an entirely different trajectory. Throughout the century, culture, ideology, language, psycho-analysis, gender and everyday life have been and still are an integral and

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<sup>22</sup> This is also an objection which can be raised against various strands of current philosophical thinking that stress the importance of corporeality *per se* as the key to understanding society. Unless this is coupled with a commitment to the task of locating people in concrete social relations set within time and space, it is an idealist endeavour. For a critique of this, see also Harvey (1998) on the body as an accumulation strategy and the processes of body formation.

<sup>23</sup> To dispense with this context would require us to question the claim of 'late-capitalist society'. However, even those who argue for a radical break between modernity and post-modernity are often lacking the arguments that support the view of a fundamental break taking place. In a different register, Latour (1993) disputes the extent of a break between pre-modernity and modernity. We tell ourselves stories about such a 'break' – we try to 'purify' our thinking accordingly – but the 'things of the world' revolt/resist.

<sup>24</sup> This is largely with reference to Engels' interpretation of materialism. The important influence that Engels' work has had on an economistic development of Marxist theory is widely discussed, for instance in Fleischer (1991), Schmidt (1962), and Schmid Noerr (1991).

important part of historical materialist perspectives.” It is precisely through these lines of reasoning that I want to trace historical materialism for the remainder of this chapter.

### 2.3.2 Of fragments and totality

So far it has only been hinted at in how far concrete human life and a specific society are joined together. This hinge can be further illuminated by turning to the methodological key of historical materialism, the concept of societal totality as consisting of a complex, heterogeneous and often contradictory assemblage of internal relations. As a first sighting of the methodology that relates to such an ontology, Engels’ (1892) work on 1840s Manchester has set the scene for researching apparently unrelated fragments.

Bertell Ollman’s work (1978) on Marxist theory, and in particular the concept of alienation explores the philosophy of internal relations as the central moment for understanding why Marx’s language appears to be ‘bat-like’, ever-changing and loose (*ibid.*, p. 3ff.). Ollman also challenges the criticisms levelled at Marxist terminology by pointing out that the key to understanding Marx lies in understanding how he uses concepts such as society and totality as through and through internally related and consisting of a number of facets which form larger units through their relation to other parts. By so doing, Marx extends the concept of relation not only as identifying something which happens between things but *onto* the things as well.

No one would deny that things appear and function as they do because of their spatial-temporal ties with other things, including man [sic] as a creature with physical and social needs. To conceive of things as Relations is simply to interiorize this interdependence – in the thing itself. (*ibid.*, p. 26)<sup>25</sup>

Within human geography, the first avenue exploring this concept of social totality and internal relations was research undertaken on uneven development.

In the Marxist tradition, reaching back to Lenin, the concept [of uneven development] is employed variously in an economic, political and philosophical sense, and in the Introduction to *Grundrisse* Marx throws off a comment on the uneven development of the material *vis-à-vis* artistic production, and on the uneven development of relations of production *vis-à-vis* legal relations. In the reminder essentially to himself, Marx noted that these issues should be treated concretely and not in the ‘usual abstractness’. (Smith 1990, p. 97f.)

In order to avoid this criticised ‘usual abstraction’, Smith (*ibid.*, p. 97) sets out “[...] to establish first the economic – or more correctly, the political economic – basis of the uneven development of capitalism in the opposing tendencies toward differentiation and equalization.” In this sense, uneven development lies

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<sup>25</sup> This of course bears significant consequences for how in Marx laws, causes and tendencies are perceived (see for discussion Peet 1998, pp. 86-90).

at the heart of capitalist societies: the division of labour bears the tendency towards differentiation of human labour and its organisation within social relations. These divisions are frequently naturalised as 'natural' expressions of class, gender and race divisions. With its tendency towards expansion and the integration into these social relations of class, gender and race, capitalism holds a universalising movement which at the same time differentiates and divides. Smith (*ibid.*) argues how these tendencies can only be studied with reference to space and scale – an argument which will be revisited in subsequent chapters. For the moment, though, I will only briefly mention his central insight that “[...] geographical space is produced at the world scale as relative space, and on the other hand there is an internal differentiation of geographical space into distinct absolute spaces, at different scales” (*ibid.*, p. 114). These absolute spaces then act as quasi-pockets of distinct social relations and divisions of labour. The underlying concept of society, and social space, central to almost any Marxist understanding of society is that of society as a *rich totality* (Marx and Engels 1986, p. 23). This claim and focus has long been central to Marxist and Critical Theory, and it is in contrast to methodological individualist positions which maintain that society is no more than the sum of the individuals.

In recent years, this sense of society as a rich totality has been developed as a totality which is not homogenous and rigid but instead a patchwork, fragmentary, while at the same time providing a grounding for the working of the above described processes of uneven development (Lüdtke 1995a; Medick 1995). To grasp these shifts in analysis, Lüdtke (1995b) demands not only a change at the level of concepts and terminology but one at the level of idea formation, so that theory allows for a fragmented, contradictory and not necessarily mediated reality. With reference to Marx's *Grundrisse*, Lüdtke (1995b, p. 15f.) pinpoints a patchwork of different actors with different interests. More importantly, this patchwork is far from being necessarily coherent and mediated, nor does it directly link different actors with each other<sup>26</sup>.

In calling for such a reworking of social ontology, Lüdtke meets recent attempts by Noel Castree (1999a), who, in reviewing a range of recent engagements with Marxist critique (notably Gibson-Graham 1996; Sayer 1995; Smith 1998b) within human geography, sets up the challenge:

[...] to fashion a Marxian political economy that can function on two fronts simultaneously: as a compelling critique of capitalism and those 'market theories' the Right uses to conceal or justify its violent realities; and as a critique that can also internalize the powerful arguments made by colleagues on the Left regarding the dangers of 'modern' claims to know. (Castree 1999a, p. 140)

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<sup>26</sup> Important is to mention that the German word for uneven, *unequal*, does not only mean: 'differentiated or at different growth rates', but also means 'not by chance'. Rather than being deterministic, this meaning of 'not by chance' points towards the notion of bringing into relation apparently unrelated aspects of a fragmented and contingent, social totality.

This social ontology as it has been laid out above is a rather uncommon reading of Marx work, which more frequently has served as the source of constructing a homogenous (though class-based and ridden by contradictions) society, or even more narrowly, economy. To regard society as ruptured and fragmented (while at the same time maintaining it as a totality: there is no life and meaning outside society) opens up a methodological opportunity.

By referring to this ‘uneven’ factor, and to the multiple ambivalences of social practice, inquiry can disclose and pinpoint the specific ‘patchwork’ of impositions *and* incentives, symbols *and* interests. It becomes possible to reconstruct forms of (re)appropriation by historical subjects without the necessity of having to assume any sequential hierarchy of ‘conditioning factors’ or ‘conditioned factors’. An important deduction from this is that interests and ‘objective’ constraints are not anterior to practice, but an integral part of it. They are perceived both by individuals and groups—via the agency of interpretations. The repertory of these interpretations also bears traces of ‘interests’; overall, it preserves the multiplicity of individual and collective experience. The symbols and images that transport and present such interpretations are deposited in these experiences. In (re)appropriating the ‘world’ and ‘society’, these meanings are brought to bear, that is, varied, but they are also expressly reconfirmed and altered. (Lüdtke 1995b, p. 16)<sup>27</sup>

What Lüdtke sketches out the basis for, in this case, a historical research perspective, able to link class and culture, conditions and interpretations. It frees research from the epistemological problem of dividing and subsequently re-joining subjective and objective approaches, and thus avoids the thereby created difficulties, as exhibited in the debates around structuration theory in the 1980s. With this proposal, I want to argue that a methodological approach, rooted in Marxism, hence offers a fruitful background for studying society by accounting for the conditions under which a capitalist society is produced, and showing how the subjective interpretations of these conditions not only feed into the production of conditions but are also gained from the situated existence of the subjects themselves.

One of the continuing debates of social sciences has been over how individual incidents and observations can be integrated into a bigger picture. The explications above point out that such a neat integration is never really possible because of societal contradictions. What this observation does however point out is that the various forms and modes of mediations are needed in those circumstances when there is “a correspondence, silently effective and long-standing, between differing or contradictory elements” (Lüdtke 1995b, p. 18). The Frankfurt School, in particular, has articulated and developed inquiry into those contradictions of a social totality. Here, Theodor Adorno’s elaborations

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<sup>27</sup> In this, Lüdtke identifies a couple of deceiving concepts. If historical processes should be perceived as a totality, concepts such as Marxian capitalisation, and Weberian rationalisation have too little depth to comprehend the multi-layeredness of history of everyday life. Also, Habermas’ colonisation of the life-world, though being more complex and being able to explain a relative compliance on part of those dominated, poses one problem: that of re-justifying an intact system of domination. It does not allow for questions about developed styles and spheres that are not colonised.

focus exactly on not only how society can be contradictory and not at all integrated, but how this realisation in turn also necessitates a contradictory *social theory*. While debating Popper's critical rationalism, Adorno (1994, p. 109) argues that:

[t]he conception of the contradictory nature of societal reality does not, however, sabotage knowledge of it and expose it to the mere fortuitous. Such knowledge is guaranteed by the possibility of grasping the contradiction as necessary and thus extending rationality to it. Methods do not rest upon methodological ideals but rather upon reality.

By relating the method to social ontology, he also contends that social research is not pursued merely for the sake of gaining knowledge but also out of a practical involvement with society.

It would be easy to accuse me of equivocation, namely, that for Popper a problem is something merely epistemological and for me, at the same time, it is something practical – in the last instance, even a problematic condition of the world. (*ibid.*, p. 109)

Employing a Marxist concept of historical and geographical materialism on these grounds possesses the advantage of suspending a subjective/objective split by the type of its enquiry. It therefore suspends problems of trying to extract the objective from the subjective or *vice versa*. How Marxist theory allows for such a non-dichotomous concept, and to explore the scope of this concept, is the next task of this chapter.

### 2.3.3 Historical and geographical materialism

I have started to sketch out the contours of an approach towards crime control and economic restructuring that is located within the tradition of historical and geographical materialism. In this it takes serious the specificity of processes within a particular history and geography, rather than transferring them to something abstract such as 'human nature' or a 'naturalised' understanding of particular modes of production such as late capitalism. Within geography this tradition of research, theoretical and practical engagement, has a longstanding history. Harvey's (1973) *Social Justice and the City* has been acknowledged as one of the outstanding early engagements with historical materialism, and a subsequent re-working into a geographically sensitive one<sup>28</sup>. A decade later, Harvey put forward a historical materialist manifesto on the present condition of geography, in which he forcefully called for historical materialism as a "theoretical project dedicated to the unification of geographical sensitivities and understandings with the power of general social theories formulated in the tradition of historical materialism" (Harvey 1984, p. 9)<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Of course, Harvey was not the first geographer to concern himself with historical materialism. Notably, Kropotkin and Reclus, both central to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century anarchy movement, "had already insisted on the necessarily ethical and political nature of geographical processes" (Swyngedouw 2000b, p. 93).

<sup>29</sup> Harvey is clear about the fact that this project is "more than just a tough academic exercise" (*ibid.*), and is essentially a political project.

The key moments of historical materialism, or as Fleischer (1991) and others prefer to call it, a *critical* materialism have been outlined as consisting of the mutual referencing of society and nature, whereby 'material' becomes 'being alive', rather than any of the trivialisations in the wake of vulgar Marxist reasoning (with the justified critiques levelled at these). Furthermore, I have outlined how a concept of social totality allows us to research fragments and apparently unrelated aspects beyond methodological individualism. From this point, an introductory sketch into Marxist social ontology is provided to allow us to move on to the finer details of the research project and its epistemological basis.

'Forces of production' is one of the contentious terms where this understanding of material as being alive becomes central. They are not the machines and devices of production, but the human energy and skill that make humans become producers in the first place. Forces of production are on one side there to produce goods, but they are also intimately bound into the relations of productions, which are only briefly mentioned by Marx. These relations of production are conceived as "[...] relations, configurations and kinds of social interactive ordering between those involved in production, nothing up in the air but substantively and energetically grounded in the particular existence of the producer<sup>iii</sup>" (*ibid.*, p. 60). They are relations that are contractual and in that form express self-determination as well as domination.

Relations of production are in themselves relations of interest, and an irreducible interest lies in the quality, the personal and the social dignity of the position by which one is set in relation to others involved. This is a cardinal, if not the cardinal determination of the social being of individuals<sup>iv</sup>. (*ibid.*, p. 60f.)

Historical materialism has been associated with the societal model of base and superstructure. With this concept Engels in particular, and subsequently much of official Soviet Marxism-Leninism, claimed that all societal activity is determined by its economic base. In this line of thinking the often argued 'final instance' is not half as final as suggested, but the next immediate conclusion. Hence, cultural practices have often been narrowed down to the concept of a mirror, a (more or less consciously applied) false consciousness. Base-superstructure here suggests the determination of the superstructure by the material, or, even more narrowly defined, economic base. This is then regarded as materialism, in contrast to idealistic theories which assume values, culture and ideas as the prime coordinates of life. Under this light, attempts are made to define a materialist cultural geography as lying in the "refusal to treat the realm of ideas, attitudes, perceptions and values as independent of the forces and relations of production. Instead, culture is seen as a reflection of the material conditions of existence" (Jackson 1989, p. 33). The use of the concept of 'reflection' is still very close to that of a mirror, assuming one part on one side



and its twin image produced through reflection on the other side. However, as the discussion about a critical materialism and the particular importance of what 'materiality' comprises<sup>30</sup> above has shown, this materialism lies primarily within the process of human life and is not about confining it to material (as physical) entities, and even less to economic activities<sup>30</sup>. These attempts have to be regarded as ill-fated. This issue is also explored by Williams (1977, pp. 96-97), when he states that culture as a reflection of material is not material enough since any cultural practice is a material practice insofar as it involves human beings working (in the sense of engaging, changing, modifying) their social and material environment.

The base-superstructure concept is also rightly the target for criticism when used without considering that there is more praxis than the one presented in this schema. For Lefèbvre (1968, p. 52):

[e]verything in society is act, the essence of the human is what it accomplishes. [...] Praxis in its supreme realization (creative, revolutionary praxis) does not excludes the theory that it animates and verifies. It comprises theoretical decision as well as the decision to act.

In this, praxis reveals its determinations which are the specific historical contexts of its emergence – determination does not translate into determinism. As a task for sociology, Lefèbvre defines Marxist sociology as the study of contents (specifically praxis) that leads to the study of forms.

Work on the conceptualisation of ideology and the production of culture within Marxism has been undertaken for a long time, as Mitchell (2000, p. 46n) traces it from Marx and Engels' *German Ideology*, via Walter Benjamin and the Frankfurt School, into Cultural Studies itself. Besides George Lukács, the Italian Gramsci has worked extensively on the concept of popular culture, which feeds into his understanding of a concept of power that does not solely focus on oppression but integrates cultural hegemony as a persuasive consensus alongside forceful coercion. One of the geographers who has taken up Gramsci's theoretical work and employed it with respect to cultural geography is Jackson (1989)). Drawing on the concept of hegemony as a contested and particularly constructed tool of the ruling classes, Jackson sees that "[c]ultural practices have ideological effects to the extent that they contribute to the domination of one social group by another through the selective concealment of interests" (*ibid.*, p. 73). Here, the conjunction of practices, ideology and interest becomes obvious: practices are imbued with cultural significations that link them to particular social relations. Hence they always carry particular interests. However, these interests are often not clearly visible or identifiable. The concept

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<sup>30</sup> This simplification is one of the many by which soviet Marxism-Leninism popularised (and vulgarised) Marxian theory. It is the frequent criticism of economic determinism, and a justified one, however, it is also a model which by hardly any Marxist, be they structuralist or otherwise, would operate with in earnest (Mitchell 2000, pp. 44-47).

of ideology which is used to describe these processes of concealment becomes wider than a mere misleading of other (subordinate) people: through processes of alienation, social products (both physical and social) become reified as natural objects. These reifications often work in favour of the ruling classes, but it is not a fully conscious process but happens often without immediate intentionality; it possesses its own dynamic.

#### 2.3.4 Dialectics as research tool

Earlier I noted the inability of analytical approaches to overcome binary oppositions and the associated problems of analytically 'splitting' entities. Instead, I hinted at a dialectical stance and project that would be capable of avoiding Cartesian philosophical practices. The characteristics of dialectics and how it offers a methodology to research the topic in hand will be discussed over the following pages. By discussing dialectics at this point, I employ an understanding of dialectics covering questions of epistemology as well as social ontology. In this view it is not merely a convenient research practice to understand the world and to represent physical, biological and social processes, but more than that; it expresses a conviction that the world *itself* is inherently dialectical. As Harvey (1996, p. 57) observes, the contention about a dialectical ontology has been subjected to sustained debates. These arguments stem largely from the way in which Hegel's non-identity dialectics of a simple thesis – antithesis – synthesis have been developed, or rather prescribed, firstly by Engels (1954; 1969) and then as a mechanical method of Marxist-Leninist theory. Harvey argues how Engels took a particular world of Hegelian logic and conception as the basis for dialectics: "Marx, on the other hand, though he starts with Hegel, achieved a radical materialist transformation of Hegel's view [...]. The effect is to dissolve the dialectics as a logic into a flow of arguments and practices" (Harvey 1996, p. 57).

Let us consider in more detail what these dialectics entail by taking Ollman's work on dialectics and then considering Harvey's elaborations, with Harvey being probably the most prominent human geographer explicitly working with Marxist dialectics. But, firstly, let us hear Ollman's contention that:

[d]ialectics restructures our thinking about reality by replacing the common sense notion of 'thing', as something that *has* a history and *has* external connection with other things, with notions of 'process', which *contains* its history and possible futures, and 'relation', which *contains* as part of what it is ties with other relations. (Ollman 1993, p. 11)

Here, the already discussed concept of internal relations is crucial for providing a framework and, simultaneously, a content for investigation. Harvey (1996, p. 48ff.), drawing on Ollman, sets out eleven suggestions of how to understand dialectics. 'Things', as they are both relational and in process, are furthermore "internally contradictory by virtue of the multiple processes that constitute them"

(*ibid.*, p. 51). Our way to understand these 'things' is by way of understanding not only its components but also how these relate to each other. Furthermore parts and wholes are constitutive of each other and cannot be viewed in separation. A consequence of this mutual constitution is that subject and object, as well as cause and effect are interchangeable. "Out of these oppositions, themselves constituted out of the flow of process, creative tensions and transformative behaviour arise" (*ibid.*, p. 54). Ollman (1993, p. 31) emphasises how change is a key characteristic of 'things' and hence central to a dialectical approach. However, he points out how such change, as it is not external to things, cannot be subject to study, but rather, "[g]iven that change is always a part of what things are, [the] research problem could only be *how, why, and into what* they change and why they sometimes appear not to [...]"<sup>31</sup>.

Following these elaborations of a dialectical perspective, it should be no surprise to note that both space and time are inherent within and constitutive of those processes, rather than an understanding of processes *occurring* within a time and space as externally perceived (see also, Swyngedouw 2000b). In relation to Cartesian thinking of binary oppositions, the above elaborations should have made it clear that dialectics as concepts of contradictions and oppositions, due to its focus on process and internal relations is fundamentally different to Descartes' analytical reasoning (Harvey 1996, p. 65).

## 2.4 *Moving on: Marxist social praxis*

My interest in Marxist approaches lies principally with their commitment to situate particular processes in their historical (and geographical) society. Here the context, often referred to without any explication, is named and rendered visible and transparent to the extent that this is possible. Limitations to this endeavour exist insofar as the research itself is positioned and part of that socio-historical context – an insight not as recent as many post-modernists try to make us believe. From this, one of the aims of this chapter has been to study how far an analysis of a political economy can account for context in a manner which is more concrete – and not pre-determined by the laws of historical materialism, but rather those of a limited contingency – and more revealing in terms of its social relations than are other accounts.

For these reasons I have elaborated the central concept of Marxist ontology, that of a social totality. Swyngedouw (2000b, p. 95f) observes that such a social

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<sup>31</sup> Such enquiries as processes themselves also create permanences. Marx's contention that it is not possible to understand the world without changing it provides further insights into mental practice (Harvey 1996, p. 56). This leads on to Harvey's final important observation that the 'exploration of possible worlds' is an integral aspect of dialectical thinking – an aspect to which we return again.

totality is total but not totalitarian, thereby reflecting earlier arguments about how social ontology can be perceived as a fragmented and contradictory totality:

Marxism is therefore indeed an epistemology and ontology about totalities. Marxism has of course been systematically criticised for being totalising, conveniently merging totality with totalitarianism. However, as Deutsche (1991) argued, totalising processes (such as the power of money or the accumulation imperative) may require totalising theories in order to grasp their inner dynamics.

Furthermore, the previous discussion of historical geographical materialism, dialectics and internal relations employs a very different concept of human agency and practice. It is this concept of agency and practice as historically and geographically specific which I am keen on employing for my research into the remaking of old-industrial cities and the making of their public spaces safe. Furthermore, I have approached the question of human agency, social praxis and institutional structure through a range of different and often mutually exclusive approaches – positivism, humanism, post-structuralism and neo-Marxist regulation theory. The respective benefits and shortcomings have been pointed out in the course of their discussion. From this discussion, I have started to develop a historical (and geographical) materialist position for researching the subject of the thesis.

During these observations, it has become apparent that we require a closer investigation of Marxist theory and its concepts of social praxis, taking seriously too the production of space as part of this. More attention is also needed to a range of connected issues such as the formulation of human needs into socially mediated interests within the labour process, as well as the alienation of people integrated (subjected) under modes of production. Critiques levelled at Marxist approaches commonly target the economically deterministic character of Marxist theory and its subsequent ignorance towards the realm of culture, as well as its supposed dismissal of those struggles that do not fit into the concept of class struggle. I am, however, taking seriously the criticisms directed at a structural Marxism which refuses to consider concrete humans and their concrete praxis. I will argue that the study of social praxis as a focal point is able to accommodate both a subjective side of human agency and an objective side of structure. But it is only able to do so once the shortcomings of an objective-subjective or agency-structure dualism have been addressed.

## 3 Chapter Three:

### About doing things – Marxist social praxis as key to social ontology

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This third chapter of my thesis is marked by an exploration into how the social ontologies of economic restructuring and crime control can be conceptualised and studied. The groundwork for such a theoretical as well as, necessarily, practical engagement has been laid down in terms of ontology and philosophy in the previous chapter. Following from this, the task is now to develop and to make more concrete the earlier considerations of how social ontology becomes an object of research by bearing in mind the key moments of a historical materialist geography. Dialectics, with its conjoint methodological and ontological attention to process and change, allows us to hold together in tension moments of a political economy. It has also turned our attention to how a fragmented social totality is being produced, as well as modified, negotiated, changed and stabilised, by social praxis. Exactly this social praxis will gain our attention for the course of the following chapter.

This chapter hence explicates, and thereby aims at making more concrete and thus grounding, such social praxis. For this purpose, the chapter firstly traces the development of a critical Marxism up to the present day, since it is precisely within such a critical Marxism that the key aspects of dialectics – totality as well as subjectification, alienation and reification – that were tackled in the previous chapter have been developed. Arising in opposition to the static economism and scientistic Marxism of the Second International, a range of Marxist activists and intellectuals such as George Lukács and Karl Korsch have sought to employ historical materialism as a way of understanding 'reality' in its concrete context of historical praxis, without dislocating such knowledge from its context' (Jaeggi and Honneth 1977, p. 167). This strand of Marxist theory and praxis gathered influence as well as considerable development throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and presented a strong opposition to what was perceived as the dogma of the early Soviet regime, as made even more pronounced under Stalin. To such a critical Marxism belongs Frankfurt Critical Theory, the Anglo-Marxism of Edward

Thompson (1991) and Raymond Williams (1983), as well as the French Situationists. Similarly, in the East Bloc, the opposition movements, notably in Yugoslavia, expressed through the uprising in East Germany in 1953 and later in Hungary, developed a Marxism which was critical of party dogma and emphasised the freedom and creativity of human beings.

The overview of these developments in Marxist political theory and praxis will be followed by reflection on the philosophy of social praxis. After clarifying the central aspects of social praxis, I will consider how such social praxis can indeed allow us to understand the concreteness of human lives. For this, Lefèbvre's work will be employed as a guiding thread. How such a view of social praxis lays the foundation for subject formation, while being the very expression of subjectivity, is then underscored. This discussion relates social praxis back to earlier considerations in Chapter Two about agency and subjectivity. It further addresses some of the continuing debates in sociology, as well as in human geography, on subjectivity and agency in the light of very recent notions of non-representational theory and also the already mentioned critique of post-structuralism. Social praxis situates such issues in the context of a social totality, providing a reformulation of the structure/agency debate within the social sciences. Social praxis is thereby the mediation, which at the same time allows us to pursue the unhiding, of apparently unrelated processes. The ways in which such mediations link together political economy, social relations and ways of life will be discussed in relation to the central aspects of social praxis. Social praxis as bodily practice is also closely tied up with the everyday. It is an understanding of practice echoing current interest in the body and non-representational practice, while proposing a nonetheless reflexive model of agency. The differences from these recent conceptual developments in human geography nonetheless deserve our attention.

Before ending this chapter with outline comments on how social praxis helps us to understand the topical issues of this thesis, I will discuss a current attempt at working with the philosophical considerations laid out here in an empirical research context. The history of everyday life (Lüdtke 1995a) presents an approach that takes up insights from anthropology. Instead of exclusively concentrating on the subjective side, it combines ethnography with the Marxist concepts of social praxis, interests and appropriation in order to investigate questions to do with the social mediation of interest as the articulation of human needs. This discussion is intended to link ordinary people and ordinary lives to the circumstances that make up the ordinary; an 'ordinary' which is only

ordinary within a certain way of life and a specific society, hence socially produced<sup>32</sup>.

### 3.1 *Critical Marxism as dissident Marxism throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century*

Following the Soviet October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks set out to transform Russia in the light of Marxist, and soon Marxist-Leninist, theories of class struggle, revolution and the path towards communist society. The role that a vanguard party played in this revolution was marked by Lenin's assertion of a strict party discipline. The Communists popularised the key statements of Marx (and even more so of Engels) and posited them as laws of society and history. The Second International (1889-1914) served as the forum to inscribe what was soon to become communist dogma. At the same time, WWI had prepared the ground for widespread economic and social upheaval, culminating in an attempt to overthrow not only monarchy but bourgeois governments across Europe and notably in Germany, where briefly in 1918/1919 Workers' Councils took over some of the major cities. These latter political and social changes provided the context in which a number of Marxist and Socialist political activists and intellectual opposed Soviet party line. A powerful attack on the popularisation of Marx's theory was developing from a number of strands. Karl Korsch and George Lukács, while agreeing with Lenin's position on party discipline<sup>33</sup>, were highly critical of the vulgarisation of the 'economisers' such as Bukharin (Bukharin 1925; 1922) who promoted a mechanistic Marxism. In contradistinction to the common understanding of the Communist Party that Marx's theory was a theory of economic laws and hence a science, Korsch and Lukács aimed at reconciling the philosophical impact of Marx with its social science agenda, albeit in different ways (see in particular, Korsch 1972; Lukács 1971).

These attempts at establishing Marxism as a philosophy were aided by the translation of some of Marx' earliest works, notably the Parisian Manuscripts with their emphasis on a humanist communism to overcome the alienation inherent to capitalist labour. Theorising Marxism as a philosophy of humanism was hence embedded and contingent upon the particular praxis of Soviet Communism, its appropriation of Marxist-Leninist dogma. Far from simply being an exercise in philosophy, it was closely tied to actual developments in the

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<sup>32</sup> Note that there is a distinction between socially produced and socially constructed. When for instance Smith (Smith 1998a, p. 63ff.) speaks of the production of nature, he does not treat nature solely as concepts of nature and thus social. Instead, "the fact that the production of nature is a physical as well as a mental process, socially accomplished, in no way implies a regression to the nostalgic romanticism of the 'end of nature' or the 'death of nature'." While non-human processes such as the law of gravity or biological mutations are 'natural' enough, the world in which they operate and their effects are immediately tied to social processes of appropriation and understanding.

<sup>33</sup> In contrast to Rosa Luxemburg, and those intellectuals who were to form the Frankfurt School.

Soviet Union. For these reasons, the critique unleashed by the philosophical Marxists was forceful and began to characterise political and theoretical debates throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These debates can be sketched out along three interrelated lines. Firstly, the opposition to Stalinism within the East Bloc allowed a forceful internal political and intellectual critique of prevailing forms of communism to emerge. Secondly, in Western Europe an engagement with official communism also gathered momentum through the development of a critical Marxism. Thirdly, this critical Marxism, as worked out in the Frankfurt School, provides my entrance point to a detailed discussion of social praxis.

The East Bloc countries in particular contributed to the development of a post-Stalin communism. For McLellan (1979) the greatest departure from Soviet Orthodoxy was undertaken in Yugoslavia, not only denouncing Stalinism but also regarding the Leninist party as a betrayal of Marx. Such a critique was channelled into a reformulation of a Marxist humanism which concentrated on the problems of alienation and freedom in socialist societies (Dunayevskaya 1958). In Poland, Leszek Kolakowski (1969) was influential in putting forward a humanist Marxism based upon the understanding of praxis rather than upon a theory of reflection. Probably the most well-known proponents of this position was the Czech philosopher Karel Kosík (1976), whose *Dialectics of the Concrete* centres around an understanding of a proposition that humans are “at all times at once in nature and in history” (*ibid.*, p. 151). From such a proposition, he regarded the key to human activity to lie in an understanding of social praxis as the moment in which the objective and the subjective are transformed into each other (*ibid.*, p. 71). Far from being philosophical in the sense of abstract and removed from its social context, these theoretical advances were closely allied to the succession of uprisings throughout Eastern Bloc throughout the 1950s, such as in Poland, East Germany and Hungary, and the ensuing suppression of opposition movements.

Throughout what used to be labelled as Western Marxism, one finds a number of debates bearing the imprints of a critical Marxism as laid out above. To survey these debates in any depth is impossible here. Instead, I briefly sketch the key debate between Althusser and Thompson, which is indicative of the dividing lines between a structuralist and an agency-centred Marxism. Anderson (1980) has commented on this dispute as one of the defining moments of Western Marxism and attributes to Thompson that theory cannot any longer be conceptualised without history, a history made up of experiences and practices of actual people. Thompson’s (1978) essay *The Poverty of Theory* attacks Althusser’s (1969; Althusser and Balibar 1970) structuralist reading of Marx as ultimately idealist since it fails to produce more than ‘fleshless skeletons’. Consequently, the criticism levelled at Thompson concentrates on the charge of voluntarism as he is seen as failing to accept the full extent of structural



constraints to agency. French existentialism, as well as Situationism, notably as combined in the work of Lefèbvre, can also be grouped under the philosophy of praxis. Lefèbvre's work that will contribute to much of this chapter's reasonings, but not how Lefèbvre (1991b) is commonly celebrated for his triad of space<sup>34</sup> but rather with reference to his earlier works on historical materialism, alienation and social praxis (1968; 1991a; 1991b) (but see Chapter Four where Lefèbvre's writings of space will be discussed in more detail).

It is also within the beginnings of the Frankfurt School and Critical Theory that a re-focusing on Marxist humanism and theory as praxis has become central. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's early criticism of Marxist-Leninism marked the beginning of a critical materialism which sought to rework the 'material' of materialism in such a fashion that concrete, living human beings became the focal point. By focussing on 'being alive' rather than 'material needs' as the centre of a materialism, Schmidt and others overcame the determinism of Engels (and its canonisation) and provided the basis for examining human and nature inter-relationships in a manner to be examined shortly (Fleischer 1991; Schmid Noerr 1991; Schmidt 1962).

With a renewed interest in such a social praxis in the 1960s, academic interests within the Frankfurt School aligned, at least in parts, with the growing student movement and political activism across West Germany but also elsewhere in Europe. Of political activism, there is the Italian *Autonomia*, or *Potere Operaio* (Tronti 1974), movement, mainly a workers' movement in Northern Italy from the late-1960s. In West-German radical left politics, a similar development occurred with the group *Proletarische Front* around K. H. Roth and the journal *Autonomie* (Frombeloff 1993). These political movements were part of an undogmatic Left, emphasising workers' self-organisation and resistance.

Within geography, concepts of a Marxist social praxis feature highly in the works of Harvey (1989a; 1996) and Smith (1990) to some extent done through an engagement with the writings of Lefèbvre<sup>35</sup>. In particular Smith (1990) and Swyngedouw (2000b) are highly critical of the distinction between early and late Marx, and hence also between scientific and philosophical Marxism, but these insights do come out of a 'non-scientific' understanding of Marx (as previous critics would have called it). It is the achievement of critical Marxism that such an organic, holistic understanding of Marx's work is being put forward.

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<sup>34</sup> Lefèbvre's (1991b) *Production of Social Space* has been appropriated widely within human geography, before its translation into English in 1991 this occurred mainly through the interpretations of Soja (1989) and Harvey (1989a). Influential have furthermore been Gregory (1994) and Shields (1998). For a more comprehensive overview, see Brenner (2001) and Elden's (2001) more recent articles.

<sup>35</sup> As an interesting aside, one prominent Marxist geographers, Peet (1998), writes against critical Marxism as well as Critical Theory, mainly by charging orthodox critiques of neo-Kantian idealism, while being highly appreciative of Lefèbvre's work. I wonder how he reconciles Lefèbvre's critical tradition with the critique of idealism.

It is largely through a discussion of Critical Theory and its work on social praxis that my understanding of social praxis is formed in the remainder of this chapter. The German-speaking history of everyday life, in particular in its theoretical explications, provided another stimulus for grounding theoretically dense debates and formulating a research agenda that is compatible with critical Marxism and social praxis.

### **3.2      *Social praxis mediates between agency and totality***

Chapter Two started with a review and critique of how different approaches have conceptualised social ontology and outlined how an approach based on historical materialism would be able to approach social ontology, based on an understanding of dialectics and a fragmented social totality. This historical materialism has been specified as a critical Marxism of social praxis over the previous pages of the present chapter. For critical Marxists, the contribution of Marxist theory comprises the dialectics of subjectification and objectification through sensuous human practice. It is this focus on social praxis and a commitment to a philosophy of social praxis<sup>36</sup> that runs through much of the work of the critical Marxists. Social praxis offers them an alternative route to the study of social ontology based on those practices which mediate between human subjects and social totality.

The task of this chapter hence rests on the elaboration of why social praxis and a critical Marxism are employed in this study and regarded as promising in forging an approach to social ontology. An assessment of critical Marxism to provide a theoretical grounding for my study has to rest on the ability to conceptualise embodied practices, such as those of city centre management and policing, in a manner that situates them in a given time and place. It is for such a potential that the following section examines the central tenets of Marxist social praxis. The key for this investigation lies in the actual work practices of city centre managers, police officers and other regulating agents working within the spaces of the city centre. Can a concept of social praxis help us to understand how and why particular projects and strategies are put to work, thereby not only modifying policy but also actively producing a safe city centre?

Each of the already discussed approaches to social ontology is informed by a continuing key problematic of social theory, the debates surrounding structure and agency. Ethnography and post-structuralism in particular take opposite positions of how to explain ontology and its processes. Whereas ethnographic

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<sup>36</sup> The etymology of 'praxis' goes back to Ancient Greece, where Aristotle referred to a moral action as praxis insofar as it only had implications for itself and was hence completely self-sufficient (Sánchez Vázquez 1977, p. 1). From Greek philosophy, the term praxis has been taken up continuously and is e.g. found in Kant's practical reason. From there, a (German) 'philosophy of the practical' (Bubner 1981) has developed, which emphasises the concrete. This is, however, not the philosophy of praxis to which I refer.

approaches strongly focus on agency as the 'driver' of social processes, post-structuralism decentres the subject and instead regards discourse and power as core 'structures'. The problems with these explanations were raised in the previous chapter, and the discussion turned to historical materialism and its dialectical understanding of the structure/agency problematic. It is at this point that I want to consider more clearly this structure/agency problematic and address it in relation to social praxis, since an understanding of ontology is dependent on the constitution, structuring and production of this ontology. The centre of debate and contention lies in how to explain and account for the existence of a particular social ontology, as exemplified by the explanations put forward by ethnography and post-structuralism. Is such ontology based on the actions and agency of individuals or based on the working of structures such as capitalism, bureaucracy and their respective institutions?

The need to mediate between these approaches has long been recognised in the social sciences, with one of the most prominent debates being centred on Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. The remaining problem of how to conceptualise the linkages between structure and agency has, however, been somewhat put aside in more recent years. This 'putting aside' is partially due to a realisation that structuration theory with its explicit focus on, at times only abstractly grasped, structure and agency is lacking in terms of empirical relevance (Gregson 1989). Another, and more powerful criticism however, has to do with the analytical separation between structure and agency in the structurationist agenda. The important question remains whether agency and structure can be separated, even if only done so in a heuristic manner as Giddens understood it, and then rejoined without abstracting from the concreteness of a particular social context (Arnold 1998; Callinicos 1989; Gerstenberger 1988).

Within Western Marxism itself, the structure/agency dispute has a long-standing history, usually cast in the pejorative terms of determinism and voluntarism, as earlier sections of this chapter have shown in the development of critical Marxism. Social praxis has clearly been associated with a focus on agency, and has attracted criticisms of voluntarism. The claims of my thesis, though, rest on the grounds that social praxis provides us with an entry point to social ontology that is able to avoid polarisations and instead brings together structure and agency in a creative tension by focussing on those mediations that constitute social totality as well as agency and subjectivity.

The insight gained from historical materialism of social totality and subjectivity as thoroughly intertwined and mutually constitutive allows us to ask questions of how in detail such constitution in two directions is achieved. Lothar Hack's work (1977) on the relevance of external factors for the constitution of subjects

provides a window on how the mediation between subjectivity and objectivity can be achieved dialectically<sup>37</sup>. Hack (*ibid.*, p. 46ff.) identifies the theoretical task as bringing together (a) concepts of social praxis as a concrete historical mediation between subject and object, and (b) the necessary link of these social practices to a particular social totality, for which he identifies commodity production and exchange value as of particular importance. On the side of society, social relations and the particular modes of production plus respective relations of production situate the subject. These specific circumstances form and influence (not necessarily determine as in 'predestine') each social practice, and thereby allow for the study of social practices as part of a wider social totality, particularly since "social relations [are being] 'activated' in social praxis [...]" (Dehne 1995, p. 126). The onus of this elaboration thus rests on an explication of how such 'activation' works.

As mediation, praxis subjectifies and objectifies simultaneously, and it does so in relation to a social totality as well as to people. It is this dialectical process which produces, also in a creative manner, subjects and their agency as well as social totality. The mediations of social praxis are working along the lines of agency with respect to need, interest and mode of life. These concerns are, however, not to be understood narrowly in the traditional sense of Western rationalism, but instead as fluid, fragmented and ruptured<sup>38</sup>. Mediations thus also include those ruptures, gaps and fuzzy ends between subject and society. It is not enough merely to be aware of their existence but to try to identify them, not by positing causal explanations, but by considering contingency. They do not specify interest only as the causes for practices, but consider instead the more practical and subconscious aspects in the process of social production and creation.

For historical materialism, social praxis specifically centres on the mediations produced by practices of social labour [*gesellschaftlicher Arbeit*]:

Of course, it is according to the historical materialism not any praxis which creates the synthesis of subject and object but it is the praxis of social labour. The working on the

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<sup>37</sup> Hack carefully examines the importance of objective realities for the constitution of subjectivity. To do so, he draws on a range of social theories, including action theory. He questions these theories' scope for connecting the constitution of subjectivity with external 'structures of relevance' [*Relevanzstrukturen*]. For this, he draws particularly on social ecology and phenomenology, pointing out their merits, but he criticises them in falling short of explaining the fact that particular situations gain exactly that significance for individuals: the failure is to link subjective assessment and experience to the outside in a concrete manner.

<sup>38</sup> As Schmid Noerr explains, it is through such mediations that research problems are rendered concrete and approachable. Mental phenomena are not part of nature, unlike for an analytical Marxism, but for Critical Theory they are always forms and expressions of a social engagement with nature. In how far these are relatively autonomous from nature is determined by the historical processes under which they occur. Hence:

The materialism of praxis is no naturalism which scientifically objectifies mental events and distorts the self-understanding of people. Instead, it aims at the way in which subjects are mediated through objects as well as objects are mediated through subjects. 'Praxis' as the term for this field of mediations is the signature of a research perspective which makes the transcendental research problem concrete and lays it open.<sup>38</sup> (Schmid Noerr 1991, p. 39).

internal and external nature serves for it as the foundation for the production of social relations in general, as model of its analysis with regard to the relation between producer and product and between production and product<sup>39</sup>. (Schmid Noerr 1991, p. 40)<sup>39</sup>

The position of individuals and groups within a society can be studied by their position within the relations of production. To conceptualise these relations, Lüdtke (1993a, p. 42) asks for the location of practices in the relationship between modes of production and modes of life, with the latter generally understood through an application of the concept of interest. These interests are mediated, communal or separate, opportunities to appropriate nature and the control over labour processes and the products of labour. It is at this conjunction that interests organise the contexts of practices. Such an understanding of interests and needs *has* to be acquired by 'mapping' out the precise positions of and relations between human subjects (this does also include groups and broader collectivities such as city centre managers, the police and the homeless) within given historical and geographical conditions. Hence, there is a need for an analysis of the social totality of such times and places so that different social agents can be situated within a political economy (of uneven development and broader power relations) of that totality. In this conception, the structure of praxis in which subject and object relations are formed is a historically concrete *a priori*. This structure is produced at the same time, put together by the collective practices of embodied people and by historical events (Schmid Noerr 1991, p. 43).

These observations are related back to the topic of this thesis. The particular positions of agents engaged in the production of safe city centres call for a focus on social labour. Their social labour consists of their expertise in the city centre in relation to questions of policing, crime control and community safety (more on this follows in the discussion of methodology, see Chapter Five). It is within such a position within the division of labour that particular social praxis occurs. This praxis is constituted by practices of policing, managing and ordering, in its widest sense, the city centre spaces of a regenerated urban core. These practices are work practices in which the individuals engage in a complex negotiation of their duty to fulfil a particular job description. Furthermore, such a negotiation is based on their own experiences of living and working in their city while continuously adding to these experiences. At the

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<sup>39</sup> If the historical relation of nature is an already structured matter, if subject and object are not completely separated, an instance is needed which transcends both and is thereby able to verify the relation between these two. This instance is material praxis. Traditionally, verification was done in so far as something could be 'put into praxis', and then evaluating its success or failure. The results of this practical intervention are themselves not immediately given but have to be recognised and interpreted. [...] As truth criterion praxis therefore no longer seems to be primarily instrumental but needs to be conceptualised as interaction and communication" (Schmid Noerr 1991, p. 42). In this sense, language and praxis are intertwined; even in Marx, language does not come after praxis, for the two are mutually interdependent (Marx and Engels 1976, p. 44).

same time, these practices<sup>40</sup> are social praxis in such a sense as they work upon a social totality of old-industrial Glasgow and its continuing economic, social and political restructuring as the city is integrated in a wider political economy.

### 3.3 *Central aspects of social praxis*

Social praxis has been identified as the specific mediations between human agency and a particular social totality. As mediation it holds in tension actual subjects and a concrete social totality by attention to social labour. The attention can thus turn towards *how* these mediations are achieved. Firstly, I will consider what is meant by attention to the *concrete* human existence in a particular society. This concrete social praxis is closely tied to the sensuous experience implicated in praxis. Following on from embodied and lived practice, the importance of routine and everyday practice becomes apparent. These two aspects of embodiment and routine in turn help us to rework our understanding of agency by introducing a layer of 'small thoughts' and the practical knowledge embedded in practice.

#### 3.3.1 Embodied and concrete praxis

Taking the concrete seriously means paying close attention to the particular practices at work in the production of social totality, those practices that are pursued due to 'the real needs of real people'.

Hunger is hunger, but hunger gratified by cooked meat, eaten with a knife and fork is a different hunger from that which bolts down raw meat with the aid of hand, nail and tooth. Production thus produces not only the object but also the manner of consumption, not only objectively but also subjectively. (Marx and Engels 1986, p. 29)

This quote takes us some way in illustrating what is meant by 'concrete existence' and helps further to ground earlier discussions of totality and concreteness in Chapter Two.

The foundation of being lies in the *sensuous*, which not only provides but also creates meaning, as Lefèbvre (1968, p. 37ff.) observes, "[o]ur senses become our theoreticians, as Marx put it, and the immediate discloses the mediations involved" (*ibid.*, p. 39). As sensuous beings, human objects enter the world and are thereby enabled to become subjects within social relations. Human beings are creatures of need, and their needs are both individual and social. These

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<sup>40</sup> Social praxis is specified by those practices that mainly constitute labour practices. I use 'social praxis' in specific relation to the theoretical concept. 'Practice' is more general and is employed widely when the theoretical current is not central. Nonetheless, employing practice and not activity or even action, I am keen to emphasise the concrete and embodied content of human practice, and do not view these practices in isolation from agency and totality (unlike in the case of action theory).

needs lie at the base of human development: people engage with the world in order to satisfy their needs. This seems a biologically deterministic way of conceptualising human agency, but when introducing human consciousness any biological need is necessarily also a social need open to human reflection (and thereby change). So, whereas work in order to satisfy need can become more sophisticated, people can emerge from nature but never ultimately break away from it. “We thus discover that all praxis rests on a twofold foundation: the sensuous on the one hand, creative activity stimulated by a need it transforms on the other” (*ibid.*, p. 42).

It is from its philosophical origins as a critique of materialism and idealism that the philosophy of praxis arrives at such an understanding of human practice. A central aim of this critique involves overcoming the separation of theory and practice<sup>41</sup>. Both idealism and materialism fail to acknowledge the sensuous nature of human life, neglecting how human beings are sensuous subjects of needs, and are able consciously to reflect on these material needs as experienced through the body, and thereby to engage in social praxis. “To say that man [sic] is a *corporeal*, living, *real*, *sensuous*, *objective* being full of natural vigour is to say that he has real, sensuous, objects as the objects of his being or of his life, or that he can only *express* his life in real, sensuous objects” (Marx 1970, p. 181).

Much post-structuralist and in particular feminist thinking also regard the body as central to analysis. Feminists disclose the particularities of sexed and gendered bodies. They furthermore argue that the processes of sexing and gendering bodies are crucial for the (re-)production of existing social relations. Foucault’s ‘docile bodies’ are highly influential in shaping such a theoretical perspective, enabling an exploration into the micro-practices that socially construct femininity as delicacy and domesticity (Bordo 1997). As Grosz (1997, p. 237f.) elaborates, Foucault’s work is valuable to feminist politics and scholarship as his account “of the internal relations between power and knowledge relies on a belief that power functions *directly* on bodies by means of disciplinary practices”. In all this, feminists have aimed at situating the body as part of a political project (Butler 1990; Haraway 1988). In comparison to such post-structurally influenced reading of the body, social praxis and its concept of

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<sup>41</sup> Hence, within a Marxist context, ‘philosophical’ is often used in an derogatory fashion since it remains a “... contemplative attitude [...] [and] does not transform the world, but only interpretations of the world” (Lefèbvre 1968, p. 31). By being separated from sensuous experience, philosophy can never penetrate the non-philosophical world (*ibid.*, p. 12). Marx (1970), in his *Theses on Feuerbach*, outlines the ‘false problem of knowledge’ which occurs when philosophical reasoning remains separated from social praxis and practical verification. Though rejecting Hegel’s philosophy, Feuerbach and his materialist philosophy remained stuck in what Marx still criticises as a philosophical attitude. Marx clarifies praxis by setting it against Feuerbach’s materialist philosophy. Here, the Eighth Thesis on Feuerbach clearly rejects mere philosophical reasoning about society as it would always lead into mysticism. Only the study of social praxis could present a legitimate tool for study.

embodiment holds onto the links between materiality and the concrete, not exclusively operating with representations (see section 2.3.1).

The specification of *concrete* practices allows us also to distinguish between social praxis and action, making a second important qualification *vis-à-vis* other social theories. Marxist concepts of social praxis provide a linkage to the conditions of the particular societies that they examine in such a way as to avoid the traps of abstraction and idealism, and hence stand in contrast to action theory. Here, action theory, as exemplified by Benno Werlen's (1993; 1995; 1997) study into everyday regionalisations displays an underlying idealism where abstract subjects do abstract actions and are thereby regarded as producing social space<sup>42</sup>. Although discussing different institutions, Werlen regards them as derived from individual actions, making apparent the problematic: materiality to be introduced by corporeality but this is not concrete enough (cf. Hack 1977), as it is not an anthropological body but one specific in time and place. Similarly, activity is not sufficient to provide an explanation for subjectification and social praxis. In contrast, social praxis provides a concept that does not separate action from the concrete circumstances of its happening. The thus concretely determined<sup>43</sup> practices can form the starting point to investigate the characteristics of a social totality, which bear on the practices as described above. This is what Lüdtké (1995b, p. 6) has in mind when he claims that "[...] historical change and continuity are understood as the outcome of action by concrete groups and individuals. Human *social practice* is shifted into the foreground of historical inquiry."

This understanding of social ontology is also reflected in Hack's (1977, p. 49) claim that "[t]o start with the sensuous human activity does not provide a sufficient basis for the conception of a suitable social theory, but for any such theory this first point of departure is indispensable and cannot be replaced.<sup>viii</sup>" If real, active humans should be studied and taken as a starting point, then the conditions of and requirements for social practice also have to be reflected upon and taken into account. If this does not happen, then 'real, active men [sic]' (Marx and Engels 1976, p. 20) remain an abstraction as well<sup>44</sup>. It is for these

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<sup>42</sup> For a full discussion, refer to my German degree thesis (Helms 2001). Critiquing action theory through the discussion of a contribution central to recent German human geography is problematic as it is largely unavailable in English translation and thus cannot be rendered intelligible for English speakers – my apologies.

<sup>43</sup> Note, the German meaning of the word *bestimmen* is closer to identifying than to determining.

<sup>44</sup> However, Hack also identifies this weakness in Marx' own work where precisely this concrete, sensual activity tends to be fore grounded. Even in his early works, Marx supposes objective restrictions/forces to act/behave in a certain way with reference to human agency, and the possibilities to do so, and so he therefore tends to neglect this first starting point himself<sup>44</sup>:

[T]he theoretical abstract destruction of a sensuous human activity to an objective, completely defined behavioural pattern, which hence exaggerates the respective objective tendencies marks already a crucial weakness of Marx's argument. The release of individuality – in all its problematic and contradiction -, which objective contingency has been worked out by Marx in all its sharpness, itself implicates as its consequence, that



reasons that any perspective that centres exclusively on the body and the sensuous is insufficiently equipped to study the particular geography and historicity of social practices.

Let us consider briefly Lefèbvre's (1968) further observation about social praxis in relation to labour<sup>45</sup>. Lefèbvre's starting point is the dialectical process in which need, work and enjoyment are held together. During the process of social change, social, technological and biological divisions of labour appear. Work comes into conflict with itself, *qua* process and *qua* content, and leads to the emergence of the particular product of physical labour – the commodity.

The fact is, praxis is first and foremost act, dialectical relation between man [sic] and nature, consciousness and things (which can never be legitimately separated, the manner of philosophers who make them two distinct substances). But if thereby every praxis is content, this content creates forms; it is content only by virtue of the form born in its contradictions. [...] Thus every society is creative of forms. (*ibid.*, p. 46)

The commodity form is not separated from its content, labour. It possesses both use and exchange value and is a human product. Along with the commodity and its exchange value, money as universal equivalent appears and with it the fetish of commodity that gains an autonomy from the labour process and the concrete human labour which produces it. "The fetishized form takes on these two properties: as abstract thing, it becomes autonomous, and dissimulates the real relationships" (*ibid.*, p. 47). As a result, the form is deceptive and bears the implications of reification. Despite Lefèbvre's tendency not to situate his statements historically and therefore to remain rather abstract, there are two key observations to take from these points. Firstly, they emphasise the importance of relating back social praxis to existing divisions of labour within a particular society, although social praxis is not reducible to social labour. Secondly, another link to social ontology becomes obvious: emphasising the social needs of concrete human beings immediately relates to the particular social ways of creating these needs, and also of organising their fulfilment in a particular mode of production and regulation. These considerations not only highlight the need to study social ontology by examining the labour practices involved, but they allow us also to conceptualise the particular labour practices in their relation to a concrete social ontology.

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one can no longer – as in pre-capitalistic social formations – regard a structural identity as given between objective conditions of action and available patterns of action on the side of the subject. (Hack 1977, p. 16)

<sup>45</sup> Human practices are according to Lefèbvre (1968, p. 44) of two different kinds: one is concerned with the relation to the physical environment, the other to the social environment. For the former, Lefèbvre suggests the term *poiesis*, which gives human form to the sensuous, while all those activities that relate to inter-human relationships are called praxis. Of importance is that in a broad sense praxis subsumes *poiesis*, since all human activity, including ones conducted between humans relating to one another, bears on interaction with a continuously transformed nature.

### 3.3.2 Everyday and routine praxis

With social praxis being thoroughly implicated in the embodied lives of people, it is unsurprising that critical Marxists have turned towards a wide range of practices which constitute the everyday and mundane routines of ordinary people's lives. It is for such an interest in the everyday that I turn to the German historians of everyday life to conceptualise the linkages between social praxis, the everyday and social totality.

Firstly, though, let us turn to the Marxist philosopher who is best known for his engagement with everyday life. Lefèbvre's (1991) engagement with social praxis arrives out of a critique of the everyday<sup>46</sup>. For him, the self-alienation of capitalist workers is centred around the drab routine of everyday life. This focal point has been taken up from the first publication of Lefèbvre's work in 1947 by a number of social theorists, notably Jürgen Habermas (1987) in his concept of 'lifeworld'. In many ways, Lefèbvre was about 30 years ahead of humanist geography and cultural studies, which throughout the 1970s became increasingly interested in the everyday and routine. However, for Lefèbvre a concept of the everyday was inextricably bound up with a *critique* of the everyday, rather than what seems a celebration of the routine in much recent work<sup>47</sup>.

Furthermore, 'everyday' is understood by the history of everyday life as a focus on needs, reproduction and (re-)appropriation. Referring to Engels, Lüdtké (1995b, p. 6) elaborates that "the dynamism and contradictory character of radical historical change are linked with the 'production and reproduction of real life' (Engels 1970, p. 487)." Thus, transformations in the history of everyday life involve more than situations recurrent in the daily struggle for survival, and of course more than just the actual experiencing of events in the workday. Instead, reconstructing such experiences allows Lüdtké to reveal how participants are – or could become – *simultaneously* both objects of history and its subjects in relation to production and reproduction. Thus, a closer examination of capitalist modes of production, with their unequal (and '*unequal*', that is they are not so merely by chance) processes and developments, is required. Concepts that try to capture this understanding are Bourdieu's (1977) 'habitus' as discussed in Chapter Two (see section 2.2.1), Thompson's (1991) 'field of force' and de Certeau's (1994) work on the everyday (also raised in Chapter Two).

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<sup>46</sup> He further developed these engagements into a discussion of how concrete space, as the lived space, tends to be dominated by abstract space. We will return to his arguments in detail in Chapter Four.

<sup>47</sup> Elden (2001) discusses how the translation of only a limited range of Lefèbvre's work has led to a very particular reception of his philosophy. In particular, he points to the dangers of neglecting the political impetus of Lefèbvre's critique of everyday life, facilitating that "everyday life will become a tool of an apolitical cultural studies" (*ibid.*, p. 819).

Lefèbvre's (1991a) *Critique of Everyday Life* was translated into German in 1972 and consequently the term 'everyday' appeared in German academic disciplines shortly afterwards. It is through the lens of historical sciences that I want to discuss this development as it contains a number of theoretical reference points. Talking about the everyday has signalled a move towards the cultural dimension of social history: the history from below as explored by non-academic history workshops, and also the development of a discipline that has been subsumed under the term 'history of everyday life'. At the centre of debate has been a shift in focus away from structures, facts and processes towards daily life as "[...] in one respect repetitive aspects of life, the working day in contrast to festivals, private life in contrast to public, or, from another perspective, certain forms of consciousness, perception and experience which are unreflected and subjected to automatic, daily routine, as opposed to rational and scientific thinking" (Lipp 1990, p. 72). This involves an agency-orientated approach and a different understanding of culture, not as an abstract system of norms and values, but as something being produced and reproduced on a daily basis.

To research those that had been previously banned from official History, such as the victims, the oppressed, children, women and the poor, Thompson's (1991) concept of class as a relation and culture as the result of struggle was a ground-breaking attempt to shift the focus of research. Gramsci's (1971) concept of cultural hegemony, and the complex interactions between elite and popular culture had a similar impact. Both of them emphasise the importance of the subject and his/her individual and collective experiences (Lipp 1990). Nonetheless, these experiences cannot stand alone, but have to be viewed in conjunction with those practices that not only lead to particular experiences but are similarly a result of experiences.

From the above it should have become clear what has been criticised by everyday historians. It is structuralist social history, which has been unable to solve the conundrum of:

[...] how to comprehend and present the dual constitution of historical processes, the simultaneity of given and produced relations, the complex mutual interdependence between encompassing structures and concrete practice of 'subjects', between circumstances of life, relations of production and authority on the one hand, and the experiences and modes of behavior of those affected on the other. (Medick 1995, p. 43)

Furthermore, structuralist social history is still seen as caught up in the dichotomy of subjectivism and objectivism, which it falsely tries to tackle as a problem of methodological refinement. Contrary to this, Medick (*ibid.*, p. 53) urges us to consider the object under study, a particular historical society, to provide answers to the problem, and not the research perspective. By focusing on methodological problems, and problems of technical refinement, social

history has neglected the particular (situated) 'structuring' of class relations and relations of production and authority. It thus has to be recognised how relations are mediated through cultural meanings and social practice (*ibid.*, p. 43). Such an approach does, however, involve critical reflection on the researcher's own positionality<sup>48</sup>. The history of everyday life thus identifies these problems as problems of social ontology, adopting a strong dialectical perspective, if we recall earlier arguments about social ontology and dialectics from Chapter Two.

Although not explicitly discussing cultural aspects of this research perspective, it should be apparent from the previous discussion that a perspective is adopted in which culture is not only *part* of social life but also of its production and reproduction. In this sense, culture is understood as "thoroughly implicated in the continual reproduction of everyday life because it is inseparable from the relations of production and consumption through which we must define ourselves" (Mitchell 2000, p. 85). Mitchell, alongside Harvey (1989a), argues for this perspective since the commodification of everyday life, such as of taste and consumption, has reached an unprecedented scale and scope and thus makes up the world in a physical and social way. Therefore, the argument has to link explicitly the studies of everyday practices and cultures to the workings of a political economy, not to regard them as a reflection of it but instead to see them as an integral and entwined part of it<sup>49</sup>. It is important to emphasise the reasons for bringing in culture at this moment. While not primarily interested in a study of consumption, it allows me to work with a concept of social praxis which can account for symbolism, representations and particular world-views, and also the meanings attributed to places and events. These are not to be read as abstract conceptions but ones embedded in everyday life, which itself refers back to modes of production and social relations of production (Chapter Two began to make these linkages explicit).

### 3.3.3 Small thoughts, agency and *Eigen-Sinn*

Thus far, the attention of this chapter has rested upon those practices which mediate between totality and individuals. Placing social praxis as mediation into a social ontology and explicating the importance of embodied and routine practices for such a mediation now allows us to reconsider human agency. The

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<sup>48</sup> These considerations are closely related to debates on the situatedness of every knowledge. It also, again, touches upon Adorno's contention about a contradictory society requiring a contradictory theory, but accepting that this contradiction is not necessarily a flaw in theory (1993).

<sup>49</sup> This perspective obviously works in two ways. Firstly, as spelled out here, it is a methodological observation that culture is no realm but an active construction linked and determined to ways of life. Secondly, the argument has more substantive manifestations in the politics of economic development: here the 'culture game' has become an important tool of economic policies, such as with Glasgow nomination of European City of Culture in 1990 ((Boyle and Hughes 1991), more broadly discussed by Harvey (1989a; 1989b)).

remaining question concerns how do people become agents within such a totality? I have previously touched upon issues of rationality and consciousness, but now it is time to spell out these explicitly.

Social praxis, albeit here discussed in relation to its philosophical origins, or rather more precisely its critical origins, does not imply a merely rationalist standpoint. Meanings and criteria of importance are produced in the doing, and hence any construction of the subject as a rational, maximising individual falls short not only of the limits of rationality (sometimes introduced as bounded rationality) but also of considering the logic of different rationalities. These are insights gained by anthropology and its investigation into different cultures and their own rationalities. Furthermore, practical knowledge, practical consciousness or even mental 'attitudes' more removed from the realm of self-reflexive abilities, motivations and desires all need to be taken into account when human practice and agency are studied. A similarly narrow reference to the human subject's *interest* also falls short since, as soon as interest is not being clearly and self-reflexively expressed, the all-knowing researcher easily constructs an interest on behalf of a seemingly ignorant subject.

Such a definition of agency as the result of particular experiences, and as the ability to shape these experiences, has not only been taken up by the history of everyday life, but also (usually without the reference to class) in much other academic work (e.g. Giddens 1981). Across the fields of human geography, this move towards agency can be found as well. Agency is here similar to some interpretations of the history of everyday life (Lipp 1990), often narrowed down to resistance, so much so that Pile and Keith (1996) speak of resistance as the core concern of cultural and social geography. Talking about walking or watching television as forms of resistance leads Cresswell (2000, p. 260) to comment that "[r]ecently any act that is not clearly the result of dominant structures has been described as resistance. Simply choosing to do something is resistance." Although welcoming the shift in emphasis from people being passive consumers to people resisting, it easily results in "[p]eople making choices, consuming, resisting. These will be seen as evidence for everyday heroism and the analysis will stop here" (*ibid.*, p. 260). What strikes me as important in Cresswell's analysis is the reasons that he gives for this new fashion. He argues that as a shift away from structuralist explanations occurs, every researcher is keen on exhibiting their disapproval of structuralist explanations, therefore zooming in on agency and what is perceived to be its most pronounced form (as pitched against structure as domination), namely resistance. This leads to yet another turn of the structure-agency dualism, however, now only being concerned with the other end of the polarism. In so doing, it also uses resistance and agency as almost synonymous, collapsing resistance into agency and thereby losing it as a research tool.

One approach in particular has gained considerable attention within human geography as a move to address the shortcomings of much post-structuralist and representational theorising of late. Since the mid-1990s Nigel Thrift has continuously developed a body of theory that he refers to as non-representational theory (NRT). He draws on theories of practice which:

[...] all deny the efficacy of representational models of the world [...] and are instead committed to non-representational models of the world, in which the focus is 'external', and in which basic terms and objects are forged in a manifold of actions and interactions. (Thrift 1996, p. 6)

Thrift, thus, reconceptualises agency and subjectification by investigating the moment of being in which "we say, 'Now I know how to go on'" (Wittgenstein 1958, p. 158). In this process, he contends that it is not representation but immediate bodily presentation, the practical involvement of human bodies with other material, that poses the most promising insights for addressing both epistemological and ontological questions. Interesting as a starting point for these theoretical investigations along the lines of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is Thrift's engagement with Marxist work, in particular Thompson and Williams, whose attempts to forge a non-economist Marxism he regards as having failed as they appear to study history as made of 'producers without products' (Thrift 1983, p. 21). It is through these Marxists that he encounters Cornelius Castoriadis' work on the imaginary constitution of society, and it is this work to which I now refer to draw out important insights for the understanding of social praxis *vis-à-vis* current post-structuralist debates.

Castoriadis' concept of the constitution of society by means of the imaginary begins as a critique of positivism, and in particular of the rationalist positivism within Marxism. Castoriadis (1987) does not regard a subject's interest as the bottom level of investigation, but instead approaches agency by insights from psychoanalysis.

The imaging of which I am speaking is not an image *of*. It is the unceasing and essentially undetermined (social historical and psychical) creation of figures/forms/images, on the basis of which alone there can ever be a question *of* something. What we call 'reality' or 'rationality' are its works. (*ibid.*, p. 3)

Therefore, he emphasises the importance of the imaginary, the non-rational (understood as the subject of Western rationalism), for the creation (rather than production) of society. In opposition to economic determination, Castoriadis explores processes of what he calls 'institutionalisation' that capture the psyche and society. He contemplates how this society is constituted in such a manner that it avoids problems of a revised methodological individualism. The social constitution of the subject is central to his investigation. Here his understanding of agency is close to a post-structuralist decentred subject, but at the same time avoids the 'death of the subject' problematic. 'Being close' is not entirely correct: Castoriadis does not follow liberal conceptions of freedom, the nature of the

autonomous individual, but still maintains (Marxist) assumptions about the social cast of individuals, who do have the potential to gain and to develop autonomy and freedom, but only in a particular social-historical context.

Castoriadis views human action and agency as not merely based in rationality, since he regards the imaginary as those parts of the psyche which form basic symbolic relations to the outside and the external as the main source of social reality. This is the part on which Thrift builds his conception of NRT – it is not representation but the practical act of imagining and thereby constituting the individual as a(n) (always social) subject in the world which creates social reality.

Castoriadis arrives at this imaginary institution of society by means of criticising Marxist determinism. Tracing the issue back to Marx, he finds a lack of engagement with the importance of social praxis, seeing this as the reason for deterministic Marxism to flourish (*ibid.*, pp. 9-70). It is a critique that sits parallel to the critical Marxism central to my reworking of Marxist theory. However, as far as Castoriadis' criticism is concerned, Barker (1998) pinpoints a lack of engagement with revisionist Marxist theorists who also opposed the orthodoxy of determinism, such as the Italian theorists of autonomy (Tronti 1974) and those Marxists who attempt to rework the problems of commodity fetishism and the issues to do with the disciplining of a work force under capitalist relations of production<sup>50</sup>.

It is for this charge of omission that I want to return to the theorists of social praxis to seek for an understanding of agency that allows for those undetermined, creative moments of practical knowledge, while holding on to some of the more reflexive capacities of agency. Such a concept regards human agency, rather than being eternal, as coming into existence in a particular social and historical context. As a starting point for this, I want to refer to Thompson's study of the making of the English working class as a complex process of subjectification. This cultural process was inextricably linked to economic, social and political circumstances of the English Industrial Revolution. Thompson's *Making of the English Working-Class* (first published in 1963) is one of the classics of Anglo-Marxism, and referring to it almost inevitably involves quoting his definition of class as a relationship. "I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships" (Thompson 1991, p. 8). Later on he relates the importance of this relationship to

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<sup>50</sup> Michal Kalecki's essay, published in 1943, on Labour discipline in full employment is a classic of Marxist economic scholarship, investigating the social relations of production and discipline therein (Kalecki 1971). A speculation I would like to raise is that a detailed engagement with this body of work of Marxist labour studies *vis-à-vis* Foucault's interest in discipline can bring to light valuable insights.

the grounded experiences of given people in given times and places (largely but not wholly determined by their position in the relations of production).

If we stop history at a given point, then there are no classes but simply a multitude of individuals with a multitude of experience. But if we watch these men [and women] over an adequate period of social change, we observe patterns in their relationships, their ideas, and their institutions. Class is defined by men [and women] as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition. (*ibid.*, p. 10)

Central to the processes of subjectification are the particular experiences of people. However, 'experience' in this understanding gathers together "experiences that are singled out by attention" (Schütz and Luckmann 1989, p. 3f). They refer to the profile of both one's own needs and those of others, a profile shaped at the same time by these experiences. To this extent, specific *modes of experiencing* can be distinguished for groups sharing the attributes of gender or common workplace, household, or neighbourhood. The forms in which *needs* are expressed and (perhaps) satisfied are defined in respect to and by looking at concrete groups and classes:

[Y]et it was not only overt expressions which 'played upon' the forms of communication that were current (or at least intelligible) in the various reference groups. Even communicative silences and the often richly nuanced forms of complaisance, distancing and wilful *Eigen-Sinn* [...] never reflected needs that were merely individual. It is always a question of the organization of social relations—a matter of *politics* [...]. (Lüdtke 1995b, p. 18f.)

In *Eigen-Sinn*, a key term in the work of Lüdtke on workers' everyday life, the concept of agency as used by Thompson finds its application. Different to resistance, it is closely tied to the everyday and its routinised practices upon which agents only partially reflect. In this, it seems to offer an opportunity to study these practices while linking them on a theoretical level to a body of (humanist) Marxism. *Eigen-Sinn* denotes:

[...] wilfulness, spontaneous self-will, a kind of self-affirmation, an act of (re)appropriating alienated social relations on and off the shop floor by self-assertive prankishness, demarcating a space of one's own. There is a disjunction between formalized politics and the prankish, stylized, misanthropic distancing from all constraints or incentive present in the everyday politics of *Eigen-Sinn*. [...] It is semantically linked to *aneignen* (appropriate, reappropriate, reclaim). (*ibid.*, p. 314)

Such *Eigen-Sinn* reflects the historical materialist statement that "[c]onsciousness [*das Bewusstsein*] can never be anything else than conscious being [*das bewusste Sein*], and the being of men [sic] is their actual life-process" (Marx and Engels 1976, p. 36). The materiality of these life processes is their reality, which resides in praxis. In this line, consciousness and being do not relate to each other but *are each other*. There is no such thing as unconscious being – "Human being as life practice is already 'conscious being'<sup>viii</sup>" (Fleischer 1991, p. 54). Such a perspective bears witness to the understanding of human life as sensuous, practical and everyday. Yet, this



perspective further brings in a sense of self-knowledge and reflexivity<sup>51</sup>. It does so not in a grand sense of big ideas but in a more humble sense of 'inklings' of how to proceed. Putting 'small thoughts' into practices, it potentially returns a moment of thinking into non-representational theory.

Given the above, it thus becomes crucial how social agents 'start to voice' – to themselves and to other – their self-awareness of their practical, embodied relation to the social totality. These 'voices' are the 'small' representations *in* social practices that cannot but be there, in distinction to the claims of non-representational theory. More modestly, these small representations are those moments when agents come to conceive of their own practices as bound into the needs and interests of a social totality<sup>52</sup>. Poignantly, these small voices are often of those agents who are most powerful within a particular totality and thus seemingly able to set the agenda, such as in the case of city centre security and marketing. Are we able to work out, by tracing these voices, who thereby builds up a sense of identity and mission that is broadly conformable with the maintaining and improvement of that particular social totality (and its unevenness, relations of production and so on), and of who does not and remains more sceptical and oppositional? The question with regard to people hence becomes: "[h]ow are, from the perspective of an organic composition of the individuals, their thoughts about their praxis and its historical process integrated in this process, a 'moment' in it?"<sup>ix</sup> (Fleischer 1991, p. 53)

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<sup>51</sup> The epistemology of the history of everyday life questions prevailing concepts of one rationality, both on the side of the researcher and also of those researched (Lüdtke 1995b, p. 10). This rationality simply assumes that all modes of life are similar and only need to be systematised (from an objective perspective). Medick clearly pinpoints the limits of Western individual: "As indicated in the context addressed here, the problem of the connection between subjective experience on the one hand and objective structures on the other, between praxis and the social validity of values, between perceptions and meanings, between individuals and institutions, cannot be separated from questions of class formation, the dialectic historical change, and processes of social, cultural and economic transformation" (Medick 1995, p. 61). For these insights, the everyday life historians draw on Geertz (1983) for a critique of the Western concept of the individual as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe.

From this understanding of rationality it follows that agency always needs to be understood as interest plus a practical remainder (Lüdtke 1995b). Also, a critique of rationality is not so much a dismissal of rationality but a cautious approach that includes practical or sub-conscious aspects of human life. But, under the light of the above, I want to stress that these 'other' rationalities can, nonetheless, be examined and put into relation to the material and social contexts in which they are based.

<sup>52</sup> Everyday historians hold central to their research a commitment to modes of life, representing personal experiences (both the attributing of meaning and the doing) of subjects within a specific society, or more specifically within a specific mode of production and relations of production. Lüdtke (1995b) emphasises the difference to 'adaption' since he does not want to focus on the uni-linearity of development according to an existing social structure, but in contrast to stress the multi-layered practices. The conditions in which these practices occur are set but at the same time brought about by the people within a social totality. With a commitment to modes of life, these historians hold on to a holistic view of social totality, which dialectically constitutes subjects and is worked upon by the social praxis of these subjects. Again, the influence of post-structuralist critiques of deterministic Marxism is evident in this conception of modes of life when it is stated that the history of everyday life can not always retrace "incursions, impositions, incentives in the actions and experiences of those affected" (*ibid.*, p. 18), yet with the analytical methods of thick description it is possible to move outwith the individual.

### 3.4 *Towards a research agenda: the history of everyday life*

The German-speaking everyday historians have contributed to the conceptual exploration of a research perspective rooted in social praxis. They also opened a way for understanding how rationalisations and thoughts about praxis become such a moment within praxis. I want to illustrate these conceptual concerns by reviewing a few detailed and in depth empirical studies pursued by everyday historians. These empirical studies provide us with a demonstration of the potential for research based on social praxis. Leading on from a discussion of practical knowledge, Lüdtke's work on *Eigen-Sinn* has already provided us with a conceptual reworking of agency and a sense of wilfulness on behalf of subjects. Thus it seems beneficial to begin by filling this concept with empirical richness. Moving closer to the topic of my own study, I will also outline inquiries into the everyday histories of policing, security and social policy.

Lüdtke (1993a, p. 12f.) sketches two lines of research interest central to an understanding of recent German history, in his introduction to a collection of his own material on labour movement *Eigen-Sinn*, workday routine, workers' experiences and politics from the German Empire to fascism. He firstly asks: how can it be explained that a large majority of Germans willingly and deliberately supported the war efforts of the *Kaiser*? Even more importantly, how can it be comprehended that the large majority of Germans obviously supported the murderous expansion of the *Reich*, internally and externally, until far into WW2? The second line relates these questions to *Eigen-Sinn*: how could supporters of the war efforts in 1914 become boycotters in 1917, and again 1918/19, retreat into their private lives throughout the 1920s and then be enthusiastic of the Nazis' rise to power in 1933? As a starting point to tackling these questions, Lüdtke explores workday routines in the factories of Germany's at the turn of the last century. Here, *Eigen-Sinn* as wilfulness and distancing is employed to study the continuous 'struggle' over what constitutes worktime: both the extension of worktime and attempts to limit or to 'rationalise' breaks and maintenance routines. These struggles are traced through workplace regulations and archival material, following Lüdtke's (*ibid.*, p. 88) acute observation that the multitude of worktime-related warnings and regulations, frequently issued by factory owners, signal the constant need to control worktime to increase productivity. It thus sheds doubt on those approaches to industrial relations that regard the implementation of a mechanical discipline of time as a given fact of industrialisation (cf., Thompson 1967). Important to Lüdtke (*ibid.*, p. 137) are those acts of re-appropriation of time by workers. In diary entries and observational records of the time, he finds those practices by which time was appropriated for sociality and recreation within the workday. These practices were to a large extent of a practical, embodied nature. They

were not primarily supporting political discussions and debates, but arose out of individuals working together on a daily basis and a resulting intimacy that expressed itself in good-humoured practical jokes:

Above all, (whenever you could) you enjoyed a joke, a tease or cowking. Among close colleagues, who understood such teasing, everyone tried to play a trick on someone else. One hid and threw clay at unsuspecting passers-by, another secretly pulled apron strings, or pulled out seats from underneath during a break, or suddenly stood in someone's way, or the just 'took the mickey' with one another.<sup>x</sup> (Göhre 1891, p. 77, cited in Lüdtke 1993, p. 137)

These early observations of autonomy over aspects of working life also incorporate aspects of reproduction, in particular notions of food, taste and survival in post-WW1 Germany. Following on from this, the rise of fascism in Germany is examined, and Lüdtke (1992a)<sup>53</sup> dispels the myth that the German labour movement did not support the Nazis once they had gained power. This research leads to an important qualification of what constitutes *Eigen-Sinn* and raises interesting questions in relation to my own research. Previously, *Eigen-Sinn* seemed limited to workers' autonomy at their workplace; now an exploration into practices of support and control show how it 'made good sense' to ordinary workers to lend their support and energy to the Nazis.

This observation of workday rationalities leads onto those practices that are conducted to support and to maintain existing institutions, and thereby moves towards the theme of policing and security. This second set of literature, an edited collection on security and welfare, investigates issues of police, society and power (Lüdtke 1992b). It continues the theme of the wilful agency of subjects who make their own sense out of what is happening, this time looking at state institutions and its agents such as police officers and social workers. Leaving aside those contributions that focus on state power and the organisation of this power, I intend to discuss a few contributions that concern themselves with the policing of youth deviancy, the policing of an industrial district and early-20<sup>th</sup> century attempts to integrate welfare policies into the police. Two aspects are central to these contributions. Firstly, with the etymology of police being related to policy [*Policey*], Foucault's notion of governmentality as those attempts to order and to (self-)govern becomes important (Foucault 1979b, 1991). Thus, within these chapters the ordering and regulating of public and private life provides an underlying current. Secondly, a focus on the everyday and *Eigen-Sinn* ensures that the actual practices of policing are examined and that the development of the modern police is consequently not understood solely in terms of institutions and structures. Such a focus acknowledges the importance of routine practices in given place and

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<sup>53</sup> Although not included in the 1993 collection of Lüdtke's work on *Eigen-Sinn*, this article is one of a few available in English, see also Lüdtke (1986; 1993b).

time that possess far-reaching consequences (see for British developments of the 'New Police', Ogborn 1993). Leuenberger (1992), working with historical court minutes and case files, reconstructs the practices of policing young people in a Swiss city at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He specifically tries to get at the impact that individual officers had in writing reports and informing courts and judges. By examining witness statements, he shows how the definitions and rationalities of officers led to a criminalisation of youth normality along the lines of the positivist criminology of the time. His reading of statements is able to highlight how interrogation practices, based on the assumption of guilt, or often in the case of young women, immoral behaviour, not only led to a defensive position in which the accused found themselves but also resulted in additional intelligence being gathered. The increasing professionalisation of the police intended to narrow down policing as crime prevention and detection. However, Reinke (1992) argues that despite these attempts, policing practices in an industrial district in the Ruhr area remained close to the broad conception of *Policey*, with public order and morality (as advocated by the urban middle classes) being central to policing practices<sup>54</sup>. Accordingly, policing aimed at curtailing popular entertainment and at fighting real or perceived youth delinquency. Here the police were strongly encouraged to control family values and general morality. This field of policing tasks expanded further in the earlier parts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As an example of the extension of police activities, Nienhaus (1992) studies the establishment of locally specific women police departments. These were not only an attempt to put into practice feminist politics in the course of the suffragette movement, but also to align welfare and social policy with policing. Furthermore, these female police assistants presented a modernisation of policing and ordering interventions, in particular in relation to the policing of young people and the working classes (*ibid.*, p. 246f.). Nienhaus' study of a number of early women police departments shows the wide range of welfare and social work tasks that were undertaken, mainly concentrating on children, and families as well as women suspected of immoral behaviour.

All these studies have in common a methodology which tries to go behind the official reports and statements to reconstruct experiences, and more importantly, the practices which were written down and made official. In their focus on the everyday, all of these studies examine routine work practices. Central to the police reports and records were the rationalisations and definitions of ordinary policemen and -women. These rationalisations are closely tied up to actual work

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<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, Reinke (*ibid.*, p. 229) identifies fear of crime as a central concern for the middle classes. A general feeling of insecurity is found as a frequent theme in annual reports of civic associations. Placed in relation, this observation provides a useful corrective to claims that it is post-modern society which gives rise to feelings of insecurity, as for instance Giddens (1992) and Beck (1992) argue.

practices, of when and where absconding children were found, ensuing communication and previous experiences. These practices and their rationalisation thus lie at the heart of a social ontology which is being traced in these studies. Such a social ontology, as connected to a similar concern for the micro-details of practices of ordering and recording by key figures within a restructuring society/city, is hence *exactly* the ground from which my own research proceeds, as written through in the empirical heart of this thesis.

### 3.5 *Social praxis in the context of this study*

The histories of everyday life illustrate earlier points of embodied and routine practice which becomes 'rationalised' in the doing by its agents. This discussion allows us to approach again the structure and agency debate and to consider how social praxis is able to shift the theoretical viewpoint from an either/or logic to a relational dialectics in which subjects are both enabled and restricted within a concrete totality. These relationships are mediated by practices that are expressions of agents' experiences, stemming from an (often) un/subconscious<sup>55</sup> formulation of their needs. In this light, social praxis is the practices of subjects with socially mediated interests. Important in this particular approach is the acknowledgement that subjectivity largely shapes individuals' experiences. This subjectivity cannot be captured by an approach that presuppose *a priori* rationality, as some interest-based accounts of social praxis do. Rather, the everyday, as a routine that often features on a practical and not fully conscious level, is a necessary component in a conceptualisation of agency with subjectification regarded as a result of social praxis.

In providing this perspective, most authors upon whom I draw are critical of Marxist approaches which seek to subsume agency under structures, processes and formation. They convincingly display the shortcomings of those approaches as lying in the taken for granted existence of some academic models to be applied to any given historical and geographical society. This critique parallels the critique of post-modernism and post-structuralism in other disciplines and is *per se* hardly new. What is new in this approach is that it seeks to combine such a post-structuralist critique and the tools and concepts of ethnographic approaches with a commitment to a humanist and critical Marxism which holds on to notions of a social totality, uneven development and

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<sup>55</sup> Not entering a big debate about differences between the subconscious and the unconscious, it is, nonetheless, worth noting that a broadly psychoanalytic focus on the unconscious does resonate with the Marxist theories of social praxis discussed here through the works of Castoriadis. Even so, many social praxis Marxists, particularly if inspired by the likes of Geertz, might be wary of conceptualising an unconscious realm riddled with 'psychic' tensions. In contemporary human geography, the intriguing parallels, mutual interests but hesitant interactions between the likes of Thrift (1996) on NRT and Rose (1997a) on 'inoperative community'.

socially mediated interests<sup>56</sup>. They do not merely try to combine these different theories but argue that such a critical Marxism can indeed address the structure/agency problematic more adequately than those theories, including structuralist Marxism.

The history of everyday life focuses on 'small' peoples experiences and their subjectivity (subjectification), *while* dialectically situating these in a political economy and emphasising the social conditions for any subjective development. Subjectivity does not stand alone and does not turn the concept into an individualist, hermeneutic or voluntarist theory, but rather maintains a focus on people's modes of life – "this means all those social practices which constitute the 'mode of production' as an everyday reality for individuals as well as groups<sup>xiii</sup>" (Lüdtke 1993a, p. 23).

In the context of this study, modes of life feature only partially as the focus of the study does not primarily rest on ordinary people and their social praxis but instead on particularly situated subjects within the process of the production of city centre safety and security. A link between these groups of practitioners, all involved in building a secure city centre, exists in so far as they are situated at particular positions within the relations of production. Although possessing varying interests and hence not constituting a homogenous group, they nonetheless have an identifiable common interest in city centre development, and more specifically a *safe* city centre development. This signifies the concrete political economic context and provides us with a perspective onto the human subjects here as both subjects *and* experts. In conjunction with these considerations, my concern is with their position in the mode of production. I am interested in finding out how their expert positions do in fact allow for something akin to a mode of life. The previous empirical discussion of the everyday historians lends its weight to such a perspective as these studies too seek social praxis in workday routines. Does such a position within the mode of production allow us to construct a framework for interpreting their experiences, albeit one which remains fractured or ruptured and open to other 'modes of life', for instance that of the homeless? However, it needs to be borne in mind that such an expert mode of life does not reflect or mirror any mode of production. Rather, it is related to such a mode of production in an uneven manner, so that any mode of production necessarily generates a diversity of 'modes of life' (albeit these can still be conceptualised as fragments of the 'totality').

In some senses, the holistic understanding of the history of everyday life as the history of ordinary people and their ordinary lives still presents a challenge to

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<sup>56</sup> Here, the history of everyday life also challenges semiotic approaches with the argument that every text also needs an underlying structure and a particular way of reading it that resides outside the text (Lüdtke 1997).

my own approach. Here, the concept of agency, as formulated by Thompson as the ability to resist and to effect changes, is prominent, as too is his focus on ways of lives as shaping (workers') actions and experiences. Hence, the question remains as to what are the key everyday and ordinary events, people and social practices in the provision of city centre security? Much expert knowledge is not so much rational expertise, but crucially it *claims* to be rational. Rather, the foundations of this knowledge are everyday, untheorised and result from the social relations of the agents (both in their personal and their expert positions). With an understanding of social praxis as a (ruptured, fragile, contradictory) mediation between social relations and subjectivity, these contentions can be conceptualised as presences of practical and subjective knowledge within the so-called 'expertise'.

These interests in *the ordinary within expertise knowledge* ask about the mediations, blurs, linkages and grey zones that exist between the two knowledges. As it has been argued above, the key for understanding rests with social praxis. From this, it follows that one of the aims of my study lies in the development of a concept of social praxis which does not stop with ordinary people, but tries to capture the ordinary, the normality, the practical within expert work.

Spatialising these practices and explicating the, as yet quite implicit, conceptualisation of social praxis as producing social space is the task of the following chapter. For this, the philosophical and ontological discussion of Chapter Two and the attempts to render these considerations more concrete by exploring critical Marxism, the social praxis tradition in particular, are framed within the production of social spaces.

## 4 Chapter Four:

# Spatialising social praxis: abstract space and the production of space

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The previous discussion of social praxis has shown the importance of understanding human practice not as rootless, individual acts but to situate them instead in their historical and social context. This context, as it has also been shown, is to a large extent determined by a political economy, its modes of production and its particular sets of social relations, into which human beings are situated through their embodied lives. Also it has been argued that a view of the political economy or production processes taken in this work is not that of a narrow concept along the lines “research has to be materialistic since people have to feed their empty stomachs and therefore enter social relations of labour”. Yes, they have to feed themselves, and wider issues of poverty are important since they cannot be addressed fully within the existing society. However, I have argued that such an economistic perception of social relations and social practices closes off crucial pathways to understanding social processes and thereby possibilities for fundamental changes.

Important to social praxis is the understanding of nature as first and second nature, whereby human beings are firmly related to nature and part of this but always already socially mediated as outlined in Chapter Two and Three. In doing so, a way forward to conceptualise the *material* has been opened. An almost classic example of connecting human beings to the outside, to the physical environment, and often assumedly thereby too, to nature has been by bringing in space. This has been pursued in many older fields of, for instance German-speaking human geography and its themes of people and the environment. Here, a spatial perspective usually presented the attempt to introduce a conceptual framework and to order things and people. The space under analysis was commonly a container in which people and resources were allocated in a particular way, and Geography had to count, classify and evaluate these regions. Such attempts of space and spatial science to bring in and external ordering frame to the study of humans have been common. Following earlier considerations, I want to argue that nature is not equal to space and that



the intertwining of human nature (social and biological) with social and material space is more complex than simple internal-external dichotomies. Smith (1990, p. 73ff.) traces the development of concepts of Newtonian absolute and relative space which, in the development of academic disciplines, saw the separation between social and physical (natural) space. The former, social space, could be regarded as thoroughly existing within absolute space.

This absolute physical space came to be associated with the given *natural* space of first nature; physical and natural space are here indistinguishable. The concept of social space, on the other hand, was abstracted further and further from any reference to natural space. (*ibid.*, p. 75)

Along these lines, economics and social sciences, with their application of spatial analysis, could employ an abstract social space within an overall (physical) container. For Smith (*ibid.*, p. 75) academic geography nonetheless had to deal with a concept of space which needed to distinguish more carefully between natural and physical space, with the latter always having the potential of simultaneously being social space too. However, these problems have only been addressed recently. Werlen's work (1993; 1995; 1997) displays the difficulties of conceptualising space and society within German-speaking human geography, and discusses the spatial determinisms inherent to much work. Smith's (1990, p. 75) argument follows similar lines that:

[t]he more that the geographers attempt to identify within absolute natural space the socially relative and socially determined patterns and processes of economic location, the more problematic became the relationship between natural and social space [...]

Space and social space within the humanist tradition of geography have been largely conceptualised as spatiality, firstly introduced here by Pickles (1985) as the basis for formulating a human geography based on existentialism and phenomenology, and in contrast to then prevailing conceptions of spatial sciences. In accordance with my previous discussion of human agency and the humanist tradition (see section 2.2.1), spatiality refers to human experience in a largely taken-for-granted world. Its strength clearly lies with working towards an understanding of space, not as a cognitive *a priori* but as the product of social practices. These practices are embedded in the everyday lives of agents and are often of a routine nature, as has been discussed earlier. In this discussion, social praxis has been identified as the moment by which people become subjectified, as society and space (in a less coherent form than these two terms suggest) are produced and reproduced. A study of these practices could then allow for a theoretical (as much as practical) study of the dialectical processes of subjectification and social formation. To broaden this perspective, the present chapter provides an introduction of space into these theories of social praxis.

Within the field of Marxist theories, however, space had been up to the 1970s, if at all, usually discussed with reference to Lenin's and Luxemburg's work on

imperialism (Blunt and Wills 2000). Lefèbvre's work has already been mentioned in the previous chapter. His *Production of Space*, originally published in French in 1974, only translated into English in 1991, certainly marked an important contribution of (humanist) Marxist work on the importance of space in any critical social studies<sup>57</sup>. *The Production of Space* can be validly regarded as a culmination of Lefèbvre's political and philosophical life. He brings together his philosophical readings of Marx, a theory of social praxis, which had also inspired the *Critique of Everyday Life*, with the political changes of May 1968, including his involvement with, and subsequent exclusion from, the *Situationist Internationale*. In so doing, he is led to the observation that only the study of space can provide a way forward to the understanding of modern capitalism, and also to the formulation of a political strategy for change. For so doing, he sets out a strategic hypothesis.

Theoretical and practical questions relating to space are becoming more and more important. These questions, though they do not suppress them, tend to resituate concepts and problems having to do with biological reproduction, and with the production both of the means of production themselves and of consumer goods. (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 62)

In this strategy he clearly locates space at the core of social production and reproduction. He even goes a step further and lays out as key to understanding space an understanding of (social) space as a (social) product (*ibid.*, p. 26), spending much effort in showing that this statement is in fact not tautological. Instead, it originates in a dialectical understanding of social praxis and its mediating role between totality and subject.

Social space as it is employed by Lefèbvre, and in the course of my thesis, encompasses not only public spaces but in fact all spaces where people live, gather, love, hate, fight, design, walk, travel, work and so on. In this understanding, all spaces are social, being bound in, one way or another, to the dynamics of a mode of production. It is in the processes of mediation between social totality and subjects that historical materialism finds its application and it is grounded in this understanding of people and their environment that cannot be anything else but social that we have to gain a sense of social space.

The claim that space is socially produced takes on board the classical Marxist concept of social production and, as Smith (1998a) has shown, the production of nature. It serves to illustrate how every society comes to produce its own spaces. From this it follows that only the knowledge of existing spaces, and of how these are produced, enables (and from Lefèbvre's point of view, almost automatically requiring) a forceful critique of this society. Having drawn on

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<sup>57</sup> As Smith (1998a, p. 49) comments aptly, the translation of Lefèbvre's work into English coincides with the most recent spatial turn of Anglo-American social and cultural geography. This recent movement has subsequently taken up much of Lefèbvre's conception, but see especially Harvey (1982; 1985) who has worked with the production of social space for considerable time.

Lefèbvre's work earlier in reference to Marxist social praxis, this chapter will concentrate on the implications of such a theoretical perspective for an understanding of (social) space. Furthermore, the interest lies in the advantages that a geographical perspective can bring to this study of economic restructuring and crime control. My study thus takes a specific cut through all of this, using Lefèbvre's triad of space. For the purpose of my work I will concentrate on two main aspects in the production of space; the question of how social practices are producing social spaces, and, how a particular concept of social space, that of *abstract space*, and its objectification came to dominate other concepts. Lying in the foreground is an understanding – quite close to Gregory's (1994) reading – of how modern capitalist society is increasingly dominated by representations of space, filled with abstractions and absolutisms that press down upon everyday spaces of living and working for ordinary people. These representations hence dominate our spatial practices. This abstract space will then be traced in the practices of city centre security and the associated policies, as well as in the writings and representations of it.

#### 4.1 *The social production of space*

Lefèbvre's 'non-philosophy' is strongly committed to its Hegelian roots (Dimendberg 1998; Gregory 1994; Smith 1998a). This is particularly obvious in the discussion of space, which by consuming time establishes itself as a particular fix (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 21), and from which Gregory concludes that Lefèbvre's:

[...] purpose is to prise open the sutures between 'immobilized space' and 'realized Reason' by bringing the production of space into human history and disclosing the social processes through which 'abstract space' has been historically superimposed over 'lived space'. [...] (Gregory 1994, p. 354)<sup>58</sup>

Lefèbvre's conception of social ontology informs the production of space: his central claim that each society produces its own space(s) reflects his understanding of society as a totality in which, as a *conceptual framework not as causality* (and this is the important emphasis!), each fragment is part of a totality and can only be understood when treated as the part of that totality.

Both partial products located *in* space – that is, things – and discourse *on* space can henceforth do no more than supply clues to, and testimony about, this productive process – a process which subsumes signifying processes without being reducible to it. It is no longer a matter of the space of this or the space of that: rather, it is space in its totality or global aspect that needs not only to be subjected to analytic scrutiny (a procedure which is liable to furnish merely an infinite series of fragments and cross-sections subordinate to the analytical

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<sup>58</sup> Gregory (*ibid.*, p. 354) continues that "And yet in doing so there is no doubt (in my mind) that Lefèbvre's ultimate objective, like that of Harvey's historico-geographical materialism, stands in the shadows of the totalizing drive of Hegelian Marxism." In so doing he raises a criticism of totalisation which has already been addressed in Chapter Two. The notion of social totality does not imply a totalising approach but does indeed allow for fragmentation, contradiction and inconsistency.

project) but also to be *engendered* by and within a theoretical understanding – by means of a concatenation of concepts, to be sure, but in a very strong sense of the word: from within, not just from without (descriptively), and globally – that is, moving continually back and forth between past and present. (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 37)

Against this background, Lefèbvre's (*ibid.*, p. 33f.) claim about the production of space possesses three implications. Increasingly, physical space is disappearing as every society produces its own space by specific sets of spatial practices, forging its own appropriated space. This social space always embodies particular features of that society: its social relations of production and reproductions. If space is thus understood as a product, then the knowledge about and of this space also contributes to the processes of its production, making it a key aspect of space itself. In order to study these implications and to account for them, Lefèbvre devises, as a methodological tool, a triad of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces. As a dialectical project this triad encompasses social totality.

### 4.1.1 The triad of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces

For Smith (1998a, p. 54), Lefèbvre:

[...] seeks to decode *representational spaces* – socially produced spaces imbued with more or less structured social meanings that are directly lived – and to critique specific conceptualizations or *representations of space*, but above all he seeks to inform and develop critical *spatial practices* via which social space is perceived and via which social difference could be democratically re-asserted. [...] The production of space is not just the powerful accomplishment of capital and the ruling classes but the ambition as well as means of liberatory reconstruction of the social world.

This triad underpins the whole argument about the production of space, and hence has been not only referred to extensively within Lefèbvre's work but also in the work of others (e.g. Harvey (1989a), Gregory (1994) and Soja (1996). The triad consists of spatial practice (the perceived), representations of space (the conceived) and representational spaces or spaces of representations (the lived) (see Box 4.1).

These three aspects of social space are dialectical. Shields (1998) in particular elaborates on the dialectical understanding of the triad. He does so in a way as to incorporate post-structural critiques of a simplistic thesis, antithesis, synthesis dialectics, and aims at introducing an element of *otherness* into the dialectics. In his sense, spatial practices are the affirmation, representations of space their negation, and representational spaces are, the negation of the negation. This last element opens up the closed dichotomy of affirmation and negation. A synthesis of these three elements would be social totality, which can be explicated by theoretical analysis. Shields explores the potentials of a third element of dialectics which is treated as an equivalent of the first two.

The three [aspects] make much more sense if they are rethought as a dialectical contradiction of: everyday perception/practice versus spatial theory/concepts relativised by a transcendent, entirely other, moment: creative, fully lived space. If we still insist on counting terms or positions, any notion of totalising synthesis lies in a fourth, transcendent term, what Lefèbvre calls 'l'espace', itself – best understood as 'the spatialization'. (Shields 1998, p.120).

### Box 4.1 Lefèbvre's (1991b, p. 30) triad of space

**Spatial practice:** "which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance."

**Representations of space:** "which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations."

**Representational space:** "embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces)."

In this argument, the introduction of space offers the opportunity to discuss social processes in a dialectical way; to understand them as relational, which is different to causal. Nonetheless, I agree with Elden (2001) at this point that Shields elaborations remain complicated and somewhat unconvincing. The dialectics, he finds insufficient and amends by a third element (which curiously forms the basis for Soja (1996) thirding and thirdspace), is a mechanistic one and, having reviewed critical Marxism as well as Lefèbvre's work earlier, not mechanistic in itself but *understood* in a mechanistic manner by critics, and in some sense by Shields too. Shields argument is supposed to demonstrate that Lefèbvre's work is not deterministic (in contrast to 'normal' dialectics).

Lefèbvre's triad of space (with or without its third element) is based on a relational ontology in which spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representations are relational moments of a social totality; they can nonetheless be contingent and contradictory as I argued earlier (see Chapter Two).

Furthermore, this triad is, as Gregory (1994, p. 361) points out and as indeed Lefèbvre (1991b, p. 368) insists on, best understood as a project, and in that sense it is opening up possibilities rather than providing answers. In so doing, criticisms of a totalising reductionism only apply in a limited sense. To me it seems that this partly explains some of the projects success and appeal: a fairly loose background of how to conceive of the history of space in order to arrive at a greater understanding of existing spaces. However, in order to apply the understanding and complexity of Lefèbvre's argument to one's own thinking or even to a more concrete research project, it necessarily has to be broken down, worked upon and modified. This presents both an opportunity as well as a

**Table 4.1 A 'grid' of spatial practices**

	Production of space	Domination and control of space	Appropriation and use of space	Accessibility and distancing
<i>Material spatial practices (experience)</i>	Production of physical infrastructures (transport and communications; built environments; land clearance, etc.); territorial organisation of social infrastructures (formal and informal)	Private property in land; state and administrative divisions of space; exclusive communities and neighbourhoods; exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance)	Land uses and built environments; social spaces and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication and mutual aid	Flows of goods, money, people, labour, power, information, etc.; transport and communications systems; market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration
<i>Representations of space (perception)</i>	New systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.; new artistic and architectural 'discourses'; semiotics	Forbidden spaces; 'territorial imperatives'; community; regional culture; nationalism; geopolitics; hierarchies	Personal space; mental maps of occupied space; occupational space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of spaces; spatial discourses'	Social, psychological and physical measures of distance; map-making; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, central place and other forms of location theory)
<i>Spaces of representation (imagination)</i>	Utopian plans; imaginary landscapes; science fiction ontologies and space; artists' sketches; mythologies of space and place; poetics of space; spaces of desire	Unfamiliarity; spaces of fear; property and possession; monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and symbolic capital; construction of 'tradition'; spaces of repression	Familiarity; hearth and home; open places; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets); iconography and graffiti; advertising	Attraction/ repulsion; distance/ desire; access/ denial; transcendence 'medium is the message'

(modified from Harvey 1989a, pp. 220-221)

danger<sup>59</sup>. Within geography, most authors who have drawn on Lefèbvre's work have applied it to concerns outside the realm of philosophy. Harvey (1989a) did

<sup>59</sup> See Gregson's (1989) discussion of the '(ir)relevance' of Giddens' structuration theory for empirical research. She argues that a meta-theory necessarily possesses only very limited importance to empirical research questions.

so in his 1989 work on the *Condition of Postmodernity*, for which he devised a model of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces with reference to certain characteristics of space<sup>60</sup>.

This follows a discussion of the importance of space and time to human life and the acknowledgement that their existence does not precede matter and hence can only be studied through a materialist approach which considers the “multiplicity of the objective qualities which space and time can express, and the role of human practice in their construction” (Harvey 1989a, p. 203)<sup>61</sup>. To investigate the material practices that bring about the various conceptions of time and space (in his argument, particularly those of postmodernism), Harvey seeks to establish “some overall interpretative frame around them that will bridge the gap between cultural change and the dynamics of the political economy” (Harvey 1989a, p. 211). After discussing Hägerstrand’s (1975) time-geography, De Certeau’s (1984) work on everyday practices, and Bourdieu’s (1977) study of social practices, Harvey arrives at Lefèbvre’s triad as the most appropriate instrument in answering his own question on the connection between material practices and theoretical conceptions.

The question needs to be asked of how to proceed and to clarify these aspects of how social spaces are produced? And secondly, how to make it work for an investigation into city centre security? Over the following pages I will concentrate on three chief aspects in the production of social space, as proposed by Lefèbvre, and taken up by others in ways that I regard as useful in shedding light on the spatial triad. Furthermore, these aspects provide the link between social practices and space, being crucial for my theoretical background. They are the importance of the body, the relationship between spatial and social practices and, finally, how a particular concept of space, that of abstract space, has historically gained hegemony.

#### 4.1.2 The body in the production of space

All of Lefèbvre’s writings are centred around human experience as bodily experience. Social practice cannot be conceptualised (and let alone) carried out without a socio-material body both as agent and as object. Hence it is obvious that the triad of spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces is also dependent on human bodies: these moments of the production of space refer to the human body in such a sense that spatial practice is

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<sup>60</sup> Harvey read Lefèbvre in the French original as the English translation was only published in 1991. It would well be that these inconsistencies were due to the translation process.

<sup>61</sup> However, what strikes me is that Harvey discusses these issues from a philosophical perspective. Yet again, he talks about abstract matter and abstract time-space only to use these as a justification for a geographical-materialist approach. To me this seems to be insufficient; his materialism tends to be ‘material-material’, closing off the opportunity for a social understanding of ‘material’.

regarded as the perceived, representations of space are the conceived and representational spaces, are the lived. For Lefèbvre (1991b, p. 398f.) it is a philosophy of social praxis that:

[...] ties space on the one hand to social practice, and on the other hand to concepts which, though worked out and linked theoretically by philosophy, in fact transcend philosophy as such precisely by virtue of their connection with practice.<sup>62</sup>

Harvey incorporates the body largely as the realm of material grounding to material practices<sup>63</sup>. This focus on material practices needs careful explication so as to avoid an oversimplification of what is understood as practice. In Chapter Two, I discussed how social practice as concrete and embodied practice always includes a moment for (potential) reflection. This widening of practice in line with a critical Marxism that grasps materialism as based on a living human body, rather than the more narrowly understood material practices of reproduction, allows us to turn towards an understanding of social space. This social space cannot be anything else but closely linked to concrete social practices which in fact produce space. Thus, a theory of social space is insufficient if it merely reproduces theoretical (or philosophical) abstractions, as a 'big picture' of how the urban system works today for instance; instead it is incumbent to consider those missing links within Lefèbvre's (and other approaches) – namely, to take seriously the countless acts of social praxis that cannot but occur to translate spaces of representation (such as scholars and senior level policy-makers talking about, and devising strategies of, Broken Windows and ZTP) into actual practices 'on the street' and, indeed, *vice versa*.

A suitable starting point for this is a consideration of the kind of space Lefèbvre was writing *against*: namely, the mental space constructed by a Cartesian *cogito* which dichotomises physical and *mental* space. This is one of the fundamental critiques which Lefèbvre relies on as he concludes his investigation of the conception of abstract space. He arrives at an epistemological and strategical position for his own project that:

[w]e are thus obliged to consider a contrary hypothesis. Can the body, with its capacity for action, and its various energies, be said to create space? Assuredly, but not in the sense that occupation might be said to 'manufacture' spatiality; rather, there is an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between the body's deployment in space and its occupation of space. Before *producing* effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before *producing itself* by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before *reproducing itself* by generating other bodies, each living body *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space. (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 170)

<sup>62</sup> Lefèbvre (1991b, p. 399) goes on: "Social space calls for a theory of production, and it is this theory that confirms its truth". This issue requires further investigation with respect to the construction of social space and questions regarding the theories of space embedded in a philosophy of praxis, as will be undertaken in Chapter Four.

<sup>63</sup> At least with reference to Lefèbvre's work. He writes on a slightly different tack in relation to bodily experience and the formation of bodies as labour and labourers (Harvey 1998).



Within Lefèbvre's reasoning the consequence of asking if the body has any importance in the production of space would then immediately be considering the body as a social product itself (see above discussion on subjectification and naturalism, sections 2.3.1 and 3.3.1). The social space under discussion lends itself to a concept of specific space, that of a space produced by productive forces, that are deployed in spatial practices (which are socially determined/determining). Spatial practice, like any other practice, is lived before it is conceptualised "but the speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived causes practice to disappear along with life, and so does very little justice to the 'unconscious' level of lived experience *per se*" (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 34). Spatial practice, according to Lefèbvre, thus becomes annihilated by conceptions of space as *representations* of space. As a result, 'life' as lived space disappear. Here it becomes clear that Lefèbvre clearly writes not hypothetically but traces the integration into capitalists societies, thus the spatial practices which he finds disappearing are those that existed prior to a capitalist mode of production<sup>64</sup>. This insights takes us some way in exploring the links between practices and representations of space. Lefèbvre develops his spatial triad by exploring capitalist development and expansion. Consequently, he sees spatial practice being colonised by particular representations of space which become dominant, and which also struggle to turn into representational spaces.

Representational spaces are those that are lived, that are filled with imaginations, memories and experiences. However, an understanding emerges from this discussion of how lived spaces are implicated with, and often also contradicted by, meanings and experiences that result from particular practices. In this sense, he puts forward a proposition of social practice which encompasses not only narrowly understood material practice, but he regards such practice as imbued with experience, rationalisation and partial reflection upon those practices. From these considerations one part of my own research would obviously be guided by the insight that:

[w]e may be sure that representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial *textures* which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space. (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 42)

These interventions then have profound material and social outcomes, such as innovations in architecture or the provision of CCTV cameras. While stating that representational spaces can ever only have symbolic and imaginary outcomes, Lefèbvre (*ibid.*, p. 42) warns of the dangers of treating the distinctions between

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<sup>64</sup> In this process of increasing representation the unconscious and practical aspects of knowledge which are bound up with any spatial practice tend to be disregard in favour of fully fleshed-out conceptualisations. Lefèbvre works through this topic by a discussion of psychoanalytical symbols and representations, such as language which has to be created to fill a *quasi* pre-existing absolute space, critiquing for instance Lacan's understanding of human being.

the three aspects of the triad as too static. This warning needs to be taken seriously as the dialectical relationship between spatial practice and representational spaces does certainly allow for representational spaces producing, or at least influencing, particular spatial practices and thus to have tangible outcomes. Similarly, Lefèbvre asks what lies between representations of space and representational space, culture, art, or imagination?

#### 4.1.3 Social praxis is spatial praxis

With the dialectical tools of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces, Lefèbvre can ask:

[...] what exactly is the mode of existence of social relationships? Are they substantial? natural? or formally abstract? The study of space offers an answer according to which the social relationships of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself. Failing this, these relations would remain in the realm of 'pure' abstraction – that is to say, in the realm of representations and hence of ideology: the realm of verbalism, verbiage and empty words. (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 129)

In asking about the relationship between social relationships and space, or rather locating space at the heart of the existence of social relationships, Lefèbvre operates with a dialectic which places space within this relationship, rather than only time. By the means of representational spaces as the lived space that is the 'spatial otherness' of the dialectic, Shields (1998) argues for a new meaning of the dialectic in a more complex form since it is able to deal with otherness, reflecting debates about dialectics as discussed in Chapter Two. That this process necessarily implies spatial and social practices, rather than only representational or discursive practices, is also crucial. A society which does not project itself into space remains in the realm of representation and thus would be of an ideological nature. This gives some points of reference for a research methodology: concepts of space are, necessarily, representations of space and as such remain abstract. To study them always requires us to consider how they are put into practice – what spatial practices are in line with, for instance, a Cartesian concept of polarised mental and physical space? As a third methodological step, it needs to be considered when and how these abstract conceptions come into conflict with lived spaces and (other) spatial practices. Of academic praxis, Lefèbvre succinctly comments that:

[e]thnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts are students of such representational spaces, whether they are aware of it or not, but they nearly always forget to set them alongside those representations of space which coexist, concord or interfere with them; even more frequently they ignore social practice. (*ibid.*, p. 41)

Hence, he neatly maps out some of the key concerns of this study as actually working with such representations of space and the social practices which constitute them. In the sense that every society is regarded as generating

particular spatial practices, Lefèbvre (*ibid.*, pp. 38ff.) gives the example of a modern spatial practice as the daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidised high rise flat and claims that each subject's spatial competence and performance can only be empirically evaluated. This example displays, furthermore, a close link between daily reality and urban reality. While spatial practice requires a certain cohesiveness, it does not have to be coherent and intellectually worked out. For Lefèbvre, representational space is the space directly lived through its associated images and symbols it is the passively experienced space as it is *dominated*. In this sense:

[...] the producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the 'users' passively experience[d] whatever was imposed upon them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly inserted into, or justified by, their representational spaces. (*ibid.*, p. 43)

In this course, Lefèbvre separates users and producers and does not seem to allow for any agency (or power) on behalf of users. He thus takes away any control over, for instance, how public spaces are used by people in different manners as to what planners and marketeers intended. This argument seems curiously at odds with notions of agency and social praxis which run through much of the critical Marxism tradition<sup>65</sup>. In this, Lefèbvre however has the tendency to remain abstract and philosophical. It is here where my work in fact build upon and expands Lefèbvre's reasonings. The dialectical tool of a spatial triad allows us to examine the actual spatial practices as they are working across representations of space as well as representational spaces.

Merrifield (1993) points us to another implication of a narrowly Cartesian conception of place and space. For him, shortcomings of research at the space/place nexus display a failure not to grasp space/place ontologically as two distinct poles, but rather to conceptualise them in Lefèbvre's understanding as a dialectical totality. He argues this point from Marx's distinction of circulating from fixed capital (Marx 1973, p. 621), which take on different forms through the process of capital accumulation. However, only through the meaning of the other do they take on different forms, and "in the end, they are but different 'moments' or characteristic forms of the same – i.e. circulating – capital. In other words, fixed capital is the *apparently static* material *thing-form* quality of the embodied process of circulating capital" (Merrifield 1993, p. 521). Merrifield asks about the implications for space and place, and identifies social space as a

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<sup>65</sup> This insufficient grasp of power and agency seems a crucial weaknesses of Lefèbvre's approach. It is a weakness which to some extent can be explained by his focus on alienation and fetishism. He attempts to trace the alienated experience of people who seemingly have no control over their everyday lives. Accordingly, he magnifies the domination of those who make the representations of space and the oppression of those who have to live in these spaces. Although situating himself in a humanist Marxist tradition, his argument here about the passive experience of users of dominated spaces lends itself to a structuralist reading. When bearing in mind that his project of the production of space is also a political project, his analysis of actual experiences of alienation and powerlessness can be channelled into intervention and change.

material process: as a rootless fluid reality of the flows of commodities, money, capital and information it moves globally. In these processes it is a force of production itself, as it has been studied by Harvey (1982) and Swyngedouw (1992). The processual character of social space can in this sense not be separated from its fixed moments: "Capital fixity must, of necessity, take place somewhere, and hence place can be taken as a specific *form* emergent from an apparent stopping of, or as one specific *moment* in, the dynamics of capitalist social space" (Merrifield 1993, p. 521). This argument allows us to consider the importance that particular places may have within a political economy or at different scales, thereby linking a particular place to a wider political economy.

#### 4.1.4 The domination of abstract space

Lefèbvre develops the triad of space from a study of society and the spaces of capitalism. The spaces under study are the spaces of the everyday – the dull, alienated and dominated spaces underpinned by Lefèbvre's ontological project of how social relationships project themselves into space and also produce these space (see quote on p. 83). These ontological considerations form the platform for Lefèbvre's study of how abstract spaces have become the dominant space under capitalism. He discusses the dominance of a particular conception of space, and its respective spatial practices, representations of space and its representational spaces. This ontological perspective then lends itself to the formulation of research objectives in the field of city centre security. Yet, it is important to bear in mind that Lefèbvre's argument does not operate solely on the ontological level, stating that abstract space is dominant. By means of dialectical investigation he is able to trace the processes by which spatial practice, representations of space and representational space have come to be dominated by a particular representation of space, that of container space as within the philosophies of Descartes, Leibnitz and Spinoza<sup>66</sup>. As Lefèbvre (1991b, p. 170) correctly points out, these container spaces were initially only representations of space but have proved over time very successful and powerful, employed by numerous spatial practices in the production of space.

Abstract space as Newtonian space that separates between absolute (physical) and relative (social) space, has thus become the standard concept of space (Smith 1990), if not in terms of latest developments in physics (Massey 1999b) but certainly as the representations of space employed by planners, economists, bureaucrats and politicians. They seek to produce and implement a unified representation of space which then very closely accords with the

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<sup>66</sup> For a comprehensive discussion, see Harvey (1996); Lefèbvre (1991b, p. 169-171).

workings of power<sup>67</sup>. That these representations of space are those aspects of social space that come to dominate social life is part of Lefèbvre's critique of capitalist society and its reliance on signs, codes and ocular significations. As representations they are, moreover, only partial and reflect the viewpoint of those who enforce them. This takes the argument back to the theoretical starting point of a critique of the everyday, its alienation and the existence of social practices which are thoroughly embedded within this alienated existence (Lefèbvre 1991a). Lefèbvre emphasises the importance of the appropriation of lived space through capitalist modes of production, and hence alienation is an important concept, reflecting his earlier emphasis on everyday life (Lefèbvre 1991).

Harvey (1982) has taken up less the lived spaces but instead is interested in the production of space and the role of the built environment under capitalist conditions. His concept of 'spatial fix' famously elaborates how space has become a solution for problems of over-accumulation in the capitalist economy. Harvey (1985) also shows how conceptions of space and time are socially produced, and thus closely linked to modes of productions and their social relations. In his essay on the re-organisation of Paris initiated by the prefect Baron Victor Hausman between 1853 and 1870, which introduced a new social and spatial order in the fabric of the city, Harvey explains how this order was based on capitalist (financial) values and a new surveillance apparatus. It is akin practices of re-ordering and organising the city spaces that lie at the heart of many more modern practices of crime control and prevention, such as surveillance measures and defensive architecture.

Lefèbvre's argument about the production of abstract space is an important one: this particular abstract space is constructed in the processes of capitalist production. This space abstracts from people's experiences and real lives, and by so doing closes down 'other' experiences or tramples on something that in the Marxist critique could be called 'happiness', – all this is captured through notions of alienation and fetishism.

Abstract space as a mediated space is at the centre of Lefèbvre's concern.

As a set of locations where contradictions are generated, the medium that those contradictions tear apart, and the means by which they are hidden by the appearance of consistency, abstract space requires a dialectical explanation that can overcome the tendency of power to 'unite by separating and to separate by uniting'. How then should we understand abstract space as a concrete universal? Because all social space would by definition contain the universal, particular, and individual moments, abstract space is therefore a defective manifestation of the Hegelian concept with a diminished epistemological and experiential

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<sup>67</sup> Power is a concept which Lefèbvre does not grasp as clearly as Foucault, mainly because he insists on seeing it as state power from above without exploring what Foucault has termed bio-powers (Shields 1998, p. 156). This observations mirrors Lefèbvre's division between users and producers, as discussed above.

referent. The inability of the bourgeoisie to reduce their spatial practice to abstract space – to assimilate their lived experience to its forms – leads to ‘spatial contradictions’, a deficiency in spatial concreteness. (Dimendberg 1998, p. 31 – referring to Lefèbvre 1991, p. 63).

This argument has been taken up by various authors, and filled with different understandings about the character of this abstract space and its consequences. Dimendberg (1998) refers to different definitions of abstract space, and relates them back to some of Lefèbvre’s philosophical considerations of Hegel’s dialectic (and in particular to the debt that Lefèbvre’s work owes to Hegel’s concrete universal). As a result, abstract space remains an abstract universal – lacking the moments of bodily experiences and the imaginative capacities of concrete, lived spaces.

The user’s space is lived – not represented (or conceived). When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say, subjective. (Lefèbvre 1991b, p. 362)

Thus, abstract space, as mere representation of space remains to be filled with lived space. At the same time, though, these representations of space have clearly corresponding spatial practices. As Dimendberg (1998, p.17f.) identifies, the notion of abstract space is explicated differently. For Gregory (1994, p. 382, 401) the prime contribution of Lefèbvre’s concept lies in its emphasis on the “decorporealization”, “commodification” and “bureaucratization” of space, and how it in turn becomes subservient to “property relations” and “systematic surveillance and regulation by the state”. Smith takes a perspective closely centred on capitalist commodity production, when he observes that “abstract space begins to emerge when social labour is differentiated into an abstract form and social wealth thereby aspires to the possibility of infinite mobility, global hegemony”. In the processes that render lived spaces into abstract spaces, concrete human labour becomes abstracted and turned into wage labour. This process mirrors earlier discussions of alienation, where abstract spaces as the domains of expanding capitalism are what alienation is for human agents within capitalist social relations.

Here is the moment to note a number of interesting conjunctions and differences between Lefèbvre’s abstract space and the space of the Panopticon and the disciplinary spaces discussed by Foucault (1979a). Foucault studies how spaces of normalisation are established within institutions such as prisons and workhouses. In comparison to Lefèbvre, Foucault pays close attention to empirical detail and charts the particular practices that were established and proved fundamental for the success of securing the dominance of a representation of space that relied on the close regimentation and self-discipline of normalised spaces. Foucault fills the crucial linkages between representations of space and spatial practice by exploring how self-discipline and minute regimentation actually were simultaneously practices and representations of space, which constituted each other at the same time. At the

same time, Foucault, by being interested in the system of power that is established and is self-perpetuating through knowledge and discourse, forsakes the utopian notion of *lived* spaces with a totalising view of representations that produce subjects through a myriad of disciplining practices.

Taking Foucault's insights on board, my approach is less architectural than Harvey's examination of 19<sup>th</sup> century Paris. With reference to, for instance, the Panopticon I am clearly interested in the regime of practices that is established and experimented on to supplement the architecture of the observing prison. It is my contention that it is for these practices that particular architecture as built environment is put to work, and it is by examining these practices that we can learn about social relations and processes.

## 4.2 *Critical Marxism as critique of abstract space*

The critique of abstract space is for Lefèbvre always also a political project: to criticise the brutality of capitalist societies and the narrow limits that they impose on people's lives and experiences. From this position, abstract space and his study serves political ends which resonate with a wide range of other geographers and social scientists. With a brief sketch of the emancipatory prospects of such projects I want to leave my theoretical discussion open for a move into the field of crime control and policing, with the goal of progressively tying the two topics closer together throughout the remainder of my thesis.

Lefèbvre is by far not the only one to conceptualise the production of space with reference to issues of politics (and of political strategy in particular). Within the Marxist and liberal Left there have been numerous pieces of work doing exactly this. These contributions have also become louder in recent years, yet again, as a call for returning to the *politics* of space rather than merely reading the political landscape or the manifestations of power within the city (Blunt and Wills 2000; Castree 2000). As Castree (1999b) rightly points out, these politics of space similarly take place within academia as a workplace as they do outwith. Doreen Massey has been and continues to be one of the most pronounced human geographers demanding an emancipatory political strategy with regard to the city (1994; 1999a; 1999b). She observes, while there exist "many and conflicting definitions of space which are current in the literature there are some – and very powerful ones – which deprive it of politics and of the possibility of politics: they effectively de-politicize the realm of the spatial" (Massey 1994, p. 250). She then works towards a "space for the politics of our times" (1999a, p. 279), embracing the post-modern turn and its call for diversity, multiplicity and openness. Her understanding of spatiality in this sense reflects similar concerns discussed in the reworking of Marxist theory by the history of everyday life.

The understanding of spatiality, in other words, entails the recognition that there is more than one story going on in the world and that these stories have, at least, a relative autonomy. Moreover, the stress here is on 'relative'. The reference to independent trajectories does not imply a total lack of connection. (*ibid.*, p. 281)

Abstract space as a representation of space is certainly one of the powerful definitions which, by means of commodification and fetishism, apparently removes social space beyond the realm of the social and political, and aims at stabilising existing social configurations<sup>68</sup>. To recognise these processes is a necessary step towards emancipatory politics, and heralds a progressive perspective on issues such as spatialised social power and the role that these powers play not only for identity politics but also social relations.

### 4.2.1 Representations of space and safe city centres

The theoretical considerations of both abstract space and the production of social space borrowed from Lefèbvre's conceptual frame now need to be placed in relation to substantive questions of city centre regeneration and crime prevention policies. As part of my theoretical background, however, this chapter does not intend to outline these arguments in full but instead to provide a first 'sketch map' of issues which will be taken up later in more detail.

Situational crime prevention strategies such as those that occur under ZTP aim primarily at changing the physical environment. By focussing on criminal acts committed by individuals against the physical environment, property related offences in public spaces, tend to be prioritised over violent crimes, white-collar crimes and all other crimes which are located in the private sector (Crawford 1998, p. 98). This displays the operating of a very particular understanding of one type of crime as entailing criminal acts which need to be prevented. In this line of argument, city centre restructuring and situational crime prevention strategies go hand in hand. The explanation of crime is based at an individual level and rational choice theory with all its theoretical underpinnings. Nothing less than a very powerful representation of 'how society works', or rather of the *absence* of the social, is operating through these crime prevention strategies and cannot but inform those planners, police officers, retailers and developers who draw upon these debates and enact these strategies.

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<sup>68</sup> Unwin's (2000, p. 22) comment that the production of social space as a concept of space is an already out-dated one since the forefront of physics and mathematics have dismissed concepts of absolute and relative space is in this context of little use. The whole point that Lefèbvre, Harvey, Smith and Massey are making is that abstract space is of immense importance in terms of social power relations within society: it informs many everyday practices and underlies many economic, political and administrative, as well as social and cultural strategies and programmes. In this sense it is the socially dominant concept and demands interrogation. Interestingly, Smith and Katz (1993) have pointed out that many of the spatial metaphors within new cultural geographies make almost exclusive use of absolute space.



However, the spatial implications, or more appropriately, the search for spatial practices and the dominant representations of space are more complex than a first reading of ZTP may suggest. Common concern of these crime prevention strategies, as with ZTP, are street crimes (as well as focussing on particular categories of offenders). The physical environment is the primary target of situational crime prevention, whereas social prevention strategies focus on individuals and try to change their behaviour.

For placing its crime agenda into a social context, ZTP presents itself as the measure following on from Wilson and Kelling's (1982) Broken Windows thesis. In this, community cohesion as the social underpinning for effective crime control is addressed. It is done so, however, under the premises of the Chicago School's organic approach to the spatial and the social: urban ecology as conceptualised as different territories where different things are happening and can be controlled via the control of these territories. Most regional analysis and crime statistics build on these concepts of what Belina (1999) calls 'criminal spaces'. These criminal spaces are in themselves container spaces, locating and arranging social individuals and actions. In this sense they are clearly *abstract* representations of space, closely tied to individualistic models of societal organisation. However, the combination of social and physical crime prevention is also conflictual as it combines such individualism with social cohesion components of moral regulation, while also operating with a concept of relative space as container space.

Koskela's work (2000) on video surveillance in city centre spaces is one of the few pieces of research that relates the conception and production of social space as imbued with power, which she calls 'power-spaces', to particular practices of surveillance. She argues, with her theoretical point of reference being Foucault's (1979a) *Discipline and Punish*, for considering these spaces under surveillance as container spaces since they objectify those people inside. Koskela situates the objectification of space within Foucauldian debates of 'power spaces', those spaces which Foucault drew attention to through his study of the Panopticon. Also utilising Foucault's work on disciplinary power, Herbert (1996b) explores the normative ordering of policing and territoriality. Studying the policing practices of the Los Angeles Police Department, his findings:

[...] resonate with a Foucauldian emphasis on the increasingly fine-grained operations of a more diffuse disciplinary network. [...] The police's capacity to exercise authority over the spaces that they enter undergirds state efforts to control and administer populations [...]  
(*ibid.*, p 579)

He is however cautious not to see these processes of ordering as unified and homogenous, but instead points towards internal fragmentation and potential conflict. Thus, while adopting a Foucauldian framework, Herbert does so by

trying to count in internal divisions and fragmentations both in the police force and in their working practices.

Locating the ontological reference points within a (re-worked) humanist Marxism allows us to consider the constitution and respective cross-referencing between human bodies, human subjects (both subjected and as agents) and society. This does not only happen through an individualistic tradition of human agency (and the pitfalls which come along with that, such as previously discussed in Chapters Two and Three). In the tradition of historical materialism – or historico-geographical materialism, as Harvey calls his project – it is possible to avoid an existentialism about human nature, but instead to focus on the historicity of particular processes and places. When conceptualised within the production of space, the dialectical approach is broadened to such an extent as to consider space and place as necessary constituents of society.

Such a project of social praxis does not over-emphasise representations and the textual production of cities and societies. Instead, the spatial triad poses that practices, representations and social life should be regarded as a dialectical totality. This approach is thereby able to re-centre some of the recent tendencies of geographical and social science research to regard discursive practices as those which are the only existing and important ones. Admittedly, with a research methodology along the lines of discourse analysis, problems of how to study social and spatial practices and how to relate them to discursive practices are sidelined.

I am therefore proposing a research perspective which takes seriously the practices involved in the production of social spaces as all those spaces in which people live. Lefèbvre's triad enables a perspective on production which, by zooming in on spatial practices, brings together representations of space and the social practices which 'translate' between these concepts and corresponding practices. These latter arguments seem particularly relevant when considering the objectification of space whereby lived spaces are rendered abstract by processes of commodification and alienation. In this process, the existing representations of space seem the only ones relevant and valid. Secure city centres are those that have been made secure by means of physical adaptation – containers under surveillance – a simplified argument in the first instance, but it seems an appropriate illustration of how representations of space become dominant over representational spaces. At the same time, the attempts of particular representations to form lived spaces accordingly are compromised by existing representational spaces and its own practices. Lefèbvre points towards these contradictions and struggles. To me it seems that the notion of *Eigen-Sinn* as wilful agency and distancing in fact provides some answers towards why attempts of abstract space to take over lived space

remain fragmented, only partially successful, leaving openings for other practices and other concepts of space.

These acts of translation (in fact a Latourian notion) are brought into play in my research project as those moves between ideas and practices (filling the drawing board of planners, stopping and searching beggars and reporting of graffiti are some examples of these practice). The mediation of social praxis as it has been explicated throughout Chapter Three is thus spatialised. It is this mediation which forms the empirical moment and the merit of this thesis.

Furthermore, two important points are introduced: we need, firstly, to de-anonymise the claims about representations of (abstract and absolute) space. Although being presented as 'naturalised' and pre-given notions of space, this space gains ontological and intellectual validity through the practices of individual people with faces, lives and biographies who work towards turning representations of space into representational spaces through their, embodied, routine praxis. This praxis is filled with their own understandings of how for instance ZTP helps prevent broken windows. Their reflections are saturated with their particular experiences as ordinary people using the urban realm themselves. They also include *criticisms* these people may well harbour about the 'authority's' view (even if they are themselves part of the authority).

Following this, the possibility of 'chinks' in the process of production – there are plenty of instances of misunderstanding and mistranslation, of resistance and foot-dragging or non-compliance, for instance by beat officers, CCR but also by Council planners and so on, which does introduce points of weakness for a progressive politics to work upon (Massey 2000).

Hence the question for the empirical study rests on gaining an understanding about what social and spatial practices are at play in the policing and ordering of regenerated city spaces? How and why are particular social and spatial practices employed? Furthermore, in what sense does social praxis help us understand particular representations of space and how does it mediate, successfully or not between these representations and people's lived spaces? Social practices have been identified as crucial for understanding current social processes, or, more precisely, for deconstructing the intersections of economic restructuring and crime control. Koskela's and Herbert's work offer an important starting point for generating research questions that do not merely trace the representations of container spaces in crime control and economic development, but examine and question their 'coming into existence', both discursively and practically. It will be the task of the next chapter to translate these theoretical and conceptual concerns into a research design for a study of remaking the spaces of Glasgow.

## 5 Chapter Five:

# Researching social praxis

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The three previous chapters have, by starting with concepts and approaches towards crime control, policing and urban regeneration, discussed and developed a whole range of ontological and philosophical concerns. They argued the case for employing a Marxist philosophy of praxis as key to understand the moments of how safe city centres are produced. Necessarily included within this discussion have been the concerns of social praxis which demands a close and mutual interdependency, not only between theory and praxis but also between academic research and the subject matter. We are hence now at the point to elaborate and develop these conceptual considerations, to do with understanding society as a rich and dialectical totality, into methodological questions and, eventually, specific methods for conducting this research project. Furthermore, we need to examine how a focus on social praxis calls for a particular methodology for exploring and understanding extraordinary and routine practices occurring within and around the notions of city centre safety.

Chapter Two has argued at length for the need to conceptualise the political-economic context of historically and geographically specific conditions that give rise to particular processes and practices. Following on from this, the research project should be able to take political economy into consideration while researching in-depth the complexity of the case-study. This demand is reflected in how the empirical chapters are organised. Introducing the topic from various angles of discourse, policy and practice, Chapter Six lays out the key moments of urban restructuring, imagineering and crime control. From there on, more detailed and intimate explorations are presented in three distinct fields of regulating city spaces in Chapter Seven and Eight. Finally, Chapter Nine focuses on one project, the City Centre Representatives (CCR), and researches their working practices *vis-à-vis* wider concerns of urban restructuring, the ordering of public spaces and the training and disciplining of a local unemployed

workforce. But before we are jumping too far ahead, the present chapter will discuss the methodological considerations given to the project and will specify the methods adopted in relation to a philosophy of social praxis.

For this, I will begin to break down the conceptual basis of social praxis so as to make more explicit its methodological implications. In so doing I will again refer back to the histories of everyday life as an empirical project which explicates exactly those links of methodology that are necessary to carry out empirical research. These linkages rest on the understanding of a fragmented social totality, for which social praxis is the key to understanding the underlying social ontology. I hence propose a research project that focuses on social praxis, by way of triangulating semi-structured in-depth interviews with ethnographic research in order to concentrate on non-discursive practices. As a third strand of methods, the project also employs documentary analysis. These three methods are discussed in detail, both in their wider relation to methodological and theoretical questions as well as in their concrete application for this study. After discussing issues of interpreting the data, I will turn my attention to some considerations of 'fieldwork' as a supposedly discrete practice in which the researcher engages. Finally, this chapter ends with an outlook onto the empirical chapters.

### **5.1 *Working down the scales of abstraction: from theory to methodology...***

Human geography literature on research methods and methodology has received a sustained interest in recent years. The majority of this literature is narrowly concerned with the nuts and bolts of collecting and interpreting data, without examining the philosophical underpinnings of the methods, or, even more so the wider methodology employed (Flowerdew and Martin 1997; Kitchen and Tate 2000; Robinson 1998). In contrast, Hoggart *et al.* (2002) present an excellent example of how to discuss research methods in relation to the philosophical traditions of their origin. I will follow their investigation into critical realism as an epistemology which emphasises not only the existence of a world 'out there' but also, and this sets it apart from positivism, one which maintains the 'conceptual saturation' of empirical observations (Hoggart *et al.* 2002, p. 18)<sup>69</sup>.

However, arguments made about post-modern challenges to epistemology, as levelled at positivism and even critical realism, for that matter, need to be examined more carefully. Here Hoggart and his co-workers employ a simple binarism that divides neatly between post-structuralism and positivism. In

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<sup>69</sup> Andrew Sayer (1984) has provided the key text into the epistemology of critical realism.

contrast, large parts of this thesis have so far argued for the commonalities between Foucault's work and Marxism, and have pieced together a framework for a cultural, humanist, critical materialism that challenges many of the positivists' assumption. Let us revisit this philosophy of praxis to explore its potential in terms of a research methodology. For this, I will again refer back to the history of everyday life as a strand of Marxist-inspired work that explicitly engages in empirical research.

Its starting point has been a sophisticated critique of structuralist and historical social science, and by announcing its failures an alternative research project for a history of everyday life has been sketched out.

That is, it [historical social science] has failed to understand these structures as mutable and changing components within—and simultaneously the product of—situated actions and experiences of concrete persons, groups, classes, cultures, and modes of life. Yet that is precisely the decisive point. For only when these questions are addressed can one engage in and write the history of society as effective social history, in which the dynamics of historical praxis are recalled and made visible—rather than a contracted history of society reduced to the combination of 'dimensions,' 'factors,' and 'subsystems' of the historical process. (Medick 1995, p. 43f.)

Researching the question of agency requires, according to the agenda of the historians of everyday life, a sustained empirical project to focus on those traditionally marginalized by research (see Medick 1995; Thompson 1978). Medick (1995, p. 49 ) explains how "[t]he field research paradigm thus offers a useful and needed *corrective* to those procedures in the humanities and social sciences, and especially in social history, which had been all too precipitate in reducing the alien to the familiar." Being a historical science, this fieldwork necessarily involves documentary research, and in so doing draws on material which has been bypassed as too 'trivial' by traditional history. As has been shown earlier, the methodology employed is one that results from a close reading of ethnographic traditions (in particular, Bourdieu 1977; Geertz 1975) and aims at a *thick description* to unhide, by researching social praxis, social relations and their mediations in microstructures.

Casting the net wider and reviewing Marxist literature which is grounded in empirical research, we find ourselves facing a patchwork of different approaches. Marxist scholarship is to a large extent characterised by both its lack of extensive empirical research *and* its theoretical strength<sup>70</sup>. There is a fair number of studies conducted along the lines of a rather straightforward structuralist Marxism. Thomas (1993, p. 31) reviews critical (as in political) approaches towards ethnography and highlights the reasons why a Marxist-

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<sup>70</sup> Note e.g. Harvey's work over the past three decades and try to discover empirical research projects in it. In some sense this comment is unfair. I am aware of the (Marxist) stance to arrive at observations about the world by theorising, and do, to a certain extent, regard this as a valid claim; even more so in the light of empiricist positivism.

inspired ethnography occupies a rather peripheral position within the academy, precisely “because the nature of Marxist theory makes an explicitly ‘Marxist’ ethnography difficult”.<sup>71</sup> The basic structural concepts, such as the labour theory of value, the dynamics of class struggle, and the law of tendential decline of profit, are not readily amenable to close cultural observation.<sup>72</sup>

Nonetheless, there are a number of famous ethnographies within British Marxism. Paul Willis’ (1977) *Learning to Labour* examines how working-class deviance and masculinity reproduce poor educational attainment and lead into manual labour. The making of the English working classes is also the subject of Thompson’s (1991) historical work, mentioned earlier, where he traces the formation of working-class culture and association in the industrial revolution.

Wanting to research social praxis as those practices that hold together and produce the social spaces of city centre security has led me to examine a range of theoretical approaches which are necessarily tied to particular methodologies. In developing the philosophy of praxis in a manner able to address the different domains of ethnography, post-structuralism and regulation theory, and in thereby complicating the positivist ontologies of late-capitalist policing and crime control, I have put forward an ontology based on a social totality which nonetheless deals with fragmentation and contradictions. While searching for a research methodology, it hence seems appropriate to draw on a range of methods which help us to ‘unhide’ the social ontologies of interest to this project. In so doing, I adopt a methodology which triangulates social praxis through a set of complementing, as well as challenging, research methods. Triangulation in this context implies not only that different data sources are employed, but also that the attempt is made to identify these sources as complementary. In so doing, the interpretation of different aspects of data should enable us to investigate more closely social processes and practices. Furthermore, a research topic approached from different angles equips us with a stronger sense of the validity to findings gained in such a way. Hoggart *et al.* (2002, pp. 69ff.) also discuss how a temporal triangulation provides such added confidence. Here, earlier work conducted for my German degree dissertation (Helms 2001) is able to provide such a temporal dimension by allowing us to consider findings of research carried out in Glasgow in early 1999. While in 1999 research concentrated on the foundation of the City Centre Partnership (CCP) as well as the CityWatch CCTV scheme and the

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<sup>71</sup> Although not more than a programmatic outline how Marxist social sciences should embrace field work to overcome the division of theory and praxis, see Bodemann (1979) who refers to Engels’ early work (1892) for developing such an outline. The author also outlines how positionality and reflexivity, conceptualised in a Marxist framework, are necessary requirements for fieldwork.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas continues to outline how the “heuristic value of a Marxian-oriented perspective for examining historical transformations, ideology, and the dialectic of cultural formation indicate that ‘revisionist’ scholars who rework Marx’s ideas and integrate them into other paradigms can produce exciting scholarship” (*ibid*, p. 31).

CCR, the research for the doctoral thesis revisited the CCP as well as the CCR, and found four interviewees still working within these organisations (albeit two, for the CCP, in different positions than two years previously).

Another means of triangulation has been adopted insofar as not only the city centre as key site of economic regeneration is considered. Instead, the periphery of the city is placed into relation with the city centre. It is done so by looking for connections between the sites of consumption, retail and leisure and deprived residential schemes. Both of these spaces emphasise the 'will' for security and crime control, but what kind of policies and strategies operate in these spaces? Are they similar or different? Furthermore, what kinds of movement happen between these spaces? In a similar manner, questions are asked about the juxtapositions of the new Glasgow and the past. These issues of triangulation are thus regarded as ways of unhiding the workings of the city of Glasgow, the new alongside the old and across the spaces of the city centres and the peripheral schemes.

Traditionally, social science research methodology has been divided into quantitative and qualitative approaches, with the former being assigned an extensive approach in contrast to an intensive research design adopting qualitative methods. This split in some ways relates to the underlying theoretical concepts, with positivism favouring quantitative methods in distinction to interpretative theories operating with qualitative methods. However, this split has also been increasingly criticised as unhelpful in dealing with particular research questions. Instead, a number of researchers have voiced a view that both quantitative and qualitative methods should be regarded as complementary rather than seen as in conflict (Barnes and Hannah 2001; Hodson 1999; Philo 1998). This takes us back to the earlier points about triangulation. With reference to the role of participant observation, Lüdtke claims that participant observation as a research method is insufficient, and needs to be accompanied by more 'quantitative' approaches to archive material and other documents in which "[...] experiences and practice in the multitude of their verbal, but particularly their non-verbal, forms of expression without intention are sedimented in historical documents, maybe leaving decisive marks"<sup>xii</sup> (Lüdtke 1993a, p. 24). In order to tap into these experiences, the researcher needs to rely on mediations, sources from third parties, relating different sources onto each other. These reflections on method are then connected back to the ontology of social praxis in which:

[...] mode of life always refers to a web of actions, experiences and interpretations. In the multitude of single situations forms of expression and perception, but also the participants' blindness need to be deciphered. The emphasis rests on the marks that the actors (or the sufferers) leave. The forms in which they 'appropriate' endurances and opportunities cannot be separated from their experiences, self-interpretations and hopes. In this



perspective the ways of expression and experience of those involved are crucial.<sup>xiii</sup> (*ibid.*, p. 24)

Having clarified some of the issues which link up methodology to its philosophical underpinning, the discussion can now move towards the research methods that I regard as suited to research the topic of this project.

## 5.2 ... to research methods

Following from this, I propose a research design which combines participant observations with in-depth, semi-structured interviews. These interviews are not designed merely to provide the interviewees' rationalisations of their social practices, but also to shed light on routine tasks that constitute job remits, their negotiation and modification. In this sense they are at least verbal expressions and descriptions of everyday work routines; at their best, they can provide us with *ad hoc*, momentary reflections by the agents on their practices<sup>73</sup>. Leading on from considerations of methodology, the need for ethnographic methods in order to research issues of social praxis should have become clear.

Furthermore, it has also emerged that an approach is required that triangulates different moments of praxis. Largely consisting of qualitative material, this nonetheless should incorporate what is traditionally perceived as quantitative data, bearing in mind the outlined limitations of such a qualitative/quantitative split.

The third cornerstone to my research triangle consists of textual analysis of a range of documents. These documents include published policy and strategy documents, but more crucially also appropriate minutes and memos as well as job and employment records. These three parts of empirical research form the backbone for this thesis. Over the following pages, they are more fully introduced in terms of the methodological questions associated with them, as well as with reference to the manner in which they have been employed in my study.

### 5.2.1 Interviewing experts and lay people

By far the most commonly employed method of qualitative research is the semi-structured interview (Crang 2002). Without resorting to too much detail, I intend to focus on the finer points by which such a discursive research technique can be employed for this research project. Let me just point out that *semi-structured* means that the researcher has a topic guide, a set of pre-identified fields of interests that s/he wants to cover. The order, as well as the

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<sup>73</sup> Such an interview context, of course, in itself provides an aspect of their practices, as well as it does constitute a discursive means of producing safe city centres.

extent which these topics are covered, alongside the wording, is in the hands of the researcher, but all of this then ends up being negotiated within the dynamics of the actual interviewing process. Such an interview is designed to offer an in-depth exploration of the topics already identified for the study. At the same time, such an approach offers the opportunity for unanticipated issues to be raised (Silverman 1993), thereby opening new avenues of research or qualifying and modifying initial considerations.

This strategy proved useful in the sense that issues of image problems, crime and social exclusion were frequently brought up by the respondents themselves, giving me the opportunity to refer back to them and to ask the interviewees to elaborate upon them. Cook and Crang (1995, p. 36) advise on this kind of research.

Given that the main aim of interviewing in ethnographic research is to allow people to reveal their own versions of events in their own words, it is important to ask follow-up questions in such a way as to encourage and critically question the stories told.

Crucial for the interview itself was the job of the interviewees. In order to research the social practices of producing safe city centres, the interviewees had to be involved in exactly those practices. This requirement also ran counter in some aspects to some of the usual studies of routine practices and, even more so, of everyday experiences as it involved agents in their professional settings<sup>74</sup>. Few studies have explicated this 'expert' knowledge, and little is written about how to pay attention to the differences between 'expert' and 'informant' (Dexter 1970; Meuser and Nagel 1991). Meuser and Nagel (*ibid.*, p. 447) differentiate between 'working knowledge' [*Betriebswissen*] and 'context knowledge'. The first is central for expert knowledge, as it can be studied in order to:

[...] analyse structures and structural relations of the expert knowledges and action. [...] The research findings are, hence, not merely hypotheses about the topic-specific object of research, but at the same time a reference for testing the scope of the underlying theoretical approach.

This methodology offers the opportunity to access those knowledges of experts that are built on their own experiences, world-views, definitions of

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<sup>74</sup> Some of the issues arising can be discussed by consulting literature about research methodology and interviewing. This literature on interviewing and other qualitative research techniques uses a variety of terms to refer to those who are being interviewed. This terminology of interviewees is worth looking at more closely as it reveals the relationship between interviewer and interviewee. Also, this terminology points towards expectations of what to gain from interviewing particular agents. It is common in qualitative research to refer to interviewees as 'informants'. Originating from anthropological research, the term is used to "[...] refer to someone who supplies or collects information to the anthropologists on a continuing basis [...]" (Dexter 1970, p. 15). In this context, the informant is clearly an expert in the field under research. However, this 'expert knowledge' is not part of the research in such a sense that it is studied, but it is used to gain information about both the field and people in the field. Yet, the term is often not used in such a strict sense but also applied to interviewees who are interviewed as experts (for instance, Valentine 1997). For the purpose of this study, it does not seem to be helpful to apply 'informants' to the interviewed agents, but to regard them as 'experts' in their field of work.

situations and contexts, and underlying social practices, looking for their expression in *ad hoc* reflections along those theoretical lines which have been discussed earlier.

These agents possess varying levels of discursive and practical knowledge. When literature on methodology refers to experts, it usually refers to their particular *discursive* knowledge, on which they continually draw for their work routines (*ibid.*). Examining agents' own reflections, their practical knowledge, and the use that is made of practical, routine knowledge in this sense, does not easily accommodate an understanding of expert knowledge. Yet, as the theoretical discussion of the previous chapter has shown, the boundaries between practical and discursive knowledge are not fixed, and, furthermore, what is frequently discussed or just taken for granted varies according to the practices involved. From this perspective, this study refers to interviewees as experts who possess discursive and practical knowledge about issues of security and urban regeneration<sup>75</sup>. The ways in which these considerations of elites and experts pose particular problems during the research process, as well as for research methodology have been scrutinised in recent work on interviewing processes (notably, Cochrane 1998; Crang 2002; Mullings 1999). Cochrane (1998), in particular, considers that assumptions by which research is seen as revealing hidden knowledge of the experts impact on issues such as the reliability of interviewees' accounts. Also, Hughes (1999) urges us to pay close attention to the linkages between experts' accounts of their practices and their actual practices. This in fact opens up the key area of concern in relation to employing interview data, however subtle and skilfully obtained, as a representation of a social ontology, as an assumed 'real' social ontology, and even more urgently, it raises questions about the 'translation' of practices into agents' own discursive accounts of these practices.

Based on earlier research (Helms 2001), an approach was adopted that questioned the stories of local economic development, city centre upgrading and marketing as well as the associated safety and policing issues. Consequently, I pursued two attempts to bring into relation, and to understand, the margins or limits to Glasgow's economic success of recent years. For these purposes, I travelled outside the city centre to interview agents involved in the politics of economic development, social inclusion and crime control in a peripheral housing scheme of the city as well as going to an inner city area just south of the city centre and the River Clyde that has undergone substantial redevelopment. My second way of getting into focus the margins of

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<sup>75</sup> For these reasons, feminist and postmodernist research (Cook and Crang 1995; Harding 1991; Valentine 1997) stressing the importance of taking marginalised and vulnerable 'ordinary' people and their everyday knowledges seriously applies to this study only in a limited sense.

the city centre was by studying the social groups commonly identified as posing problems to successful town centre management. I thereby approached organisations working with homeless people in the city centre and street prostitutes. In these organisations I spoke to representatives, not to the homeless people and prostitutes themselves.

During this time, I re-established contact with the organisations of local economic development, in particular the CCP. From the contacts I made with community safety organisations in the Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP) areas, I approached the citywide Community Safety Initiative (CSI). Furthermore, Strathclyde Police was approached from a number of different routes; the Community Officers in the peripheral housing scheme, the Homeless and Prostitute Street Liaison Team, as well the Community Safety Department of A Division, covering the city centre area.

The third angle to the project was provided by the CCR project, a training programme for long-term unemployed people operating a city warden project in the city centre. Again, these had already been part of earlier research. For the PhD project, it was intended to carry out a dual extensive and intensive study into the workings of this project. For these reasons, all supervisors as well as the manager were interviewed alongside data collection by means of participant observation and documentary analysis.

Table 5.1 Institutional context of study

Organisation	Interviewee	Purpose	Scale of input
City Centre Representatives	Manager Development Officer Supervisors (x4) Patrol reps (x3)	City centre warden project Intermediate Labour market programme	City centre
CityWatch	Administrator Supervisor, Control room Manager	Crime control	
Rough Sleeper Initiative	Co-ordinator	Homelessness	City-wide
Big Issue	Outreach manager Outreach Team Leader		Mainly city centre
Barnardos Street Team	Outreach Team Leader		
Base 75	Case worker	Street prostitution	

Organisation	Interviewee	Purpose	Scale of input
Drumchapel Community Safety Initiative	Community Safety Officer	Community Safety	Peripheral scheme
Drumchapel Social Inclusion Partnership	Manager	Social Inclusion	
Gorbals Safety Project	Manager	Community Safety	Inner city
Crown St Project	Manager	Economic regeneration	
Community Safety Partnership	Director Community Safety Officer	Community Safety	City-wide
City Centre Partnership	Development Manager Director Operational Manager	Town Centre Management	City centre
Glasgow Development Agency (now Scottish Enterprise Glasgow)	Development Officer	Local economic development	City centre focus
Glasgow City Council	Lead Officer City Centre	Town planning	City centre
	Lead Officer Southside		Inner city, but not city centre
	Head of Regeneration	Local Economic Development	City-wide
	Council Officer, city centre projects		City centre
	Head of Food Safety	Regulating businesses	City-wide
	Licensing officer		
	Training Manager, Land Services	Training and Development	No geographical focus
Strathclyde Police Force	Sergeant, Street Liaison Team	Policing	West End and City Centre
	Inspector, Community Safety		
	Sergeant, Community Safety		
	Police officer, Community Safety (x2)		
	Inspector Community Police Officers (x3)		Peripheral housing scheme

In total, 32 interviews were carried out, 12 of these were conducted in March and April 1999, the remaining 20 between April 2001 and February 2002, and two final ones in Summer 2002. All interviews, except for two, were interviews with one person. On one occasion, I interviewed a group of three police officers, on another occasion a group of three City Centre Representatives. Most interviews lasted for 30 to 45 minutes, but a few exceptions took over an hour. Looking at the institutional context, the relation of the interviewees to the topic of economic regeneration and crime control becomes transparent. The level of seniority within the respective organisations varied. For the CCR, the CCP and the CSP, the director or manager was interviewed. Within the police, the most senior officers were of the rank of Inspectors, either in charge of the Community Safety Department or of a subdivision. The remaining interviewees were operational managers, supervisors, sergeants or constables as well as Community Safety Liaison Officers, as well as the already mentioned CCR. Crucial for my selection purposes was their level of practical input into city centre safety and security. While the study in 1999 only consisted of one female professional, the 2001-2002 fieldwork involved a number of female interviewees, reflecting the proportionally higher numbers of women working within community safety settings.

In terms of interviewing procedures, I started out with the intention to record all interviews on tape. On an early occasion with a police inspector, my recorder however did not work and I took detailed notes during and after the interview. I was struck by the richness of detail and the level of critique entailed in this interview, and came to view this as a consequence of not officially recording this officer's statement. Consequently, I became more selective of when to tape and when not to tape. Especially with interviewees who I visited more than once, I included a session without recording the interviews<sup>76</sup>. On one incidence the interviewee also preferred not being taped. The majority of the interviewees were only visited once, although I sometimes contacted them again afterwards for further background information. However, the CCP as well as the CCR proved valuable sources for continuous engagement and were visited several times.

### 5.2.2 Ethnography and social praxis

Participant observation is not the only method available to ethnographic research, as Hoggart *et al.* (2002) remind us, but it is certainly a core method for an ethnography which constitutes:

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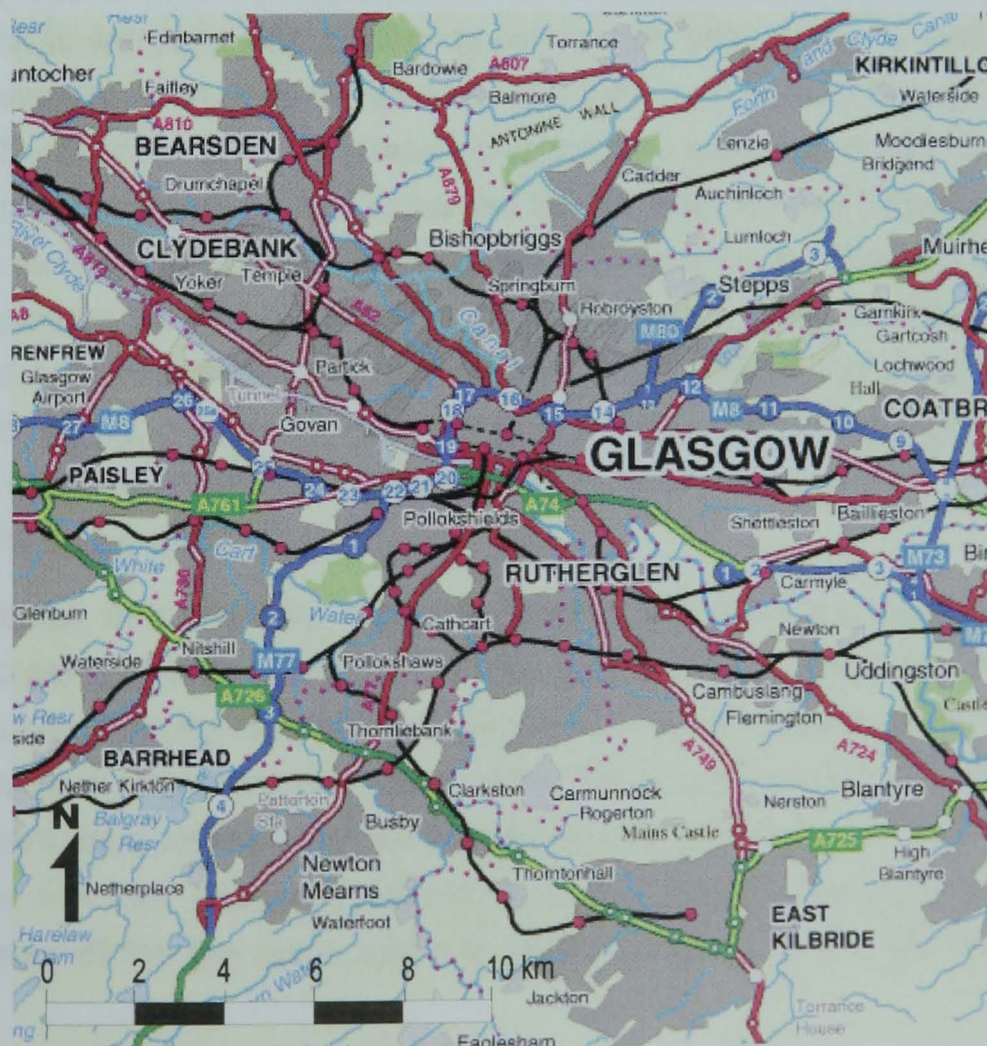
<sup>76</sup> Interviewees were also offered to look at transcripts and to retract statements, an offer which was not taken up by any of the interviewees. When during interviews the person became uncomfortable with what had been said earlier, I subsequently did not quote the person on those statements.



[...] a particular method or set of methods which in its most characteristic form involves the ethnographer participating overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, p. 1)

The rationale underlying ethnographic research has already been discussed in relation to its concern for the 'reliving' of particular experiences and subjectivity, allowing for thick description. As such it has held the key position in anthropological research but has been much less utilised in human(istic) geography (for a detailed discussion about the influence of ethnography in humanist geography, see Hoggart *et al.* 2002, pp. 253ff.). Researching practical knowledges and attempting to explicate routine and trivial practices points out the limitations to what is observable. Nonetheless, this type of data complements, and in many cases challenges, interview accounts and to an even greater extent policy documentation, and is hence indispensable for this project.

Figure 5.1 The city of Glasgow



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Translating these considerations into a workable method for the purposes of my research requires me to pay close attention to the location of the research, that is the city centre of Glasgow. The city centre as an open and anonymous location in constant movement immediately positions myself as researcher also as a participant in so far as I am a member of the general public in these city centre spaces, knowing something of the social values and norms involved in being there. 'Being there' involves a range of 'normal', or rather non-suspicious, activities and attitudes to make me a participant<sup>77</sup>. Another issue to consider was the timing or the length of the observation: how long can I do what in one place without raising suspicion? Again, an indication for this would be the length of my presence in these spaces, complete with inquiring eye and hidden notebook.

From these practical matters, it is time to turn towards the content and context of what I want to observe. Key to this are the practices of city centre policing and the interaction entailed within it as carried out by the CCR, the Police, *Big Issue* vendors, beggars, and the general public. Also, given my interest in the less formal practices of formal policing, I wanted to observe the interactions that take place in order to regulate and to order public spaces by other agents such as traffic wardens and cleansing personnel. With these questions in mind, I conducted ten observations across the city centre of Glasgow between May and September 2001<sup>78</sup>. These observations were conducted throughout the main shopping precincts, Buchanan Street, Sauchiehall Street and Argyle Street, as well as the two central squares, St Enoch's and George Square. Lasting between 30 and 60 minutes, a small number of observations were conducted only in one location, but the majority involved a change in location, walking, stopping, sitting down, waiting on corners and walking again. In terms of timing, they were conducted throughout different days of the week, as well as different times of the day.

Besides these, in some way, hidden or covert observations, I adopted another method to get a clearer sense of the everyday working practices of different agents across the city. Having identified a number of agents whose daily work routine requires them to spend time within the city centre spaces, these interviewees were asked whether I could accompany them on one of their daily tours. For this, I joined the Operations Manager of the CCP, the Outreach Team Leader of the *Big Issue* and one of the supervisors for the patrol CCR on

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<sup>77</sup> These considerations circle around the question of how to be normal in what you are doing there. In my case: how to hang out in public without raising suspicion? What activities can I pursue to be legitimately there? Take pictures, film the events, sit on a bench reading, writing letters, window-shopping, waiting for someone. In developing these strategies, I also understand more about the particular nature of being in public spaces, and what sets 'other' people apart.

<sup>78</sup> I deliberately adopted this open approach towards participant observation. While being aware of the prior theoretical interests, I aimed at remaining open to unexpected events and connections.



their respective work tours through the city centre. In many ways this constellation was rather different to what is referred to in the research literature as 'shadowing'. It not only made me openly part of their work, but even more so it invited them to provide a type of 'guided tour' of their work. While 'following' their routine, they were explaining and reflecting on these routines to make them understandable to me. Certainly, and this is most true for both the Operations Manager and the CCR supervisor, it added an interesting aspect to their work too, as they could show me around and introduce their expertise<sup>79</sup>. The observations were written down immediately afterwards in a fieldwork diary.

### 5.2.3 Documentary and archival work

The analysis and interpretation of documentary material constitutes the third and final aspect of my research's triangulation. I have referred to the history of everyday life and the emphasis on empirical work. Doing historical work, it seems obvious for these historians to focus primarily on documentary material. But what does this material have to offer for the research project in hand? In order to answer this question, let me briefly survey the different kinds of documents that exist and could be relevant to the research. Most obviously, economic development and regeneration as well as crime control, policing and community safety as policy fields generate a large number of policy documents, either in the form of published material or as semi-published reports. In addition and related to these policy documents, there exist statistical bases compiled by agencies, the most prominent certainly being annual crime statistics collected and collated by Strathclyde Police. These documents are located at different levels of government, ranging from the local authority via Scottish Executive to the British government<sup>80</sup>. As a third type of material, I would like to draw attention to more informal and wholly unpublished documentation such as minutes of Community Safety Partnerships, as well as a number of work and employment records of the City Centre Representatives project.

Examining these different materials in turn, published material is the most easily accessible type of documentation. However, Hoggart *et al.* (2002, p. 129) warn about published material since authorship, background intention and its resulting bias require due consideration. A just observation, this claim

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<sup>79</sup> Because of this, these walking tours present one of the clearest situations in which my role as a German female researcher impacted upon the research. Stories were told and sights and events proudly presented. This necessarily introduces some limitations on the value of the material gathered. Nonetheless, I found it an extremely helpful method to complement interviews and participant observations.

<sup>80</sup> However, the majority of policy fields such as criminal justice, urban development and economic regeneration are devolved and hence part of the Scottish Executive's remit.

certainly applies with force to policy documents. At the same time, there seems to exist a distinctive lack of critical evaluation of contemporary policy documentation, as most of the documents referred to in the literature are historical records and the like. In what sense does this warning apply to present policy documentation?

Table 5.2 Key documents used in this study

Document	Content
Community Safety Action Plan 2000/2001 (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000)	Action Plan for Community Safety Partnership, outlining priorities and actions for 2000/2001
Safer Communities in Scotland (Scottish Executive 1999)	Guidelines from Scottish Executive about delivering community safety across Scotland
Glasgow's Renewed Prosperity (GDA <i>et al.</i> 1999a; GDA <i>et al.</i> 1999b)	Joint Economic Position Statement and Strategy for the city of Glasgow, authored by GCC, GDA and Glasgow Alliance
Glasgow CityWatch Evaluation (EKOS 1997)	Draft final version of evaluation for both the CCTV project CityWatch and the City Centre Representatives
Best Value Review City Centre Representatives (Director of Land Services 2002)	Outlining current situation of project and proposing future changes
Strathclyde Police Force's Public Performance Report 2001/2002	Annual report of Police Force's activities and priorities as well as crime statistics
Glasgow City Centre Crime Reduction Partnership (Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002)	Outline and plan for establishment of a city-centre based Crime Reduction Partnership, City Centre Partnership as lead agent in conjunction with Strathclyde Police and CSP
Minutes of Community Safety Partnership, Centre and West Community Safety Forum and respective subgroups (1999-2001), plus memos and notes relating to these fora	Detailing involvement in Partnership and Community Safety Forum as well as initiatives pursued
Employment records of City Centre Representatives (1995-2001)	Anonymised records of trainees on programme, detailing duration, training and future occupation
Database of City Centre Representatives job reports (1995-2001)	Entries of individual jobs undertaken by patrol reps in city centre
Various websites and promotional literature by agencies	

In many ways, these concerns seem less urgent when 'grey' literature, meaning those reports which are only circulated in small numbers and minutes of meetings, are concerned. It seems that they can give a more accurate insight into substantial questions and the policy context in which they are situated. This assumption would, however, be similarly dangerous. Minutes especially are often of such a kind that debates and events are represented

officially and formally. As a result, conflict and debates are smoothed out as objections are omitted and the course of the debate is shortened, or in the worst case, even left out. Nonetheless, they can offer us insights into who participates, what is brought up, how frequently and who pursues what projects. With these minutes we slowly approach the sort of material with which the everyday historians are most concerned. Medick's (1996) local history of hand weavers draws on a wide range of socio-economic records, and inventories of books and clothes are used to trace the daily struggles of hand weavers in a village in Southern Germany between 1600 and 1900 to arrive at a thick description of their everyday lives. Its strength lies with the detailed documenting of their material circumstances germane to this particular way of life. This would not be possible without archived documents detailing possessions, wages and movements.

For my research project, I had access to the detailing of employment records of the trainees on the CCR since the start of the project. Depending on the record keeping within the project, this data proved valuable as it not only detailed length of stay on the project but also mentioned training courses visited and the reasons for leaving, plus, if applicable, the nature of the ensuing employment. In addition, access was obtained to a number of aggregated job reports of the patrol reps. Here, a database contains all of the jobs and enquiries that any patrol rep has carried out and filled in on a job report form. The limitations of these two records are nonetheless important. For the job reports, the filling in of jobs posed a considerable problem and forgetting to fill in, or to fill in fully, a report for every enquiry, was frequently mentioned by both reps and supervisors. Throughout the seven years of its existence, the priorities for tracing future employment of reps, as well as detailing training received, has varied considerably, so the employment records are patchy for the years between 1999 and 2001. From then onwards they were put into a computer database, but again issues of mislabelling or not-accounting-for particular cases has occurred, partly due to the project having to meet its positive outcome targets and hence wanting very few unsuccessful cases on their books. These records and 'trivial' documents provided me, nonetheless, with crucial insights into the detailed workings of the project and the tasks it undertakes in relation to the ordering of public spaces.

In the light of my research focus on social praxis in the field of crime control and economic regeneration, policy documents throw up a number of pertinent questions. In particular, they are usually designed to set out and to lay down a strategy. In the case of community safety, they are hence of a nature which brings closer the national guidelines to practitioners on the ground (Scottish Executive 1999). From here on, they are put into action plans to establish

priorities and to detail actions designed to achieve the set targets for each priority. The question that arises from these first sightings of documents concerns the linkage between strategies, strategic objectives and their implementation and negotiation by those who put strategies into action plans and, finally, put those actions into practice. Rather than merely assuming a filtering process from the strategic level down towards its implementation, a central tenet of this project is to regard those policy documents similarly as products of social praxis, at a strategic level but influenced by routines of implementation. And if this is not the case, a next step would be to ask why implementation and strategy appear as seemingly disparate practices.

In terms of data interpretation, the transcribed interview materials, as well as all of the notes from interviews, field observation and from studying documents and minutes, were transferred into an NVivo project file. This greatly helped in keeping fieldwork data together and being able to cross-check not only different interviews but different kinds of data. The data was coded by using a coding framework which to a large extent was derived from the conceptual considerations covered in the previous chapters. In the process of interpretation, this framework was however considerably reworked, however modified and amended due to the kind of material obtained. As such, theoretical starting points were not allowed to dominate or distort the empirical 'evidence'.

### **5.3      *Going to the field?***

The next step following from this discussion of the project's methodology would be to go 'out into the field', carry out the research, and present it neatly in a number of empirical chapters. At least this used to be the manner in which textbooks on methodology presented the order of research. That this process is instead one of constant moving between different materials, concepts and across these fields of inter-related knowledges as part of research praxis has become more explicitly accepted in recent articles. Cook and Crang's (1995) early 'how to do' introduction to ethnographic methods in human geography was especially influential in dispensing with some of the myths with which fieldwork had been surrounded.

In addition, the messiness of fieldwork is related to another key issue of methodology which by now has been widely covered, particularly, in cultural geography: namely, the question of positionality and reflexivity. Rather than presenting an in-depth discussion of these important issues, I only want to

sketch them out briefly to the extent that they are relevant in the context of this work<sup>81</sup>. Herod (1999, p. 314) rightly observes that:

[...] there is one issue which seems particularly problematic when interviewing foreign elites, and that is the issue of the cultural positionality of the researcher and thus the presumed validity and meaningfulness of the knowledge they produce.

His research context is such that, as a British researcher living in the US for a decade, he was not only interviewing East European trade unions officials but also trade unions officials within the US itself. This bears similarities with my own situation as a German-speaking foreigner, having lived in Glasgow for five out of the last seven years. It raises two issues that I would like to discuss. Firstly, my positionality moves along an insider-outsider axis. Such a notion of a continuum between outsider and insider allows for a more nuanced understanding of issues such as access, shared meaning, trust and rapport. It also adopts the notion that there is no such thing as an absolute insider or outsider, but rather that the problematic of positionality affects every single research relationship, and requires a careful negotiation and reflection upon such a relationship. Secondly, besides the practicalities of interviewing in a second language, it raises a more profound issue in terms of the differing connotations of terminologies and concepts. My research is in this sense not only situated between two different languages but even more so it also cuts across two, at some points rather different, academic traditions as well as public policy fields. By having to address the problems that a second language brings with it, such as cross-referencing terminology, checking for meaning, translation and scope of concepts, these often more hidden differences in connotation of what is part of a 'safe city' or a socially inclusive society were brought to the fore and *had* to be addressed if I wanted to understand and make sense of my research field.

As an introduction to the field, I am presenting a series of six Vignettes at the beginning of the empirical part of this thesis. They are intended to provide a series of empirical 'cuts' into the practices of crime control, economic regeneration and imagineering across the spaces of the city. As thick descriptions of what is happening in particular places, they open up a number of themes which are important for the following empirical investigations. These vignettes are to a large extent based on the empirical material collected for this study, but at the same time they are deliberately assembled in such a way

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<sup>81</sup> Acknowledging the role any researcher plays in the research process as necessarily 'situated' and 'positioned' rather than 'biased' has been a key development within cultural and in particular feminist studies (McDowell 1992; Rose 1997b). But, as Hoggart *et al.* (2002, p. 224) emphasise, "it is important to go beyond self-centred examination, which can descend into narcissistic navel gazing, and consider how researchers might be perceived by those they are researching." Trying to make transparent and explicit positionality is, however, not always possible, as in particular Rose (1997b) has highlighted (reflecting an understanding of practical knowledge which cannot easily be rendered discursive).

as to raise questions about the old and the new Glasgow, about the people of Glasgow, and about a whole range of ordering and regulating practices occurring across these 'space, both hidden and more openly.

## Empirical Vignettes:

### On site visits I – Welcome to Glasgow of the new days

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1 Arriving in Glasgow by train from the South takes one into Central Station, leaving the station through the main entrance onto Gordon Street. It is one of the now many streets right in Glasgow's city centre which has been substantially upgraded by the Council's Public Realm Strategy. The street is only open to taxis, it has cobble stone pavement, and wide, granite-paved sidewalks with metal bumps around the lights to help people with visual impairments. In prominent positions to the left and right hand are two CCTV cameras of the city's extensive public space CCTV system CityWatch. They watch over this spot, which is particularly busy on weekend nights when people have to queue for a long time to get into a taxi and arguments and fights start easily. Let's take a walk to the main shopping street, Buchanan Street. It's now over a year that the whole street was paved in dark Caithness slate, large trees had been taken down and replaced by new lemon trees and the old wooden benches made way for dark marble benches. One of the benches is broken that morning before 10.30 a.m. and a City Centre Representative (also rep) in red uniform and hat is carrying some barriers to fence it off. The operations manager of the City Centre Partnership, on his routine tour through the city centre phones in the office to contact someone at Land Services to fix it (Field diary, 16/08/01). At lunchtime, the benches are busy with people sitting and reading, looking out, waiting or eating their packed lunches. Often they do so while listening to numerous street musicians, be it classical, pop, jazz, lesser so traditional Scottish folk, which are played by solo artists or sometimes groups of musicians. Only more exotic bands, such as those flute-players from the Andes who also sell their own CD, attract large crowds which can take up the whole width of the street. Just recently, the street was equipped with new lighting poles, tall and not with the usual yellow-orangey light, these lights shine in an almost fluorescent blue onto Glasgow's renowned architecture.





**Plate 1 Buchanan St with view on Royal Concert Hall and Buchanan Galleries**

What to do? To go and visit the recently re-opened Centre for Contemporary Art, have a bite to eat and see the latest exhibition? Or go and see a matinee film at Glasgow's Film Theatre, or a more mainstream movie at the 10-storey UGC, which has become the dominant landmark of this part of the city centre since it has been completed in 2001? Visit Glasgow's unique What's That Glasgow, a moveable building in contemporary design, right next to the Buchanan Galleries, and overlooked by a large screen displaying adverts for the Council and the Police. What's That Glasgow is an exhibition of 'Glasgow's new and exciting developments' – displaying photos, plans and figures about the recent economic developments across the city. One of the City Centre Representatives who staff the centre hands out the recent Council leaflet on the waterfront development.

2 Glasgow's city centre is booming with new shops and precincts, some in lucrative locations near the new shopping centre or along Buchanan Street, others are to be found in one of the now numerous side lanes around Royal Exchange Square and Buchanan Street, hardly noticeable when you rush by. At the bottom of Buchanan Street, despite the recent make-over of St Enoch's Square which now has been turned into an open square, and not a busy bus station, many shops are closed, displaying signs that they have moved up towards or into the Buchanan Galleries, changing the composition and dynamic of Glasgow's busy 'Golden Z', the Z-shaped main shopping streets, Sauchiehall Street, Buchanan Street and Argyle Street. One consequence of the new



shopping centre has also been the latest refurbishment of St Enoch's Shopping Centre in order to minimise the number of customers they lose to Buchanan Galleries. In this course, the local police shop on the side towards St Enoch's Square has disappeared.



**Plate 2 George Square with pre-Christmas events**

To attract customers, and also to make some revenue out of the upgraded streetscape, Glasgow City Council is letting out parts of the streets to event organisers, be it a bank, the Territorial Army or whoever. In addition, the City Centre Partnership started organising continental markets on St Enoch's Square over the summer to provide fresh food stuff, delicatessen and other items. George Square is the most prominent square in the city, and increasingly employed in event staged such as 'Summer in the City', like on one occasion on a tour with the Operations Manager of the City Centre Partnership.

First stop is George Square where *Summer in the City* has organised a beach volley ball event. The event is to start at ten but they are still filling in sand (James phones into office to report that the event runs about an hour late). He walks over to stop and talk to the event manager, Ron Macdonald, plus two Council officials from Building Control and Health and Safety. [...] The four men (the three from the Council in their fifties all in suit and tie, the event manager mid-30s and casually dressed) talk for about fifteen minutes. John complains about bad business over the last six months due to Foot and Mouth. The only bigger thing he got organised was American Football Event, for which he made a three-year contract. Also, Glasgow hosts the World Bowl in the season after next. The last one was held in Amsterdam and was a big event for international sport. The NFL takes the event very serious and was impressed by the Lord Provost and how he presented Glasgow. All comment on the marvellous job the Lord Provost does in selling Glasgow for this event and all joke about that the Americans may have taken his position as more powerful than it actually is

(comparing it with the Mayor of New York). (Field diary, 'guided tour' with CCP Operational Manager, August 2001)

Alongside the Square, twenty odd flag poles display the most recent advertisement from Glasgow the friendly city, Summer in the City or a recent Tourism conference held in Glasgow. In addition, the old post office building just next to square is covered in a huge advertisement banner just next to the Town Hall.

### 3 George Square is busy throughout the day:

At the northwest end of the square, a single traffic warden appears, male, in his fifties, wearing a blue jumper, attempting to cross the street. He is now looking at a silver car parked next to the road, after that he inspects a second car and is now walking westwards. The traffic warden leans onto one of the tree containers and looks onto the square for a short while and then walks slowly towards N/W end where he crosses Queen Street and disappears into George Street. Just one minutes after the warden had disappeared, from the same corner of the square a male police officer appears, he's in his 50s, not wearing his full uniform but only a white shirt. While slowly walking along the Queen Street border of the square, he looks around a lot, in particular at the square. He walks behind the benches where I am sitting. The builders next to me look at him closely, but he doesn't look at them. Half way along the square he starts talking to an elderly male. They are talking for a good 10 minutes, while talking, the officer shuffles with his feet, looks around a lot. Standing with his hand placed onto his hips or crosses them in front of his chest. He seems to know the man he's talking to.

Two land services employees are working on the George Street side of the square: cleaning with some equipment. First I think that they are cleaning the outer boxes of the trees with high pressure equipment. Later I notice that they are hosing the ground. Some minutes later a third male with a broom has appeared.

Two reps in red uniform appear. The man in his early 50s and a woman in her 30s are walking slowly towards the S/W corner and further up towards Queen Street Station, walking slowly with their hands not in their pockets. The man walks a few steps behind, talking and gesticulating. They start talking to the bin cleaner at the N/W end, half-hidden by one of the statue. The woman seems to be doing most of the talking. With her arms placed on her hips it looks like a very relaxed chat. Few minutes later I see the bin man working at the N end of the square but I cannot see the reps. I get up and walk towards the N/W end on my way into town. The two reps are standing next to the Tourist Information Board at the N/W end, they are not talking much to each other, look around occasionally but don't seem to be overly attentive. (Field diary, 31/05/2001)

Further along Buchanan Street, there are two more reps, one of them talks to a couple which looks like tourists, with bag packs and camera. One of the reps holds a map and points on different places. The second rep is a few metres behind, standing on the street, taking some notes on a small sheet of paper. Nearby, Council employees operate a power jet of GCC to clean the pavement. They don't have any barriers up and it's busy lunchtime. One of the supervisors of the reps commented at a similar occasion that "If that was us, we'd have all GCC supervisors phoning base and complaining" (Field diary, 11/09/2001). One of the many places the reps direct tourist to is the Lighthouse, in a small lane just off Buchanan Street, near the exclusive House of Fraser, the Lighthouse is



situated. It has become the symbol of Glasgow's UK City of Architecture and Design event in 1999 and now hosts a variety of design and architecture exhibitions and events.



**Plate 3 City Centre Representatives and Police Officers on Buchanan Street**

The city centre is busy with uniformed presences. So far, there have been traffic wardens and City Centre representatives. But of course there are many police officers easily identified when in uniform. With James I met the sergeant for the retail crime squad and one of the subdivisional officers of A division. Later on that day, while walking towards Royal Exchange Square we pass a group of 6,7 police officers (among them the two we met on Sauchiehall Street) talking to a late 30s guy on a marble bench outside Borders. When asked about it, James replies that they were searching for drugs (Field diary, 16/08/01). When they are investigating they are in plain clothes, Robert tells me that then he know not to address them. Among the officers in plain clothes is PC Wills from the Community Safety Department. His task is to give talks to shop staff throughout the city centre on the Division's Hard Target campaign to make shops in the city centre a hard target for retail crime. He gives practical advice concerning staff's rights, how to act and what to avoid, such as:

"If you happen to have a bold boy in the back corner, trying to nick something and you see it, shout "Stand back! Stand back!" [*A standing back, holding his hands out in front of him and shouting very loudly*]. The guy will drop stuff and run out. This is an attempted theft which you should report. They've got their cameras throughout the city centre and the centre itself, so the chances are that people get caught on camera. Your primary concern is to get the problem out of your shop." (Field diary, Hard Target talk, December 01)



## On site visits II:

### The old, the other, the past

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**Plate 4 Drumchapel Shopping Centre during a workday**

4 The city centre is narrowly demarcated by the River Clyde to the south, High Street to the East and the motorway to North and West. One of the many buses takes you out of the centre. Just on the west side of Central Station lies Broomielaw, in the past dominated by the river, it is now business district, inner city housing schemes, sprinkled in are many brown field sites, vacant old buildings and some new developments. It is also the city's red light district. Just south of the river are the Gorbals, notorious and romanticised at the same time, their reputation stretches far. They have been subject to priority treatment since the 1950s: slums clearances, high rise housing schemes, and so on have left an almost eerie landscape of buildings, vast car parks and rail ways . Now, the

clearance of the housing disasters of the 1960s makes way for the New Gorbals, one of the city's flagship partnership projects to provide mixed housing close to the city centre. Its proximity to the city centre is also mirrored in a number of city centre functions such as the Citizens' Theatre, and the Sheriff Court. The Big Issue has just recently located itself just off the riverside.

Moving further away from the centre, quite far away, that is where the peripheral housing schemes are located. Many of them, as well as the Gorbals are Social Inclusion Partnerships, and as well as the Gorbals have undergone decades of priority treatment. Let's have a look at Drumchapel. The 41 bus takes us to the shopping centre, built in the 1960s and partly demolished in the early 1980s, the shopping centres hosts few places, a butcher, a hairdresser, a bakery, Somerfield and the local Job Centre. Around the shopping centre, vast fields of green are the first thing to notice. They are the remainders of recent demolitions. Most of the initial blocks of flats don't exist anymore, neither do most schools in the area. Subjected to now years of out-migration, Drumchapel has lost almost half its population. On the corners of the scheme are new built houses, privately owned. Just at the centre of the scheme are a 1,000 houses to be built for sale – part of the Scottish Executive's New Neighbourhood schemes.

5 At lunch time the city centre is busy with people walking about, if the weather is ok, the benches throughout the centre, and in particular on St Enoch Square and George Square are filled with people having their lunches:

On St Enoch Square, on a summer day, the place is fairly busy with people having lunch. Office women in black skirts and jackets, and a number of builders are sitting in the circle of benches. There are a number of fish and chips shops, some sell pizza, other pasties and sausage rolls. Any of these are consumed by the majority of people, only very few eat sandwiches (Field diary, 20/07/2001).

Similar scenes on George Square, where throughout the summer builders made up for a large part of those sitting on the Square at lunch time:

A quarter of the approx. 50 people sitting or standing in my half of the square are builders from nearby building sites (Buchanan Street is still being upgraded as part of the Public Realm Strategy, also the church there is being renovated). A group (8-10) are sitting a few benches to right of me, some squatting on the ground. After ten minutes, more builders are coming towards the groups sitting on the ground from the N/W corner of the square. Four guys (late teens, track suits, trainers and baseball caps) are entering the square from the S/W. One is jumping across the benches close to mine, then they are standing in the middle of the square, laughing and talking loudly. One of them is chasing after the pigeons. [...] Someone, (30s, red long hair, extravagant clothes) walks across from the Town Hall) and passes the group of builders. Some of them start shouting: "Look at you, you wanker!... It's a guy, it's a guy!" They are very loud and aggressive towards the transvestite, who just keeps walking, not reacting but keeps on looking straight. (Field diary, 31/05/2001)



**Plate 5 Builders on a lunch break in the city centre**

Many of the people using the city centre, if they are part of the recent economic boom, participate in such ways that they work on the building sites, or in one of the many call centres and shops. These seem to be the kind of jobs that replace traditional working class jobs. They don't go to one of the many new restaurants and eateries but rather have their lunch outside. They also shop in the city centre – however in different



spaces. St Enoch Centre possesses different shops than Buchanan Galleries. This distinction is even more pronounced in comparison with the upmarket Princes Square. Similarly, starting on the pedestrianised Western part of Argyle Street, one finds hidden away, old-style indoor markets, the precinct itself is busy with a range of activities:

When I was walking along Argyle Street towards Tron Gate, I noticed that, although similarly busy as Buchanan Street, a more diverse range of activities, other than shopping, took place on Argyle Street. There was a small number of street traders (selling flowers, posters and household goods), also there were two groups of street performers and buskers. Many people were sitting on the benches, looking, waiting, talking or eating. (Field diary, 20/07/2001)

Further towards the East, near Glasgow Cross, one finds a variety of shops selling leather clothes, cheap shoes etc. At the weekends, just on the other side of the Cross are the Barras, Glasgow's well-known market where you can find anything from household goods, trainers and counterfeit videos and games.

6 The fringes of the city centre, especially those on the South fairly frequently make the news headlines. One of the more recent ones were those stating that the 'grim underworld of the city soon wouldn't be able to hide around the Saltmarket'. Some of the streets, and many of the backlanes haven't been taken by the recent gentrification efforts of the adjacent Merchant City. One supervisor of the CCR explains how the Council wants the project to get involved in the uplift of used syringes.

He also tells me how just yesterday he was out in the back streets, uplifting used syringes with the kit especially provided for that. He told me how he doesn't like doing it, but the Council is very keen on the reps getting involved in that. He's not happy for the reps to do that, first of all because the dangers with the needles, but secondly, he doesn't want them sneaking around the backlanes. (Field diary, 07/02/2002)

One of the recent community safety actions focused around the Saltmarket area: the reps were advised to change their route so that on the way to the centre they would walk through some of the back streets, bin sheds were demolished in nearby housing so that one single prostitute couldn't use them for her work anymore.



**Plate 6 Young people with skateboards outside the Gallery of Modern Art**

Along the Clyde are a number of derelict sites, open spaces, interspersed with buildings in poor condition. Some of the city's hostels for the homeless are located here, such as the Salvation Army and Hope House on Clyde Street with together almost 150 beds. Most of the 7,000 to 8,000 homeless people in Glasgow's city centre stay in temporary accommodation rather than sleeping rough in back lanes, derelict buildings – as these are often even more unsafe

than in the already hostile hostel environment. The outreach team leader of the Big Issue easily knows where to find some of her clients if she wants to, her route through the city centre focuses on finding certain people:

We're always looking for certain people. We know what places to look out for what people and if we still can't find them, then we ask around. [...] Along Argyle Street, many beggars are usually under the bridge because it's sheltered. A while ago, the 89 bus, which is the inner circle was popular - for £1 you would get a warm place and a sleep for an hour, but Jo doesn't know whether this is still the case. People used to go to the train station for a shower but they now charge a £5 towel deposit, and therefore this isn't an option anymore for many.

There is one young man sitting on the pavement as we pass under the bridge, no visible contact between Donna and him. She keeps on telling me that it is particularly hard for women on the street. In order to protect themselves they put a tough face on. They would do almost everything to avoid sleeping on the streets. But everybody who can avoid it, certainly in the city centre would do because it is just not safe at all. Some people would sleep in sheds further out.

We pass the Wayside Club which is next to the Arches, another mission with cafe and drop-ins, it also has a shower. She says that it's a really good place and offers the services unconditional, during the day they charge a little money for food and tea but at night time they give what's left out for free. (Field diary, 20/02/2002)

Along the Clyde are also those places where the police tolerates the consumption of alcohol, which had been prohibited by a local bylaw in 1996.

Sitting on St Enoch Square:

From Somerfield a short guy appear, unshaven, track suit, over 50 with a basecap, he seems to be drunk, holding a large, two litre plastic bottle in his hand. He starts walking towards the square, then turns around and half walks, half dances slowly along the street towards the Clyde. He stops every few steps, shakes his backside and waves with his arms in the air. He talks to almost every passer-by, especially the females, but not to a group of younger men. The people either ignore him or smile at him uncomfortably. (Field diary, 20/07/2001)

These are the people the CCP points out when talking about those which they prefer to be moved on:

We walk across George Square towards the Town Hall, where on one end two uniformed police officers stand. I ask him what he would normally look out for on the square: "Litter, graffiti and undesirables. If I see undesirables I ask Jim, the police man over there to move them on." He tells the anecdote how Jim told him recently that the people actually have to do something for him to be able to move them on, he can't just move them on without any offence. James laughs about it. Asked about the characteristics of undesirables, he replies "Winos and junkies." (Field diary, (16/08/2001)



## **6 Chapter Six: Remaking the city**

### **Urban restructuring, imagineering and crime control**

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To begin empirical explorations into the remaking of old-industrial cities, this chapter pays a first visit to Glasgow. In so doing, it follows the path marked out by the practitioners of urban regeneration who have drawn up and implemented various strategies of urban regeneration to respond to the decline of old-industrial regions and cities within the UK for more than 20 years. Integral to this response is the active promotion of cities, as part of a more widely adopted entrepreneurial stance towards inward investment by local authorities and economic development agencies. This context of urban entrepreneurialism forms the political economic background for the first part of this chapter into the remaking of Glasgow. The city's old-industrial legacy became increasingly problematic during the late-1970s, being regarded as a major hindrance to economic restructuring. The core tenet of subsequent policy strategies of local economic development concentrated not only on the restructuring but along with it, and often preceding the actual investment, on wide-scale image campaigns to propagate the 'Glasgow of the new days' and to diffuse images of poverty, dereliction and political unrest.

With a focus on consumption, retail and leisure, current economic growth strategies have increasingly come to concentrate on a set of 'soft' infrastructure assets around quality of life issues as traditional factors for investment decisions (such as infrastructure, labour supply and so on) have become almost ubiquitous. Rather than being merely 'soft' issues, these current concerns shift into focus questions of social control and order, fear of crime, safety and security. These concerns are not unique to the city of Glasgow but have here, as in other urban centres of the previous old-industrial regions, gained importance in the process of revalorising the city (centre). At this point, my focus narrows down and depicts how crime control has increasingly become part of the 'sustainable urban growth' equation.

Practitioners have repeatedly asked: what use are the newly created urban public spaces, supposedly supportive of the 'new economies' of consumption, if people do not feel safe and secure to consume (in) them? The rationale for placing these two fields of urban policies in relation to one another hence emerges: given this precondition of safety and absence of crime, image politics resurfaces. In order to succeed with urban regeneration based on leisure, retail and tourism, it proves crucial to win the confidence vote of customers. Therefore even *perceived* risks and fear of crime need to be minimised as potential obstacles for development. The careful marketing and modification of a safe, friendly and successful city centre thus comes to play an important role for the remaking. This *imagineering* of safe city centres also entails the efforts to engineer particular images of safety and to bring them into circulation, and it goes hand in hand with policing practices and with marketing activities, one example for this would be the large screen at the top of Buchanan Street, playing Strathclyde Police 'Spotlight Initiative' adverts as in Vignette One. The content of 'crime' is of course part of the engineering too: what constitutes crimes, offences or simply undesired behaviour is influenced by economic growth considerations. Accordingly, retail crime strategies are supported and the displacement of 'undesirables' moves up on the policing agenda.

## 6.1 ***Restructuring urban economy and society***

### 6.1.1 Old-industrial decline and necessities

The socio-economic development of Glasgow, and of its surrounding region Clydeside, was until the early-20<sup>th</sup> century closely linked to the British Empire, with wealth originating from trading overseas goods. The city rose to its industrial heyday through shipbuilding, locomotive manufacturing and other heavy manufacturing industries. The decline of the British Empire as well as the following industrial recession, only briefly interrupted by the two world wars, severely hit Glasgow's urban economy and social structure.

Glasgow's political and economic development as part of the British industrial heartland was wrapped up with the importance of the city's working class, which has always played a central and radical part in local politics, in particular during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the city earned its reputation as 'Red Clydeside'. The working-class politics around housing provision (as in the famous rent strikes of the 1920s) and working conditions were also reflected in the organisation of local government politics. With few exceptions, the left wing of the Labour party was in power since the 1920s and imprinted its particular style of municipal socialism, 'Clyde built', on the political landscape up to the late 1970s (Damer 1990; Maclean 1983). Hence, Clydeside shares with other

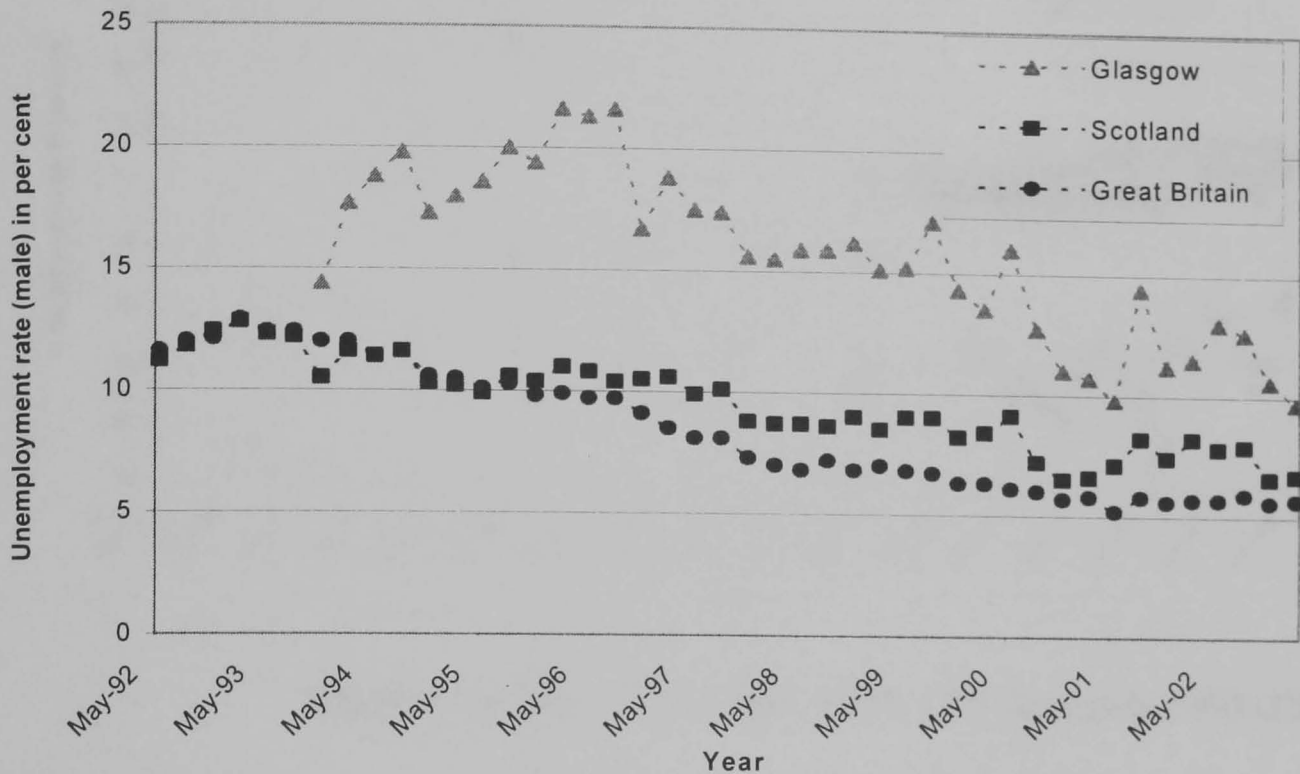
British old-industrial regions a strong working-class, socialist/social democratic political tradition.

Urban post-war policies were largely determined by problems of poor housing conditions for most parts of the urban working-class population. Hence, the city's landscape witnessed large-scale housing programmes, with the demolition of inner-city slums and the emergence of housing schemes at the periphery to re-house the urban population from the 'slummed' and crowded parts of the inner city and the East End (Pacione 1995). Yet, the continuing decline of the urban economic base compromised the efforts from the early-1970s onwards as not only poor housing conditions needed to be addressed but in addition the demise of the industrial employment base across the city. The local recession was exacerbated by the international oil crisis and subsequent turmoil in the global economy, leaving many countries, and foremost those like Britain with its economy dominated by traditional industries, in economic crisis (Allen and Massey 1988). For Glasgow's economy, this meant surging unemployment, with large numbers of the industrial workforce confronting poverty beyond poor housing conditions. From the early-1970s on, further deteriorating urban environment was again targeted by the next round of comprehensive regeneration programmes (such as the Glasgow East Area Regeneration scheme, which was launched in 1975 to regenerate large parts of the East End), focusing again on the poor living conditions of large parts of Glasgow's population. The demise of the old-industrial economic base is commented on by Paddison (1993, p. 343): "whether viewed at the European scale or nationally, Glasgow represents one of the most extreme cases of industrial cities in decline."

To illustrate this decline, and in more recent years the failure of recovery, the employment rate of the city of Glasgow presents an adequate, though rarely used, indicator. In terms of unemployment, the UK has been subjected to numerous re-definitions since the Conservatives gained power in 1979 and introduced the claimant count, based only on those who claim unemployment related benefits (thereby omitting people who under the International Labour Organisation (ILO) definition are willing to work and seeking work). However, even the European-wide accepted ILO count poses difficulties, since in the UK the average unemployment rate is, at 6 %, relatively low in comparison with the rest of Europe and specifically Germany (just under 12 %), see Figure 6.1. Looking at the percentage of people who are on illness-related benefits, one finds that in the UK, and even more so in its old-industrial cities, this adds

another 8 % onto the unemployment figures (in comparison to a mere 2 % for Germany<sup>82</sup>).

**Figure 6.1 Unemployment rates for all male of working age in percent between 1992 and 2003**

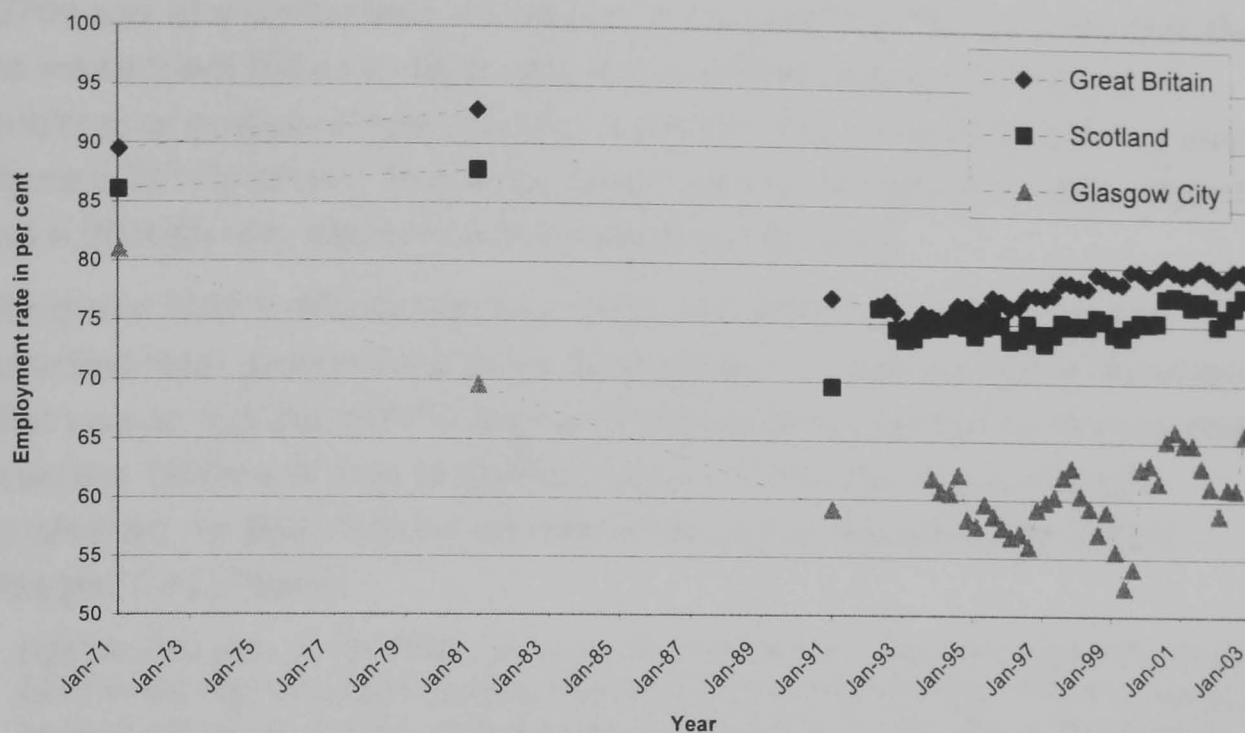


(Source: LFS Quarterly 1992-2003)

The argument made here is that the number of men receiving sickness-related benefits has risen drastically over the past 20 years in the UK. Fothergill (2001) points out the correlation between the distribution of job losses due to the restructuring of old-industrial regions and the rise of sickness in men, and estimates the level of hidden male unemployment of around 750,000 for the UK (*ibid.*, p. 243). The job losses in these regions disproportionately affected older, unskilled and less healthy men. By means of the benefits system and employment services, these men were then diverted into sickness-related benefits rather than unemployment benefits (Beatty *et al.* 2000; Webster 2001). For Glasgow, the rate of people receiving incapacity benefits was even as high as 16.2 % for August 1999 (ONS 2001).

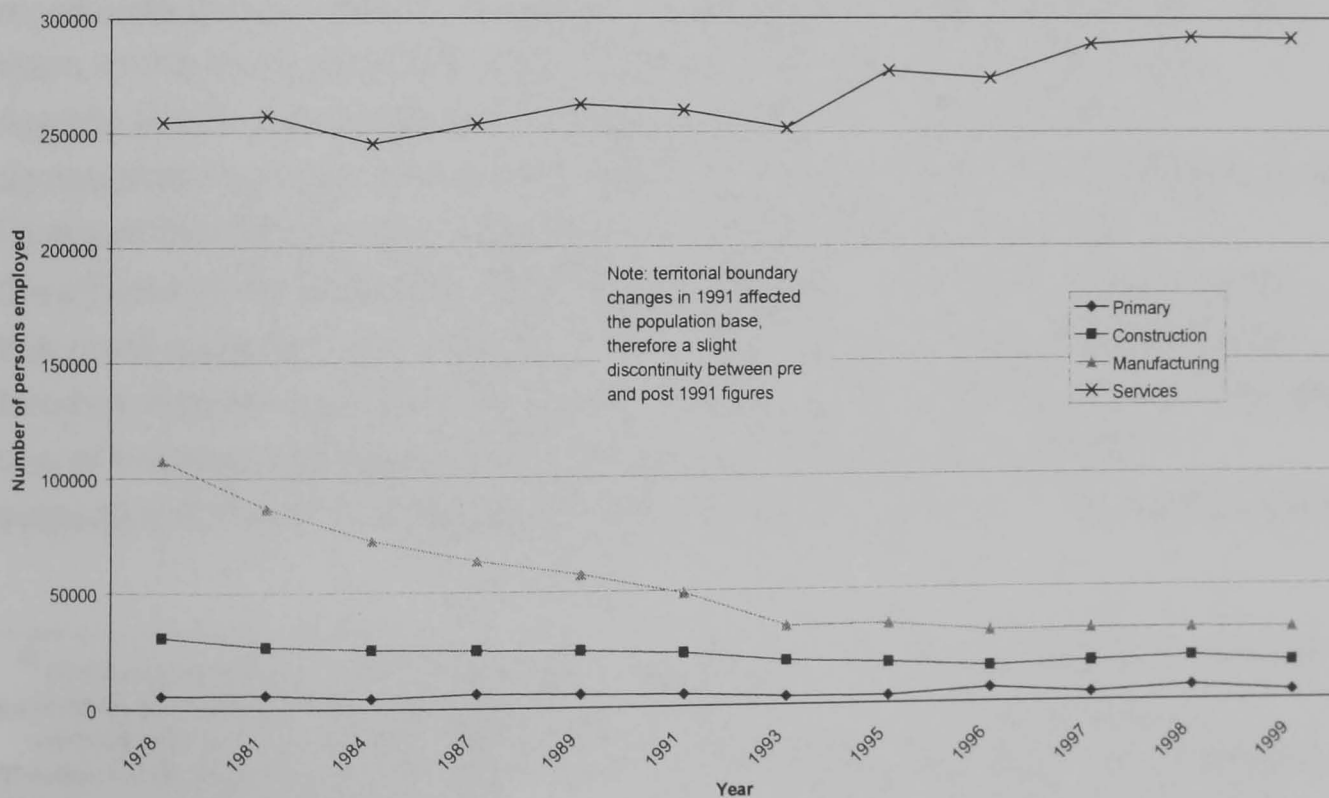
<sup>82</sup> All figures for 1999. Here is a much broader argument to be made, in so far as unemployment figures, such as the ILO or the British Labour Force Survey smooth out real unemployment, especially in regions of economic decline, by omitting 'want-to-work' figures which do not appear in any statistic but are as high as 1/3 of the economic inactive population.

**Figure 6.2** Employment rates for all male of working age in percent between 1970 and 2003



(Source: Census 1971, 1981, 1991, LFS Quarterly 1992-2003)

**Figure 6.3** Employment in Glasgow by industry between 1978 and 1999



(Source: Census of Production, AES, ABI, data provided by David Webster, Glasgow City Council)

In contrast to this, by following the percentage of people *in* employment over a 30 years time series, the extent of industrial decline and the consequences can be assessed without having to rely on changing definitions (see Figure 6.2). Here, the strong overall decline in the male employment rate, which in the early-1970s was at a similar level as the overall Scottish and British ones and also the subsequent failure to attain any recovery both display the sustained problems of economic restructuring in the city. Employment by industry (see Figure 6.3) tells a more frequently heard story about decline in manufacturing and a (though only slight) rise in the service industries.

Glasgow's local authority was one of the first British ones, as a Labour-governed local government, to adopt strategies of local economic development. After Labour lost the 1977 Glasgow District Council election for the first time since the 1920s and only re-gained power in 1980, this response was considered. As described by the then Head of the Regeneration Unit of Glasgow City Council:

[f]or the first time, in the 1980s, the council took a decision that the top political issues to be faced in the city were about employment/unemployment and poverty and *not* housing. It began to adopt a new policy and established an Economic Policy Unit in the Planning Department and it developed a policy of economic change in the city. It focussed on the redevelopment of the city centre, investing in the service sector. (Regeneration Officer, GCC, April 1999).

"... This is how the story goes," seems like an adequate description for this almost enigmatic start of the story tale of Glasgow's success; a story which is repeatedly told by officials, by many officials and to different people. But let us listen to this story for a little while. With the aid of Glasgow Development Agency (GDA, and previously Glasgow Action), the local economic development quango established under the Conservative national governments, Glasgow District Council became the lead agent of local economic development. Adopting the promotion of local economic development was at that point regarded as a new role, a role more akin to entrepreneurs of urban fortunes than bureaucratic managers. Indeed, this role has since been taken as one of the most significant transformations of urban policy and has subsequently been discussed as urban entrepreneurialism<sup>83</sup>. The acceptance of

<sup>83</sup> According to Harvey (1989b, p. 8ff.), urban governance can draw on three different pathways for the generation of income. These three interlocking strategies are:

- seeking particular advantages within the changing international division of labour. Here local governance aims at providing a good physical and social infrastructure, which then in turn facilitates low labour markets costs for businesses.
- the attraction of control and command functions in finance, government or the informational industries. This strategy requires a well-developed infrastructure and the creation and maintenance of a targeted labour market. Whereas (a) basically draws on poorly skilled labour, this strategy requires highly skilled and trained staff, experts.
- aiming for a relative advantage in terms of consumption. Tourism-orientated strategies try to bring people, customers and visitors into the place, and thereby stimulate turnovers in leisure and retail. Important for this strategy is the development of a far-reaching leisure industry.

such a role has been described as a contested process by practitioners, and that previous modalities of managing the city's housing stock would not have been sufficient to deal with international and national changes.

For Danson *et al.* (1997, p. 17), the McKinsey report, a document published by private consultants in 1985 and commissioned by the Scottish Development Agency, marks the arrival of place marketing and 'post-industrial posturing'. The document contains an imaginative plan for the cultural regeneration of the city centre, with various axes and squares connecting Glasgow's existing landmarks through a wide range of future proposals by the internationally renowned architect Gordon Cullen (McKinsey and Company 1985). MacLeod comments in 2002 that:

[w]hile such 'projected spaces' rarely manifest in pure form, the fact that Cullen's vision has been implemented in piecemeal fashion has left certain erstwhile derelict zones to witness an extraordinary reaestheticization. Nowhere is this more in evidence than in Buchanan Street's north end, which has become dominated by an ultrastylish shopping center, the Buchanan Galleries. (MacLeod 2002, p. 13)

In this approach the global economy is regarded as forcing places to become entrepreneurial and to compete with each other to be successfully integrated in such a globalised economy. Furthermore, local fortunes are increasingly viewed as dependent on global capital movements and the desperate need to compete and do so successfully with all other regions and cities. Part of this is a rescaling of responsibilities and agencies, especially in the field of economic development by which *regional* economic development agencies are endowed with economic development powers. In this sense, Scottish Enterprise has become devolved into its local development agencies possessing more autonomy in terms of programme implementation, but not in relation to fiscal decisions being made. In this process, national governments have not been displaced but are being reconfigured so that certain responsibilities are handed on to regional and local levels, in what has been called the new regionalism. In fact, the increasing importance of an entrepreneurial stance has been attributed to a re-organisation of the relationship between national government and local government, which during the 1980s was dominated by a severe drop in funding from the national government (Goodwin 1992). Keating (1988) traces

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Particularly with regard to the latter strategy, Harvey (*ibid.*, p.13) points out the highly speculative nature of urban governance in its struggle to attract investment.

Speculative projects of this sort are part and parcel of a more general macro-economic problem. Put simply, credit-financed shopping malls, sports stadia, and other facets of conspicuous high consumption are high risk projects that can easily fall on bad times and this exacerbates [...] the problems of overaccumulation and overinvestment to which capitalism as a whole is so easily prone.

Despite the fact that much of this debate of urban entrepreneurialism is established within British academic research, the limitations of immediately transferring from the US experience to British circumstances have been stated (for instance, in Rogerson and Boyle 1998). These studies highlight different ways in which local and central government are interlinked in Great Britain, compared with the US. Various studies have investigated the intervention and influences open to British central government to shape private sector involvement



the widespread effect of national government spending control on Glasgow District Council, where the Rate Support Grant for Scotland fell moderately between 1984 and 1986 but Glasgow District Council's capital allocation fell more sharply from almost £ 20 million in 1982/83 to £ 5 million for 1986-87 (drastically affected by a sharp decline in the national Housing Support Grant<sup>84</sup>). In the absence of central state support, the key to sustainable economic growth for Scottish Enterprise has now long been inward investment. With its sister organisation 'Locate in Scotland', it publicised Scotland's competitive advantages to attract in particular electronics production and information technology companies. The recent demise of these industries, however, has cast doubt on the view that inward investment offers solutions to Scotland's and Glasgow's economic development strategies. Yet, it still remains a high priority, as the economic strategy states as primary goal that:

Glasgow must improve its ability to create wealth. [...] The balance of support for local companies and for inward investment must always be a matter of careful judgement. [...] Nevertheless inward investment remains a fast growing source of new wealth. Where there have been successes in inward investment and the opportunity remains strong, these opportunities must be grasped. Glasgow is not as cosmopolitan an economy as many other similar cities in Europe and inward investment can help develop a richer source of networks upon which the city can build. (GDA *et al.* 1999a, p. 24)

In their analysis of urban entrepreneurialism in Glasgow, Boyle and Hughes (1994) are cautious as to how far US-American debates can be easily transferred to a British context. To gauge urban entrepreneurialism in terms of expenditure, they examine the budgeting of Glasgow City Council for the Economic Development and Employment Committee throughout the 1980s and show that, in stark contrast to the aggressive discourse of boosterism, the monetary impact was very modest. Only 0.7 % for 1991/1992 were spent on the Committee, in real terms four times the amount of money that had been spent in 1981/1982. For 2001/2002 the budget rose to 2.6% or £ 26.2 million earmarked for this Committee. Boyle and Hughes hence emphasise the local authority's role as a manager and provider of social services, education and housing, headings which are *still* dominating the budget<sup>85</sup>. The traditional concerns about welfare and the management of poverty, or social exclusion, are translated into

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<sup>84</sup> For more information on the effects of national government spending and local authority fiscal policy, see Arthur Midwinter's research on Glasgow and Scotland (Carmichael and Midwinter 1999; Midwinter 2002).

<sup>85</sup> This mirrors Imrie and Raco's question of 'how new is the new local governance?' These authors are very cautious about an alleged shift in policy substance towards a flexible entrepreneurialism. Instead, they contend that local government has always been involved in supporting economic policies, "whether through land assembly, site acquisition and disposal or facilitating development and urban renewal project" (Imrie and Raco 1999, p. 49). By referring to Eisenschitz and Gough as well as to Offe's work, they argue that "[i]n this sense, it seems problematical to equate any epoch of local government with a particular policy trajectory. At any given moment, local government or governance networks are seeking to resolve the socio-political tensions underpinning their contradictory locations between competing demands" (*ibid*). Bringing us back to the neoliberalist adoption of 'new and lean' and entrepreneurial rhetoric, part and parcel of the attempts to imagine the post-industrial city and its success.



numerous strategies and projects in a long history of area-based regeneration (previously through Priority Areas, now through Social Inclusion Partnerships). These traditional strategies are, however, increasingly infused with market mechanisms and local economic development initiatives, such as the New Neighbourhoods programme, which is concerned with new-built, mixed ownership housing within previous schemes. Consider too the fact that local economic development companies are now subjected to particular performance targets in placing unemployed people into paid employment.

From this brief introduction to the urban regeneration strategies for Glasgow, the importance of actually succeeding in attracting investment and turning the recession into an upwards trajectory of sustainable growth should have become apparent. This circumstance allows us now to narrow our focus to the specifics of image politics, which have been reckoned to be indispensable for generating urban success.

### 6.1.2 The city with the better smile? Imagining the New Glasgow

There were a number of key points along the way ... the first thing that happened was the Lord Provost called in all the leading businessmen and said “Oh come on, you're the guys who run the Glasgow economy, what are we gonna do?” ... Private sector being private sector said “We’ve got to cheer people up a bit. The loss of confidence is the main problem.” They came up with an idea that we’d clean up the city chambers that was painted black... all the stone walls during the war. So they cleaned it all off and they paid for it. (Interview, Head of Regeneration Unit, GCC, March 1999)

More visible for Glasgow’s population as turning point was the offer from Glasgow’s business community in 1982 to clean the impressive Town Hall building on the city’s civic George’s Square. They removed the black paint and grime from the building as the first attempt to change the city’s image<sup>86</sup>. This little event usually marks the narrative starting point for the extensive and prolonged image campaigns that Glasgow embarked upon subsequently. For these, the city has been hailed internationally as a story of “the ugly duckling turning into the white swan”, and frequently appears as a success story freeing the city of unwanted associations with poverty, violence, dirt and the general down-trodden flavour of a, now outdated, old-industrial past (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Holcomb 1994). ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’, Glasgow first international large-scale marketing campaign in the early 1980s explicitly based the attractions of Glasgow on Mr Happy and his big smile – representing Glasgow as *the* friendly city and challenging the images of Glasgow as violent, poor and down-trodden that existed across the UK and Europe. Drawing on the competition with Edinburgh for the first city in Scotland, Glasgow’s miles are

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<sup>86</sup> This sounds like a somewhat weird little anecdote to tell, and to tell repeatedly. We will come back to it later on, so keep it in mind.

better and it is better by miles. Furthermore, and here comes in the role of the friendly locals, it has the better, the more genuine smile.

During that time it was very... there was a lot of promoting... marketing the city as ‘Glasgow’s miles better’. I think that campaign that was promoted by the city council did an *awful* lot to improve people's perception of Glasgow. Glasgow’s miles better... all that type of thing have all been on that theme of Glasgow is a friendly place and people are friendly. It's promoting that and is trying to deal with the perceptions that people *had* of the city. They are trying to tackle that. (Glasgow Development Agency, Property and Environment officer, April 1999)

The image tackled by these campaigns has been captured by Pacione (1982), who finds the image of Glasgow as viewed by London civil servants to be an amalgamation of unemployment, slums, depression, housing estates, working-class, violence, aggression and poverty (as shown in Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Components of the Glasgow stereotype as viewed from south-east Britain

Rank	Characteristic	Responses (%)
1	Much unemployment	91
2	Slums	89
3	Depressed	89
4	Large council estates	84
5	Working-class city	84
6	Violent	84
7	Aggressive	84
8	Drabness	83
9	Poverty	82
10	Dereliction	75
31	Lots to do	16
33	Friendly	15
39	Lots of potential	7
48	Prosperity	2
50	Secure	0

(Source: Pacione 1982, p. 330)

As Booth and Boyle (1993, p. 31) argue, “the Miles Better campaign was more than simply civic hype, but was built on an established belief that Glasgow should be proud of its artistic and cultural heritage and use it to the city's advantage.” From such a perspective, Glasgow’s bid for the 1990 European City of Culture was only logical so that the cultural and civic heritage of the citizen’s of Glasgow could be put to work; as a major image boost for the city as

well as a celebration of 'our city'. As seen from the documentation for the bid (Glasgow District Council 1987), it was evidently geared towards developing cultural tourism. Furthermore, it "was clearly promotional and heralded the need for Glasgow to direct its thrust to international markets" (Booth and Boyle 1993, p. 34).

Opposition arose against the representation of Glasgow in the City of Culture from the group which called themselves Workers' City. Angrily, they refuted the promotional celebrations, arguing that "the celebrations promoted only a shallow or 'facsimile' version of culture that was designed to appeal to international visitors to the city, rather than its own working-class residents" (Cusick 1990). The opposition against the project of a 'New Glasgow' was, however, one of the few explicit statements amidst the powerful proclamations of many regarding a new 'Fat City', as the local *Evening Times* titled an imaginative investigation into Glasgow's new fortunes, making out that "[t]he truth is, Glasgow is awash with crisp, green pound notes a staggering one and a half billion of them this year alone." Discussing a mix of established, proposed and imagined developments for the city, these articles claim to reveal "how the big investment cash is pouring in (Robertson 1988).

This comment is exemplary of the extent to which the media became enlisted in supporting the imagineering of Glasgow's regeneration.

As already indicated with reference to the City of Culture events, the image campaigns were accompanied by strategies to develop a tourist industry, focused around event and conference tourism, to strengthen the retail base of the city (centre) as well as attracting inward investment for new service sector industries (see Vignette Two). In the process, Glasgow has witnessed inward investment into leisure, retail and service sector industries. In particular, the attracting of call centres to Glasgow has been heralded as an economic growth strategy by the local economic development agents. Documenting private sector investment between 1998 and 2000, the bulk was channelled into hotel leisure, retail and office developments. Private sector investment, as traced through completed developments in that period, totalled £ 941.7 millions of which the retail sector accounted for £ 460.6 million and industry investment for less than a tenth of this figure (Murray 2001).

'Getting the message out there' has been and still is a key issue of economic regeneration for the key agents, the Council and Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (SEG, previously GDA), both working through the means of various committees and partnership to call upon private sector agents. It reflects the impression that things are changing, that poverty and dereliction are not so much problems of the present but of the past and that the measures taken work. Still, the past keeps haunting the present through outside image problems, as mirrored in the

Joint Economic Strategy of GCC, GDA and the Glasgow Alliance (1999a, p. 20ff.).

The weaknesses [of Glasgow] were mainly familiar. The cycle of deprivation was widely recognised as an unacceptable waste of life chances. The environment in older industrial areas was regularly criticised as a brake on development. [...] The external image – low visibility and the remains of the ‘hard’ reputation’. [...] Surveys repeatedly show that Glaswegians recognise a strong ‘buzz’ in their city and regularly show a stronger commitment to their city than city residents elsewhere but outside Glasgow, this image is not strongly shared. Can Glasgow build a distinctive image that will help to attract more visitors and investment?

With such a continuing analysis of the city’s weaknesses, Glasgow’s political agents have adopted an ‘in-your-face’ approach towards regeneration. They have produced numerous documents over the past twenty years on regeneration strategies and their delivery: just looking at the titles, such as ‘Glasgow’s renewed prosperity’ (GDA *et al.* 1999b) or ‘Creating tomorrow’s Glasgow’ (Glasgow Alliance 1999), suggest the declaration of successful change and new urban fortunes. In all these policy strategies a commitment for everything new is placated across its front pages, along with the proclamation ‘*We Are Moving On!*’ The new is largely a device used by strategy developers and certainly by the marketers to bring into circulation messages about “Upbeat Glasgow”, as one of the SEG newsletters is entitled. All these messages and ‘news’ are to signal that Glasgow is different, that Glasgow is successful, that Glasgow is not old-industrial and that Glasgow is not run-down.

The image has always been of Glasgow, and that goes back a long time,... an area called the Gorbals, just outside the city centre, which was always run down or whatever. We have to stop and say “that was Glasgow in the old days.” *Glasgow of the new days* is of a massive investment, of a massive city with multi-million pounds businesses located in the city centre. We’ve got to actually try and get the message over. This is what’s changed. (Development officer, City Centre Partnership, March 1999)

Unfortunately, a closer look at the documents, and certainly an analysis of strengths and weaknesses of Glasgow’s urban economy, quickly pinpoints the persistence of problems: falling tax base, mismatch between administrative and urban boundaries, little investment, continuation of a ‘hard’ image outside Glasgow, and above all the enduring and even growing threat of poverty, social exclusion and, indeed, disenchantment for “sections of Glasgow’s community further disengaging from the economy and embedding social inclusion” (GDA *et al.* 1999a, p. 21).

After a first inspection, the declaration of a new Glasgow is clearly a statement of intent, but even more than that it is also a powerful example of imagineering in action: not only to suggest subtly that Glasgow is different now but to shout it out loud, so that people outside Glasgow hear and believe it, and also that Glaswegians hear and believe it. Certainly the marketers see themselves living in the world of a new Glasgow of multi-million pounds investments which

creates enough employment opportunities in the new service sectors to sustain urban growth. Through the processes of image politics, the imagineers have effectively created an 'imaginative history' of change in the city from 'old' to 'new', from working-class hard city to middle-class cultural city. Parts of their efforts of doing so are directed at 'hiding' the out-of-favour places and people across the city which do not fit into the images of the Glasgow of the new days. By referring back to what Katz (2001) has recently called the hidden geographies of capitalism, the making of a successfully regenerated Glasgow is in substantial measure all about creating a visual and discursive dominance of 'images' to support such a state of affair. Putting such images 'out on the plate' simultaneously hides, at least for the outsider, all the problems which the city is facing, as Chapter Two has argued. Whether the marketeers believe in their own imagineering seems to be a different matter, though, but more about this later. They are nonetheless acutely aware of the threats posed by poverty, social exclusion and disenchantment across parts of the city, particularly those places of an 'old Glasgow' away from the central areas now rebranded so clearly as the happening sites of the 'new Glasgow'.

## **6.2     *'Regulations' – policing the old and new city***

This in turn brings to the fore another field of urban policy, that of social regulation, as these threats of poverty and social exclusion need to be managed so that they do not counter economic regeneration efforts. With sustained attention from both the media and practitioners of town centre management and marketing, this field is commonly narrowed down to crime control. "Aggressive beggars are driving shoppers away", proclaimed an article in a Glasgow newspaper (Nicoll 2001,) on the influential Lockwood Report (Lockwood 2001) which ranked Glasgow's newly regenerated city centre in only fourth place nationally in terms of its retail capacity and attractiveness in a British comparison. The message reads as follows: a particular activity (begging) becomes an offence (by being defined as aggressive it constitutes a breach of the peace) and results in a response whereby users (of a particular kind, specifically shoppers) vacate the city centre to shop elsewhere. In doing so, the reaction of consumers renders attempts at creating attractive city centres in vain. Almost immediately, the argument calls for a response: end the aggressive begging! deal with beggars, so that they do not disturb shoppers! Drive *them* out, not the shoppers!

The link constructed in the argument is well-known to practitioners of urban regeneration: concerns about personal safety and fear of crime seem increasingly to determine the success of retail and leisure based city centre regeneration. These concerns thereby come to bear on a city centre's success

in national benchmarking exercises and inter-urban competition at times when relative competitive advantages such as accessibility and infrastructure have become almost ubiquitous within countries such as the UK. This reasoning has been widely discussed in the North American literature. In the early-1990s, Susan Christopherson (1994, p. 409) argued that “[b]eneath the surface, the signal qualities of the contemporary urban landscape are not playfulness but control, not spontaneity but manipulation, not interaction but separation.” In so doing she explored Sorkin’s (1992) critique of the death of public space and examined his contention in relation to surveillance and social control<sup>87</sup>. This theme of how contemporary urban design, in particular that of the post-modern variant, introduces effective mechanisms to manage urban public space and its populations has been explored at lengths in relation to open space video surveillance. Here in particular, Fyfe and Bannister (1996; 1998) have written on several occasions about the installation of Glasgow’s extensive CCTV system CityWatch which went online in autumn 1994. Through projects such as CityWatch, quality of life issues, economic success, crime levels and fear of crime have become intimately entangled – and ‘entangled’ is probably an appropriate term, given the straightforward, yet elusive, reasonings on how safety, security and economic vitality interact (see also Vignette One). Let us have a closer look at the debates around installing Glasgow’s CCTV system for this purpose.

Reflecting their high involvement in economic regeneration, the GDA also proved central to efforts at establishing the first city centre CCTV scheme in Glasgow. The reasoning for the scheme lay in linking an attractive city centre and a positive image closely to issues of safety, fear of crime and crime itself. The central link can be paraphrased as “feeling good in a safe environment entices people to stay and stay longer and spend more money, i.e. is economically desirable” (see, Fyfe and Bannister 1996; Helms 2001; Short and Ditton 1995). CityWatch<sup>88</sup> was one of the first large-scale projects explicitly addressing the need of a safe city centre for good business. Being initiated as well as largely funded by the GDA, at least initially the system was regarded:

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<sup>87</sup> This debate about the commercialisation of public space was a lively one in the early to mid-1990s. It has, however, been rightly critiqued for a number of oversights. Central to such a critique is the assumption that previously public space was universally accessible, free and equal is a false one as its existence always had been based on the concept of a bourgeois public, with its social and historic exclusions of women, non-whites, working-class and so on. See in particular Habermas (1989) on the bourgeois public sphere, but also Mitchell (1996). More recently, Lees (1997, p. 325) has questioned some of Sorkin’s sceptical *agoraphilia* concept as he is in danger of “reinstating public space as an idealised realm of purity that can be rescued from capitalist domination.”

<sup>88</sup> By now there has been a number of good quality studies undertaken to evaluate Glasgow’s CCTV system, in particular Ditton *et al.*’s (1999) evaluation as well as a comparative ethnographic study on the practices within the camera room (Norris and Armstrong 1999). These studies are however rare. An evaluation of CCTV systems is a requirement to fulfil funding commitments but these evaluations are often of poor quality, as Tilley (1997) noted.

[...] as an integrative crime prevention and detection initiative but was also concerned with addressing the environmental effects of crime, such as vandalism and graffiti. The involvement of GDA reflected an increasing awareness among public sector agencies of the link between environmental quality, personal safety, and economic development. Each of these factors are important contributors to the attractiveness of cities as places to live, work visit and do business in. (EKOS 1997, p. 8).

Having constructed this connection between economic prosperity and quality of life offences, a range of situational crime prevention measures were introduced besides the CCTV system: curfews to regulate users' presences outside pubs and clubs and to police the 'lager louts' more efficiently, as well as a local bylaw to ban drinking in public spaces across the city, all introduced between 1994 and 1996 (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Recent initiatives of crime control and prevention in Glasgow

Public space CCTV system CityWatch (late 1994)	"The main objectives of the CityWatch initiative are to improve the overall feel good factor in the city centre; increase the opportunity for employment; effect a reduction in the cost of crime to businesses; and reduced the related clean up costs of crime and vandalism." (EKOS 1997, p. 1)
Curfew on night-club entrance (1995)	"At that time there was quite a lot of trouble in the city, especially at night. That was when the curfew for the pubs and nightclubs came in as well. There was a lot of violence. Particularly round about Gordon Street, Hope Street. area [...]. When the pubs, nightclubs and discos are all coming out, you have the equivalent number of people in that one part of the city centre, equivalent to a major football match. This was happening sort of 2 o'clock, 3 o'clock in the morning, when the police resources were low. That was when the curfew was introduced." (Council Official, Regeneration Services, March 1999)
Local bylaw banning drinking in public (1996)	"[...] any person who consumes alcoholic liquor in a designated place shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary of conviction to a fine [...] Designated places – the city of Glasgow: all of the public areas of the City of Glasgow District [...]" (Glasgow District Council 1996)
Spotlight initiatives since 1996	Strathclyde Police Force's campaign in which they concentrate for a limited period of time on particular issues such as violent crimes, drunkenness or Safer Streets: "to dramatically reduce violent crime, disorder and the fear of crime" (Orr 1997)
City Centre Representatives since 1995	They are "guides, mobile Tourist Information Centres and wardens [...]. A rapid response clean-up squad acts to remove graffiti and fly-posters and maintains street signs" (Glasgow Works 2000) – they are funded as an intermediate labour market training programme to help long-term unemployed locals back to work
City Centre Partnership as umbrella organisation for all city centre issues (1999)	"to co-ordinate and improve public sector delivery in the City Centre; Identify and articulate business needs and ensure that public services respond better to those needs than in the past; Promote investment in the City Centre and co-ordinate City Centre events and marketing initiatives." (Glasgow City Centre Partnership 2000, p.1)
Central and West Community Safety Forum (1999)	Established in 1999 under the initiative of Strathclyde Police Force, the Forum coincides with the boundaries of A Division. Meeting up every two months, it addresses two topics. Initially, these focussed on Street Safety, with focus on the residential areas within its boundaries.

	such as Safer Saltmarket, Safer Townhead, but also included projects on student safety. The police input still remains high as various interviewees stated (see Chapter Seven for more detail)
Graffiti Force, May 2000	Launched as part of a Council campaign to free neighbourhoods from graffiti as research has shown “how issues like graffiti and litter make people feel that they had little control or ownership over their communities, particularly in deprived areas” (Glasgow Healthy City Partnership 2000, p. 11)
Hard Target campaign to crack down on retail crime, since 2000	“Strathclyde Police officers based at 'A' Division, which covers Glasgow city centre, will commit the month of December to tackling retail crime under the auspices of its 'Hard Target' campaign. A massive swoop on crimes such as shoplifting, fraud and petty theft, will be backed up by a crime prevention campaign targeting shop staff and customers to raise awareness of credit card fraud, personal safety, drugs and suspect packages.” (Strathclyde Police Force 2001a)
Crime Reduction Partnership (in process of being established during Summer 2002)	With its main focus on retail crime, its objectives are among others to “secure future prosperity of Glasgow as a vibrant shopping and entertainment centre” (Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002, Key objectives). It intends so to do so by focussing on four aspects: CCTV, radio link among businesses, exclusion orders for persistent offenders and information sharing between participating businesses.

6.2.1     Reasoning and rationalising: strong communities, broken windows and zero tolerance policing

Looking at the entanglements of economic success and crime control, I take as a starting point the basis for much current crime prevention policy and policing practices; namely, the Broken Windows concept and its corresponding policing approach Zero Tolerance Policing (ZTP). These two are underpinned by the notion of a strong functional community. The importance of this vision of a good community (and its dystopian adversary) places the concept at the centre of social relations and how these are embedded in crime prevention strategies, as well as in everyday beat policing. The Broken Windows concept emphasises the importance of people’s fear of crime for the decay of urban communities. The crimes that the public fears are those crimes of disorder which are signified by the presence of undesirable people: “Not violent people, nor, necessarily, criminals, but disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people: panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed” (Wilson and Kelling 1982, p. 30). Although different areas of the city are subjected to different policing regimes, both public spaces of residential schemes as well as of the city centre are policed according to the ZTP approach, for policing purposes, the differences between these spaces are of intensity but not of kind. Wilson and Kelling continue by arguing that on a community level, disorder and crime cannot be disentangled and that one act of



vandalism will be followed by yet more acts. This process pushes, so to speak, an orderly, respectable community over the edge and into a continuous spiral of decay. The prime pattern for this decay is identified by them as that the experience of an uncontrollable environment (in particular one with broken windows) which then induces fear and, consequently, “in response to fear, people avoid one another, weakening controls” (Wilson and Kelling 1982, p. 33).

Important for understanding current police strategies which employ the Broken Windows concept, such as the notorious Zero Tolerance Policing or its British variants of ‘Confident Policing’, ‘Spotlight Initiative’ and so on, is the role that they assign for people’s fear of crime.

[T]hey take the phenomenon of fear of crime as being a problem on a par with objective risks of victimisation and set out to proffer a solution to it. Within the Broken Windows Theory, the retreat from public life and the fear of crime stimulated by signifiers of disorder is a problem on a par with the actual incidence of crime. (Innes 1999a, p. 401)

It is exactly at this point that Broken Windows ‘hooks up’ very neatly with image politics and place-marketing, since it can be employed to attract consumers and investors into those safely policed places, where windows consistently remain happily unbroken.

The controls weakened by fear of crime should be familiar to every urbanist. They are synonymous with what Jane Jacobs in the early 1960s identified as the informal social controls of well-working cities and their urban neighbourhoods. Her work (Jacobs 1964) has been extremely influential in developing a critique of modern town planning, and of the ‘death’ it is regarded at bringing to vibrant cities. Her central argument lies in the use of busy streets and sidewalks – busy streets are safe streets, with many eyes on the street, with people all watching out for each other. Recently, Jacobs’ work has seen a renaissance in the work of Government think tanks and initiatives such as the Urban Task Force<sup>89</sup>, notably in their report published in 1999 “Towards an Urban Renaissance.” In the US, the debates around a “New Urbanism” parallel British discussions. At the core of this urban renaissance lies the declaration that<sup>90</sup>:

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<sup>89</sup> The Rogers report (DTLR 1999) on the Urban Renaissance addresses the whole of the UK but in fact includes only very few Scottish examples. As recently as January 2003, a White Paper about Scottish cities has been published, informed by an study into the state and future of Scottish cities (Scottish Executive 2002c).

<sup>90</sup> At this point, another argument is worth making: At the core of the Broken Windows concept as well as the Urban Renaissance lies a polarisation: Well-working functional communities as the base of exciting urbanism on one side, and on the other side, the threat of broken-down social relations and decaying communities which give both rise to criminal activities. The polarisation entails something else: strong reference points about an almost nostalgic vision of the good community opposite to the threats and dangers of urban decay. Hence, the apparent pragmatism of crime prevention is underpinned by a strong visionary, utopian force about the good of community, while looking backward to an apparent ‘Golden Age’ of *Gemeinschaft*-type communities.

Urban neighbourhoods should be attractive places to live. This can be achieved by improving the quality of design and movement, creating compact developments, with a mix of uses, better transport and a density which supports local services and fosters a strong sense of community and public safety. (DTLR 1999, p. 3)

The consideration of how vandalism, littering and loitering damages communities has filtered into wide parts of British crime control and community safety policies. For Glasgow, it is evident in the strategies employed in the peripheral schemes, such as Drumchapel<sup>91</sup>. Here, the range of topics addressed by the local community safety forum clusters around the newly introduced CCTV scheme and anti-vandalism campaigns, largely focusing on local youth (see Vignette Four):

CCTV took up a lot of the forum's time but that out of the road we've managed now to widen our agenda and to broaden our outlook onto community safety. Some of the things we've been working on was an anti-graffiti and vandalism campaign in a small area in Drumchapel, one of the worst areas of vandalism, *reported* vandalism where by, we worked very quickly to remove any fly-tipping and graffiti and generally cleaning up the area. [...] We believe that vandalism and... vandalism, and an area where there is a high rate of graffiti, actually attracts people to vandalise properties in the area round about it and that has been proven to be true to us because we've seen a dramatic increase in the community coming up us and reporting in those areas and subsequently a dramatic decrease in vandalism. So we focused very much on that [...]. (Interview, Community Safety Officer, May 2001)

As already laid out, over the past 15-20 years Glasgow's urban governance has witnessed many attempts at responding institutionally to the demands of urban regeneration. Almost symptomatic is the continuous renaming and reorganisation of the various departments within the GCC. These shifting emphases on different aspects of partnership working are also mirrored in the integration of crime control strategies, and also in how these are institutionally organised. One of the most recent examples is the Glasgow Community Safety Partnership (2000) which oversees various Community Safety Forums and now operates from within the Council. With its establishment, Glasgow fulfils Government guidelines laid in the Crime and Disorder Act (Scotland) 1998 that each local authority is encouraged to form a local community safety partnership (Home Office 1998). Such examples of re-organisation indicate the move of community safety or, more classically, of crime prevention measures into local government bodies and outwith the police.

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<sup>91</sup> It seems to be a massive (geographical) jump to Drumchapel, palpably being part of the hidden geographies. As a pilot project for the regeneration of peripheral housing schemes, Drumchapel regenerated centre should become the site of a New Neighbourhood, a large-scale mixed housing development programme to build up to 1,000 new houses in those sites which previously housed hundreds of council tenants in depilated public housing stock. This new neighbourhood programme is currently still in planning process, but see Drumchapel Area Housing Partnership (2002) for the comprehensive Area Housing Plan. This plan sets out a vision for housing in Drumchapel, paying detailed attention to issues of quality of life, defensible space and safety: "The vision is based on the principles of providing [...] balanced communities in a safe environment with a variety of good quality housing both private and socially rented together with adequate facilities including schools, shopping, health and play facilities" (Drumchapel Area Housing Partnership 2002, p. 51).

By the end of the 1990s, crime prevention initiatives became combined, together with other city centre management issues, under the umbrella of the 1999 established CCP, a Town Centre Management body set up predominantly from within the Council to improve communication between businesses and council services in the city centre, to manage and, equally important, to market the city centre. Managing not only the CityWatch scheme, but also co-ordinating the removal of graffiti and fly-posting, the CCP also lobbies increasingly for a tighter regulation of the selling of the homeless magazine *The Big Issue*. It attempted to introduce a limited number of stalls to sell the magazine within the city centre, and also to promote the introduction of bylaws to ban begging in the city centre (Laing 2000, personal communication). Taking us back to the quote earlier about aggressive begging and its adverse impact on retail performance, begging and supposedly aggressive begging again became a heated issue for Glasgow when in Spring 2001 the Lockwood Report<sup>92</sup> on city centre retailing claimed that aggressive begging acted as a brake on Glasgow's economic success. Here the CCP succeeded in having their agenda of policing beggars and Big Issues vendors more repressively filtered into the report, so that as problems damaging trade performances in Glasgow they appear besides constant building works, drugs and begging (Lockwood 2001, p. 53)<sup>93</sup>. The latest development in this respect is the establishment of a Crime Reduction Partnership (CRP) which exclusively focuses on the city centre and its crime problems of retail crime, begging and drugs. With a sergeant on secondment to set up the Partnership, Glasgow will be the first Scottish city to have such a partnership, which is a legislative requirement in England. As one of the important tasks of the CRP, the director of the CCP, talks of exploring the possibilities for making begging an offence under local bylaw legislation (interview, May 2002).

The CCP also co-ordinates various forums on city centre issues and is actively involved in the Central And West Community Safety Forum, another steering group which, located within the council, consists of the 'usual suspects', such as police, Council Departments and other public sector agencies, and tackles area-based crime hot spots through partnership working. Although still dominated by

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<sup>92</sup> Interestingly, the report itself does not rank the cities but provides a fairly comprehensive assessment of their consumer-friendliness in terms of retail, leisure and public space qualities. In all these aspects, Glasgow fares fairly well. The most widely accepted ranking of retail performance is Experian's Retail Ranking Index, it however only looks at retail performance indicators to calculate a vitality score (see for more information, Experian 2002).

<sup>93</sup> In this process, ZTP turns out to be a moment of urban entrepreneurialism, designed to serve as a means of fostering and pursuing interurban competition by making a safe, and perceived to be safe, city centre more attractive to consumers. This process is facilitated through integrating the politics of crime into the heart of the entrepreneurial city discourse and practice (Jessop 1997). Local marketing and economic development agents, in particular, intervene strategically in the discourse by bringing in quality of life offences and ZTP as a solution. In so doing, they employ notions of a revanchist city in Smith's (1996) sense.

the police, the Community Safety Forum is officially led by the respective Councillors for the city centre. Through the involvement of the CCP, private sector interests give strategic input, as too, if less frequently, do the statutory social work sections of the council and the voluntary sector. Both of the latter have a very low key 'discursive presence' with respect to the community safety/city centre attractiveness nexus. In the activities pursued by the CCP they are largely absent, or are marked by stark disagreements, as will be discussed in section 8.1.3.

However, on the street level a very different picture appears, since the Street Liaison Team (SLT) of the police, especially established for street prostitution and homelessness, is welcomed by most organisations working in the field. These organisations suggest and accept that the police – and this even applies to the ordinary beat officer, not only to the Street Liaison Team – are just as street-wise as outreach workers, know what is going on and how initiatives can be put into perspective. The consensus for this lies largely in the acceptance that drug-dealing in the city centre is the biggest problem (but contrast this to the drug-culture of the city's night-time economy, which is not part of this consensus), something which, according to many of the outreach workers, unacknowledged by the CCP, who concentrate on begging and *Big Issue* selling (targeting the visibility of homelessness, rather than constructively tackling the real problems). Again, through the police's Hard Target campaign against retail crime, ways of issuing exclusion orders are explored:

Your average addict in Glasgow spends £ 50 a day. [...] £50 a day. Right. You can't get that honestly. So the biggest source of income for drug users is *shop*-lifting. The place which has most shops in Glasgow is the city centre but they don't understand this. If they tackled in a sort of social... constructive... social welfare they probably *could* tidy the problem up but they don't think that. They think let's clamp down on it. They haven't clamped down on it. They actually have created their own problem. (Outreach Manager, Big Issue, May 2001)

Next to the extended partnership working on concerns of community safety, Strathclyde Police have for a number of years been pursuing their high visibility, and certainly high publicity, campaign, the Initiative Spotlight "to reduce violent crime, disorder and the fear of crime.[...] Spotlight is a long term initiative taking a fresh look at those forms of crime which the public have identified as being of concern to them" (Strathclyde Police Force 2001b). Targeting those crimes with which the public is ostensibly most concerned – besides violent crimes these include drinking in public, dirt and litter, public nuisances and the like – the emphasis of this strategy rests on the public's fear of crime and parallels Zero Tolerance concerns with 'broken windows' (general signs of neglect and decay) and the public's supposed dislike of such problems. Their immediate response towards crimes such as drugs, vehicle theft/damage, housebreaking as well as litter, public nuisance, alcohol and truancy is accompanied by a high profile marketing campaign, using various media outlets and collecting several awards.

This increasing awareness by a police force concerned to market and to imagineer its own work mirrors some of the previously discussed efforts at image politics and marketing by economic development agencies.

A third approach to regulating the city, although firmly framed within the tourist industry, is worth highlighting. Like many other cities in the UK, Glasgow possesses a city centre warden project, the CCR. Providing an information service for tourists and other users of the city centre alike, the Representatives or 'reps' also fill an important policing gap, they play a key role in regulating communication between various council service departments, the businesses in the city centre as well as emergency services (see Vignettes One and Three). By doing so, they fulfil functions previously performed by the 'bobby on the beat': a uniformed presence who offers advice and help in case of small-scale problems such as lost children and people needing advice or first aid. The CCR is a project that tries to turn around the city's 'hard' image. Acting as a service sector training programme for long-term unemployed Glaswegians, it provides the 'Ambassadors' of Glasgow – friendly locals who are "an extra pair of eyes and ears on the street," as described by one council official (Head of Regeneration, GCC, March 1999). It thereby serves as an integrative approach in dealing with image problems and city centre security when aiming to provide an attractive and safe city centre, enjoyable for tourists, locals and retailers (Helms 2001) (the CCR project will be discussed in Chapter Nine).

Agents of crime control and policing across the city centre operate within different alliances, such as the homeless organisation, and their good relations to the Police Street Liaison Team, whereas the city centre marketing and management organisation, the CCP, possesses close links to Community Safety agencies within the police, and those which are part of public-private partnership working. For the latter, the need for crime reduction and crime prevention measures is undisputed. It should best be achieved through ZTP and the rigorous policing of low level offences closely linked to aesthetic measures. Through this, crime control is employed as part of the image politics, it being rarely disputed that the old-industrial past continues to pose problems such as poverty and unemployment internally, but also that poor image externally.

The politics of crime as pursued by the agents around the CCP are the ones which frequently surface in the public discourse, also they are highly visible in the city centre spaces. This high visibility effectively allows these agents to place crime prevention, and their method of choice, ZTP, on the agenda and thereby significantly to influence the measures taken and the strategies pursued. This observation marks the first convergence of politics of crime and

image politics. We can look at this in more detail and see what consequences it entails.

### 6.3 *Imagineering as social control*

From addressing some of the issues of economic regeneration, urban entrepreneurialism and image politics, the theme opened up now concerns the efforts undertaken at 'socially engineering' Glasgow's population and creating a socially cohesive urban society. For this, I will revisit the paths of place marketing and image campaigns, and ask questions about their impact on the local population and in how far they actively target locals. Image politics are this time not so much discussed as the mechanics of 'marketing the post-industrial city', but rather in terms of the more intricate implications that these processes bring for the local inhabitants, drawing on some of the ideas laid out in Philo and Kearns (1993a). As a starting point I take their poignant observation that next to the economic ideas of selling places:

[...] there is also a more social logic at work in that the self-promotion of places may be operating as a subtle form for socialisation designed to convince people, many of whom will be disadvantaged and potentially disaffected, that they are important cogs in a successful community and that all sorts of 'good things' are really being done on their behalf. (Philo and Kearns 1993b, p. 3)

Looking from a perspective of social cohesion and the co-optation of local inhabitants helps us to understand a practice which tries to make the mediated images of a city work *for* the city. The *imagineering* of Glasgow thus stands for a deliberate strategy to influence, shape or, even more strongly, *engineer* the images that represent Glasgow. Routledge (1997, p. 363) details how the strategic use of images<sup>94</sup> become increasingly important "in the conflict over (re)presentations of events between activists, governments, private corporations and the public." Although writing about the politics of resistance, he offers us an important insight into how elaborate strategies of marketing and image campaigning engineers economic regeneration and its representations. Imagineering does not only address potential investors then, but, as Philo and Kearns (1993a) have argued, is as much an instrument to orchestrate, or at least, to attempt to orchestrate, home support for regeneration. For this we just have to remind ourselves of the anecdote that is being told as one of the starting points of urban regeneration; namely, the incident of cleaning up the facade of the Town Hall (see quote on p. 132).

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<sup>94</sup> Trying to trace the origins of the term imagineering directs us to Walt Disney's Imagineering as a combination of imagination and engineering in relation to animated films. However, other publications such as Rutheiser (1996) on the imagineering of Atlanta as site of the Olympic Games, and a German edited collection on *Imagineering, Visual Culture and the Politics of Visibility* (Holert 2000), clearly locate the concept within the politics of place-marketing, visibility and image engineering; also included is a vision for the future (that actually includes an interesting connection to some work on utopianism – imagineering as utopian practice of marketeers).

One of the most glaring and also the most controversial examples of the attempt to co-opt locals for image projects by the city leaders is exhibited in Glasgow's bid for the European City of Culture. Here, the GDC proposed that the event would help to keep going that momentum already generated by the previous image building initiatives and marketing efforts, and also proclaimed the potential for further "stimulat[ing] awareness, participation and cultural developments in Glasgow (Glasgow District Council 1987, p. 3).

Admittedly, the Workers' City resistance to and its denouncement of the official attempts to market and to celebrate a new cultural Glasgow during 1990 is an easy example of imagineering politics. Such counter-strategies exemplify another one of Philo and Kearns' key arguments, since these authors are certain that there exist various tensions within the processes of local capital restructuring. Such tensions often arise due to the fact that the city to be packaged, marketed and sold *does* mean different things to different people within this city, and they are also accessed by different groups with different resource – a theme which will re-appear in terms of street-level policing of the dangers of the city. In this observation lies one of the reasons why the straightforward selling of places, as well as the marketers' attempts at providing 'bread and circuses' for the masses, will commonly be resisted<sup>95</sup>. The series of events around Glasgow 1990 serves as a high profile illustration of the contested nature of urban regeneration. But what about some of the more mundane examples of how Glasgow's citizens are enticed to buy into the promises of a new, booming and post-industrial city, metaphorically speaking, since they nonetheless shop and buy in the regenerated spaces – if they can afford to? Take a closer look at the What's That Glasgow exhibition (Vignette One): centrally located on Buchanan Street, just underneath the Galleries, it houses a cheery exhibition about the living, working and entertaining city of Glasgow. The location is key to the exhibition and it is also a key feature in the newly regenerated landscape of Buchanan Street; a feature which everyone passes throughout a working day, or on a shopping or entertainment trip. However, if you would ask Glaswegians whether they have been in, most would reply no, but they are constantly passing that funny building with post-modern architecture and many pictures about the new Glasgow. The ambassadors of Glasgow, the CCR, would be another example, highly visible in red uniforms and hats, they patrol the city centre landscape to offer assistance, advice and information. In doing that they are also promoting not only the city's retail and tourism base but are also promoting intermediate labour market projects and

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<sup>95</sup> I am not too sure in how far 'resistance' is not a bit too grand for these practices. I would like to use the more cautious term of the German '*Eigensinn*' – one's own will/mind/sense, it is not so much an articulated strategy but often stubborn refusal, not doing what you are told and also filling concepts with your own interpretation.

training programmes for local unemployed people. They do so visibly: many of the reps are part of working-class Glasgow, and once they start talking their Glaswegian identifies them.

Here, one of the visions of the imagineering surfaces: the attempts to engineer urban society are made with the goal in mind of constructing a socially cohesive urban populace, and they actively draw on parts of the unemployed, or working-class population of the city. These efforts to build on the social capacities of a city's population take us back to the debates around a 'new urbanism' and an urban renaissance, and take up a similar issue as the Broken Windows concept and its ZTP. Building on the capacities of well-working communities to create sustainable urban growth, the urban renaissance is one of the most recent buzz words of urban regeneration. Its implications of strong and diverse urban communities conveys not only a particular path to urban growth (including city centre living, side-walk cafes, and so on), but also certain modes of social regulation: participation on condition of spending money. If not that, though, then an array of supplementing regulations apply; no drinking of alcohol, no hanging out of undesirables, no begging. This vision is very much part and parcel of the pursued 'proper' mix of urban living in safe and secure city environments.

A sense of a strong, socially cohesive and diverse community is, in this line of argument, regarded as a precursor to economic viability. The same argument is found as a foundation for social inclusion policies, as Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) show in their work on social cohesion in deprived neighbourhoods. Current governmental aims for promoting the social inclusion of peripheral areas and socially excluded groups are obviously an attempt to rebuild British society. In the context of Glasgow, there exist a variety of area-based Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs), which are mainly located in the peripheral housing schemes of the city. Although it would be bold to classify these initiatives as an 'urban renaissance', with the latter having a much stronger sense of the inner city and its regeneration, the SIP policies are firmly embedded in a similar logic of urban regeneration. Glasgow Alliance, the public-sector partnership which oversees all of the Glasgow-based SIPs, published in their latest strategic document a vision of a "competitive and inclusive Glasgow – a Glasgow which prospers; which includes all of its people in its success and which understands the interdependence between economic and social progress" (Glasgow Alliance 2000, p. 2) With its strong emphasis on the creation of economic growth, this strategy nonetheless moves quickly towards the inner city and the city centre, since this is location of where most the new jobs are located (Glasgow Alliance 1999). The strategy itself, in line with most of current social inclusion policies focuses on individuals, their education, their skills, their health and their living conditions, with social exclusion being defined



as individuals excluded from participating in society because of the lack of certain skills and resources. Hence, training and skills initiatives are seen as the solution.

These attempts of integrating potentially disenfranchised individuals into the project of regenerating and marketing the city does not only have implications in terms of social inclusion policies. It more importantly relates back to conceptual points made about social regulation and discipline. Strong incentives, and if they do not work, some pressure, are in place to make people realise that their own practices and their bodies (including whatever skills they possess) are to be work upon, shaped so that they can become part of the project. A Foucauldian perspective on these disciplinary procedures allows us to question intentions and outcomes of particular policies. Such a perspective, furthermore relates back to the communitarian debates revolving around the rights and responsibilities of citizens (Heron and Dwyer 1999; Imrie and Raco 2001), a debate which will be taken up in more detail in Chapter Nine.

#### **6.4      *New Times? New places? New people? – a city and its contradictions***

Besides the powerful discourse of the New Glasgow as a booming city, critics of development strategies from the late-1980s up to the mid-1990s have expressed their concern over the success of Glasgow's regeneration. Keating (1988, p. 195) mentions two dualisms, with:

economic regeneration in the 1980s [being] [...] highly selective, touching the commercial and tourist sectors but passing manufacturing by, while unemployment continues at a high level. [...] The other 'dualism' is spatial – with successful physical and commercial renewal in the centre while on the periphery, in the housing schemes developed in the 1950s and 1960s as the solutions to Glasgow's perennial housing problem, a new urban crisis has emerged.

Keating aligns himself with a range of outspoken critics of Glasgow's 'economic boom', such as Danson *et al.* (1997), who are highly critical of the success of economic regeneration. Pointing out the modest increases in absolute number of employees in service sector industries (see also Figure 6.1), they stress that many of the skilled jobs in finance and business have been taken up by commuters from outside of the city boundaries. Furthermore, the availability of well-educated staff and lower wage rates, coupled with relatively low turn-over

rates, contribute much to Glasgow's favourable position. From this, they argue that<sup>96</sup>:

[...] not only has the regeneration programme adopted in Glasgow, as we have seen, proved highly ineffective in addressing the city's acute economic problems, it has accompanied and to some degree exacerbated the growing problems of poverty and deprivation. (Danson *et al.* 1997, p. 22)

Being cautious of the conceptual value of a dual city metaphor, I would like to pick up on the theme of old and new Glasgow again and look for some of its manifestations throughout the city (centre). In so doing throughout this final section, I bring together again the two main themes of; firstly, imagineering and the attempts to bring the local population on board in the promotion of the new, including how urban regeneration draws on social cohesion (by means of social inclusion etc.) to achieve sustainable growth; and secondly, how proclamations of a new Glasgow are presented and juxtaposed with the old, the not-regenerated and the failures or, at least, the problems of urban regeneration. In this sense, the present section serves as a theoretically inspired summary on the theme of co-optation, imagineering and social cohesion – it sums up the empirical vignettes of old/new and draws them together.

Referring back to Vignette One, evidence of urban regeneration and the upgrading of, in particular, the spaces of Glasgow's *Golden Z*, the main shopping streets along Sauchiehall Street, Buchanan Street, and increasingly less, Argyle Street, can be found plenty. Also, more and more parts, blocks and roads of the Merchant City are being upgraded, and increasingly marketed for city centre living. New pavement, in conjunction with new trees, street furniture and expensive lighting are introduced as part of the Council's major Public Realm Strategy (Gillespies 1995). More curiously, Glasgow hosts an exhibition of 'exciting new developments in the city' – What's That Glasgow is situated right next to the new Buchanan Galleries shopping centre in the heart of the shopping precinct. Staffed by the CCR this project is co-funded by the Council and SEG; it is to end when its funding runs out in Spring 2003.

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<sup>96</sup> A large section of urban literature has argued for the fragmentation of city spaces into a dual city, or a quartered city, and has in turn explored the limitations of these metaphors for urban research. The danger of a dual city metaphor lies in particular in its simple polarisation and the apparent state of disconnection between the two spaces. Marcuse (1989) also poignantly argues that the discovery of poor and rich in a city is anything but new. While the dual city points towards this, it nonetheless fails to engage in the task of asking for the causes of this process of polarisation. For this reason I want to follow up one core strand of radical geographic research from the beginning, the study of uneven development. Harvey (1982; 1985) has furthered the insights into the processes of uneven development as a core moment in capitalist development. As one of the most important pieces of work on uneven development, see Smith (1984). As Swyngedouw (2000a) notes in revisiting the impact of Smith's book, by highlighting the dynamic inherent in processes of uneven development, Smith reconnects local processes in a theory of scale beyond the locality. Recently, these arguments have been furthered and prolonged to incorporate the post-modernisation of Western societies. The increasing importance of global business activities adds an important dimension to the re-ordering of the scales in which processes occur. The fragmentation of spaces into almost autonomous units is regarded as a core post-modern geographical praxis by Dematteis (2001), thereby identifying processes of fragmentation as embedded within processes of rescaling.

Simultaneously, symbols of the limited nature of success can also be found throughout the city: broken marble benches and missing paving stones indicate one of the key problems of the whole public realm upgrading project. New expensive natural stones require more careful and more intensive maintenance routines, which however are currently not funded and therefore not happening. Endangering the quality of the new spaces, this throws up old maintenance problems for the city centre. This time, in a more acute version: now, the image of the city centre is vital for realising its success, hence increased maintenance work is indispensable.

The city centre pulls in different people: at one end, well-to-do service workers and their families pulled in by the upmarketing of the city's spaces and leisure and retail opportunities, all aided by the extensive regeneration projects; and at the other end, but closely connected to the successes of the city centre and the failure of the schemes, the down and outs of the drug scene looking to access services, to consume and to get the money for their habit. Both are moments of economic restructuring of the whole city, and of the city centre in particular.

Following the different experiences of many of the people that, either work within the city centre spaces, or use the spaces for large parts of their everyday routines, here I am thinking of homeless people, tells us fragmented stories of embodiment. Without going into detail, many of the police officers, especially in the lower rank that make up Strathclyde Police Force, come from the working-class neighbourhoods of the East End, often brought up into the residual ethos of a respectable working class. The CCR, who patrol the city centre and, among other tasks, give out advice to tourists and shoppers, are long-term unemployed Glaswegians on a training programme, often living in some of the most deprived neighbourhoods of the city.

The stories of the homeless, prostitutes and addicts read differently. They also often live or have lived in the deprived outskirts. In some sense they are regarded as the relics of a depressed past, signifiers of poverty and despair. In this they are somehow *old* presences, without having ever been 'winners', and they are currently losing out even more. They are *old* insofar as they have been bypassed by the economic regeneration and restructuring without benefiting from the restructured Glasgow. I argue that they are also part and parcel of the new, however, representing the consequences of uneven development for individual people. They are the victims of transition, and economic restructuring: the new does not hold promises for them, it clearly defines them as the other, the outside, and the undesirables, at least within image campaigns and marketing strategies.

Their presence in the new also indicates the visible success of regenerated areas and the failure of individuals to do equally well – at the extreme end,

these groups of people are constructed as eyesore, and their displacement is the preferred solution for image campaigners and marketeers, as the CCP attitudes shows<sup>97</sup>. For the CCP, the idea of moving 'undesirables' across the High Street, and therefore out of the city centre and their territory, presents a viable solution.

We walk towards Argyle Street and he tells me that recently the police have had a lot of problems with junkies hanging out around Royal Exchange Square, but have now moved them on towards Merchant City, and hopefully further and further East so that they would be at some point beyond High Street and they wouldn't be a problem for him anymore. (Field diary, guided tour with CCP Operations Manager, September 2001)

The 'victims of transition' find themselves clearly 'out of place' (Cresswell 1996) in the upgraded public realm. For these groups, the new spaces do present markedly different spaces. They find themselves in spaces that are increasingly viewed as an economic asset for the city; the city spaces have to be safe, attractive and accessible for the customers of shops, restaurants and entertainment. Hence, image campaigners identify unwanted attributes of these spaces; litter, graffiti, and often too, people who are out of place. Subsequently, these groups are subjected to rules and regulations, such as 'no drinking in public', increased police 'attention' and verbal attacks in local newspapers<sup>98</sup>. MacLeod (2002, p. 2f.), in his paper on the injustices of Glasgow's renaissance, contends that:

Glasgow's recent experience offers some powerful evidence about the dialectical relations between urban entrepreneurialism, its internal contradictions, and the compulsion to meet these contradictions with a selective appropriation of the revanchist political repertoire.

Vignette Five gives a sense of how the majority of Glaswegians use the city centre. Builders and junior office staff have their lunches on the major squares. They all work and build the new Glasgow; they are the workforces producing much of the city's economic boom. However, their participation is very limited. Just as neither of these groups, alongside the call centre representatives, the waiters and waitresses working in the hotels and the extensive army of cleaning personnel, are necessarily part of the old, neither are they part of the new. They work and serve in the new service sector industries on wages which do not allow them to move from the peripheral schemes into some of the regenerated areas promoting city centre living. The normality of their everyday lives, moving across and through regenerated and decaying spaces of the city and their social fabric, does not have much in common with the 'Fat City' proclamations from earlier on. Mapping the shopping and leisure spaces of the *Golden Z*, their use is often restricted to the bottom end of Buchanan Street and Argyle Street.

<sup>97</sup> Note that these 'solutions' are also often the preferred options of tenants for dealing with their 'anti-social' neighbours.

<sup>98</sup> It would be interesting to know how a 'Fordist' city would have dealt with homeless, junkies etc. – certainly public sector agents were not more 'caring' although aesthetics of public spaces were unlikely to be the determining factor in policing these groups.

Examining the city centre's leisure spaces on weekend nights is something I have only referred to in passing before. We meet young male and female Glaswegians who spend large parts of their weekly income on going out, having a good time and all that comes along with it. They come in from all over the city to 'play' in the centre's pubs and clubs. Their entertainment has been in the past, and still is, often regarded as a problem, and see Vignette One about the importance of CCTV cameras for particular hot spots outside some well-known clubs and at the city's taxi ranks. Policing these night-time presences and their incidences of violence and aggression has been one of the problems for managing the city centre. These youth coming into town for a good time play an important role in maintaining the profits of Glasgow's entertainment industry. However, tighter regulations are brought in to clamp down on drunkenness, drug use and, following on from there, breaches of the peace or violent offences among groups of young men.

With all these observations, it appears that the dual city is much more permeable than it has commonly been discussed to be, an argument which has been made repeatedly as a critique of the dual city thesis. But, more important in relation to the theme of imagineering, something of an 'unhiding' has here taken place. With this I return to Katz's observation (2001, p. 95ff.) that it is increasingly space which hides the consequences rather than time – producing geographies of hiding and hidden geographies. Katz focuses on two aspects of hiding. Firstly, she has in mind those geographies which are responsible for the changing social relations of capitalist (re)production on global scales. Secondly, she observes a process by which a global scale of production is dominating over local scales and their social practices which are in large part responsible for the global scale. Although her chapter is concerned with the sphere of social reproduction, these arguments can be made fruitful in the context of Glasgow's old and new times and spaces. It allows us to examine critically the aspects of Glasgow that are presented 'on a plate' – visually within the regenerated spaces of the city and also discursively as part of the new Glasgow and its new fortune as especially promoted by the CCP. But more than that, 'unhiding' makes us question the rationales for putting something up front, especially with regard to sensitive or contentious issues such as begging, or vending the *Big Issue* in the city. As well as how they are made out to be crucial hindrances to the economic success of the city centre's public realm, the ways in which they are constructed, discussed and addressed tells us even more about what is unsaid: what parts of the 'problem' are *not* going to be addressed. If the presence of beggars is the problem, one can arrest them or displace them, and the problem is visibly gone. If, however, the cycle of personal trauma, drug addiction and housing problems that underlies the need to generate an income from begging is regarded as the problem, then the 'solution' presented above is not solving a

lot. Wider social relations and the political economy outside of the city, but also even across the city, are thus removed, cut off and put out of question.

Strategies of marketing the city deliberately utilise notions of temporality: the old has gone and the new has arrived. As discussed above, this is first of all a strategic declaration to gain confidence from potential investors and visitors as well as showing to the city's citizens that the decades of decline are over and that their city is successful again. This temporality announces a clean break between old and new. This break is, however, impossible to make as it is continuously compromised by the permanences of city spaces<sup>99</sup>. Taking the observations within the six vignettes at the start of this chapter, the city of Glasgow is made up of a patchwork of regenerated shopping streets, malls, little side lanes with expensive paving and more as witnesses to the recent public realm and regeneration activities. These are nonetheless located side by side with the fenced-off relics of disused buildings, back lanes full of rubbish, old tenements with the top floors used as 'skips' for homeless people to sleep in, and the less dramatic scenes of pavements in need of repair, old buildings and the general sight of litter, fly-posting and graffiti.

The temporal break constructed by the imagineers and marketers is hopelessly flawed, and in many ways even struggles to dominate the surface discourse that it seeks to occupy. Probably even more compromising for this temporal break are the existing social relations within the city which continue to bear the costs of urban restructuring, such as continuing deprivation and poverty across large parts of the city's peripheral housing estates or low employment rates especially for men across the city. The imagineering of the new Glasgow tries to break away from, to pull up the bridge for, the old Glasgow. But, old Glasgow needs to shop in places like St Enoch's and Argyle Street and so on, go to the pubs and clubs in town to keep the leisure and retail economy going. Also, the labour markets are such that the central city needs a large pool of customer service workers, largely recruited from the old Glasgow.

Let me make some final conclusions for this investigation into the old and the new of the city of Glasgow, its imagineering and its urban spaces. Back in the late-1980s, when debates around post-Fordism and postmodernism were heatedly debated, a group of British left academics associated with the journal *Marxism Today*, published a collection entitled *New Times* (Hall and Jacques 1989). Intended as much as a political manifesto as a discussion platform, they

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<sup>99</sup> These permanences of the built environment carry on previous modes of production. Their state of fixity transposes them into circumstances where previous solutions to overcoming crises of capital accumulation and their concurrent 'spatial fixes' (Harvey 1982) are outdated now and contribute to the "tensions between fixity and motion in the circulation of capital, between concentration and dispersal, between local commitment and global concerns, [and thus] put immense strains upon the organizational capacities of capitalism" (Harvey 1982, p. 422).

proposed – at a time when post-Fordism commonly was only discussed in terms of its economic impact – the far-reaching social and cultural changes that were accompanying it. In this sense, they positioned post-Fordism “at the leading-edge of change, increasingly setting the tone of society and providing the dominant rhythm for cultural change” (Hall and Jacques 1989, p. 12). Yet, they consciously pointed out to the dangers of exaggerating the new “without taking full account of the enormous unevenness and ambiguities that characterise the process of change” (*ibid.*, p. 13). These last remarks on the limitations of the new and the importance of uneven development are, as can be seen from the discussion of Glasgow’s imagineering of the new city, those that are most likely to be downplayed and disregarded in processes of image marketing. Instead, the extent and the success of urban restructuring which, through the images and discourses of the new, have consistently been pushed to the front. Critics of the City of Culture commented on “[t]he apotheosis of the ‘new’ Glasgow created by Pat Lally, Michael Kelly [both former Lord Provost’s] and the Saatchihall Street Mafia [a clever word play on the marketing consultancy Saatchi and Glasgow’s Sauchiehall Street]” (Kemp 1990, p. 13). These images and discourses continue to be pushed to the fore, consequently calling for the displacement of all those people that are witnesses to a less fortunate present. As one outreach worker cynically observes:

[t]hey are not interested... their City Centre Partnership just shoved people out. If you can't see the begging, then the homelessness doesn't exist. What they haven't realised is that the drug problems are getting really bad in Glasgow and that everybody... everybody knew that it was bad but the situation in the city centre is becoming worse... it is becoming worse because of their blinkered approach to it. (Outreach manager, Big Issue, June 2001)

## 7 Chapter Seven:

### Regulating the spaces of an old-industrial city (Part I)

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Let us pursue further the theme of ‘unhiding’ particular geographies raised in the previous chapter. We will do so by following up the rationalities as laid out above that underlie particular policing approaches and how they link up with economic regeneration concerns. The question in hand now becomes how these rationalities are translated into practice. In this sense, we are zooming in on the minutiae of city, crime control and economic regeneration, moving down the scale of research to investigate in detail particular projects and initiatives. In so doing, we take seriously the claim of permeable urban spaces from the end of the previous chapter, which identified the city and the city centre not as separate, clearly closed off territories but as spaces with porous boundaries of regenerating, dereliction, safety and danger<sup>100</sup>. This permeability, as the present chapter will detail, also needs to be considered as endemic to the practices that produce urban spaces. To be able to ask questions about safe city centres hence draws attention to a range of practices that move away in two directions from policing as straightforward law enforcement and crime control undertaken exclusively by the police as an institution. Firstly, the practices are more widely defined than policing as law enforcement, including watching, observing, helping and simply, being present, as well as a host of other activities that regulate, monitor and manage urban spaces and their populations. This claim also points towards the second shift: rather than just considering the police, suddenly a wide range of agents, such as local authorities as well as public and

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<sup>100</sup> Within these spaces exists, nonetheless, a fairly stable core of the city centre in terms of the ‘Golden Z’ from Sauchiehall Street, Buchanan Street to Argyle Street. In particular in the shopping precincts of these streets, the policing efforts are most sympathetic towards supporting the economic revalorisation of these spaces in a number of initiatives such as attempts to license *Big Issue* vendors, clean-up activities prior to major events as well as Hard Target campaigns to tackle retail crime.



voluntary sector organisations, are seen to be contributing to the notion of a safe city centre and to the running of the city, all engaging in a diverse range of practices.

This field, within the academy as well as by practitioners, has been almost exclusively addressed as a topic of policing, crime control, social control and surveillance (for such an approach towards criminology, see for instance McLaughlin and Muncie 2001). The practices considered are usually the criminalised practices of youth, homeless people, prostitutes and drug addicts such as violence, drug dealing and taking, soliciting, vandalism and theft, and including the newly criminalised practices such as begging, loitering and drinking alcohol.

Yet, on a conceptual level there has occurred a change in perspective about how to approach this field occupied by the police and crime control. Shearing, Stenning and Bayley (Bayley and Shearing 1996; Shearing and Stenning 1987; 1996) have been the most outspoken researchers calling for a move away from a focus upon the police as a formal agent towards *policing* as a practice undertaken by a range of agencies. For this change in perspective, the authors draw heavily on Foucault's work on the emergence of modern disciplinary society. Foucault's work on the Panopticon and its role for formal supervision and surveillance has been widely discussed over the past twenty years in particular in relation to video surveillance and CCTV (Fyfe and Bannister 1996, 1998; Koskela 2000; Norris *et al.* 1998). Whereas some of this work is narrowly concerned with visual supervision and surveillance, a growing body of research relating to such questions now explores the practices and details of 'how' power works. Here, the investigation of surveillance practices in different camera rooms of public space CCTV systems allows us to gain a closer look into actual working practices of camera operators and their interaction with police officers (Norris and Armstrong 1999). In terms of policing, Fyfe's (1989; 1992) early ethnographic work on community policing and consultation processes in two London boroughs in the 1980s is an example of such an in-depth approach to the strategic level of policing. Herbert's (1996a) investigation into the 'how' of power through the practices of policing with the Los Angeles Police Department (also, Herbert 1998; 2001a; 2001b) has already been mentioned. Here we find the attention to particular working practices which lies at the heart of the methodological considerations made earlier in this project, something which Herbert also explores in a methodological paper on the importance of ethnographic fieldwork (Herbert 2000), as already mentioned in Chapter Five.

Foucault's work on disciplinary society sets out by detailing the ways of establishing a set of micro-practices that all aim at the construction of docile

bodies. He traces the establishment of an intricate network of institutions that orchestrate a complex system of external discipline. This network ultimately aims at subjects developing practices of the self that take up this external surveillance work and internalise it. Through such closely inter-related network of disciplinary institutions and techniques, conditions are put in place to make people to discipline and govern themselves, rather than relying on external discipline. Thus the Panopticon's innovation does not only lie in the fact that every space can be observed but that the inmates indeed expect such a constant gaze, consequently altering their practices so as to conform with regulations and expectations. The key to understanding the extent of this system of discipline lies in his notion of a 'carceral archipelago' which not only blurs the frontiers between confinement and disciplinary institutions, but in fact makes them disappear "to constitute a great carceral continuum that diffuse[s] penitentiary techniques into the most innocent disciplines..." (Foucault 1979a, p. 297). Attention is clearly paid to the role of the police as an agent of formal social control, equipping them with the task "to reach the most elementary particle, the most passing phenomenon of the social body" (*ibid.*, p. 214). However, while Herbert utilises this attention to the police, he is simultaneously critical of assuming a homogenous approach to the work by the police, and warns of the tendency to dismiss as irrelevant the fractured, fragmented and piecemeal activities that constitute 'real' policing (Herbert 1996a, p. 56). From such an observation, one can better understand the strategic move undertaken by authors such as Bayley and Stenning (1996) above: moving away from the police as an institution towards policing as a *practice* undertaken by a range of agents and involving a set of activities beyond crime control<sup>101</sup>. Taken these recent debates on board, this chapter explores how the city is regulated, managed and in an overall sense policed. The practices germane to this section have already been hinted at; they encompass not only the policing of criminals by beat officers or the routine surveillance of suspected perpetrators by means of a city centre CCTV system, they also entail many of the more mundane practices such as giving advice, offering help and simply being physically present. Moreover, office-based activities such as writing minutes, following up events and complaints should now be seen as part and parcel of regulating city spaces, albeit in a hidden fashion.

Taking on board Foucault's insights about the micro-powers which ultimately construct subjects through minuscule and routinised practices of discipline and self-discipline enables us to move away from a focus on state power (see section 2.2.2). This has been widely acknowledged within social and cultural

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<sup>101</sup> More recently still, Shearing (2001) has moved even further by proposing a focus on *the governance of security* to replace traditional foci of the police and policing.

studies and resonates with the methodological concerns of social praxis and an ethnographic methodology that is attentive to routine practices. To refer briefly back to some of my theoretical starting points, I want to reiterate my conception of social praxis within a changing political economy. Inherently social and marked by existing social relations, the practices of regulating city spaces do not happen outwith a political economy, and cannot but be marked by the tensions, ruptures and transitions of geographic change within local, national and international political economies<sup>102</sup>. This exploration is largely an empirical one. Informed by the conceptual concerns discussed in the first part of the thesis, this chapter and the following one focus on actual policies and practices and present them in an empirically-rich manner. For the concluding Chapter Ten, the discussion arches back to theoretical debates and joins up empirical chapters and conceptual issues.

Having laid out some of the ground work for this chapter, I will start exploring the field of regulation by addressing the policy field most commonly implied when the discussion comes to cities and issues of policing and regulating – the community safety policies which have been mushrooming throughout the UK, and which have occupied many of the headlines over the past five to ten years. Current discourses are almost entirely framed within one relatively narrow corner of this topic: the crimes and dangers in question are almost uniformly those of the street. Across the city two different kinds of public spaces have attracted most attention and are highly visible, those of peripheral problem housing schemes and city centre spaces; often contrasted, these spaces have in common that they are under threat, besieged.

The ‘unsafe streets’ of the UK have moved to the centre stage not only of crime control and policing policies, but also of a wider national and urban governance: through the means of community safety, streets are to be made safe, retail crime to be beaten and youth to be diverted into constructive pastimes. At the first look, Zero Tolerance Policing (ZTP) does not seem to fit into some of the seemingly ‘softer’ approaches promoted under the community safety banner, but perhaps these are actually two sides of the coin of crime control. Under the label of quality of life, all these issues arguably become integrated in strategies of economic regeneration and social inclusion.

Community safety have become a legal requirement for England and Wales through the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA 1998), which demanded the establishment of crime reduction partnerships for local authorities. These partnerships initially stand in a direct line with the Home Office’s crime

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<sup>102</sup> In stating these connections, I depart from some poststructuralist reasoning: although sceptical of grand stories and holding on to a critical stance towards these, I do not denounce them entirely.

prevention and crime reduction policies. As a separate development, many local authorities, as well as Strathclyde Regional Council, already had community safety initiatives prior to the CDA 1998. Community safety is perceived to be a broad field, touching upon and encompassing many traditional mainstream policy fields such as education, social work, housing and planning. While on one side presenting a welcome umbrella for partnership working, it simultaneously suffers from this broad conception. Such a broad concept is in particular difficult when on the other hand government strategies on best practice and best value can only introduce and work on crime statistic-relevant performance indicators, while stressing the broad range of community safety from child safety, fire safety and road safety to security in public spaces and safety from violent crime and housebreaking. Hence these performance-related indicators as measurement for success and outcome are in danger of narrowing down an, initially broad, conception of community safety to an exercise merely interested in crime statistics.

This chapter hence takes a close look at the regulatory practices and also at those regulated, asking questions of the agents involved, groups subjected and offences committed and created. By so doing, it charts the, sometimes, shallow depths of Government policies of community safety, spending time with the commonly identified perpetrators who make the community unsafe. Making the *community* unsafe? What community? Whose community? Unsafe for whom? By whom? By doing what? These are the nagging questions which therefore crop up, demanding a much closer look at policy routines, their assumptions and projected solutions. Such a move obviously transgresses any pragmatic formulation of policy aims and targets. It allows us to come back to the starting point of how urban spaces become regulated, this time approaching the 'perpetrators' of community safety' from another entry point: being streetwise, walking with the outreach workers of homeless agencies, and acknowledging the need to be (in)visible. In some sense, community safety and street liaison almost form a(n), if nonetheless, conflictual unity: the discursive powers of the former define and aim to control the Other; community safety as the bureaucratic, official outside, street liaison as the streetwise, unofficial inside, the one criminalising the other.

The polarity that is established through this focus on crimes of the street and the 'othering' of those who are made out as the dangers on urban streets has a key consequence. By focussing on one type of crime, those of the street, it completely bypasses another range of practices which are crucial to the regulating of city centres and its spaces. The regulation, mediation, enforcement, and control of order in city spaces encompasses a multitude of activities which never make it into discourses of community safety, let alone

headlines of dangerous places. Business operations throughout the city are subject to a plethora of requirements and regulations. Starting with planning applications for a new building, change of usage, alterations in the layout, businesses are in continuous contact with enforcement officers. Many of these are administered from within the local authorities, other are part of government agencies, trades organisations and so on. Whereas 'crime' and 'offence' are never far away in relation to street crimes and quickly applied to a range of practices, these words, and along with them a whole set of institutional responses to do with crime control and law enforcement, are rarely applied to what happens *in* such business operations. It seems that when entering the realm of business and corporate crimes, 'crime' is dropped from the vocabulary. For incidences involving trading standards, food safety and consumer protection, the regulatory agents talk about malpractice and misconduct, and are strongly reluctant to prosecute in case of breaches of regulations and laws (Croall 1992).

Business crime is not directly related to the city's old-industrial past and the imagineering of this past. It is however closely intertwined with current service sector and entertainment-driven regeneration of the city (centre), in particular in terms of food- and drink-related incidences. This link between economic growth and business crime is the one in which this chapter is interested. In addition, the type of business crime under discussion here is one which often directly affects people's well-being and thus personal safety. These people, as customers, prove crucial to any economic strategy for the city centre, but nonetheless are virtually bypassed by any sense of community safety in general, or for the city centre in particular.

By employing a dialectical move – looking at community safety and the dangers of the street, then at street liasing within the homeless community, and finally moving outside of this relationship to prize open the field of regulating businesses – the structure of this chapter links back to the methodological claims made earlier in Chapter Two and Three.

### **7.1      *The policy field of community safety in Glasgow***

Since its establishment in 1999, Glasgow's Community Safety Partnership (CSP) has been the official agent for community safety at local authority level. It is preceded by some fifteen years of community safety work on behalf of the old regional council of Strathclyde, which took up community safety as a policy field for local authorities in the late-1970s following experiments by NACRO, an English crime reduction charity, in several London boroughs. Whereas the work of the regional council had been instigated by key local agents, namely at senior

level in the Strathclyde Police Force and the Council, the recent rediscovery of community safety as a field for local authorities followed national government initiatives. Whereas the CDA 1998 made local community safety (or crime reduction) partnerships mandatory for English and Welsh local authorities, this does not apply in the Scottish context. Across Scotland, guidelines of how to introduce and to operate successful community safety partnerships were issued along with the CDA 1998 (Scotland). Apart from the difference in compulsion across the UK, community safety partnerships are expected to provide local solutions to local problems that are now being classified as community safety.

The guidance by the Scottish Executive set outs with the statement that “[c]ommunity safety is a strategic priority for a range of key players who *collectively* can build safer, more inclusive, healthier and more vibrant, economically attractive communities” (Scottish Executive 1999, p. 8). The guidance continues: “Local authorities and police are encouraged to take the lead in building safer communities by establishing local strategic partnerships involving public organisations, the private sector and voluntary bodies” (*ibid.*). We can relate this guidance to the comments of local policy makers of community safety.

Just trying to make ... the Council is seen to make big... big differences, strategically for the whole community, we're just trying to do small things. That's our job, we get in there, into whatever the local problem is and pull together the relevant local people. I must admit, we have yet to be knocked back. (Community Safety Officer, CSP, February 2002)

Clearly, the key emphasis rests on the notion of locally defined problems which are to be addressed from within that respective locality. This is even more pronounced when looking at the existing community safety forums across the city, as discussed below.

A second emphasis lies in the mode of how to address problems of community safety: *by establishing local strategic partnerships*. As with other fields of policy, partnership working is regarded as the best practice to achieve complex goals<sup>103</sup>. This being said, whereas government guidelines and acts emphasise the leading role of the local authorities, the driving force on a local level in Glasgow (and probably elsewhere) still lies mainly with the police force. This involvement dates back to the early example of the Community Safety Initiative of Strathclyde Regional Council, where:

[...] the police were more closely aligned to Strathclyde Regional Council through Strathclyde Police, so we were co-terminus to their work. The police were involved in a lot of joint

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<sup>103</sup> Although written before the Labour Government came to power in 1997, Hastings (1996) review of partnership in urban regeneration policy (exemplified by the Scottish Urban Partnerships) sheds light onto the ambiguous and highly politicised concept of ‘partnership’, both under Conservative government and also under New Labour. She highlights the difficulties of how the potential of partnership becomes realised as ‘non-governmental’ partners struggles to change an officer culture of doing policy. Hastings calls for a further unravelling of both empirical as well as analytical ‘unravelling’ of the content and context of partnership beyond its rhetorical appeal.

planning. It was actually a policeman whose ideas it were to create Safe Strathclyde. There was a joint management board that had all the council services plus the police and the fire brigade. So as that evolved, the police started embracing more and more the concept of community safety. It's something that has been done down South. Until *now* the police have a Community Safety Department and an Assistant Chief Constable for community safety. They have been very closely involved. We also have a Chief Inspector seconded to community safety within here and a fire officer seconded. (Director, CSP, September 2002)

The theme of the police as motor for taking up and formalising community safety strategies and practices on a local and regional level is evident throughout the interviews. In fact, the police see their own involvement and input even more critically.

Also, we do other partnership, working with... crime prevention partnerships. These are volunteers basically from the local communities and maybe bring in business people as part of their group as well. We would, although we don't chair it, we would be the secretary to it and basically drive it on and really, to be honest with you, if there wasn't police involvement in it, it would really struggle to keep these things going. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, September 2001)

The officer continues to outline the key to understanding the police's involvement in community safety: "They [the community safety forums] are a good method of getting the local community to work with your crime prevention issues." This observation entails a crucial dilemma of police work: crime rates have risen significantly over the past 30 years, and hence the workload of the police has multiplied but without a similar rise in police resources (for the relevant academic debate, see Garland 2000). The dilemma the police is facing, and this is not a new problem, is that they are, as explained by another police officer, always the first agent that is looked to and expected to solve problems which are effectively *outwith* their remit, such as sorting out mental health care in the community. In order to deliver community safety, other parties need to be involved so that the police can attend those calls which are of a police nature and provide better services for the community. Hence, rather than presenting an extension of responsibilities through institutionalising community safety, the current policy initiative seems to offer an opportunity for the police to get those agencies involved that should, statutorily, already be dealing with safety bound up in housing, health and education (paraphrased, Police Officer, C Division, Strathclyde Police, June 2001). From this discussion, the motives for police involvement can be identified. Indeed, for the police, the establishment of a formal partnership with close linkages to the Council, and effectively within the Council from April 2002, offers the possibility to withdraw a little from the driving seat and to give input through secondments (for instance, through the local authority liaison officer) or on a strategic level through the partnership board.



**Box 7.1 The Glasgow Community Safety Partnership's Community Safety Action Plan 2001/2002 (Source: Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000)**

The framework for action is put in place through the CSP Board, and the CSP Team, as well as by a number of key partners such as Glasgow Alliance. In its strategic paper 'Creating Tomorrow's Glasgow', the partnership sets out as one of the key themes 'A safe Glasgow'.

From these considerations, eight community safety priorities are derived:

- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| - Violent crime           | - Housebreaking            |
| - Vandalism               | - Drugs                    |
| - Accidents in the home   | - Accidents on the Roads   |
| - Safety in Public Places | - Equality and Anti-Racism |

The priorities set out their targets. For Priority 4/Drugs the target is, e.g., "Achieve a 10% reduction in the percentage of population of SIP areas who believe that drug activity is a common problem in the area".

This is followed by a statistical analysis of crime patterns as well as surveys such as Glasgow Citizen's Panel.

For this, a wide range of over 20 measures are designed which identify the action to be taken, lead responsibility as well as expected outcomes.

For this research, the most relevant priority is Priority 7/Safety in Public Spaces. It is the only one without a clear target but instead a comprehensive package put together to tackle public safety concerns such as litter, repairs on roads and pavements, traffic management, and street lighting, as well as focussing on particular offences (aggressive begging, shoplifting, vandalism, etc.). Key issues revolve around maintenance and cleansing routines such as dealing with graffiti, dog fouling, discarded needles and fly-tipping in the public spaces.

Priority 7 is the priority which explicitly addresses the city centre.

The end of the document details why Glasgow needs community safety. Looking at crime statistics and deprivation indicators, which are both at high levels:

"The relationship between the above statistics and community safety is relevant inasmuch as research has indicated that areas of high deprivation also procreate high crime rates, greater incidences of accidents in the home, lower life expectancy and anti-social behaviour." (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000, Appendix 3, p. 1)

Glasgow's CSP consists of such a partnership board with considerable senior level representation from police, local authority services, fire brigade and other agencies. The day-to-day work is undertaken by a team of over 20 full-time employees, many of them under previous secondments from partnership members, but now council employees<sup>104</sup>. The community safety officers work mainly around particular topics identified in the annual Action Plan. This plan details, under eight separate priorities, the actions by which specified targets are to be achieved (see Box 7.1 ).

<sup>104</sup> There does not seem to exist a clear career path of community safety officer within local authorities and no special training is available. In comparison, the Police Force offers four week training course for community safety officers.

The other means of addressing community safety are local community safety forums. Originally set up by the police for each police division<sup>105</sup> in 1999, the administration is now carried out from within the CSP. The forum which also oversees the city centre is still co-terminus with Strathclyde Police A Division, and hence is responsible for a large part of the city's West End as well. The forums are made up of a number of permanent agencies which have relevant input to make to local community safety issues for the particular area.

In the definition of key problems, these interests merge and result in policing and community safety strategies which revolve around youth, street people and the respective practices of drug dealing/taking, begging, crimes of violence, and crimes of dishonesty. All of these crimes are those of the street, synonymous for public spaces, and not necessarily but nonetheless often collapsed on to the spaces of the city centre<sup>106</sup>. The explanation for these offences, and the view on how they damage existing communities, is invariably explained by resorting to the Broken Windows hypothesis (see section 6.2.1). As this interviewee tells us:

[t]he Council is taking some steps to establish an environmental enhancement team that will target the city centre as one of its main priorities, and I think they are big community safety issues, they affect the quality of life of people, they exacerbate the fear of crime and they generally instil in people a sense of apathy about their environment and that they can do nothing about it. So I think it is quite important that we manage and maintain the external environment to a high standard so that people feel that they have... that they are getting a benefit from it and that works in terms of a safer environment. (Director, CSP, September 2001)

Another interviewee explains with reference to vandalism, how he is a great believer that vandalism and disorder and other dysfunctional behaviour are all interlinked, implying one can identify the hardcore vandals who are also disorderly, drink, take drugs and get involved in other crimes. He asked me whether I had heard of Broken Windows, which all started off in the US with Bratton (NYPD head until 2000) and (former) New York City mayor Giuliani. The concept eventually reached Glasgow City Council in 2000 who set up the city-wide graffiti squad. Agencies raised money in Drumchapel to give it to the

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<sup>105</sup> Strathclyde Police Force covers an extensive area in the Central West of Scotland. Besides the conurbation of Glasgow, it also stretches into Argyllshire as well as along the Ayrshire coast, making it the second largest Police Force in the UK. The city of Glasgow is covered by four division. A Division with the smallest territory covers the centre of Glasgow and the West of the city. E Division stretches from the east of the city centre across Glasgow's East End and into Lanarkshire, G Division covers the South of the city and East Renfrewshire and C Division covers the North of the City and East Dunbartonshire. Hence, the type of area covered varies largely between rural and urban areas as well as within the conurbation where A Division's central location sets it apart from the otherwise largely residential areas covered by the other division. Each division is again subdivided, AB subdivision is the one which covers almost exclusively the city centre of Glasgow with a few residential inner-city schemes. This research project concentrated on A Division and its AB subdivision and the peripheral housing scheme of Drumchapel as part of the Force's C Division.

<sup>106</sup> Here's an important qualification to make insofar as the Community Safety Action Plan for Glasgow does include home safety, accident safety and road safety – a wider focus than many other community safety projects such as for instance the Drumchapel Community Safety Forum shows. The wider activities predating the current Glasgow-wide CSP are reviewed in an audit report under the Healthy City initiative (Walker *et al.* 1998).

squad to clean up the Waverley area, a district in Drumchapel worst affected by drugs and vandalism, to do so quickly, and to see what then happened to the vandalism and disorder figures. Asked if there be any impact, he responds “If you clean up an area quickly, they don’t tend to hang out there” (paraphrased, Police Officer, C Division, Strathclyde Police, June 2001).

The Broken Windows hypothesis seemingly offers a legitimate framework for explaining how vandalism and graffiti affect communities, and such social explanations are readily adopted across the field of community safety. These assumed links between crime, the physical environment, community well-being and offenders have been offered by the majority of interviewees, some as the police officer above explicitly referring to relevant debates. Before exploring in more detail the approach of partnership working which is regarded as crucial to addressing these problems, let me make a quick observation. Broken windows not only links environmental aesthetics to community stability, but in so doing it also offers ready solutions to address problems of community decay (and hence much wider threats of social disintegration and public disorder): in other words, the means to combat broken windows are mobilised through a wide range of measures ranging from environmental enhancement teams, through youth projects and licensing regulations to high visibility law enforcement.

### 7.1.1 Community safety and the ‘new’ Glasgow

The mode of assessing problems through Broken Windows entails the key commonality among the different agencies, being the point where their respective interests meet. For the police, the problem presents itself in feeling themselves as put under pressure from society – and it is as general as that – to sort out problems that police officers themselves reckon cannot be straightforwardly solved with police work. Local authorities and agencies around local economic development have come to regard a wide range of offences or, more correctly, *incivilities* as detrimental to economic regeneration. Such bodies have now started to realise that they have a role to play in addressing these issues, even if it is only because the police alone do not seem able to sort out problems of graffiti, vandalism and unwanted presences. In this sense, the official community safety framework offers something to link into<sup>107</sup>. For the agencies involved, community safety presents a new attempt at establishing partnership working, in particular between the police and local authorities with the prospect of exchanging relevant information and, even more significantly,

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<sup>107</sup> This sounds very optimistic, but looking at how government funding is more and more channelled through special programmes, such as community safety funds, they have to take up these national initiatives to secure funding. Those interviewees who are concerned with fly-posting and graffiti removal continuously complain about the lack of support from the police to tackle these offences if they are not subject of a special campaign.

the co-ordination and integration of a range of services so that to establish working practices that reflect community safety concerns.

Two examples should serve to illustrate these integrative working practices: waste disposal and transport management to reduce violent crimes in the city centre. In relation to the dangers of bottles and broken glass to be used in attacks, a police officer explains procedures in place to minimise the danger of violent incidences involving glass:

The culture now... I like a pint of lager but the youngster nowadays like a bottle of Becks, a bottle of Budweiser, it's carrying a weapon. So we stop them going out on the street. We have the bylaws in the city centre of Glasgow which is very specific to this area. You're not allowed to drink, from an open container, alcohol. That's to take away... that's another batch of weapons. Part of our community safety is that we make sure that we link in with the local authority to make sure that when the pubs are emptying late at night that the Cleansing people are taking it straight away, otherwise you got another batch of weapons on the street. It's all, the whole agencies, it's all partnership working. You say, 'Ok, I've got a problem here, I've got a lot of assault with bottles on the streets.' We do the enforcement and they do the clean-up. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, January 2002)

A similar kind of integration is envisaged by the CSP in relation to dealing with incidences of violence at taxi ranks on weekend nights. Being asked about a community safety approach for a 24 hrs city, the CSP Director outlines.

Again, it would be an action plan. It would be a whole raft of things. There would be adequate policing in place. It wouldn't be 8 people on a night shift, you might have 50 to 60, 100 police. They would be in the right areas at the right time, not to react but to prevent and defuse situations. There would be the regulation enforcement from the Licensing Board, to see that they were enforced. Under-age drinking would be minimised. I would address issues for training for stewards to make sure that they didn't create problems but actually resolve and mediate problems. [...] Managing... to get a transport infrastructure for 33,000 young people, literally there are taxi queues up two miles long, you know... best town in the world until that moment you're starting to get a taxi. So we need enough transport so when the young people do come out of the clubs, they can go home. We also have to make sure... young people are the future and we want them to have a good time, we want them to use the city centre. We want to make sure that it is a safe environment and they are too, there's a great deal of responsibility. There is a whole range of things we can improve. (Director, CSP, September 2001)

Together, they engage in the policing of the 'new' Glasgow, at the intersection where policing and regulating target quality of life issues which are inter-linked with concerns of economic regeneration. Both examples above relate to the problems posed by an expanding night-time economy as part of economic regeneration. Here, the dangers of violent crimes are at the fore.

These dangers are still reminiscent of some of the older images of Glasgow as a violent place (see section 6.1.2), and are still felt by policy-makers across the field to such an extent that marketing the image of Glasgow shines through many of the measures taken, based on the image of Glasgow that is still in circulation:

I know it has its image as this kind of tough Glasgow. It's really not that tough. There are bad people, of course there are, like in any town. People have this image still of Glasgow being

razor gangs and people fighting and all that nonsense. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, January 2002)

Such claims are hence often paralleled by statements similar to the one above about transport management which clearly identifies problems, including threats of violence, while still proclaiming that Glasgow is “the best town in the world”. The key to dealing with the apparent paradox – the parading of a positive new image while still acknowledging the ‘mean streets’ as a reality – is seen by all interviewees as *knowing* the place and its people. Once you know Glasgow and its people you will see that it is not violent and tough, and thereby unsafe, but really a good place to be: thereby, without hesitation, they subscribe to the notion of Glasgow, the Friendly City, as promoted by the Council and Scottish Enterprise Glasgow.

Strathclyde Police Force has had a Community Safety Department for a number of years, albeit until a few years ago residing under the title of the Community Involvement branch. Community safety within the police is the department that concerns itself with crime prevention advice and education. By taking up the role as a mediator between police, the public and other agencies, it is also the department that most closely liaises with public and private sector agents in partnerships, committees and forums. For this role, police officers regard their role as not only presenting the police to the outside but also in marketing police, police concerns and police work:

It’s very much a community-based dept. I’m the salesman of this particular division. I’m the guy who goes into the community. I deal with the elderly, the young, the infirm, the socially deprived, the... you know, a lot of sort of race relations, encouraging... the community still to live together without fighting because of colour or religion or you know... nationality. It’s all things like that. It’s about going in and making sure people live together. And hopefully keeping the criminal out of that community. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, January 2002)

This role is regarded as having become more important for the police during the process of close co-operation with other agencies where the police need to be professionally represented. In this process, the Community Safety Department has acquired a specialist role within the internal division of labour of the police force. Alongside the substantial Media Services of Strathclyde Police, Community safety is acutely aware of the need to promote police work, spreading the word that good policing is happening and making Glasgow a safe and attractive city. The relationship here to the media is one which requires constant attention and careful balancing. Many of the officers express their concerns about negative reporting on police-related incidences, as well as an inability to influence directly media presentation<sup>108</sup>.

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<sup>108</sup> As an interesting aside, the 2001/2002 Annual Report of the Force (Police 2002) included a four-page newspaper supplement, entitled ‘The Leader’, that is widely distributed across the city to inform about ongoing police work.

Having discussed community safety so far without focussing particularly on the city centre, I would like to narrow the focus of the discussion down to the city centre again, bearing in mind the interconnections highlighted in the previous chapter about economic regeneration, policing and community safety. Locating the city centre in community safety strategies may at first seem a slightly odd task, especially given the focus on residential settings of community safety. The legal requirements of forming crime reduction partnerships for the whole local authority in England and Wales usually also includes a city centre focus to the extent that it is the city centre where people work, consume, entertain themselves and sometimes live. Coming from a crime control perspective, the city centre accounts for a large proportion of a range of offences, notably crimes of dishonesty (above all, retail crime), as well as disorder offences and to a lesser extent crimes of violence. But how far have city centre policies truly been translated and incorporated into community safety agendas?

### 7.1.2 Community safety for the city centre?

‘How are these new spaces to be protected?’ is the key question being asked for policing and community safety in the city centre. This question revolves around three sets of crimes and offences: retail crime, drugs and various disorder offences. Furthermore, the regenerated centre, with its spaces of consumption, leisure and entertainment, also modifies existing offences and facilitates new ones, including among the latter the likes of relaxed licensing regulations, recreational drug use, credit card fraud, mobile phone theft and new forms of shop lifting. For the first time in Glasgow, the 2001/2002 Action Plan looked at establishing a community safety forum solely for the city centre and its specific problems, where it was outlined that the CSP “will establish a City Centre Forum in the coming year with key partners such as the Police and the City Centre Partnership” (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000, p. 31). Going through the minutes of the forum, as well as those of the CSP board, it becomes clear how the city centre has become the subject of serious lobbying, primarily on behalf of the CCP who continuously raise the need for a specific community safety approach to the city centre (and does so as well in strategic meetings between the two directors of the CCP and the CSP, and with other senior officers). Eventually, in October 2001, the Central and West Community Safety Forum (CWCSF) received a new project proposal for a Crime Reduction Partnership.

While the city centre has always been a key focus of policing activities in relation to the above offences, though, it until now only figured to a limited

extent within community safety discourse and practices<sup>109</sup>. Looking at the Community Safety Action Plan (see Box 7.1), we find only one of seven priorities with direct relevance to the spaces of the city centre. Safety in public places focuses on environmental improvement of these spaces, and in doing so mentions problems of discarded needles, aggressive begging, shop lifting and drug dealing/use. It does not, however, mention at any point the people engaging in these practices and throughout, the safety of the public is the key in addressing these issues. Hence the basic cleaning of area is the preferred main plank of the strategy (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000).

As outlined by the Director of the CSP, the current situation of community safety is dominated by the concerns of residential communities. Whereas to date the city centre formally falls under the remit of CWCSF, the projects of the forum are, again, pre-dominantly shaped by residential concerns. Following the projects that the forum has undertaken over the past three plus years following its establishment by the police in 1999, we find initiatives such as Safer Saltmarket, Safer Townhead and a number of other proposals along these lines of concerted action involving a range of services to provide environmental improvement, physical crime prevention coupled with high visibility policing. Interestingly, the project of a city centre Crime Reduction Partnership (CRP) is proposed by the Police and not, as one might expect, by the CCP:

That's, that's has been brought up with this one here, the crime reduction partnership. That is apparently what they call it down in England. I don't know if they've decided to give it a go up here. It was actually the Strathclyde Police that put this presentation forward with this one. So they are looking, they approached the likes of St Enoch's Centre, Buchanan Galleries, Princes Square and they approached people. All of them were going, "That sounds good, getting something done on the shoplifters, making the place more attractive for people to come in and shop, we're all for helping you out." (Community Safety Officer, CSP, January 2002)

I am inclined to interpret this move as a strategic one. The CSP has not considered the city centre for a while and, from researching minutes and correspondence between the CCP and the CSP, as well as from talking to the relevant policy-makers, there seems to have been some reluctance on behalf of the CSP to focus specifically on the city centre. The reason for this is probably that the senior figures in community safety view community safety as a key part of social inclusion, devised to ensure that vulnerable people are protected and are provided with fair opportunities. In contrast, the city centre is seen as big business and dominated by commercial interests, all in all not a vulnerable

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<sup>109</sup> Pain and Townshend (2002, p. 106) in one of the few articles that explicitly examine community safety for a city centre context point out situational crime prevention has been developed with view on (high crime) residential neighbourhoods and hence poses difficulties for a city centre context. The concept of *community safety* is an even more complicated one for a city centre context as "[m]ost British city centres have very small residential populations, and instead there exists a plurality of communities in the city centre with different values, cultures and identities, who access the city centre at different times and for different purposes."



sector but a very influential and powerful one which does not require community safety support. With these reservations towards broadening the community safety agenda to include city centre concerns, especially if solely formulated through the town centre management body of the CCP, a more neutral agent such as the police, are not regarded as partial to business interests, unlike the CCP, therefore provides a more authoritative and legitimate backing for extending community safety to the city centre<sup>110</sup>.

**Box 7.2 The Safer Saltmarket initiative**

**Saltmarket Initiative (20/10/99) : Saltmarket needs a safety initiative**

Several problems have been identified in the area which could be fixed by a multi agency approach involving

The identified problems are:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| - dog fouling and dogs running loose                                     | - prostitution   |
| - rubbish and rubble in the 'no man's land'                              | - bin sheds to be removed  |
| - walls at back are too high and should be lowered                       | - lighting needs improvement   |
| with fencing on top to keep area secure                                  | - Fencing to be done this year   |
| - secure access to home is to be improved                                | - EH reported increase in discarded syringes and blood spillage                        |
| - Env. Health to erect no dog fouling signs and have a dog warden patrol | - Big issue and aggressive begging   |
|  | - Should be marketed as Safer Saltmarket, funding could be from Central Area Committee |
| - Housing budgeted £ 100,000 for housing improvements in area            | (Source: minutes of CWCSF, 2000)   |

Clear focus of project on local environmental and safety issues, based on broken windows concerns as exemplified in this statement by someone involved:

Safer Saltmarket was the first thing they carried out. The residents down there were complaining about the amount of drug abuse, about the amount of prostitution taking place... ehm, they weren't happy about the state of the environment down there. So the safety forum took this on board and... Roads Dept. got involved, Housing got involved, Cleansing got involved, the police got involved and the local traders got involved. We all sort of worked together, identified what the problems were and got... some solutions to them. Cleansing... did a blitz, sort of cleaned up the whole area. There were problem with the prostitutes, using of all places the bin shed to service their clients, so the bin sheds were demolished. There was a fear of crime because of various access routes, they were all blocked off. There were problems with some door entry systems. Housing and the police got involved with that. The pavement itself was in a bad state of repair and Roads fixed that and it worked very, very well. (Manager, CCP, July 2001)

<sup>110</sup> Note that of course many of the strategic priorities of the Community Safety Action Plan, such as drugs or violent crimes include the city centre. However, none of them actually treat the city centre as a particular case for community safety.

Through the course of a year, therefore, community safety did become constituted as a concern for the city centre and action was deemed appropriate to establish a city centre community safety and crime reduction initiative. This would serve as a forum within which the concerns of the community of the city centre could be collected and put into a strategy of community safety for the city centre of Glasgow. At the start of this subsection, though, reference was made to the peculiar nature of a city centre 'community': a community dominated by businesses operating in the city centre, in particular retail businesses, but also leisure and entertainment premises such as pubs, clubs and restaurant, as well as companies with offices in city centre locations. In addition to this 'stationary' community, the city centre is characterised by its workers, consumers, passers-by and other transient populations using it for particular purposes, alongside a fairly small residential population that is largely located on the fringes of the centre. So what kind of representations of city centre 'community' end up being formulated in the recent crime reduction partnership? Does this question sound almost cynical, given the leading involvement of the CCP<sup>111</sup>?

As recently as late-spring 2002, a business plan for a proposed crime reduction partnership (CRP) (Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002) was produced. For the purpose of finalising a business plan, a police officer from the A Division was seconded for a few months over the summer 2002 to the CCP, another example of the extent to which police and other agencies co-operate along the lines of community safety. Let us consider this business plan in more detail<sup>112</sup>. Praising the city centre's retail strength and its attraction of over two million tourists per year, the report introduces the specific problems of community safety for Glasgow city centre as the problems of a 24 hour city with a night-time economy, noting the particular effects that crime and fear of crime has for businesses, customers and staff. With a significant proportion of crime and disorder occurring in town centres, this "has an effect on quality of life issues, which are a main factor in the success of town centres [as they] can lead to loss of confidence, avoidance behaviour and subsequent economic down turn" (Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002, Introduction)<sup>113</sup>. Having

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<sup>111</sup> The stated goal of the CCP is to bring together private and public sector agents to promote and manage the city centre of Glasgow. The aim of such promotion and management is clearly an economic one, making managing issues more effective and efficient as well as promoting investment into the city centre. For these reasons, their view on the city centre is one partial to economic and business interests, which also leaves a fairly obvious definition of community as a *community of interest*, and more precisely, one of *business interest*.

<sup>112</sup> I would like to see such a documentary analysis as complementary to my methodological concerns of social praxis. Only in November 2002, the development of the CRP progressed so far that a crime reduction manager was appointed and the scheme was launched (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2003). During the time of research, the proposed business plan presented the most recent state of the partnership, drawing together existing initiatives and approaches to focus them more closely on a particular range of issues.

<sup>113</sup> The document is not paginated, hence I give the respective section of the quote for referencing.

raised the issue of quality-of-life offences, the focus rests at the moment not only on retail crime, but on the common assumption that fear of crime prevents people from shopping in the city centre. The same applies to the dangers of a nighttime economy, in particular to violent crimes, drug taking and drunkenness associated with the city's nightlife. Such claims are then followed by a more thorough assessment for the need of a community safety and crime reduction partnership, which is (unsurprisingly) solely based on crime statistics, and fear of crime surveys. This all underlines the themes laid out in the introduction of the plan. The benefits that are expected from a particular set of objectives are, as might be anticipated, firmly located in the framework of economic regeneration: namely, economic growth for businesses from higher profits and fewer losses, and synergy effects from networking across the private and public sector, as well as image gains for individual businesses and also as for the city centre as a whole (see Box 7.3). To achieve these objectives, a set of rudimentary instruments is to be vastly enhanced, and more importantly to be integrated and managed in a coherent manner through the CRP.

These instruments are the existing CCTV scheme, an already existing radio link between the retail businesses, a more rigorous and co-ordinated application of exclusion orders against known offenders, the sharing of information via BICS (Business Information Crime System), and the training of retail staff. The common denominator of all these instruments is that they are designed to combat retail crime. Indeed, with the exception of the CCTV, which is also used for managing and policing the nighttime economy, the focus is retail crime *alone* and thereby reducing the cost of crime for businesses. No visitor to the city centre will be affected by persisting shoplifters, who will be banned from entering the city centre or effectively detected by the communication links that inform one shop's security staff that another shop has just caught a shoplifter. However, what all of these measures will achieve is the building up of a business-led intelligence network that is based on profiling existing offenders and detailing their looks, characteristics and dangers. This intelligence is assembled in a specially designed database<sup>114</sup>. Although to date no experience of an integrated CRP is present, the document gives us an indication of how particular practices are designed to achieve the goal. In relation to business crime, this involves the extensive reporting of incidents such as retail crime, the sighting of excluded persons and vandalism, as well as of environmental issues such as begging and litter as fly posting. Furthermore, premises are encouraged to operate a deter-at-entry policy of preventing 'unwelcome'

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<sup>114</sup> Clear reference to discipline and knowledge through gaining information about potential and existing offenders – collecting information on which fight against retail crime is based. RD also hopes to put information such as HIV infection of individuals in this database – indication of range of software but also of hopes placed into this technology.

persons from entering shops and other premises. The application of exclusion orders by premises or the CRP; retail bail condition by which known persistent offenders are banned from particular shops or areas, and supplemented by the civil recovery of the costs caused by retail crime. Many of these measures are located within grey areas of the law, and in fact present attempts to extend current definitions of crime. Both deter-at-entry and, even more so, exclusion orders are based on common law, and, though in operation, are at the moment being investigated by lawyers to see how widely they can be applied and how securely measures can be based on them (personal communication, CCP, August 2002). All of this information is fed into a particular software designed to support the fight against retail crime, and thus this database is the core to this intelligence network.

### **Box 7.3 Community Safety and Crime Reduction Partnership**

The need for a CRP is identified by high incidences of crime in the city centre and the fear of crime by customers and retail staff alike. Key to crime in the city centre is business crime, detailing losses to retailers due to crime, particularly shop lifting and credit card fraud.

"Key partnerships objectives are:

- To create a safe and secure Glasgow City Centre
- Build a stronger community through an effective partnership
- Reduce crime and violence
- Reduce criminal opportunity
- Reduce anti-social behaviour
- Reduce fear of crime
- Utilise resources effectively
- Promote a positive image of Glasgow city centre
- Secure the future prosperity of Glasgow as a vibrant shopping and entertainment centre" (A framework for Action)

The benefits would be a reduction of both crime and fear of crime, economic growth as businesses will make higher profits, with improved networking and the development of a corporate image of a powerful business community

There are four main components to ensure an effective partnership:

- CCTV
- Radio Link among businesses
- Exclusion Orders against known and persistent offenders
- Information Sharing

These practices all exist in some form or another, but need to be improved and above all managed and co-ordinated.

With these measures, the scheme targets both business crime and environmental issues, including classic street safety concerns such as drugs, disorder, drinking, begging, litter, vandalism and flyposting.

(Source: Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002)

Crime prevention for the business community is the field of expertise of the A Division's Community Safety Department. 'Hard Target' as an educational campaign to train retail staff is the most prominent activity of the department. It is designed to allow staff to operate exactly the above-mentioned deter-at-entry policy, as the officer who gives the talks to shop staff explains.

There is security staff around [in the shopping centre in which the shop is located] but shops which think that they are there for them are mistaken, the security staff often only looks after the centre and don't bother with the shops. What they want from them is that they keep undesired people out of the whole centre in the first place. As it is at the moment, the shop staff needs to act as their own security and considering the small size of the shop, and that all staff is female, they should aim to keep people out of the shop in the first place. (Fieldwork diary, Hard Target talk, December 2001)

The second part of crime prevention in the city centre is based on physical alteration and design to make premises secure and hence unattractive for offenders. Although this crime prevention advice is offered free of charge, and is given for every planning application in the city centre, the interest of businesses in actually investing in crime prevention is very low, as claimed by interviewees in the Community Safety Department, A Division, Strathclyde Police. Apart from some of the national chains such as Marks and Spencer's, who have a designated national policy on how to design out crime, running alongside their involvement in town centre management schemes, CCTV schemes and so on, many shops had to be persuaded that severe losses incurred from retail crime can be prevented with some slight modifications to the set-up of the store:

GH: So if the shops are not prepared to put part of their profits into crime prevention, are they not taking it seriously or are they expecting someone else to do it?

A: Well, it's... some are better than others. The likes of M&S put a lot of money in crime prevention and cameras, they have good measures and good staff that work in there. So it's difficult to generalise. Shops, to me, their main focus is to make money, that's their business and if they realise that most of their profits are going out of the back door that is when we get involved.

GH: Do they know how high their losses are?

A: No, not really. But what [...] we brought out was the Top Ten of shops losing out and we brought them together. One of them was particularly reluctant, the one with the highest. So all the other nine said, well, we're doing it. Now have a guess where all the shoplifters are going to go to. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, September 2001)

It seems that the threat of being less competitive because of high losses acted as the final incentive to get some shops on board.

So, if it is not in the businesses' interest to pursue a CRP and actually to push for its establishment, who has an interest in the CRP and an integrated crime reduction approach towards retail crime? From the above discussion, it certainly seems that the CCP and the police are the two main players in pushing the CRP forward rather than the business sector itself. With this observation I argue that it is, once again, the agents of marketing and local economic development that are most concerned about the overall levels of crime in the city centre and

hence take up the calls for safe and secure cities as part of a competitive city package. For this reason, their focus on retail crime and offences around the nighttime economy makes sense as these are two domains in which the urban economy is deemed to be particularly vulnerable.

Yet, and this is highly instructive, there is arguably a third domain which persistently refuses to leave the focus when crime and the city centre are discussed. Lumped together with environmental issues, community safety is mentioned again when:

[p]ersonal safety, fear of crime, vehicle crime, street robberies, misuse of drugs, disorder, drinking in the street, begging, litter, vandalism and flyposting are some of the issues included under the community safety and environmental banner. (Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002, Operation of the scheme)

These crimes of the street are to be tackled in a positive and proactive manner, thus ensuring that “Glasgow is portrayed in a positive light” (*ibid.*). This claim is indicative of the approach to community safety as crime prevention and reduction throughout the document. Although the CSP’s Action Plan (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000) is referred to here, none of the plan’s issues of accident prevention and safety in public places is even mentioned but instead, community safety is equalled with offences and non-offences such as begging. Once more, therefore, community safety becomes classic street safety and works directly on a Broken Windows assumptions for the CRP; but we will hear more about these aspects of street safety later.

### 7.1.3 Mainstreaming community safety

Having talked about the issues that are addressed under the community safety heading, this final subsection will turn the attention towards a key practice in working toward community safety. Going back to the table summarising the Safer Saltmarket initiative (see Box 7.2) one thing becomes obvious: the mode of producing community safety is clearly problem-led, the problem being identified in a multitude of environmental shortcomings for the area and, resulting from this, several concerns for personal safety. Problems of this type spring up across the city and are brought to the attention of the CSP, as taking another example where the CSP was asked to produce a safety audit for a sheltered housing complex. The comments of the officer involved in this audit sum up the typical problems, and also indicate, in a similar manner as in the Safer Saltmarket initiative, the proposed solutions.

From the safety point of view, the place is a nightmare. It is the worst sheltered housing complex ever built in Glasgow and if that architect is still alive today I put him against that wall and shoot him [*laughs*]. I’m sure it was looking very pretty on his plans and his scale model, and he planted all the beeches and all the rest of it, but they never thought of what it would look like in fifteen years time. These huge trees overlapping each other, blocking out the light. The outside is a bit like a... fort, you’ve got some fort bits on the outside and three

archways, coming off the main road you're able to get to the inside of it, where you've got a low bungalow type housing, some of them are maisonette flat type. As well as being not able to see much, there are many parts with only one light. Especially in winter and with all these trees end up covering the lights and it is pitch black. The pensioners have been attacked, their houses have broken in. It's handy for the local youth to hang about because it's under the archways, off the main street, the police can't see them. So they are sitting in there, drinking and some of them are even shooting up and once they are high... and one man had a tin of paint set alight plunged through his kitchen window. [...] So we went in, pulled together Land Services, the lantern people, the roads people, the police, housing and all the rest of it. Housing services have agreed to a maintenance plan, doing up bits, the windows. Land Services have either completely pulled down, dug up the trees or cut back, I mean... in one place you couldn't open one of the windows because these two branches were actually bent against the windows. [...] You just didn't have any daylight coming in because of these trees. So the trees were either taken away or cut back, extra lighting was put in, [and] discussion with the police and the community safety police and they would put more patrols in. (Community Safety Officer, CSP, January 2002)

The architectural layout of the housing scheme is evidently regarded as not safety conscious as it obscures vision and is too closed-off from the main road. This problem has been exacerbated by overgrowing trees and shrubbery, broken lights and a generally run-down state of the housing scheme, all adding to fear felt by the elderly residents about leaving their houses, something which is not helped by youth using the scheme as a favourite hiding place.

To sort out the problems of this and other places, the CSP is put in charge both to bring together the respective agencies which are, as in this case, mainly council service departments, and to establish a plan tackling the specific safety concerns for that particular area. Safety concerns? Broken lights, broken pavement and overgrowing shrubbery. In some ways these do not sound like *safety* concerns, more like *maintenance* concerns: this is a housing complex owned and managed by the council. Enquiring about these linkages between statutory maintenance obligations and community safety, the officer asks herself a rhetorical question about why money suddenly seems to be available for these standard procedures once they are declared a community safety issue. This circumstance throws up important questions of funding and the availability of funding for the routine maintenance of (council) housing. However, these events seem to contribute to community safety building up an impressive picture about its effectiveness and efficiency. Safety audits and the 'solution' to these problems are relatively straightforward: knocking down bin sheds, repairing lights, fixing pavement – yes, fixing broken windows and thereby restoring a feel-good factor for the communities involved. In this sense, community safety is the continuation of the 'something works' mantra of the situational crime prevention of the 1980s. Yet, community safety is arguably less ideology-laden in the sense that it happily adopts social crime prevention measures and youth diversion projects alongside architectural modifications and ZTP; whatever seems appropriate to address a particular problem. This pragmatic approach meshes well with the locality agenda of community safety:



solving those local problems regarded as being caused on a local level and solving them by local means, as in the minutes for the CWCSF<sup>115</sup>.

It was re-emphasised that the prime aim was to achieve local solutions to local problems. Saltmarket and Townhead were selected because funding was available and we could deliver a solution quickly ensuring a positive start for the forum. (CWCSF minutes, 01/02/2000)

Even so, there are certain reservations to this approach expressed by members on the forum who “questioned the long term value of the initiatives. She was concerned that they may be seen as cosmetic exercises rather than having a meaningful long term impact” (*ibid.*). Apart from these reservations, though, the general view is that a project is taken on for a few months, and the forum ‘batters it to death’ (interview, member of CWCSF), before dropping the issue. It is also interesting that the recipe for success is a very simple one: do some physical alterations and the problem will disappear from that place, raising wider issues of a quick policy fix. It is easy to cut trees and so on, but the problems for the kids, or the pensioners’ fear of crime for that matter, will quite likely not be treated so easily. However, it is a very compelling strategy because it so easily produces success and is mirrored by the Director’s statement that he is not “a great fan of making rocket science of what you put in place but just do what you can do. Don’t bother with fad or fashion” (Director, CSP, September 2001)<sup>116</sup>.

The internal division of labour within the police force is worth looking at to gain a sense of the role of community safety in the wide range of police and policing activities. The Community Safety Department is involved in teaching, informing and educating the public, city centre businesses as well as its partners through personal safety talks, Hard Target presentations and other crime prevention activities. A large part of this ‘business’ is disseminating the activities of the police so that they fit into community safety and partners’ agendas. The same is also happening the other way round: the Community Safety Department advises agencies and businesses to adapt their practices so that they fit into the police agenda, as seen above in relation to waste management or police input in community safety forums. Through the emergence of community safety as a new policy field a wide range of activities and policies become duly subsumed under safety, and by way of community safety they are often clearly linked to crime prevention/control. Such a move has been discussed as a *criminalisation of social policy* in the sense that what were previously understood strictly as welfare policies now are discussed as community safety and policing concerns (Gilling 2001). In the course of this process, community safety becomes a field of policing, and, moreover, policing which is still considerably dominated by the

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<sup>115</sup> This is very much en vogue with community safety, see Gilling (2001) and his discussion about an eclectic tool kit of measures that seem to work.

<sup>116</sup> At the same time, the staff is highly conscious of the difficulties involved in mainstreaming community safety vis-à-vis education, housing and social work as established service providers.

police as key agent (as has been discussed throughout the previous section). This being said, new agents and new modes of collaboration and partnership working appear through the CSP and more pronouncedly through city centre developments around the CRP. Throughout these changes, community safety becomes an institution of policing and social control, in the manner that Jones and Newburn (2002) discuss the formalisation of new social control mechanisms. How such mechanisms operate will be looked upon in the next section.

## 8 Chapter Eight:

### Regulating the spaces of an old-industrial city (Part II)

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This chapter directly continues the debates of the previous chapter on regulating city spaces.

#### **8.1 *Street Liasing for Glasgow's homeless and prostitutes***

After exploring the ways in which community safety is being mainstreamed, and its targets of crime prevention (and to a lesser extent accident prevention) becoming key objectives for other services such as health, education and social work, we can now turn our attention back to the spatial locus of most of the 'crimes' targeted, that is the street. Here, we keep a narrow focus on the city centre streets, its shopping precincts as well as its small back lanes, bearing in mind the comments made at the end of the previous chapter: namely, that the field of policing is being formalised and taken up by other agents, such as streetwork and outreach teams. Before the practices and policies of the agents of streetwork and homeless liaison are discussed, though, we have to consider again the impetus for moving street life, its dangers and crimes as well as the people who are identified as causing these problems, into focus.

Chapter Six spelled out the linkages between economic success and quality of life offences. Begging, especially aggressive begging has been identified as one of the reasons for poor performances in Glasgow's city centre retail businesses. The 'voice of reason' in all of this is supposedly the City Centre Partnership (CCP). Taking these arguments as a starting point, this section investigates in detail how these linkages are being made in particular practices, and how in fact such practices and presences are conceptualised as dangerous, a threat towards the personal safety of shoppers and, in the logic of quality of life offences, also therefore a threat to economic success. The proposed Crime Reduction Partnership (CRP) takes up these concerns in a straightforward manner, offering a concerted response to combat the threats posed to businesses and shoppers alike.

The community safety forum which covers the city centre area does not take up business concerns, but focuses on the residential fringes of the city centre such as in the Safer Saltmarket initiative (see Box 8.2). It reflects the concerns of street safety that underpin the CRP as well as those that inform the CCP's specific actions against homeless people, beggars and *Big Issue* vendors.

### 8.1.1 Being afraid of street dangers

Let us briefly reiterate what in particular is subsumed as crimes of the street, taking the two examples of the Safer Saltmarket initiative of the Central West Community Safety Forum and the recent proposal of a Crime Reduction Partnership for the city centre (see Box 7.2 and Box 7.3). More specifically, a range of practices figure in all accounts of dangerous city centre streets. These are associated with street people of various kinds.

- Soliciting and prostitution in general, but even more specifically outside the officially sanctioned places and times; in the example of the Safer Saltmarket, a single prostitute servicing her clients near the binsheds of a residential neighbourhood;
- Begging, aggressive begging as well as selling the *Big Issue*; *Big Issue* vendors are one of the first mentioned in relation to begging, and their vending is often seen as a cover for begging or, even worse, for the dealing of drugs;
- More generally, the presence in public spaces and the use of these spaces in ways that are not related to legitimate and officially sanctioned consumption; here, first and foremost, drinking alcohol in public falls under this category as well as injecting and consuming other, illegal drugs;
- Yet this category is much wider and extends to other practices which are either of a 'social' nature such as gathering, hanging out or fulfilling basic needs such as sleeping (rough).

It would be interesting to reflect more critically on how exactly these practices become thrown together and marked as dangerous to the city centre, its businesses and its customers. If we knew more about the processes integral to the identifying of these dangerous practices, and then in the subsequent organisation of them into a purposely adequate response, we would be able to say more about the interests involved in their articulation<sup>117</sup>.

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<sup>117</sup> Sibley's (1995) sociological-psychoanalytical work on how geographies of exclusion (of unwanted people are practices) are constituted possesses intriguing points of connection to my study.

Immediately evident is the role of agencies such as CCP and CSP in this process of singling out particular problems within the Saltmarket area, the city centre, or, indeed, elsewhere. Here, the individuals such as those interviewed for this study express their opinions on litter, homelessness, begging and vandalism in a similar way to this interviewee.

Safer Saltmarket was the first thing they carried out. The residents down there were complaining about the amount of drug abuse, about the amount of prostitution taken place ehm, they weren't happy about the state of the environment down there. So the safety forum took this on board and Roads Dept. got involved, Housing got involved, Cleansing got involved, the police got involved and the local traders got involved. We all sort of worked together, identified what the problems were and got some solutions to them. Cleansing did a blitz, sort of cleaned up the whole area. There were problem with the prostitutes, using of all places the bin shed to service their clients, so the bin sheds were demolished. There was a fear of crime because of various access routes, they were all blocked off. There were problems with some door entry systems. Housing and the police got involved with that. The pavement itself was in a bad state of repair and Roads fixed that and it worked very, very well. (Operational Manager, CCP, June 2001)

In Chapter Six the ways in which these statements circulate not only throughout the professional networks of community safety, marketing and upgrading, but more widely and publicly through the media, have been highlighted. Sources of knowledge of these issues are often first hand, such as the Operational Manager of the CCP who regularly visits the city centre to look out for problems that fall into his remit. The police, in particular community police officers and beat officers on patrol, cannot but gather a similar first-hand knowledge through their daily routines. This knowledge is of a practical nature. Through the embodied practices of walking and observing, these people form their embodied sense of the city and its problems and dangers, which in turns informs solutions and strategies of how to deal with these problems.

A second source is more difficult to identify and to put into perspective in terms of its pressure and urgency. This source is that of public complaints, or more precisely, complaints by users of those public spaces. One part of such complaints is more easy to make out, that of shop owners and staff within the city centre, but in terms of general complaints by the public it is less easy trying to gauge the extent to which complaints are made and passed on to organisations such as CCP, CSP and police<sup>118</sup>. Once probing where complaints, opinions and demands come from, an answer like this is usually offered.

GH: Where do you get the complaints from?

A: Members of the public, maybe just even phoning in and saying, "Look, I was... I walked along Sauchiehall St and there was 10 people begging from me and three of them were started swearing at me when I wouldn't give them money;" things like that. (Street Liaison Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, September 2001)

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<sup>118</sup> This is not about crime reports made to the police but people airing their grievances as expressed in Box 8.1.

In the case of the police this route of communication is easily followed as incoming calls will be logged and passed onto Operations, or in the case of incidences like the above will be passed to the Street Liaison Team of A Division. Although the police are more cautious about demands placed on them, as has been discussed above in relation to community safety, there is perhaps a recurrent theme here in that in most accounts the public *is* presented as a justifiably angry voice of concern. This approach is adopted in particular by the CCP and community safety organisations<sup>119</sup>, and it is mirrored in the introductory statement of the CRP's rationale.

Crime and fear of crime have been and continue to be concerns for people and businesses in the City Centre. A survey of patrons and businesses carried out by EKOS Ltd. in 1999 for CityWatch, showed that 54% of people were concerned about crime in the City Centre with a similar percentage saying that they were worried about becoming a victim of crime in the City Centre in the evening. [...] The issues of begging and drug users has also been identified as being problematic in the City Centre with the 2001 survey revealing that 46% of respondents found them to be a serious nuisance or nuisance. (Glasgow City Centre Community Safety and Crime Reduction Initiative 2002, The need for community safety and crime reduction partnership)

These concerns are also expressed in the interview excerpt of Box 8.1 where people complain about aggressive begging and air their frustration with the sheer number of people 'littering' the streets. Subsequently, it transpires, these people start avoiding particular streets to avoid being accosted by beggars.

There are a number of interesting points to be made about how the police in effect make use of 'the public'. It seems to me that the CCP in particular is an organisation which has very limited dealings with the general public, being mainly orientated towards businesses and public sector agencies, and in this respect one can ask questions about the legitimacy of claiming to represent the public. Furthermore, the very use of the term 'public' assumes a homogenous, unified voice speaking out against begging, aggressive begging and *Big Issue* vending. Just a look across city centre streets begs the question of how single-minded this public can indeed be (see in particular Vignettes One and Five).

Seemingly, through arguments like the above, aggressive begging is constructed as a danger to people shopping and entertaining themselves. This argument hooks up with the Broken Windows concept, namely in the way that aggressive begging instils fear in people and thereby endangers community living. This fear, it is argued, leads the kind of avoidance behaviour described in Box 8.1, damaging shops and businesses.

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<sup>119</sup> We should, however, not forget that the key to the current policing priorities and targets are the crimes 'that the public are most concerned with' (Strathclyde Police Force 2001b).

**Box 8.1 From beggars to fraud and avoidance**

A: One of the complaints we get from people is saying is that one of the biggest problems when they go to the city centre is aggressive begging. They hate it. Some of them will avoid going down certain streets because they know the place is littered with them. You can't walk ten yards and there's another one. When I say aggressive begging, that's usually the likes of most of the Big Issue dealers, ehm sellers are alright, but some of them can be right in your face and it can be quite frightening for people, especially elderly people. Although they are out for some charities, quite a few get picked up by the police, quite a few are not collecting for what their tin says after all. Most of them are genuine, and, although they out there for good causes, it can be very annoying to people when they are trying to shop and every few yards you get a can stuck under your nose.

GH: These are the fundraisers?

A: Yeah, the likes of I don't know, British Red Cross, Red Cross or Help the Aged or Leukaemia, Marie Curie. They are all great causes, don't get me wrong, but it can be very, very annoying and a wee bit, especially for elderly people, they start getting quite harassed by it. Every few feet, yards, where they move, there is somebody else sticking and turning where they go. Some of them find it very difficult to say "No." So they feel they've got to put something in. It puts people off going in, shopping when they know that they gonna be hit by a barrage of those people and *Big Issue* sellers and other people saying, "Gonna give us a hand. Any money for a cup of tea, missus?"

GH: But they are sort of two different issues, aren't they? Because the fundraisers, they are companies, agencies who make a lot of money for these charities whereas the other are basically homeless people

A: People begging for themselves. It is two different lots of people but at the same time it can cause the same frustration and annoyance. It's an upset to people, from the likes of the traders' point of view. I think for a wee while, Buchanan St precinct, they just couldn't turn their head left or right and you would find somebody else within. It was all genuine people collecting for different charities. It got to that stage that people would think, "Phuh, I go that way. I'm not going down there, I don't want to keep putting my hand into my pocket." People then started not going down that street, the shopkeepers were going, "Wait a wee minute! We lose all this business because these people are all out with their tins." It's annoying for them as well to lose their business because people start to think, "Oh no, I had enough. Look, I've contributed every day this week already. I don't want to get hit again when I go in."

GH: How do you learn about people's frustration about these issues?

A: Quite a lot of it is through the police. People tend to, they see a cop walking along the street and will stop him and say, "You've got to do something. That *Big Issue* dealer was being verbally threatening to me because I wouldn't buy one of his magazines." Through the police and if they complain about constant harassment [...] if they see a police man on the beat in the area. Some of them had written in a letter, saying "We're absolutely sick of it. You can't move for them." You get it that way as well. [...] The Council, if I remember correctly, has received in the past letters from people, shopkeepers themselves, saying "You gotta do something about this, as a council, as a city council. We're losing business because people are frightened to come down the street because of all this aggressive begging." They've written to the police as well. Between the council and the police, you get to hear about it. As I say, it's mostly the complaints from either the shoppers themselves or the shopkeepers, either contacting the police or the council and complaining about it, from different points of view. (Community Safety Officer, CSP, January 2002)

Examining more closely the emotions expressed in Box 8.1, we, however, come across a whole range of emotions that have little to do with *fear*. The interviewee talks about people feeling hatred, feeling harassed, put off,



frustrated and upset. Above all, the incidences are annoying, very annoying, *very, very* annoying. In all this, fear and fright seem to play only a small part amidst the general feeling of being annoyed and frustrated by having to encounter begging<sup>120</sup>. The type of practices that arouse anger and sometimes fear in passers-by are to a large extent exactly those practices that give street people access to money, such as prostitution, begging and *Big Issue* selling (Dean 1999). Practices that are of a social nature arouse anger, too: people gather for a chat, some food or a drink on the streets, as the street is the only place where they can meet without having to spend money. As one interviewee comments:

A lot of our homeless people are not that drunk<sup>121</sup> because they may be seen as, and they look a bit, scruffy and they've got a can in their hand they may be seen as they've just, they are having a drink in a way that other people would go into a bar and do it. They maybe feel they can't afford that or whatever, or the camaraderie is on the street. (Co-ordinator, RSI, May 2001)

Identifying these practices as dangerous, fearful and annoying brings the agencies closer to the formulation of solutions. What 'solution' means for the CCP and, to a certain extent also, the CSP (for instance in their Safer Saltmarket initiative), has emerged clearly from the previous discussion: the CCP is determined in its pursuit to ban begging in the city centre, and relocating it elsewhere. If this is not legally possible, it aims at controlling *Big Issue* vendors through the introduction in a limited number of fixed vending stalls. On an *ad hoc* basis, moving 'undesirables' on, away from the shopping streets, and preferably outside the boundaries of the city centre is regarded as the most desirable option. The CCP's definition of the problem justifies such an approach: if the visibility of homelessness, namely begging and *Big Issue* vending is the problem, people have to be moved on, outside the view of the public. This is also where the CCP's 'responsibility' ends. They afford not to look into any causes of the problems of begging.

However, there exists a wide range of organisations that operate within the city centre and are primarily concerned with street people and their practices.

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<sup>120</sup> It is worthwhile relating these sentiments to some of the more recent research on the widely discussed theme of fear of crime. Pain (2000) provides a comprehensive overview of recent debates, highlighting problems of largely quantitative, questionnaire-based studies, while applauding ethnographic approaches to research in depth particular neighbourhoods in relation to fear of crime. Particularly critical of the all-pervasive discourse of fear in crime policy were Farrall *et al.* (1997) as well as Ditton *et al.* (1998, p. 10) who in fact contended "there was no 'fear of crime' in Britain until it was discovered in 1982." With such contention they highlight the closely-knit policy context in which fear of crime, especially that of women, became mobilised as a victim-based response to perceived threats. Hence, the concept remains contentious as well as highly politicised. An interesting angle is taken by Pantazis (2000) who urges us to consider how insecurities experienced by poor people contribute to heightened vulnerability. This vulnerability is also expressed in a higher fear of crime, both on the street and in the home but is not so much of a crime-related origin but based on the socio-economic difficulties experienced.

<sup>121</sup> The reasons for street people trying to stay relatively sober was given by the interviewee as street people being vulnerable, and even more so if they are drunk. Being too drunk makes them very vulnerable to attacks, either from the public or from other street people.

Firstly, the discussion will turn to some of the statutory and voluntary sector agencies in the field of homelessness, drug addiction and prostitution. Secondly, the work of the police and its different branches, namely operational policing and the A Division's Street Liaison Team are discussed<sup>122</sup>.

### 8.1.2 Taking sides and reaching out

Let us change our viewpoint away from the CCP and community safety towards those agencies working with street people. Such a move offers us a perspective that is more sympathetic towards street people. It is also a *wider* perspective as it accounts for the socio-economic as well as personal context of street crimes.

The RSI co-ordinators' quote above on people socialising on the streets presents a first insight into the routines and daily practices of living on the streets. My access to these practices, and in fact my initial interest in them, has been limited insofar as I only encountered them as already voiced problems to city centre regeneration. The claim that these practices are problematic and undesirable needs to be questioned by asking for whom are they a problem? Central to this question are the processes by which these street practices become criminalised. To highlight these processes, a non-criminalising perspective as it is employed by many streetwork organisations is vital to move beyond the claims made by economic development agencies in the city.

An abundance of literature explores the daily lives of people living on the streets, their social geographies, their networks and their practices<sup>123</sup>. This literature offers rich ethnographic insights into 'the other side' of regenerated city spaces, opening up a perspective onto how public spaces across the city are used in other ways than commercial consumption and leisure activities. I encountered many examples of such daily routines of socialising, eating, drinking and sleeping throughout my interviews with streetworkers. Rather than developing a social geography of these groups and their practices, I will highlight their importance for understanding the movements, networks and practices taking place across the city (centre), and for understanding how public

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<sup>122</sup> Only as a quick introduction to different policing departments, Operations carries out the operational policing where officers on shift attend to whatever situation arises. Intended to foster community relations, Community Policing is in place in a number of (often viewed as problematic) residential areas, with officers dedicated to be patrol those areas on foot, get to know the local specifics and also attend public meetings in their community. The tasks of community policing cover some of the operational policing but are generally wider. Community Safety Departments provide crime prevention to the public and to organisations through, for instance, crime surveys for buildings and safety talks to schools and shop staff. These departments have increasingly been enrolled to represent the police in partnerships. These three departments were those which features most prominently in this study. In addition, there exist specialised branches such as drugs squad, organised crime and CID.

<sup>123</sup> Within human geography I want to particularly draw attention to Duncan's (1978) early work on tramps, but see also Passaro (1996) and Rowe (1990).

spaces are used by people who need to convert some of these public spaces into private spaces, simply because they lack the privacy of a (safe) home<sup>124</sup>.

### Box 8.2 Selected support agencies in Glasgow

#### **The *Big Issue* in Scotland**

Established in 1993, the *Big Issue* in Scotland (*Big Issue*) is set up as a social business, not a charity, run as a business it reinvests its profits. Producing a since 1996 weekly newspaper, its aim was to 'help homeless people help themselves' by providing a support network for people to become vendors of the newspaper, and keeping a large proportion of the money made.

To support its vendors, the *Big Issue* has operated an outreach team for a number of years, consisting of varying numbers of staff who distribute the newspaper and provide support for the vendors not only on the premises but also on street. This support extends beyond the selling of newspapers and covers a range of health, finance, and general emotional support.

In 2001, the Grand Central Union was set up to provide a framework to support homeless people into gaining confidence and finding employment. Effectively this extended the remit of the outreach team in so far as not only vendors would get support but every homeless person (all information taken from, The *Big Issue* in Scotland 2003)

#### **Barnardo's Streetwork Team**

A team of eight workers provide streetwork and follow-on support, focusing on young homeless people and people at risk. They mainly do so by making contact with young people on the streets and then linking them into other services and agencies to do with housing, drugs, health and other support issues.

"They provide a crisis service to young people; those who have nowhere to stay of a night, who have run away, who are staying 'care of'; who are at risk of sexual exploitation, who may be involved in offending, who are caught up in using drugs/alcohol, who are feeling and/or living with a high degree of chaos and trauma in their lives." (Barnardos Homelessness Project 2000, p. 3)

#### **Base 75**

Base 75 is the only existing support organisation concentrating on women involved in street prostitution in Glasgow. As a statutory body, funded by Social Work and RSI, it runs as a drop-in centre situated in the city's redlight district at Bromilaw. Unlike the other two projects, it thus does not provide an on-street service but with a fixed location where women can turn up during the evening and night hours.

A non-criminalising perspective runs however into difficulties once those practices that generate income for street people are investigated. While this is unproblematic in relation to the begging and *Big Issue* vending, the biggest source of income for street people with a drug addiction is shop-lifting.

<sup>124</sup> This argument has been repeatedly made in particular relation to the politics of resisting the privatisation of public spaces, such as Smith has consistently argued in relation to the gentrification of New York (Smith 1996; Smith and Williams 1986). For the German context see in particular, Rada (1997) and Ronneberger *et al.* (1999).

There are a lot of homeless people because of drug and alcohol abuse in Glasgow and they all gravitate, not into the SIP areas, they won't go to the Gorbals, although some people say they would, they will 'mostly come to the city centre. They will come here for opportunities to create some form of income. They do that primarily through illegal means, sometimes legal means like begging or whatever. That does create a peculiar problem. (Director, CSP, September 2002)

However, and here I am happy to follow the argument of one of the homeless agencies, the origins of the problem of retail crime, that is drug addiction and homelessness, need to be seen as part of the solution:

[...] but they [the CCP] don't understand this. If they tackled [the problem] in a sort of social... constructive... social welfare they probably *could* tidy the problem up but they don't think that. They think "Let's clamp down on it". They haven't clamped down on it. They actually have created their own problem, you know, which is why we're saying to them "If we're cutting down on the pitches, there's gotta be a trade-off," and that trade-off has to be about actually doing something with the problem, you're doing something about homelessness, about drug addiction. (Outreach Manager, *Big Issue*, June 2001)

The field of support agencies working with or for the homeless is wide and varied, but nonetheless regarded as insufficient in particular when it comes to providing emergency accommodation. For the purpose of this study, the research focussed primarily on those organisations which had street workers dispatched in the city centre of Glasgow. Here, it is namely the Simon Community and Barnardo's which run two street-teams with the former focussing on people over 25 and Barnardo's concentrating on young people that are homeless, at risk of homelessness or that are vulnerable. The *Big Issue* also runs an outreach team which initially was set-up to support the vendors both on the street and in the premises of the *Big Issue*. Here the support extended far beyond the mere selling but involved banking facilities, health clinics as well as confidence building, stress management and general support. Since the *Big Issue* established its Grand Central Union it has extended its support network so that it now includes the whole homeless community rather than just those selling the paper. The only organisation especially concentration on the women involved in street prostitution is Base 75. It does not operate on a streetwork basis but offers a drop-in for prostitutes and also is involved in casework. The drop-in offers health support as well as a needle exchange programme, social work support and has expanded in the second round of RSI to provide an integrative approach to support women involved in prostitution (Support worker, Base 75, May 2001).

Talking to these agencies stresses the prevalence of street crime in street people's lives: these people are highly vulnerable and are victims of violence on an almost routine basis. This acknowledgement has by now made its way into policy circles and is found in a number of studies (Fooks and Pantazis 1999). However, as Fooks and Pantazi's review on literature about homelessness and crime shows, the majority of studies focus on two particular relationships. Firstly,

there is the well-rehearsed argument of homeless as perpetrators and victimisers, threatening the public. Secondly, homeless people become victims of other *homeless* people<sup>125</sup>. This latter view underlies much of the recent policing strategies in Glasgow, and runs through most of the interviewees accounts when talking about their client groups, pointing out 'survival behaviour' in the street prostitution scene and hostels as 'hostile environments'.

If one listens more closely, this apparent common knowledge of violence experienced *only within* the homeless community, such as for instance bullying within hostels and muggings on the streets, is challenged. Time and again, interviewees report incidences of street people suffering at the hands of people outside their own scene. Passers-by verbally abusing or threatening beggars is a relatively harmless, although upsetting, attack against those living on the street as attacks frequently involve beatings and stabbings. In these incidences the victim is often robbed off their money, which is in most cases all the money they possess. As Moore *et al.* (1995, p. 221) have shown, someone who begs is twice as likely to be kicked or verbally abused than to beg aggressively.

Here, the locality of the city centre again plays an important role: busy with people on a night out, it is often deemed too unsafe for street people to stay and beg or, even worse, to sleep rough somewhere in the city centre. Every interviewee had a story to tell of the importance for people to find other places outside the city centre to sleep, if they were sleeping in the open<sup>126</sup>.

From this discussion emerges a notion of dangerous and safe places for street people. Obtaining a highly visible position within the upgraded centre of the city is mandatory to generate money through begging or through selling the *Big Issue*. At the same time, these locations leave street people exposed and vulnerable to a potentially dangerous public. This danger is heightened in relation to the night-time economy. Whereas people frequently beg and ask for change outside theatres, pubs, clubs and other entertainment premises, here the risk of being attacked, verbally and physically, is massively increased as

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<sup>125</sup> Research finding homeless people as perpetrators is, for instance, done by Baron and Hartnagel (1998) and McCarthy and Hagan (1991). As Fooks and Pantazis (1999) highlight, Carlen's (1996) work on homeless people being victimised not only from *within* the homeless scene but also from the 'respectable' public, has been an exception in addressing the issue of victimisation of homeless people. In addition to Fooks and Pantazis' (1999) own work, Ballintyne's (1999) *Unsafe Streets, Street Homelessness and Crime* is an important contribution into the victimisation of homeless. His research in London and Glasgow also questioned the ambiguous relationship between the police and homeless people seeking help, with the latter being regarded as perpetrators rather than individuals in need of protection and support.

<sup>126</sup> The aim of the Scottish Rough Sleepers Initiative, established in 1997 by the Scottish Office, is to abolish rough sleeping, as sleeping in the open by 2003 (for an evaluation of the first round of the RIS, see Yanetta *et al.* 1999). However, the methods of this, sometimes as too narrow-mindedly criticised, initiative have come under scrutiny when it was claimed that the police rounded up and moved on people who were sleeping rough in Glasgow's city centre in winter 2001/2002 just prior to a count of actual numbers. The effect of this action clearly resulted in very low numbers of people sleeping rough that night (Bartlett 2001).

alcohol and drugs come into play when groups of people (especially young men) seek 'a good night out'.

The fringes of the city centre offer shelter and protection as they are less frequented by shoppers, youths and, as we will see in the next section, also by the police. Furthermore, these fringes are where many of the support agencies are located: hostels, day centres and drop-ins. This is also where derelict buildings and vacant sites can still be found for people to find shelter, hide and sleep. However, the dynamics of these fringes is changing fast as the regeneration of the city centre moves on. Whereas until recently the Merchant City was one of those places for hiding, it is now a regenerated and gentrified part of the city centre where different regulations and modes of policing apply (another example of this type of changing frontiers<sup>127</sup> is the Briggait and Saltmarket area, see also Vignette Six).

Support agencies, in particular through the mechanisms of the RSI, collect a vast amount of information about people in contact with these agencies. Here, each interaction is monitored and logged so as to produce regular reports about contacts and their respective particulars (also including personal information about the individuals). Furthermore, the *Big Issue* operates a code of conduct for all its vendors, which entails a list of rules and regulations for selling the *Big Issue*<sup>128</sup>. These rules concern the behaviour of the vendors, who are instructed to be polite, not abusive, and neither drunk nor under the influence of other drugs. It furthermore points out that selling the Big Issue must not be a cover for begging, and selling must be conducted in a manner which cannot be mistaken for aggressive begging. With all these regulating and monitoring practices in place by support agencies, a wide-ranging framework of managing and ordering homelessness is established. It is based on collecting information about individuals, and re-integrating them into mainstream society.

### 8.1.3 Street liasing and policing the other

In our discussion about policing and street people, one organisation has been so far left out, the police force itself. The police force consists of numerous different departments and their division of labour is a complex one. This section will hence examine the particular responsibilities and divisions of labour in place within the police to police street people.

For this I now turn towards the more mundane policing routines of operational policing and community policing. Both patrol streets of the city centre, with a

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<sup>127</sup> See Smith on regeneration frontier in New York and impacts on homeless communities (Smith 1996, in particular Chapter 9).

<sup>128</sup> Other homelessness agencies frequently questioned the effectiveness of this code and all mentioned misbehaved vendors.

Community Police (CP) existing for the Merchant City area, as well as for the residential community of Townhead on the north edge of the city centre, but not for the whole city centre. Visibility is a key concern for Strathclyde A Division's strategy for the city centre, and hence they endeavour to keep the numbers of uniformed police as high as possible especially in the busy shopping areas. From listening to the accounts of police officers working in the city, a key practice to patrolling the streets is *watching*, careful and scrutinising watching. Watching for particular incidents and people, observing them and interfering when appropriate or just taking notes and leaving them, just as this officer explains what he would do when out in town:

If there is a complaint to see about a certain area or something like we will go and take observations. Other than that, we will maybe just choose where to go and just walk about. The city centre itself is not too big, you know. Again, we're not there to hound people. We are just meant to make there that the public can go about their daily business without being pestered, *overpestered*. It's as simple as that. (Street Liaison Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, August 2001)

Another comment by a different officer:

GH: Then, basically the task would be just to basically patrol the area to see what's happening?

A: They may well have a specific task if there is a particular problem, with say, drug addicts or beggars hanging out a particular areas or if there's a particular problem with a lot of suspected drug-dealing going on it may well be their tasks, to albeit patrol and answer calls, but when they can to give special attention to a particular problem area, which would have been identified in tasking and co-ordinating. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, December 2001)

For the residential areas of the inner city such as Townhead as well as for the more peripheral scheme of Drumchapel (see Vignette Four), key problems of policing are attributed to youth. Young people hang out on the streets and residents feel frightened by their presence, worried about what they *may* do. Here, interviewees from community safety organisations as well as the police are aware of the difficult situation of these young people, who have little opportunities to spend their time elsewhere than on the street. Especially in the inner city, any entertainment involves spending money that they often do not have. Whereas interviewees initially describe these young people as dangerous and threatening, it often becomes qualified in the sense that they are perceived as dangerous especially by *older* people.

The problem group that is watched out for in the commercial city centre is rather different. Without being prompted, the Police Officer in the second quote above tells us about the type of problems a patrol would look out for "[...] if there is a particular problem, with say, drug addicts or beggars hanging out in a particular area or if there's a particular problem with a lot of suspected drug-dealing" (*ibid.*). Similar to this one, other officers were happy to volunteer similar fictitious scenarios about their tasks and special problems. These scenarios invariably



involved beggars, *Big Issue* sellers, as well as drug dealing and taking<sup>129</sup> presenting problems for operational policing.

Apart from the drug dealing, many of the practices under observation are not straightforward offences but, instead, have the *potential* of something happening. And, as pointed out earlier, it is the public that complains about these practices. Across a range of different interviewees and departments, the police were presented as being under pressure to react to these complaints, and to meet expectations placed upon them by the public as well as other organisations. To deal with this pressure, they all developed a working definition of what constitutes 'legitimate' or 'appropriate' demands and necessitates police action. Let us look at these two comments.

We are responding to the problems, I mean if it's minuted or highlighted, we will respond to it. We will *look* at the problem and will respond to it appropriately. [GH: Yeah] to... whoever [...] draws things to our attention. If it's not happening, it's not happening. I mean I'm not gonna go to Sauchiehall Street and there are not people begging aggressively then I may not even choose to speak to them. [GH: Alright] I mean the last time we did it, I think that were my comments, I said, "We've been watching them for three days now, I'm not saying it will not happen tomorrow or it didn't happen the day..., but these three days, we've taken observations and as far as I am concerned, they are begging but they are not doing anything, they are not breaking the law." I think the three days we did it. I chose every day not to speak to the... the people. They were not breaking the law and it's not a crime to beg so... This isn't Chile we won't round them up, take them to a forest and shoot them or something you know. (Street Liaison Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, August 2001)

I mean we are talking here about almost any evening, probably this evening, considering this weather, groups of youths hanging about here and you will get a problem. Probably tonight we will get 10, 15 phone calls to the officers alone about groups of youths hanging about here, hanging about there and we could go along there without them actually doing anything. I had a meeting last night. I went to a housing meeting last night, and the houses back on to the canal bank and one man was complaining about youths hanging about. I asked him what they were doing. They weren't doing anything, they were just hanging about. I said, "If they are not doing anything, I am not doing anything." We do live in a democracy and we pay certain prices for living in this democracy. That is the price at times, people are allowed to congregate as long as they are not committing any crimes. (Community Police Officer, C Division, Strathclyde Police, June 2001)

In the Hard Target campaign of A Division, as the educational side to deal with business crime, the experience of officers is employed in presentation where retail staff is trained to re-focus their scrutinising gaze away from the 'down-and-outs' towards professional criminals. When interviewed the officer involved in the Hard Target talks was keen to emphasise that stereotypes about 'junkies shop-lifting for their drug habit' were misleading and that in fact the most

<sup>129</sup> These scenarios are taken from interviewees' accounts. The only *observation* of an incident like this occurred when walking through the city centre with the CCP Operational Manager who pointed towards a group of police and a young man and said "Oh, they are arresting a drug dealer over there." (Field diary, July 2001). It seems worth making a point here about the methodological limitations of relying on interview accounts for incidences like this. But being able to observe crime and policing 'in action' was something that I was unfortunately not able to do in the limits of this research.

successful shop-lifters were those looking respectable. A typical scenario he uses is that of an old lady being observed putting items in her bag and led through to the back by staff. He cautions shop staff never to leave someone alone in the back room as suspects will try to leave their goods behind. He also warns them not to be fooled by their appearance and their talk, as:

[...] the most clever ones are those which don't look like it, who will sob in the backroom that they have never done such a thing before and ask for a drink of water. If you then go and get some water, they will try and dump all of their goods because they know the police will come and search them anyway. As example he told the story of a frail, wee old woman who was caught, and when taken up to the police station they found all staffs' wallets and more in her bag. (Field diary, Hard Target talk, December 2001)

However, despite these warnings, examples of 'neds' and junkies trying to steal goods by far outweigh the time devoted to professionals. This circumstance takes us back to the drugs problem of the city centre where retail crime constitutes the biggest source of income for drug addicts. Here, the retail crime squad, in conjunction with Operations, follow a strict 'target them and keep them out' policy as promoted by the Hard Target campaign. The Operation Domino, having taken place during the Christmas shopping season in 2001, operated along similar lines, resting on the principle that caught and convicted shop-lifters are refused entrance not only to the shop where they were caught but to all other shops that participate in the campaign. In addition, talk about different kinds of exclusion orders is heard from interviewees within the police and CCP. However, whereas the CCP and the CRP are embracing the concept wholeheartedly, the police tends to comment on this issue more cautiously. Currently, exclusion orders are issued by the Procurator Fiscal as a condition of bail. This means once a shoplifter is due to appear in court, the bail condition is put in place until the court case is closed.

A: We are trying out the bail conditions just now and then.. we can ask for an immediate power of arrest as part of the bail conditions and if they are found in that area we can them. It's easy, it's easy pickings, to be honest.

GH: But that then means that the uniformed officers on the street would have to look out for them.

A: They'd need to be aware that they are... So it's the case of us that as soon as a bail condition comes back it's up to us to go to the shops and tell them that a bail condition has been granted. So as soon as they enter the shop, so either we catch them there and then or we speak to two people saying that he was there and we put a report in for that. So even if it's weeks later we can arrest him because he was in breach of the bail conditions. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, September 2001)

So, although once the bail condition is in place, it is 'easy pickings', getting the condition approved can be time-consuming. The actual area for which the order applies presents another potential problem. Currently, bans apply to the shop, where the offender was caught, and its immediate vicinity. However, the CRP is keen on extending it to cover the whole of the city centre, if possible. This proposition raises a series of human rights questions in terms of people's

freedom of movement. If such an exclusion order applies to the city centre, it effectively also bars the offender from accessing any of the services located in the city centre as well as it prevents them from moving in their social networks.

### Box 8.3 Street Liaison Team of A Division, Strathclyde Police

The Street Liason Team of Strathclyde A Division extended its remit in May 1999 to not cover only women involved in Glasgow's city centre street prostitution but also to cover homeless people within the division boundaries.

The team consists of one sergeant and eight officers who work in shifts that cover the afternoon and night-time and co-incide with working hours of the women.

They operate a number of principles, as this interviewee details:

One requires us to work in partnership with other agencies. We work closely with Barnardo's, the Simon Community, the Department of Social Security, the Hamish Allen centre in relation to housing and many other voluntary services.

Our second principle is, we aim primarily at those who frequent the hostels, homeless, and day centres within the division. So it's got to be people who are homeless, who frequent the hostels and are within the A Division. We're not going outside the boundaries, say, to Rutherglen or so. We're especially for this division.

The third one is, it has to improve personal safety, both on the street and within hostel accommodation. Our primary aim there is the safety of people who are sleeping rough and people who have... within hostels, who are actually being bullied or intimidated or who have to keep drugs as a safe room for somebody two doors down, as well as giving advice to people on the streets, also we're giving advice to people who are dealing with them, staff members, agency members as well.

The fourth one is, we encourage the reporting of crime because there is a lot of obviously unreported crime. There's a lot of intimidation and bullying. The *Big Issue* for example, there have been occasions where other vendors were simply taking either the magazines or the money off someone. What we do is, we encourage them to let us know and we will do something about it. (Street Liaison Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, August 2001)

Whereas Operations and the retail crime squad (as well as to a certain extend other specialist teams such as drugs and CID) operate within the city centre and frequently are involved with street people, another specialist branch is a fairly recent addition to the policing approach of Strathclyde Police Force. In 1999 the Street Liaison Team (SLT) was set up within the A Division to provide a street level contact and police service that concentrates on the homeless community in A Division (see Box 8.3). The team existed previously and operates with great success among the women involved in street prostitution. Rather than being a mere enforcement squad prosecuting homeless offenders, the team is also dedicated to pursue offences committed *against* homeless people. For this it relies on people coming forward and reporting incidences. This amounts to a significant task since distrust of the police is one marker throughout the homeless and street people scene given their numerous, and often difficult experiences, with the police. One way of gaining street people's trust is similar to the streetwork of support agencies: the SLT works in plain clothes at those times when the prostitutes work in the red light district, spending a large part of

their daily routine in hostels, support organisations and on the street. Whereas many interviewees of the support organisations are pleased with the existence of the SLT and with the 'imaginative' approach it brings towards police work, the SLT's success in entering the homeless scene is much more modestly evaluated from the inside.

GH: Do you feel that the existence of your team has made an impact part, for instance on people being referred to other services?

A: Yes. Certainly, we made great impact I feel in terms of prostitution, a much lesser impact in terms of hostels [*pauses*] I don't know why, maybe because it's a lot of young males, 20 years of age and just don't want to do anything with the police, we're authority. (Street Liaison Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, August 2001)

Working as an *enforcement* squad is, nonetheless, part of the team's approach, with one of the reasons its existences given as the substantial number of offences committed from people without a permanent place of residence. Here, the SLT mirrors its well-known predecessor, the Charing Cross Homeless Unit in London, which was set-up in the early-1990s to deal with the problems of homeless people offending (see for a discussion of this London approach Fooks and Pantazis 1999). Policing the homeless community seems to be depending on specialist inside knowledge which cannot be gained from beat officers but require more specially dedicated officers<sup>130</sup>. This specialist knowledge and a certain relationship of trust at least with the street people organisations seems to have certainly improved the ways in which suspected offender within the street scene are dealt with by the police, as the accounts given about the SLT indicate. Strathclyde Police had come prior to the SLT under severe criticism from different studies into police relations and homelessness (in particular Ballintyne 1999; Fitzpatrick and Kennedy 2000). These studies found that many confrontations between police officers and homeless were in fact characterised by police harassment.

A: Aggressive begging, begging *is not* illegal in Scotland but so you effectively can get charged with begging so they'd just say they'd been aggressive. Aggressive constitutes of course a charge of breach of the peace. They say they were standing in the way of the public passing and that stuff. [...] Oh, they would have been easily sitting on the ground and that's what the police would be saying *certain* police officers would say that you know

GH: And is there anything you could do, for instance, in [...] when a police officer claims this person has been...

A: No. Nobody is going to believe a homeless person in court [...] (Outreach Manager, *Big Issue*, June 2001)

<sup>130</sup> Note that when the SLT was set up, it was advertised for people to apply for the jobs, a process which is rather unusual within an organisation where people are drafted into jobs rather than applying for them.



Figure 8.1 Glasgow city centre: shopping, begging, street prostitution and CCTV



(compiled from GCC 2002, *Big Issue* pitch list, CityWatch camera locations and interview data)

However, throughout the accounts of police action, it is clear that the SLT enforces the law, such as in relation to prostitution:

I mean, we *do* in terms of prostitutes, we do *enforce* the law but only if they work outwith, outwith the kind of acknowledged areas within the red light area. I mean we don't condone prostitution, I hasten to add, we don't condone it but the likelihood of, if they are staying within a certain area within a certain time, which is non-residential you know and if it is after 6 o'clock, everybody is on their way home, not too many locals get upset about that, we tend not to enforce the law. But if they are working outwith that area or outwith the kind of time we would hope they would work... (Street Liaison Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, August 2001)

Their course of action in circumstances like the above is guided by a set of time- and place-dependent rules. If women work in the red-light district in the accepted hours, they seem fairly safe from being arrested or warrant-checked. A look at the crime statistics over a number of years indicated the stark drop in people being arrested for prostitution within A Division. Another way of how the police co-operates with the prostitutes is to ask if they have outstanding warrants *prior* to warrant-checking them. As many within the prostitution scene as well as the homeless community will have outstanding warrants at some point, this question can make a difference to whether someone is arrested on the spot or not. If a person has a warrant and says so upfront, the police officer may not input her name and hence does not have to follow it through, whereas once the official check is set in motion and a warrant comes up, the police officer has to react on it.

The addition of a street liaison team has created a new policing body which polices in such a way that sometimes the cycle of arrest, bail, warrant and a new arrest is avoided. While appreciating this police approach, the homeless organisations are cautious of the extent to which the SLT is able to impact other police departments such as Operations. Here, the view prevails that beat officers still carry on with not only the same preconceptions about homeless but also with similar practices of harassment such as charging quickly people for breaches of the peace:

Walking up Buchanan St, I ask whether the attitude of the police has changed with the Street Liaison around. She replies "Not really", it's only a new team but street cops are still the same, and you always get people who are just on a power trip, some are ok, though. (Field diary, tour with outreach team leader, *Big Issue*, March 2002)

But as in this conversation, several of the outreach workers distinguish between 'good cops' and 'bad cops', with only the later being seen as prejudiced and unfair to homeless people. There exists a clear sense of something akin to being flexible, or, as said above, being *imaginative* in how police officers go about in their policing practice. On one occasion, this led an interviewee to elaborate on how the police deals with the illegal consumption of alcohol in public. Following up the understanding of what makes a good police officer, the interviewee explains:

A: So you've had the tendency in the first few months, the first few months, people were arrested but what you see now if they are on the streets drinking, the police just go up to them "Hide the bottle," you know, "don't get caught," and walk on.

GH: Alright, or the other one is that they just pour the drink out.

A: But to be honest, only the nasty cops would pour the drink away, most cops would just "Hide it". They actually, that's what I see them doing, they just walk to you and hide it.

(Outreach Manager, *Big Issue*, June 2001)

In the same section, the interviewee ponders about who actually is interested in such a ban on drinking, clearly attributing it to the council and not the police. For the latter it is seen as creating more pressure and demands resources and performance. Reading through the interviews with outreach workers, a clear sense of 'being streetwise' arises. It constitutes the foundation of their work. They have to be streetwise to be able to work within the homeless community and this skill also gains them trust so that they can carry out their work.

Here, something of what I want to call a *street-level alliance* emerges: Not only are the streetworkers of the *Big Issue* streetwise but so are many of the police officers, including the SLT and ordinary beat officers. Their daily routines and their knowledge of what is happening on the streets of the city equips them with a sense of where the problems lie and what can be done.

Oh, the police do live in reality and that's it, the police don't want to, and that's why some people find it, a lot of homeless projects don't like the police. But I actually find the police easier to get on with. *Not*, we don't have the same views on society but I find them easier to get on with in the sense that my outreach team and the cops who work on the streets, although they are coming from different directions, we kind of talk on a real level in a sense that we are talking about reality. So now that's something in common. Their solutions to it might be different from ours. The reality is, there's a lot of common ground. (Outreach manager, *Big Issue*, June 2001)

This sense of being able to judge the gravity of the drugs problem in the city and how this, in turn, affects a lot of 'secondary' offending and incivilities also relativises the position adopted with respect to displacing retail crime, prostitution and begging to other areas of the city. Whereas the CCP and CRP concerns themselves only with the city centre, and in fact are openly in favour of displacing unwanted practices and people across High St or across the Clyde, various police interviewees are much more concerned about long-term effects.

Strathclyde Police is effectively operating a tolerance zone of prostitution in the city, both in the red-light district as well on Glasgow Green during the day, although it would not espouse such a view publicly. For the SLT as well as other police departments, an open and visible street prostitution scene is easier to police and control, both in terms of law enforcement against women as well as in terms of personal safety of the women working the streets. This attitude has been adopted with the acknowledgement that law enforcement and vice-squad-style policing does not work. The problems that the women are facing will not simply go away and pure law enforcement would hence only disperse the



women across the city, and, possibly, into even worse circumstances such as no CCTV coverage, poor access to support services and so on. The police takes a similar position in the Community Safety Partnership where minutes pinpoint the police as an institution which often enough brings up the social context of offending. It is also the police who are very interested in establishing youth diversion project to practice social crime prevention and to provide alternative past-time offers for people to take up. Such a position that considers the social and economic context of begging, prostitution and retail crime (including homelessness, drug addiction, poverty and personal trauma), is something one would expect of the support agencies but not so much of the police.

**8.2      *Regulating business – licensing, food, health and safety***

Up to this point, the discussion has centred on the policies of community safety and street liasing, and has focussed particularly on the practices employed and carried out. In this, the extent to which the task of producing a safe city centre depends on a variety of agents, operating with differing goals and working practices, has emerged. These practices employ regulations specific to time and place, as in particular the policing and regulating of Glasgow’s prostitution scene highlights.

**Table 8.1 The city centre and different types of crimes**

The city centre and street crime	The city centre and white-collar crime
Car crime	Adulterated, unfit food
Shop theft	Food poisoning
Public order offence	Frothy beer, watered-down beer and spirits; short measures
Incivilities	Dangerous products
	Sales frauds – e.g. bogus bargain offers
	Illegal trading – squat shop traders; bootleg beer

(taken and adapted from Croall 1998, p. 283)

These practices of street-level policing can generally be observed easily on the streets and back lanes where they take place. In contrast, the following section marks another shift in focus. We are moving the gaze of the ever-present ‘eyes upon the street’ (Fyfe and Bannister 1998) to shops, restaurants and entertainment premises. Let me explain my motivation behind this change of perspective as it undertaken for fairly simple and obvious reasons: community safety never looks at the side of regulating businesses, or, more precisely, the

only way business in the city centre enters the equation of community safety is via the route of retail crimes where businesses are victimised by shoplifters. This is evident in the CSP's Community Safety Action Plan (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000), which does not spare a single word, let alone an *action*, for questions of consumer safety in the city centre. 'Consumer safety' is employed here as a concept with reference to Croall's category of 'crimes against consumers' (Croall 1992). However, business crime as crime *against* businesses is the only way in which consumerism enters the field of community safety in the city centre.

As soon as one starts looking into the field of environmental protection, health and food safety, building control, licensing and trading standards and consumer protection, a myriad of practices surface, all put in place to closely monitor and regulate businesses so that the proper working of business relations and consumer protection is ensured. Croall (1998) tries to trace the extent to which this field impacts on safety in the city centre (see Table 8.1)<sup>131</sup>, opening a window onto a vast range of business practices that are subjected to regulation and monitoring but much less objects of *policing*. These practices are approached from an angle that considers community safety, public safety and personal safety *for* people involved in and affected by these activities. As Croall (*ibid.*, p. 281) points out:

[...] this latter category [of white-collar crime] can, as demonstrated in a long line of criminological research, have devastating effects on individual victims and communities, threatening individual safety and the quality of life in local neighbourhoods, and adversely affecting the environment, employment, economy and public health.

It is through this focus on personal safety that I turn my attention to white collar crime. Personal safety features prominently within community safety debates and it thus would appear sensible to look at the whole range of offences that compromise personal safety. Moreover, current city centre regeneration

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<sup>131</sup> That crime was not solely something committed by working class offenders was the subject of the US criminologist Edwin Sutherland, who in 1949 proclaimed that "persons of the upper socio-economic class engage in much criminal behaviour; that this criminal behaviour differs from the criminal behaviour of the lower socio-economic class principally in the administrative procedures which are used in dealing with the offenders" (Sutherland 1949, p. 9). He drew attention to crimes committed by persons of high social status. That many of these crimes were not covered by the criminal law and hence should not be investigated by criminologists was one of the key criticisms. By introducing the controversial concept, Sutherland effectively challenged many aspects of positivist criminology, such as the use of official statistics. He also exposed the class bias inherent to a criminology that concentrated on working class deviancy and criminality. Croall (2001) discusses how the occupational role is a common denominator of white collar crime, bypassing Sutherland's difficult concept with its focus on high social status, and employs Aubert's work keeping the ambiguous character of white collar crime:

For purposes of theoretical analysis it is of prime importance to develop and apply concepts which preserve and emphasise the ambiguous nature of white collar crimes and not to solve the problem by classifying them as either crimes or not crimes. Their controversial nature is exactly what makes them so interesting from a sociological point of view. (Aubert 1977, p. 93)

It is hence little surprising that white collar crime covers a broad range of activities ranging from elite and state crimes, to occupational and organisational crimes.

strategies frequently place consumption at their core, being conscious of the quality of life issues that affect wellbeing and personal safety of consumers in the newly regenerated spaces. Croall, in her discussion, moves our attention towards a range of personal safety issues in such regenerated city centre spaces. So let us take this as a starting point to ask questions of safety and community safety in relation to businesses and their working practices.

### 8.2.1 Regulating business practices

Numerous business premises across the city are monitored and regulated by enforcement officers from a variety of agencies. These regulatory practices can be broken down and examined in more detail, such as the licensing of premises, food, health and safety inspections and the guarding of customer safety and trading standards. The enforcement agencies are almost exclusively local authorities and their Licensing Departments, Environmental Protective Services and Trading Standards. In terms of licensing, the importance of Glasgow city centre's entertainment and leisure economy is reflected in the type of licenses.

So, these are the various types of license in the city centre. Glasgow just now has a big boost. There are a lot of visitors to the city so we have a lot of hotels. They are springing up everywhere for accommodation. There are a *lot* of night clubs because there are a lot of young people coming in and they have *loads and loads* of bars, not so many off licenses but they do have in the centre, it's more for public houses, the night clubs and the hotels. That's what we mainly have in Glasgow. (Licensing Officer, Glasgow City Council, September 2001)

Here, the safety requirements of the city's night-time economy have been picked up by the CSP, when its director outlines the need for an integrated strategy to deal with problems of violence in the city centre, especially after closing time. In this context he also outlines the need to enforce licensing regulations and to make sure that entertainment businesses adhere to them.

There would be regulation enforcement from the Licensing Board, to see that they were enforced. Under-aged drinking would be minimised. I would address issues for training for stewards to make sure that they didn't create problems [...] A whole range of potential abuses, mostly by the private sector, you know like alcohol restrictions, all that sort of stuff. (CSP Director, September 2001)

However, he is also aware that currently, the Licensing Board does not co-ordinate its policies and decisions with the CSP:

GH: [W]hat would the normal procedure be? Would the city plan set out a kind of leisure and entertainment area and that they want to have relaxed licensing laws so that places can stay open longer? At what stage would you be consulted, would you be involved?

A: Probably not. It would entirely go to the Licensing Board and they deal with that in its entirety. One of the things we're actually looking at is an establishment of a specific community safety plan for the city centre. [...] So we develop that to look at issues we've

just raised. We want the issues become more than a licensing issue but a community safety issue. (Director, CSP, September 2001)

#### Box 8.4 Different licenses and the notion of safety

A: There are other, catering, street trading, serving hot dogs from a vehicles.

GH: What kind of license would that be?

A: It's called a street traders license. You would require the vehicle to be checked concerning food stuffs with Environmental Health, you get the police again to check it out. Then they would come back and would require a license to sell to sell food, hamburgers, hot dogs, anything of that sort. You see them in vans, vehicles mostly. You've got your street traders licenses, catering licenses, window cleaners. They require a license too.

GH: Why would that be?

A: Well. If he's cleaning people's windows, what if he kind of has convictions for theft or burglary. So you've got to be checked out. Basically everybody who comes in, gets checked out for convictions again and then they get passed on. You couldn't clean somebody's windows if you have had a jail sentence for murder or something like that.

GH: Basically, one of the issues why a license is issued is... [A: Basic security] to gain information...

A: ... on the person. Every license, every application that comes into our counter, every application and we get 10,000 application, every application goes to the police and the police check out every person, they all get checked. You've got public entertainment, massage parlours, clubs and snooker hall, indoor sport and recreation, they require public entertainment licenses, pop concerts, selling tickets. It's down to safety issues that require forms of licensing. You're correct, to check out the applicant by the police and to check out the safety aspects by our building control, fire master and Environmental Health.

GH: What are the main safety aspects you're trying to ensure?

A: It's really building control that would determine that, they would make the recommendations once they inspected the premises. They can come back and say "there are so many deviations." The handrail is falling off, the lighting is faulty, a fire door is not opening, the toilet accommodation is unsafe, there's cracked tiling in the wall, that's there. They would say what deviations and they would report it to us. We are not the experts. Building Control object, Env. Health object, saying "Look at this stuff, all the deviations here," the Board may say, "Sorry, we can't grant the license." Or the police can object saying they have problems with it, and they can suspend the license.

GH: What could be that?

A: There could be fighting the pub, selling after hours. There could be fights in the pub or outside on the streets surrounding the pub. The police would list this and somebody would say, "There are all the contraventions pertaining to that public house, the Licensing Board have adhere to suspend the license." In the last few months there has been one suspended. They closed it down since then.

GH: That was once the license was granted. If any officials have problems with the performance of the licensee

A: ... they can report it to the Licensing Board

GH: ... and the Licensing Board then has the power to...

A: ... to grant it, to refuse it, to suspend or to warn them. They have the power then and most people will really try to upgrade their premises and make it better, don't have and trouble. But there is the odd one... (Licensing Officer, Glasgow City Council, September 2001)

The potential abuses by the private sector are in the main centred on the selling of alcohol to under-aged persons or selling outwith hours. The other concern in relation to licensing resides with the integrity of the person applying for a license. Every application is send off to the police for a police check against existing convictions, with personal safety being tied to the notion of a untrustworthy, criminal individual. Apart from this approach focussing on the individual and potential licensee, the premises and their physical conditions are of interest in terms of safety concerns. The safety concerns here centre around the usual notions of health and safety concerns such as secure access, up-to-standard hygiene arrangements and so on, see .

To examine these health and safety issues, Licensing as a department relies on the specialist services provided by a range of other departments and services, such as Building Control, the Firemaster, the Police, and Environmental Health. These agencies are consulted for every application and submit a report based on their evaluation of the proposal and an inspecting of the premises. Once a license is granted, food inspections continue to take place on a routine level, depending on the hygiene risk of each premises.

On a more general level of regulating businesses in the city centre, the City Centre Representatives (CCR) play an important part in communicating between Council Service Departments, and businesses. In particular in relation to waste management and overseeing the proper disposal of waste and its uplift fall into their remit. Here, the CCR frequently report commercial rubbish which is put out by shops too late for uplift as well as rubbish not uplifted on time. Both incidences lead to rubbish being left on the precinct, a situation both unsightly but also posing various risk to environmental safety. In all this, the CCR reports are processed in such a way as to ensure and maintain good working relationships between businesses and waste management companies. Rather than reporting public safety incidences to the police, they are managed by the appropriate council department, which has powers to issue a warning or a fine.

### 8.2.2 Offences, malpractices and misconduct

Looking at the practices in place for regulating businesses in terms of licensing, building control, food and health and safety brings up a stark contrast in comparison to how city centre spaces are regulated with respect to community safety and street people. For businesses, we find a field dominated by regulatory agencies other than the police. The powers of enforcing various acts that constitute the legal framework are not exerted by police authority; instead they are the remit of public enforcement and regulatory agencies. The key attitude towards food inspections, for instance, is marked by co-operation and compliance. Just a brief look into the documentation on food inspections states

that “[i]n general terms, prosecution is not the preferred action of the service” (Director Environmental Protection Services (Environmental Health) n.y., p.3). Along similar lines are the statements of the Director of Food, Health and Safety to be understood when she explains that:

If we investigate and we find that somebody should have reported an accident and they haven’t and it was an accident with serious consequences, we would prosecute that, but prosecutions are not the answer to many things. They do not tend to make for good relations, they don’t tend to make people change their behaviour. So you have to be quite cautious to be sure if you want to prosecute. What we want to look at is whether the circumstances can be remedied. (Head of Food, Health and Safety, Glasgow City Council, January 2002)

Two main problems arise out of this constellation. Although the enforcement agencies, theoretically, have the powers to pursue, they often suffer from a lack of resources to carry out even the minimal rate of inspection on premises as the Annual Report of Food, Health and Safety (Glasgow City Council Protective Services 2001) shows, where those businesses which have a minimum inspection frequency of more than 12 months, the percentage actually inspected was just 50%. However, of those businesses which receive inspections of at least once per 6 months, the rate is at 86%, of which some 20% (231) required a follow-up action. Secondly, relationship between regulating agencies and regulated businesses is marked by a close-knit interdependency so that enforcement agencies have to ensure co-operation and compliance. Consequently, prosecution is often regarded as an alienating and unsuitable option.

The view that the offences committed against the Safety at Work Act, or relevant food regulations do not constitute crimes is widespread and well documented. It is mirrored in interview statements when police officers invariably follow the argument expressed in Box 8.5: in the reasoning of this police officer, health and safety offences are transformed into fraud and tax evasion offences. When asked again about crimes *against* consumers, he states that this is not a concern for community safety. He furthermore does not believe it occurred on a wide-scale anyway. But even more significant is his adherence to the question whether this actually does constitute a crime and hence would be subjected to criminal law, of which he is very doubtful.

His notion of crime and white-collar ‘non crime’ is indicative of what Croall (1992, p. 130ff.) outlines as a key tension within the legal sphere surrounding white-collar crime, when she comments that “[t]he distinction between many white-collar crimes and ‘real’ crimes is immediately evident in the language and rhetoric of the law itself.” The assumption that aggrieved customers can redress the experienced damage through civil law is, in her opinion, flawed as a high degree of experience and expertise is required to fight law cases under civil law. She and other critics hence argue that public law, and in particular criminal law,

should be employed to rectify damage received through white-collar crime (also, see Cranston 1977).

### Box 8.5 The police and trading offences

GH: In how far has something like health and safety offences or trading standards offence, do you get involved with that?

A: In the community safety department? No, not really. That would tend to be an operational thing. Yes, we do, Paddy's Market and the Barras, they get raided fairly regularly. That's a partnership thing but it tends not to be community safety to get involved in that. The focus tends to be on arresting and recovery of property rather than education. Some offences will continue to be, like computer software, fraud, copying, pirate videos, pirate DVDs, and tobacco and alcohol.

GH: In these incidences it's then not so much the personal well-being or the safety of the customer who buys e.g., would [...]

A: I would probably do the media work afterwards, saying we've recovered ££££ worth of computer equipment but I wouldn't tend to be, see, it's quite funny, I read an article once that one in three people buy cheap cigarettes in Glasgow and I have no way of refuting that, probably it is. Now, who's the criminal? The people who are buying the cigarettes and selling them, or the people who are buying the cigarettes of them? [...] The police is very clear on that point, but that's my personal opinion that they perhaps may want to look at that as a way to stop that because there is a market [...]

GH: What is about these kind of incidences where the buyer is not [WC: We wouldn't prosecute the buyer] aware that she or he are ripped off, being sold faulty goods, dangerous goods, unfit for consumption.

A: It would tend to go, there are issues there if somebody knowingly were selling something that was dangerous, if there would be a crime, I'm not quite sure there would be just now. Yes, I mean if you sold something, say if we're talking safety. I sold you a bottle of vodka that I made and I knew I was poison and you would die if you're drinking it, that's illegal. But, but, if you know everything else would be a civic, would be a civil matter. If you bought a hairdryer of me that I said it was in good working order and it turned out not to be, you would need to go to the Citizens' Advice Bureau.

GH: So that would never arrive at the police as an offence?

A: No.

GH: Although, e.g., if you take a broad perception of community safety, personal safety and well-being, it would certainly fall under this.

A: Yes, it would certainly fall under the umbrella. It's just something we, we never looked at to be honest because I don't think there's that much of it about you know. Selling cheap cigarettes in this area is a big issue but I if you'd smoke them and became ill. I don't know if anybody said that that never happened. [...]

It's the same with computer software that's been pirated. The question is, do they see themselves as doing something wrong? [...] That's maybe education as well. [...]

GH: That's it. Because I was thinking of it as with health and safety issues it would usually mean that Environmental Protection Services and Trading Standards would get involved, so it would never really arrive at the police.

A: It's not a policing issue. Unless it's against the law in which case we would deal with it. So the likes of the raids, they are happening regularly at the Barras and the police always does this in conjunction with the agencies, supported by Trading Standards and Customs and Excise. (Community Safety Officer, A Division, Strathclyde Police, January 2002)



Arranging a working relationship between businesses and regulators in such a way so that businesses can function and flourish presents a key task for regulatory agencies. This circumstance has been widely regarded as one of the structural weaknesses of the public policing of business activities (for instance, see Hawkins 1984). In addition, Punch (1996, p. 255) demonstrates that a set-up where regulatory agencies also have the function to promote industry, rather than merely regulating it, let the practice of regulating become very mundane, as it largely relies on strategies of compliance more than anything else.

Such a discussion brings to the surface the limits of criminal law and of a positivist view on crime, which is employed by policing agents throughout. It takes the discussion back to the beginning of Chapter Six, and its observation that the engineering of what constitutes a crime or offence is part and parcel of the field of urban regeneration and crime control. These limits also re-focus the inter-relationships between crime and offence and economic growth considerations and put the earlier discussions of crimes of the street firmly into a wider context of social relations within the city. Punch (1996) aptly considers the relationship between businesses and deviancy, meaning the *organisational* deviance of businesses.

It is clear that many of the activities dealt with in the literature of business deviance are relatively serious and deliberate practices conducted with a measure of deception, stealth, and cunning (in relation to internal and external formal control agencies) in order to achieve formal or informal organizational goals. These can be acts of commission or omission and they are frequently supported, overtly or covertly, by senior management. (Punch 1996, p. 57)

For Punch, 'organisational deviancy' constitutes a key part of capitalist working practices. This view has been expressed by a range of other researcher who locate this deviancy right at the heart of established business practices rather than regarding it as aberrant behaviour (see also Ermann and Lundmann 1982; Ruggiero 1996). These arguments made about white-collar crime centre on the defining role of the law in what does and does not constitutes crime and relate this definition of crime to the role of state in securing private property and the functioning of capitalism. This relationship aside (or rather kept in the back of our minds), a positivist view on the law, as it is found in almost any police officer's account, takes us full circle in terms of how society and the criminal are constructed and explained in everyday policing activities<sup>132</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> One last question is worth asking. Crimes against consumers clearly falls under the remit not only of consumer protection but also should be a matter of consumer safety in the city centre. The offences listed here relate to questions of consumer satisfaction and quality of services and goods. This talk is the expertise of market research and marketing consultancies. However, it is a talk which unlike crime talk is never spatialised. In what spaces does it occur? By what kind of shops are white collar crimes committed? How are the urban spaces changing in relation to white collar crime?

### 8.3 *Discussing community safety, homeless liasing and regulating businesses*

Bringing together the three moments of regulating city centre spaces in a dialectical step serves the aim of establishing the grounds for a Marxist methodology as it has been set out in Chapter Three. Furthermore it brings into focus some of the shady and blurred corners of city centre regulation and policing. For once, it details processes by which crimes of the street focus on those marginalised groups frequently identified as dangerous. They are made out as dangerous to shoppers and *legitimate* city centre clientele, and consequentially, are regarded as obstruction and dangers to the success of city centre upgrading and the exciting experiences this should offer to customers, tourists and visitors. City centre management and local economic development agencies operate, in some way unsurprisingly, straightforward policies of exclusion for these 'dangerous' groups. These policies are based on risk minimisation and crime prevention assumptions as exposed in current crime reduction literature (both managerial and academic). Accordingly, shoplifters, and even better still, *potential* shoplifters, should be excluded from shops, shopping centres and shopping streets and preferably the whole of the city centre – rendering them someone else's responsibility. The police force itself views this strategy much more cautiously and finds itself in the position to argue for more holistic approaches towards dealing with drug-offences in the city centre.

Nonetheless, 'keeping the criminal out' is also for the police a powerful line of thinking when it comes to community safety and community policing. Though viewing social processes and relationships in a more holistic way than for instance do local economic development agents, the basis for community well-being still resides in clear distinctions between decent citizens and dangerous criminals, and more than once, the preferred solution was seen as 'keeping the criminal out'. It begs the question of where the criminal should be kept? Out from where? Where is the outside?

All these findings raise a key point for my research methodology: they exhibit clear linkages about how these officers explain and rationalise their actions. These views about society and how it works underlie their working practices and, *vice versa*, are shaped through their day-to-day policing. They therefore lie at the heart of how these agents build on a routine basis their society, by singling out particular crimes of the street, by viewing homeless people with sympathy or disdain and by assigning categories such as the pathological criminal which needs to be kept out of decent communities.

One of the core practice to policing and regulating has been identified as watching, being present and observing. This, for once mirrors academic debates around the importance of the visual (Jenks 1995; Mirzoeff 1998). The power of watching is also employed in the marketing of police activity. Video surveillance of the city is only one field where watching is keyone of the practice of watching, but:

...crime prevention will be retail crime and things like that that will be part of what they are involved with, things like ShopWatch, RetailWatch, PubWatch, CarparkWatch, Watchwatch. (Community Police Officer, C Division, Strathclyde Police, June 2001)

Almost ironically, this officer identifies 'Watchwatch' as the latest high profile police campaign to assure the public that they are watched out for and watched over.

This theme aptly illustrates that crimes of businesses cannot be easily observed by public space CCTV. They seem to happen not only outside the view of the public but also of the police. This observation brings up my contention of 'unhiding' particular geographies, in this case those of white-collar crime and consumer protection. There is a poignant scene in Michael Moore's (2002) Oscar-winning film *Bowling for Columbine*. Moore interviews the director of *Cops*, a very successful, long-running US series based on real police video footage, and suggests to make a series called 'Corporate Cops', illustrating this with a sequence of where he dressed as a cop chases and arrests a white male in a suit. The director of *Cops* is, however, more sceptical and replies that a good police programme needs to have car chases, violence and arrests to make it interesting viewing (plus a usually black male as perpetrator). Thus, there would not be any viewing interest in Moore's programme because the police never go after corporate criminals in such a way.

Over the previous pages I have argued that a lack of policing of corporate crimes, or more specifically for this research, crimes against consumers, is not necessarily caused by a lack of such offences. Instead, it is because such offences are *regulated* rather than *policed* in a very different manner than the crimes of the street.

So, why then argue to broaden the concept of community safety, which seems already to suffer from a too broad conception, being made responsible to deal with issues such as housing maintenance and landscaping? By examining the margins of the concept of community safety, this discussion has highlighted the policy's tensions: while being too broad and in danger of succumbing to maintenance issues, it is yet often too narrowly focussed on street crime (and its apparent solution: CCTV), even more so in the context of Glasgow's city centre CRP. It successfully defines the problem and assigns the agents to address and solve these problems. Homelessness and drug dealing, are only marginally

touched upon by CSP, and if so, often only considered in their visible manifestations, although they present one of the biggest problems in city centre. Community safety furthermore completely bypasses the private sector, both as partner but even more tellingly as perpetrator of community safety issues such as consumer protection and safety at work<sup>133</sup>.

Before concluding this chapter with a more visionary outlook onto the construction of society and critiquing those conceptions of society, the social and the criminal employed in the field of community safety, I refer back to the arguments made about economic regeneration. The philosophy of community safety is based on 'local solutions for local problems', whereas this on one side provides a welcomed move away from centralism, it nonetheless also claims that problems of community safety *originate* on the local level and hence can be solved there. I have tried to show the limits to this approach as frequently more complex circumstances, either through the subject matter of drugs or on the question of scale, are omitted. Because of the complex nature of many problems that are encountered and because of the need to be able to solve problems, performance indicators are employed. However, to be able to achieve these performance indicators so that one's targets are met, some of the indicators clearly beg the question of how useful they are. The CSI Action Plan's (Glasgow Community Safety Partnership 2000) target for drugs is one example: "to reduce the percentage of people living in SIP areas who believe that drugs is a problem for the area." There is not even an attempt being made to actually resolve the problem on a level other than perception; it sounds like great policy, and do not excuse my sarcasm. Also, the police describe themselves in terms of being a 'salesman' for community safety and so on. To me it seems that the extent by which marketing and the need for imagineering has permeated the working practices of these agencies has been considerably underestimated. It clearly extends far into the everyday workings of these public sector agencies and how they view and market themselves to other agencies and the public<sup>134</sup>.

The employed definition of crime prevention politics in community safety, though apparently pragmatic in terms of solution, draws heavily on people's fear of crime, and also needs these fears to implement their agenda. Therefore, street crimes and low-order offences are targeted. Fear of crime is unthinkable without the strong visions which come along with it: what is safe, what is unsafe? What

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<sup>133</sup> Whereas the proposal of the CRP aims to rectify this in relation to private sector *partners* in community safety, I express my doubts about the success of involving the private sector to a large extent. Failure to gain significant involvement could seriously undermine the success of the scheme as its intelligence depends on private sector input.

<sup>134</sup> There have been, nonetheless, some reassuring examples from within the police, in particular, where officers advised me to be careful of how to read crime statistics as they are frequently assembled with a particular aim in mind or to be cautious of certain crime prevention campaigns and their supposed efficiency.

is desirable? What is not? What is good? What is bad? In this process community safety is firmly placed within debates of a good community and society. Given the strong emotional impact of fear of crime in the public, the selectivity of the current crime prevention focus remains rarely challenged – not only this, but ‘this is what the public demands’ is a common justification for strategies such as ZTP. White-collar crimes and retail crime as crime committed by retailers do not appear on the register as they do not affect people's desires to visit the city centre and to spend, spend, spend. Fear cannot be mobilised through them.

The selectivity of how these fears are incorporated in policy agendas can be studied with reference to a dialectics of utopia and dystopia, as a range of human geographers have done in recent contributions (Baeten 2001; Harvey 2000; Merrifield 2000). Notions and conceptions of the proper order of the city and the way things should be are always included. The dialectics of utopia and dystopia are at work, producing degenerate utopias of safe city centres, and do so continuously. Explicating not only agents' rationalisations of their practices, but also how these are in fact part of their worldviews, allows us to consider these workings of positive and negative vision and utilise them in our research. Thereby we can add a dimension that would be missed if only policy implementation was our aim. But, it is important to ground these dialectics – they are concrete and practical utopias/dystopia and therefore intricately bound up with respective spatial practices. The selectivity of current (and not so current) fashions of crime talk comes into focus when confronted with white-collar offences. The latter ones are discussed and acted upon as practices of misconduct and apparently not feared. They also do not rank highly in city centre benchmarking exercises. Yet, by including them, the political and academic arena is opened up for a critique of the current political economy and its dominant interests. The attempt made lies in studying the field of city centre crime prevention along the lines proposed by Harvey (2000), “[b]y calling it a spatiotemporal utopianism, we can better understand how it work[s], why and how it [can go] wrong, and how its internal contradictions might form one potential seedbed for some alternative.”

## 9 Chapter Nine:

### Representing the city centre – Glasgow's City Centre Representatives project

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The previous chapter on regulating the city centre has served to prepare the ground for this thesis' final empirical chapter. Again, we are zooming in more closely on the practices of producing a safe city centre, and moving down another step on the scale of investigation. We do so by bringing into focus one particular project which has been touched upon throughout earlier chapters. This project embodies and integrates exactly those considerations of community safety laid out in Chapter Seven. It encompasses street safety, personal safety from accidents and dangers in the city centre, as well as regulating businesses in the main shopping areas. The project in question is the Glasgow City Centre Representatives (CCR), the city's well-established warden project operating across the city centre's main shopping and tourist spaces.

Before moving on to provide an empirically detailed investigation into the practices and policies of the project, I want briefly to introduce the CCR project, located as it is at the conjunction of urban regeneration, community safety and labour market programmes. In regenerated city centres across the United Kingdom, shoppers and tourists have encountered a new uniformed presence in recent years. The people in red, green or any other coloured uniforms, who patrol busy city centre spaces, are variously called City Centre Ambassadors, City Centre Representatives or – perhaps more generically – city centre wardens. Similar developments can be observed across different European countries as well as in the US. The Netherlands, in particular, have a longer experience with city centre wardens (Hauber *et al.* 1996), whereas in Germany projects have been set up more recently (Lindenberg 2000). This chapter wants to introduce city centre warden projects by asking questions about their tasks, the people working as wardens and the institutional settings in which these projects operate. Instigated by local authorities and local economic development agencies, the projects are usually designed as elements within public-private partnerships to address problems of economic regeneration in

former old-industrial regions and their city centre cores. City centre wardens provide information for shoppers and tourists, and thereby promote retail and tourist based city centre regeneration. However, their job description does not stop here. Liaising between local authorities and city centre retailers, they are expected to implement models of partnership working. As an extra pair of eyes and ears on the street, both for council service departments and the police, wardens report faults, pick up used syringes, check licenses and prevent crime. Often including a clean-up service within the project, they remove fly-posting, graffiti and litter as a rapid response environmental improvement initiative, and thus respond to criticisms of the poor quality and appearance of the public realm. In one of the early promotional leaflets, the mission statement reads as follows.

The aims of the initiative are:

- to promote Glasgow's image as a friendly city for shoppers, tourists, business users and local people;
- to create jobs for the long term unemployed – City Centre Representatives are given quality training and real work experience. In the first year of operation over 82% of all CCRs obtained employment with other employers.

The City Centre Representatives Initiative consolidates the friendly image of Glasgow by making the city 'look good' and 'feel good'. (GCC 1996)

With a broad range of tasks touching upon many aspects of policing and regeneration, city centre warden projects fill a gap between council services and parts of the police. They act as a municipal policing service, supplementing police services as an arm of the local authorities<sup>135</sup>. As intermediate labour market programmes in Europe, the projects are eligible for funding from the European Social Fund and national programmes such as the New Deal, as well as by local employment initiatives. Such supported programmes try to provide employment and, in particular, training opportunities in former old-industrial urban regions, in order to integrate the long-term unemployed into the service sector industry. This also enables the public-private partners of warden projects to provide services which would be not financed with primary labour market wage levels.

The implications for the political economy and urban governance will be considered in the second part of the chapter by focussing on two critical moments: the question of policing and social control; as well as the labour market context of city centre warden projects. One consequence of introducing a secondary labour market lies in lowering wage levels, which is even more reinforced in urban economies dependent on a relatively low-skilled customer service industry. Here, I contend that the disciplinary aspect of training

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<sup>135</sup> A similar type of innovation is being developed through neighbourhood wardens projects across the UK, funded in England and Wales by the ODPM, in Scotland by the Scottish Executive. The added bonus of city centre wardens lies however in the labour market aspect.



programmes also applies to city centre warden projects as they police the local work force along with the city centre. In the course of this argument, criminological debates about the blurring of boundaries between policing bodies, the extension of social control and the creation of new types of offences are revisited. These debates raise – yet again – questions about urban space and citizenship, asking how far projects such as Glasgow's City Centre Representatives represent a qualitative shift in the social production of urban spaces and their uses.

## 9.1 *Representing the city centre*

### 9.1.1 Giving information and advice, helping out

As they walk up and down the busy shopping streets and around George Square in bright uniforms, Glasgow's CCR stand out from the crowds of people. Anyone in need of advice, information and directions should easily be able to spot one of the 'reps' (as they are commonly called) and get help on where the post office is, where the Next shop has moved to, if the People's Palace is still closed for renovation, and whether the bus 44 takes you to Queen's Park. The patrol reps are present throughout the week and the weekend during shopping hours to act as a information service for tourist, shoppers and locals (see Vignette Three). Especially on Buchanan St, this is the task which occupies the reps by far the most:

On Buchanan St, for instance, we always tell reps to stay on Buchanan St corner St Vincent St, right, because you're getting people looking for the Tourist Board. It's nine times out of ten on Buchanan St, that's what you get asked for "Where is the Tourist Board?" So it's easy for them to point along. Then you get people coming from Queen St Station, looking for Central Station, so that's an easy point to get them from Queen St and point them the right direction to Central. So that area, we usually try and keep two reps and then they can point up the road to the Buchanan Galleries and along to Sauchiehall St. The reps know themselves where are the best places [...] to stand. (Supervisor, CCR, July 2001)

On certain locations such as the aforementioned corner of Buchanan St and St Vincent St, the reps are often so busy that they do not have the time to keep records of their actions. Keeping records, however, is a key element of their work routine. Each rep takes a stack of report sheets out with them to fill in after each action so that at the end of the day a day's work gets logged and stored in the project's database<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>136</sup> The data of these reports need to be viewed with reservations. From interviewing CCR as well as supervisors of the project, omitting reports and mis-reporting seems to be common. The reasons for having the CCR undergo this rather tedious exercise can be attributed to the need to justify the project's importance in relation to urban regeneration, and, secondly, the CCR learn a key skill for their customer service VQ – keeping records.

Their role as being able to give often trivial information on where to find certain shops or places is an important one. It is a valuable one in relation to city centre management and tourism efforts undertaken by a range of public and private sector agencies in the city which aim to promote Glasgow as an attractive, and *friendly*, tourist location. But, let us expand on this initial task to appreciate the range of different expectations this role brings for the reps.

### 9.1.2 Being present, watching and listening

The presence of the patrol reps in the city centre is very high profile, partly due to their distinctive red uniforms. As one interviewee explains 'You can't miss them. It's by design that you can't miss them'. For anyone looking for help and information, they are highly visible and easy to address. Furthermore, their role is not only to wait until a person asks them but to take a more pro-active stance. This approach is not only used when meeting people who seem to have lost their way, but also when the reps encounter incidents involving lost children or an accident with someone in need of first aid. In doing all of this, the CCR take on a range of roles usually filled by another, more established uniformed presence on the streets, that of the police officer on patrol. If one considers that only around 20% of a police officer's tasks are in fact crime-related, this does not come as a surprise (McLaughlin and Muncie 2001).

The patrol reps take on tasks of identifying problems such as pathways and streets blocked by large crowds surrounding street entertainers, and also of safe-guarding passers-by in such situations. It has been reported how CCR directed traffic after a road accident occurred outside the CCR's premises, and that once the police arrived the CCR continued doing this (Interview CCR manager, March 1999). For a number of years, the CCR have had a role in supervising the Hogmanay events in Glasgow's city centre so that the event ran smoothly and helped with this especially at the end of the night.

However, what does this role of being present in uniform hold in relation to crime prevention? For the purposes of safety and security, the CCR are indeed also regarded as an extra pair of eyes and ears in the street. The aim of creating a safer environment is included in the project's policies, even if the public image and the common perception of the project is one of their being primarily concerned with tourist information. One supervisor expressed the project's aims as the following.

That's ... if you ask 9 out of 10 people what the reps do, they'll say "Oh, they are tourist guides" ... They say that they are tourist guides because that's all people see them doing, pointing here and directing there. But the whole point of the project is to create a friendlier and cleaner ... friendlier and cleaner ... ah ... city centre ... ah ... *safer* city centre environment. (Supervisor, CCR, March 1999)

This aim is pursued by watching out for potential dangers, like uneven street surfaces or used syringes, but also by being on the street all the time as a *uniformed* presence (see Vignette Six). One of the observations that the CCR report is when they notice ‘inappropriate’ behaviour or incivilities like drinking on the streets, which has been prohibited by a local byelaw since 1996. There are obviously other incidents in which the presence of the reps is important: this is the case when they happen to notice a shoplift, assault or something similar. The action taken is formalised in a particular routine. In the incident of observing a crime or criminal act, the particular rep would contact the CCR base via radio. The base would then get in touch with Stewart St Police Station and also with the CCTV operators, who would try to pick up the reported incident and offender on camera until the police arrives. In the case of other incidents such as when vehicles are present on the precinct outwith the allowed hours or when reps encounter unlicensed street traders or performers, they again contact their base, which then passes on the information to relevant council departments who follow up the incident.

Table 9.1 Categories of CCR activities

Category	Occurrence 01/2001-12/2001	Per cent of total activities	Equivalent to 12 months period between 1/5/95- 1/4/99	Per cent of total activities
General: Tourist advice	36501	95.32	25257	96.47
Being present: Public order related	1562	4.08	149	0.57
General: Assistance	77	0.20	267	1.02
Being present: Physical environment	83	0.22	183	0.70
Liaising: Public services	39	0.10	176	0.67
Improving the phys. Environment	21	0.05	43	0.16
Liasing: Businesses	9	0.02	106	0.40
Total number occurrence:	38292		26181	

(Source: City Centre Representatives 2001)<sup>137</sup>

<sup>137</sup> The database needs to be approached with caution in terms of reliability: reports are to be made by each patrol rep and are at the end of the day inputted by the admin staff. Here, problems of classification and reliability arise. Furthermore, I was unable to obtain individual data for the period preceding 2001, hence I tried to approximate the earlier period by taking an average for a 12 months period to be able to gauge changes in prioritising particular tasks throughout the time. This needs to be read with caution, as any change will obviously have occurred gradually over that time rather than at one particular point. I classified the 55 currently listed activities according to categories relating to my study interest.

### 9.1.3 Liasing with retailers and council services

The City Centre Representatives were established to provide a valuable link in the chain of communication between various council departments and retail businesses in towns, as well as with the general public. Besides the patrol reps' role as tourist information guides, they report broken or vandalised street furniture, cracked or dangerous pavements and waste which has not been uplifted to the relevant council departments or private contractors (see Vignette One). Here they act as a quasi-extension of the Council on the streets. In the past they visited city centre shops every month to inform the shop managers about ongoing events and building works, and at the same time to gather information and complaints from the businesses and to inform the appropriate recipient. One of the project's supervisors describes the usual procedure.

So ... it keeps us in touch with the shopkeepers and ... It's pretty straightforward: "Good morning, I'm a City Centre Rep." Yeah, I know you guys ... is this just your wee monthly visit, you know? Yeah, you know blablabla. Have you any problems? You know, any problems outside your premises. Maybe they are a bit dangerous to your customers. Have you got any problem with your refuse collectors? No, no. No problems, whatsoever. But I tell you, I've got a wee problem with the guy next door because he keeps putting his rubbish outside my door. Right, so we go and have a wee word with the guy next door. Right. The Reps don't do it. So what they do is they put down on the form 'supervisor visit'.  
(Supervisor, CCR, March 1999)

Due to the close contact that the CCR keep with the city centre businesses, they also acquire valuable information for the Council. They provide an information database linking different agents within the city centre. Visiting shops and liasing with retail businesses then in turn can be used to prove the high value of the project. The number of shop visits, as well as the amount of inquiries with which CCR deal each year, have been regarded as valuable for the continuation of the project. This becomes particularly important when the communication between the Council and local retailers is seen as generally being poor. In the communication and the provision of information, CCR take a position that sits between the private and the public sector. Yet, because of their service provision and the fact that they are a publicly funded training programme, they are mainly seen as a public sector project due to a number of tasks which would fall under the remit of Council enforcement officers.

### 9.1.4 Improving the physical environment

The need to provide a clean-up service for tourist signs provides the last reference point for the tasks of the CCR. They work within the public realm of the city centre, improving its *physical* environment. This is mainly done by the

work of the clean-up squad. The 17 men<sup>138</sup> of the squad regularly clean tourist signs and benches in the city centre before shops open and the place becomes busy with shoppers, tourists and workers.

There are two main parts of the job that take up most of the time. That is fly posting and the cleaning ... the tourist signs must be cleaned every day. That's a priority. They take priority. Especially the signs on the precincts, obviously because we have so many visitors to and from Glasgow. Not just visitors from abroad, no, we've got all the local people and all that. They come and look at the signs as well. So it's quite important that we get all the signs cleaned on a daily basis. And after that it's fly posting, and after that it's painting and after that it's the parking meter and then the graffiti. (Supervisor Clean-up Squad, CCR, March 1999)

As the supervisor explains, it is not only the tourist signs that are cleaned but the squad also removes fly-posting and graffiti in the city centre on a regular basis, as well as painting the Victoriana bins throughout the city centre and the wider city.

Here the CCR project as an intermediate labour market scheme is able to provide a desirable service that Glasgow City Council (GCC) finds helpful if not essential, but does not have the resources to provide by itself or to employ another business to do so. The need for a service provision at relatively low costs is also visible in the task of fly-posting removal, the second big task of the clean-up squad. The cleanliness and tidiness of Glasgow's city centre has been a core concern of those people who try to market the city centre as an attractive place. Furthermore, a dirty image was something city centre marketing could very well do without, as Chapter Six already discussed.

It was ... in the Tidy Britain competition, Glasgow was the way down at the very bottom. It's one of the things tourists complain about ... when they are surveyed, litter in the streets and graffiti and fly posters on the walls. (Council Officer, GCC, March 1999)

These have proven ongoing tasks and they are subjected to a wide range of campaigns from GCC, the city's town centre management body, the City Centre Partnership (CCP), as well as other organisations. Currently, there is a major project under way to 'Clean Up Glasgow'. Here, the CCR are well integrated into wider campaigns. By now, there exists a city-wide Graffiti Force, removing graffiti across the city, which is part of the Council's Environmental Protection Services. If they receive reports of graffiti in the city centre, these are passed on to the CCR. Also, the CCR are increasingly offering their graffiti removal

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<sup>138</sup> Although theoretically open to women, the clean-up squad always only consisted of men. The patrol reps have varying numbers of women on the project, although here as well the number of men far outweighs the number of women. Of currently 13 patrol reps, all are men. This is of course characteristic of the composition of the unemployed in Glasgow, predominantly men with women more easily finding employment in the service sector industries. The age composition of the CCR is mixed, taking trainees between 19 to 64 years of age. However, trainees under the New Deal for 18-24 years old constitute a significant proportion of 30 per cent (interview, manager, CCR, August 2001) of the recruitment and hence influence the age composition.

services to private companies, again, due to the nature of the project, usually offering lower charges than other privately organised graffiti removal firms.

**Table 9.2 Changes in task undertaken by patrol reps between 1995 and 2001**

Description	Occurrence 1/2001-12/2001	Rank	Equivalent to 12 months period between 1/5/95- 1/4/99	Rank
Helped person in need of directions	35229	1	23635	1
Vehicle in precinct outwith allowed hours	1537	2	676	3
Handled general enquiry or gave advice	724	3	622	4
Referral to GGTB	511	4	947	2
Failure by contractor to uplift refuse – phone call required	400	5	22	22
Lost property	26	6	23	21
Poor road/pavement/inspection cover surface condition	25	7	52	13
Graffiti for removal – CUS	20	8	8	33
Helped person separated from party/guardian	18	9	35	14
Escorted person	17	11	173	5
Emergency call – ambulance	17	11	29	17
Gave first aid	17	11	27	19
Escorted person	17	11	173	5
Contact GCC Cleansing – Rapid Response Team	11	21.5	127	6
Contact GCC Cleansing – Private contractor failure	7	23.5	70	10
Contact GCC Cleansing – Black bag refuse for collection	5	26	105	8
Contacted police at request of member of the public	3	35	123	7
Business stopped trading	1	51.5	75	9

(Source: City Centre Representatives 2001)

These tasks of environmental improvement are integrated into wider economic regeneration concerns that mirror inter-urban competition and increasing awareness of city centre benchmarking indicators. Here, the multitude of tasks of lifting up rubbish, removing fly-posting and cleaning signs and benches all contribute to city centre attractiveness and hence supposedly improve retail and tourism performance:

To ... obviously clean the city centre up and to obviously get more people back into in the city centre to spend money. That's [laughs] probably how ... you know. Obviously, when the city centre is nice and clean and tidy, there's gonna ... more people gonna come in. (Supervisor, CCR, March 1999)

Tidiness as making a place attractive, and thereby encouraging people to come to spend time in this place, is the main explanation for why such a project as the City Centre Representatives, with a practical approach towards improving the physical environment of the city centre, is so needed. It is also set out in the CCP's business plan (Glasgow City Centre Partnership 2000) as a goal of the partnership to tidy up the city centre and to conduct campaigns of civic pride.

This first introduction into the wide range of tasks undertaken by the City Centre Representatives should suffice for the moment. It allows us to discuss in more detail the institutional set-up and arrangements of the project before a selected number of issues will be examined in more detail<sup>139</sup>.

### **9.2 City Wardens, City Centre Representatives et al. – the set-up**

The Glasgow City Centre Representatives project was set up in 1995 by an initiative largely coming from the Glasgow Development Agency (GDA, now Scottish Enterprise Glasgow), the city's local economic development agent, and the local authority. Inspired by developments in the US and the Netherlands, where city wardens had been equipped with secondary police powers to patrol pedestrian precincts as well as, as in the case of the US, recently regenerated waterfront developments, the Glasgow project was modelled in a slightly different fashion: as an ambassadorial service to meet and to greet visitors to the city, and to promote the image of Glasgow as a friendly and welcoming city (GCC 1996). Although a similarly high profile approach in terms of uniform and presence was chosen, the project did not explicitly receive any kind of police powers.

The core funding of the project was attracted through its design as an intermediate labour market programme, training long-term unemployed Glaswegians in customer services and cleansing tasks. For this purpose, Glasgow Works (GW), GDA's intermediate labour market project, became involved in the CCR scheme. City Centre Reps become Glasgow Workers for the duration of their stay on the project. Glasgow Works receives its funding from a variety of local, national and European initiatives such as New Deal and the European Social Fund.

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<sup>139</sup> For the following section the focus will mainly be resting on the patrol reps and their daily work within the city centre.



Initially, CCR was designed as Phase 2 of CityWatch, Glasgow's extensive public space CCTV scheme, established in 1994<sup>140</sup>. However, the CCTV scheme, having started off as a Glasgow Works project, decided to go independent after one year, to be able to hold on to trained staff, at which point the CCR became managed by the training provider RightTrack, a registered charity. RightTrack provided the training of the reps, either training them in-house or making arrangements with local colleges, the Tourist Board and the police. During the time under RightTrack, the CCR were also responsible for the Shop Mobility scheme, a support project to enable disabled people to access city centre facilities. In 1999, RightTrack seconded a development officer to the project to investigate possibilities for developing the project into generating more income. Soon afterwards, the management was passed on to a temporary manager and the project was moved officially into GCC, Land Services. After a transitory period during which RightTrack continued to provide the training, the project became fully part of GCC in May 2000. This move was part of wider re-organisation of city centre services to streamline and to move them under the umbrella of the City Centre Partnership. One of the outcomes is that full-time staff of the project are now on permanent contracts rather than on the previous year to year temporary contracts. It also brought a number of management and administrative changes and a formalisation of work co-operation which already existed between the CCR and Council Services. Whereas the reps are not council employees, they still have access to the internal vacancies list of the council, a circumstance which greatly improves their opportunities for applying for council positions.

Yet, at the same time, the project and its set-up with GW does bring about a peripheral position in relation to council services and moreover also locates the role of the project at the bottom end of the council services in terms of wage scales. This position is partly attributed to the relatively unskilled trainees that the CCR employ, but even more so it becomes visible in the kind of jobs that the project carries out and is assigned. As explained, these are graffiti and fly-posting removal, cleaning and painting particular street furniture in the city centre, as well as the work of the patrol reps on the streets. In addition to this, they are often called to sort out pressing tasks such as cleaning areas, removing broken furniture, and sorting out particular eyesores. There is a clear understanding within the project, as well as for those interviewees who make use of the project, that the type of tasks are often 'all those jobs which need doing but are not done by anyone else'. At the same time, the CCR negotiate carefully which jobs can be carried out without interfering with some other

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<sup>140</sup> For a thorough discussion of the CCR, especially in relation to Glasgow's CityWatch CCTV scheme, see also Helms (2001).

agency's remit and expertise. Thus they have not replaced any standard street cleaning service in the city centre.

The two main parts of the project are a clean-up squad of up to 24 people and a patrol team which can accommodate as well for over twenty people. In May 2002, there were 13 patrol reps and 17 members of the clean-up squad. Besides these two teams, one or two reps also staff a small exhibition centre in the city centre of recent regeneration developments, 'What's That Glasgow'. All reps are supervised by four supervisors who loosely divide their attention between two for the clean-up squad and two for the patrol reps. The administration of the project is carried out by one full-time administrator and up to two administrative reps. A manager oversees the whole project.

For a few years, another set-up of warden programmes has been established in England and Wales. Street wardens and neighbourhood wardens are funded by national government under the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister<sup>141</sup> and its Neighbourhood Warden Programme (ODPM 2001). These programmes establish neighbourhood wardens for residential areas as well as street wardens for city centres, equipping them with some special powers in regard to patrolling as well as issuing fines for minor incidents. None of these projects has an intermediate labour market angle, and the wardens are employed for the duration of the funding: a constellation which differs from the case of the CCR, and I will come back to these differences later on. These warden programmes have a stronger input from the police such as training as 'special constables', but Glasgow's reps too get induction to rights, powers and conflict management training.

In the case of the CCR project, a complicated picture of institutional arrangements is emerging. In a partnership set-up with local authorities, local economic development agencies and training agencies, different interests in the performances and orientation of the project arise: namely, about both the quality of service provided in the city centre and the aim of being a successful training programme.

### **9.3 *Routine improvisations of running the project***

These institutional arrangements are examined in more detail by paying attention to the management of the project and its working practices. For this we will consider in particular the role played by the four supervisors in the project. We do so because their work gives us insights into not only how the project is run and managed, but also as to how far the project stretches across

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<sup>141</sup> Newly created end of May 2002, this office has taken up several of the remits of the old Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions.

the city centre as a site of urban regeneration. Here, the project needs to strike a balance between the numerous demands posed on it from outside agencies. In line with methodological claims regarding social praxis and the production of safe city centres, it is the supervisor's position which needs to bring the demands in line with the project's own goals. In doing so, they not only translate and modify external demands but also bring in their own considerations and ways of doing the job of representing the city centre.

### 9.3.1 Supervising and improvising

So, what role do the supervisors have in the project? They are first of all the key contact for the reps, they devise their daily work plan, they check if the reps follow this plan throughout the day, they look after the training and personal development of the reps, and help them with job search; and if there are any problems, they discipline the reps.

#### **Box 9.1 A working day for a CCR supervisor (compiled from interview material)**

Start at 8.45 or 9.15  
 Preparing rota for patrol reps for the day  
 Checking when reps arrive whether the rota needs to be modified according to absences  
 Sending the reps out  
 Doing paperwork related to the reps, their personal development and job search  
 Going out on the street to see if the reps are at their locations and if there are any problems  
 Coming back for lunch  
 After the reps went out again, go again out to the centre to check reps, their location and see if there are problems OR  
 Stay in office for paperwork  
 Finish at about 4.30 pm

A typical work day is exemplified in Box 9.1. Let us look in more detail at some of the interactions between the supervisors and the reps, focussing on the patrol reps. A rota is produced every morning and needs to be adjusted to the actual number of reps who are present that day. These numbers vary greatly due to the training and personal development that the reps receive, their shift system as the patrol reps work five days out of seven, and not least because of authorised and unauthorised absences due to illness and personal circumstances.

What you find if they are that young, they don't have a lot of working experience and they are not used to turning up for work early. Older people obviously have been in a position before where they had to turn up and they have the experience whereas younger people didn't have the opportunity to work before and they are finding it hard just coming in on time. That's part of the training of the reps as well, coming in on time, and if they don't come

on time we have to speak to them and we tell them that that is not on. A lot of the people think it's not a problem if they don't come on time and you have to teach them that that is not on and that they have to phone in if they are running late [...]. (Manager, CCR, August 2001)

Once the rota is done and the reps are sent out on the street, one of the supervisors is supposed to go out to the city centre and check whether the reps are in their assigned locations and see if they have any problems. Going out on the street has been described in all interviews as the key to their work, since this is where the main work of the project gets done, and it is where the reps are not only gaining experience but providing a service which needs to be supervised. Hence, the hours on the street are valuable for the project.

However, again and again, the complaint was brought up that 'we don't seem to get out on the street half as much as we want to' (Interview, CCR supervisor, July 2002). This is largely attributed to the amount of paperwork that needs to be undertaken for each rep on the project.

In all this work routine, the notion of a 'typical day' is a deceptive one. More than once, the supervisors commented that 'there is no such thing as a typical day'. Instead, they work on a reactive model revolving around what situations arise and what demands are placed on them in terms of meetings or special jobs that the reps are asked to undertake (see Box 9.2).

### Box 9.2 Why there isn't such a thing as a typical day

The key characteristic of the CCR project and its tasks, mentioned by the interviewees with a sign of resignation, is made out as "all those jobs that no one else wants to do". Apart from the regulated and already described tasks, this necessarily includes a wide range of ad-hoc assigned tasks, dealing with spontaneously arising problems such as

Witnessing observed incidences in court

Reacting to special assignments by the Lord Provost

Dropping leaflets for council, CCP, or other agencies

Uplifting needles

Surveying advertisement boards on the precinct

For the supervisors, this has to be fitted in among meetings with agencies and training providers and other arising tasks.

Above all, a day's priorities have to be constantly re-negotiated depending on numbers of reps at work, scheduled jobs and new jobs, as one supervisor puts it:

The rotas are based... we make up the rota on a daily basis, but it's based on strictly how many people we get in on any given day. That's... it's got to be a daily thing. When I turn up at 8.30 in the morning and we've got four people phoning in, two phoning in late, two phoning in sick, what shall we gonna do. It's who we gonna get. Or like this morning, it's gonna be re-scheduled. (Supervisor, CCR, March 1999)

One of the key constraints on supervisors actually being able to go out on the streets to supervise the reps during their working day lies in the administrative and managerial demands placed onto the project since it has become part of

the local authority. Not only has this move brought with it a rise in paperwork to be filled out and passed onto the Land Services Department, it seems too that the whole set-up of the project is difficult to integrate within the working practices of local government bureaucracy. In particular, the transient nature of CCR trainees is problematic as it places extra demands upon the training and administration of Land Services, which has to provide its training in a more flexible manner. One of the immediate consequences of this is that working practices and administration processes change frequently in the search for a suitable way of dealing with the CCR, resulting in yet more paperwork.

### 9.3.2 Recruitment problems

The key circumstance affecting the service level provided by the project is set by the number of trainees on the project at any one time. Immediately noticeable is the low numbers of patrol reps currently employed. This is not only due to existing reps being placed in permanent jobs but is more strongly controlled by the numbers of newly recruited reps:

The problem we're having at the moment is getting numbers in the door. [...] I don't *understand* it. I mean... I had four interviews lined up for... [...] Wednesday morning. Not one of them turned up, not one. [GH: Right] Not one, not one. We're finding about a fifty odd per cent of the interviews... since January up to, probably a couple of months ago... right, let's say May... from January to May we invited over a hundred people for an interview, which is an average of twenty per month. Of that 50% failed to show [*pauses*], failed to come. Of the 50% that did come, there was a more than reasonable or acceptable level of people who weren't eligible came to an interview. (Supervisor, CCR, July 2001)

Although arranging a large number of interviews with people being transferred to the project, over half of the interviewees fail to show, and if they show, the project finds that they do not comply with the eligibility criteria set by GW to be able to participate in the programme. Even worse, there are only very few people applying for a job as a patrol rep:

I mean, as usual... the clean-up squad, we can have, we can take on a hundred people for the clean-up squad. There... we can take a hundred but the patrol reps, very few and far between... very few and far between. (Supervisor, CCR, July 2001)

The immediate consequence of this recruitment problem is how the project succeeds in achieving an adequate service level. For the patrol reps this means covering the main shopping streets throughout the day in an adequate presence. Here the levels have become so low that the project is considering sending out reps on their own rather than working in groups. The rota of the patrol reps is further affected by absences due to training, personal development as well as illness.

The causes of the recruitment problem are only speculated on by all sides, but are so frequently. A number of issues are mentioned, such as the shift systems that the reps work, their highly-visible uniform (which is disliked by probably all

of those who have to wear it), and the lack of a clear job profile for the patrol reps. In total, these issues indicate another factor in the position of intermediate labour market programmes, that of competition among projects, competing for the most easily placed trainees or, if that is unviable, for sheer numbers of trainees. Whereas these points are only briefly mentioned here in order to indicate the problems placed upon the workings of the project due to few recruits, the labour market aspect will be developed at a later point in this chapter.

### 9.3.3 A clear job profile?

Throughout the existence of the project the search for income generation has impacted upon future perspectives and initiatives. This became apparent both in the 1999 and the 2001 interviews. Throughout 2001 a Best Value Review (Director of Land Services 2002) was carried out to evaluate the service and also to suggest future possibilities for the project. The search for possible jobs is discussed throughout the interviews, with the CCR Manager detailing current jobs, and explaining how the Head of Land Services is constantly on the search for new job opportunities for the project. In this, she is very clear that the project needs to tread carefully so as to not stand on anybody's toes. The latest expansion of the CCR project is operating the gates for the boat service on the Clyde. Although provided free of charge at the moment, the project hopes to generate income from this in future (*paraphrased, Manager, CCR, August 2001*)

Reasons for this lie in the financially dependent nature of the project, with its funding through its intermediate labour market design. With falling recruitment rates, however, this casts doubts on the future of the project and hence the search for ways of generating incomes becomes more important. This search for new jobs is done in two ways. Firstly, there is a concerted effort to bring in money by professionalising those tasks that the project has undertaken over the past years such as leaflet dropping and removing graffiti from private property. However, the second way that new jobs are assigned to the project happens in a very different manner: there are a range of jobs identified which need doing in the city centre but are not currently looked after by any of the council services. Hence the CCR may receive a phone call from service departments, the CCP or the Lord Provost himself, being called out to take care of a particular problem.

This mode of being assigned new jobs is viewed with mixed feelings. Whereas managers and outsiders regard this as a great development opportunity, a way of increasing the profile and expertise of the project, the supervisors are much more sceptical:

GH: Are there any ideas and plans of how to work with the shops in the future.

A: Hum... we have a few partnership meetings right enough and there are quite a few

managers of the shopping centres and so on and we could see if there are any issues for them we could help them with.

GH: [...] the CCP is involved with the Hard Target campaign. are you involved in that too?

A: No.

GH: Is this something where you would like to be involved in?

A: Hum... [*hesitates*] Don't know... another job.

GH: For the CCP it would be like, oh the Reps could do this or that but for you...

A: ... We've got enough to do.

GH: The jobs they are getting involved are not very specific but it's such a broad range like when you said that the Lord Provost phones in ... Do you find this difficult to deal with?

A: Sometimes, especially if that happens on those days when the numbers are so low and to find the times and the resources to do it. That mostly happens with the clean-up squad to clean this or that. (Supervisor, CCR, September 2001)

The spontaneous nature of these demands means that rotas and job plans need to be prioritised and juggled on a constant basis, not only depending on the fulfilment of the routine tasks but also taking into account changing numbers of reps available at short notice. For these reasons, I would like to introduce the concept of routine improvisations as the approach underlying the running of the CCR project and the working practices of its staff.

### **9.4      *Critical moments in the political economy of the project***

After having visited the tasks of the CCR as well as its varied, and often improvised, working practices, I am now moving on to explore in greater depth a number of issues of urban regeneration. Firstly, from the tasks undertaken, a potential ambiguity in the tasks that CCR undertake has arisen: are these projects providing tourist information and a liaising role for public and private sector agents, or do they exercise policing powers? Secondly, the institutional arrangements for these projects rely heavily on the conditions of intermediate labour market training programmes. This circumstance raises issues of the quality of service provided, and of the extent of training provided for people in the programme allowing them to move on to other jobs. Through this, the whole context of labour market policies is opened up.

#### **9.4.1      Municipal policing**

Policing across the UK has seen in recent years the emergence of different agents becoming involved in patrolling residential neighbourhoods and commercial centres. Here the commercialisation of policing is marked by the rise of private security companies offering their service to business as well as to communities ( for similar developments in Germany, see Eick 1998; Jones and Newburn 1995, 1998). Whereas the commercialisation of state power is a fairly recent development, I want to highlight another aspect of policing which is as old as the police force itself. Ogborn traces the origins of the modern police force as a co-ordinated uniformed agency which engaged in a number of



ordering tasks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century city, town and village. He comments on the far-reaching attempts to establish a new urban order which “is evidenced in that drunkenness, disorderly behaviour, street-walking, indecent exposure, the selling of indecent literature and even the singing of indecent songs and the use of profane language were prohibited alongside kite-flying, carpet-beating and having loose window boxes” (Ogborn 1993, p. 517). Hence, the remit of the modern police at their inception far extended the surveillance of offenders and the prevention of crime but was inextricably bound up with the provision of a service function that (re-)ordered the municipality, the scale at which the police force was organised. Arguably, the police, alongside a range of private and municipal services are now returning to these origins – as agents promoting good social/spatial/public order in a much wider, and also much more mundane everyday way.

From this origin of the police force, several elements have remained intact, notably the legislation by which local authorities can engage in policing activities despite recent moves to centralising policing powers in Britain. Some, in fact, have been *re-introduced* in recent years. One of these pieces of legislation is the ‘Paving Act’ from 1824 which enables ‘Paving Commissioners’ to appoint ‘Watchmen and Patroles’ to go on patrol in London’s Regent’s Park at night time (Hauber *et al.* 1996; Johnston 2000; for similar developments in the Netherlands and Germany, see Lindenberg 2000). The best known example of this type of policing is the Wandsworth Parks Constabulary in London. From a mobile park security group, they became sworn in as constables in 1995, thereby being equipped with proper police powers. As Johnston (2000, p. 141) details: “One of the main roles of the Constabulary is to maintain public compliance with bye-laws on municipal open spaces. To that extent it acts as a deterrent rather than as an enforcement body, dealing with problems of dog control, traffic violations, low level violence, drunkenness and indecency.” Furthermore, the constables are responsible for monitoring CCTV cameras, provide a patrol for local libraries and leisure amenities, and are present in local housing offices to act as deterrent to aggressive clients.

The fact that the Glasgow wardens are present in the space that they patrol and are identifiable by their official uniform is an intended way of deterring not only aggressive clients in housing offices, but also of deterring any sort of disorder in the city centre. As a group of patrol reps comment:

A1: Mainly we’re just tourist guides.

GH: Is this what also takes up most of your time?

[*All agreeing.*]

GH: Are the people that ask you questions usually from outside Glasgow?

A2: No, no. You find the majority is from Glasgow. ... But what is the most important thing is... presence... on the precinct [*A1 and A3 agreeing*]. Just people seeing us. [*A3: That’s right*] It stops a lot... a lot of trouble as well.

GH: What kind of trouble?

A1: There's a lot of fighting.

A2: There is always fighting. [*A1 incomprehensible*]... stealing... bag-snatching, purses and so... the presence, us being there, it helps that... you know what I mean. [GH: Huhum.] I think that's one of the main ones... [*pauses briefly*] there's not much more we do, is it? (Three patrol reps, CCR, September 2001)

Although clearly being a tourist guide is what they mainly do throughout their working day, they simultaneously are present in spaces that need observation, and by their presence they exert control and prevent disorder and violence. The view expressed in the quote would certainly not get the approval of city managers and marketeers, since it is in stark contrast to marketed images of the new Glasgow as a friendly city, and it may be an exaggeration intended for my ears as a female researcher. Nonetheless, it signals the understanding of the patrol reps as an ordering presence and force in the city centre.

Besides the presence in the city centre, the CCR get involved in a number of tasks which are part of regulating city centre spaces such as the earlier mentioned reporting of waste not uplifted. Also, they record cars on the precincts outwith hours and report this to the authorities. This action, however, takes us to a central concern with how the reps conduct their tasks of policing and regulation:

A: There is traffic control on the precincts. It's supposed to finish at 10 o'clock or 5 and we've got to take their registration numbers and that gets reported in and they get sent a fine

GH: Does that frequently happen?

All: Aye, all the time. ...

GH: So what would you do then? ...

A2: Take their registration number.

GH: So you would talk to...

WK: No! You wouldn't try to...

A2: No. You'd try not to let them see you doing it all... to save any conflict. Part of our job as well is to tell people "We're not police. We're not traffic wardens." For which we get mistaken for all the times. Trying to do it as discreetly as possible. (Three patrol reps, CCR, September 2001)

Rather than confronting the driver of the vehicle directly, the CCR merely take the registration number from a distance to pass it on. This marks a very different approach to city wardens in the Netherlands, who are explicitly employed as "supervisory officials without formal police powers [who] can make an effective contribution towards the control of common forms of crime, at a lower cost than the traditional police" (Hauber *et al.* 1996, p. 199). In so doing, Dutch city wardens explicitly engage in law enforcement in the city centre whereas Glasgow's CCR are eager to point out that:

We're not policemen, we don't take the place of policemen, we *act* as civilians. If there is a crime being committed in the city centre ... the Reps would radio the base and the base would then get the camera switched on and the police would take over. That's what I would expect of a normal member of public. If you were walking along the road and a robbery would be taking place, I would imagine you'd go to a phone and phone the police. We don't

do any more or any less. We don't arrest people, we don't chase people, we don't do rugby tackles on people, we avoid that where possible. (Manager, CCR, March 1999)

This view is integrated into the CCR project by highlighting that the CCR are not to make any civilian arrest, a right of arrest of every member of the public. Hence, with regard to statutory powers and their position in relation to the police, the CCR is designed as a project that deliberately rejects any secondary police powers. This is interesting in the light of the project's origin. Similar projects in the USA, as well as Dutch projects, all operate with civic wardens who are basically a civilian extension of the police and are all equipped with secondary police powers (Hauber *et al.* 1996; Johnston 2000).

The claim of not being the police and of not taking the role of the police needs to be qualified in a number of ways. Whereas the CCR do not engage in law enforcement by catching criminals, they nonetheless police the public spaces of the city in a number of ways. We have already mentioned the importance that the uniformed presence of the patrol reps possesses in terms of advising and helping the public, a traditional role of beat officers. Here the CCR clearly take up tasks previously undertaken by the police. More significantly, the supervisors, when discussing the communication between the project and retail staff, bring up events which are not only of a policing nature but one that concerns crime control. Consider this case:

[...] most of the shops we have good relations with, for instance, Ravels, the shoe shop on Argyle St, we have good relations with them. They approached two reps yesterday to get the phone number of the police station because they had an intruder in their stock room, the likes of them, we get it like that. (Supervisor, CCR September 2001)

More often, the CCR are called upon to safeguard public order across the city centre such as in this incident outside the Gallery of Modern Art (GOMA):

GH: Do you see the reps contributing to making Glasgow a safe place?

A: Well, the reps, it's not in their... in the reps' remit to be some sort of security in the city centre but I'm sure that if something is happening, they would certainly be radioing and then it's up to the supervisors to decide what to do. I was at the GOMA on the weekend there is a lot, up to 100 youngsters, Goths gathering, at the majority of times they are not doing any harm but then they were throwing bottles and stuff like that so I radioed in, saying that there is a disturbance and we were helping the public to move around that disturbance before the police came in. (Supervisor, CCR, September 2001)

While these are only two incidents, I am still surprised of how virtually every example brought up through the interviews or during my tours with the supervisors bears the marks of a project strongly involved in the ordering of public spaces, and in some cases of policing these spaces. It hence seems that a significant part of the job *is* dedicated to these tasks, but they are also the most sensitive ones in relation to how the project is viewed from the outside.

In the creation of the Glasgow project, the agents involved (meaning GDA, GCC, less the people who now work on the project) deliberately chose not to

have these secondary police powers, but to establish ambassadors who would meet and greet visitors. The reasons why ideas of a secondary police were rejected are mainly seen as stemming from concerns about the reps' safety and also from a potential conflict with the project's public image. This view of a meeting and greeting service is also one which was presented to the public as the chief objective of the reps (for a more detailed discussion on these tensions, see Helms 2001, pp. 91-95). Yet, the previous discussion should have made clear that this distinction between where policing starts and meeting and greeting ends is anything but clear cut<sup>142</sup>.

In the past, the CCR shared both premises and manager with Glasgow's public space CCTV system CityWatch. For five years the project hence possessed very close linkages with the video surveillance of the city, both in terms of personnel and via working relations. A standard procedure, which is still in place, is that when the reps observe anything suspicious they radio base, where the respective administrative person contacts the CCTV camera room to let the operators know, who can then focus the cameras on the appropriate location. The management situation of the project has changed, however, due to the integration of the CCR into GCC's Land Services Department<sup>143</sup>. In addition to this, comparing the number of incidents in which a rep contacted the police at the request of a member of the public has fallen significantly between 1999 and 2001, see Table 9.2 on page 217. This circumstance hints at a growing disassociation from acting officially as an agent of the police, and is also expressed by one of the supervisors:

... that's actually community safety, lost kids, people have approached the reps and said, "I think that wee girl over there is lost," or that wee boy or the wee girl will approach the reps and say,... or the mother or father will approach the reps and say "I've lost my kid." So they *know*... people know if something happens, we'll see a rep. We're no there... we're no there to phone the police for somebody. If somebody comes up and says, "Gonna phone the police, because someone did this or someone did that," we *might*. The reps will radio base and we will say whether or no it's their problem or not. But they don't want to be *seen* as police, because... you know... you still got that mentality. We want to be approachable. We want people to go up and talk to us, you know. (Supervisor, CCR, September 2001)

Here, although happy to help re-uniting lost children and their parents, the supervisors are very wary of contacting the police on behalf of a member of the public who, as an example, has lost a purse. This displays a careful self-regulation of powers, or in many cases of 'non'-powers, that the CCR exert so as to keep the visible and official links to the police as low as possible. Similar

<sup>142</sup> The view of the project by other interviewees in my study varied. Whereas one outreach worker clearly emphasised the training input and did not assign them any ordering role in the city centre, another outreach worker actually equated the CCR with the CCP and regarded them as a clear policing body in the city centre, out to watch and to observe street people.

<sup>143</sup> CityWatch is now managed by the City Centre Partnership. Glasgow's public space CCTV system has been the subject of academic attention (see especially Fyfe and Bannister 1996, 1998; Norris and Armstrong 1999; Short and Ditton 1995).

to the reluctance at contacting the police, the reps are also trained not to respond to questions of whether a car can be parked here or there. Being mistaken for traffic wardens by their uniforms, they frequently encounter situations where they are not supposed to say either yes or no, as it is outside their remit to watch over parking matters.

In all of these situations, the CCR are distancing themselves from current developments establishing street warden projects funding by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM). Street wardens actively seek a role of acting as a concierge or secondary police, and receive certain police powers which are designed to help them in regulating minor offences and incidents such as laid out at the start of this section by the Wandsworth Constabulary. Promoted by the British Association of Town Centre Management under headings of liveability and city centre regeneration, street wardens not only act as a pressure valve to relieve overstretched police forces, but are furthermore actively integrated in the effort of economic regeneration and city centre attractiveness (for a more extensive discussion of this argument, see Belina and Helms 2003). This division of labour within city centre warden projects, ranging from CCR to street wardens, is only emerging now and is indicative of a further move to institutionalise different agents of policing, regulating and welcoming city centre populations. Currently, the ODPM programme does not apply to Scotland but it would be unsurprising if, once a similar programme exists for the Scottish context, Glasgow receives its own street warden project, in addition to the CCR. In fact, the Scottish First Minister announced shortly before Christmas 2002 that a “network of community wardens is to be created throughout Scotland to combat anti-social behaviour and clean-up Scotland’s streets, while freeing police officers to focus on serious crime” (Scottish Executive 2002a), thereby mirroring the English initiative of neighbourhood wardens.

Discussing the impact and the role of the patrol reps in the public spaces of Glasgow’s city centre has made obvious that the introduction of a city warden project affects the way in which official presences order and regulate these spaces. Whereas the politics of the Glasgow project take a clear stance in rejecting official police powers, they are nonetheless actively and in numerous ways engaged in the ordering of the city and in the control of deviant activities. Although they reject a role in the policing of street people, their widening range of tasks is related to those policies by which particular activities are becoming criminalised and focussed upon (such as young Goths congregating around the GOMA or the CCR’s recent remit of used needle uplift).

### 9.4.2 Intermediate labour market programme

The second aspect that I want to address in relation to city centre warden projects is the circumstance that many of the earlier ones are funded through European Social Fund, New Deal and other local training and intermediate labour market programmes<sup>144</sup>, and are hence linked into local labour market policies.

In the UK, as well as in many other Western countries, the increasing provision of workfare instead of universal welfare has been pursued by national governments (OECD 1999). Workfare, or in the British context welfare-to-work, is marked by a conditional delivery of welfare support. In order to receive benefits, individuals enter a contractual relation with the welfare provider such as the Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) in Britain, by which a unemployed person agrees to carry out a number of activities in order to find suitable work. If found in breach of these conditions, or if leaving a job on their own accord, an individual's benefits may be suspended for a length of time. Hence *unemployment benefits* have been transformed into a *jobseeker's allowance*. The re-organisation of governance which is exhibited through these changes has been conceptualised by Jessop, who, writing from a regulationist perspective, argues for the emergence of a Schumpeterian Workfare postnational regime (SWPR) (Jessop 1995, 1999). This regime, with regard to social reproduction, "can be described [...] as a *workfare* regime in so far as it subordinates social policy to the demands of labour market flexibility and structural or systemic competitiveness. [...] [Furthermore] the SWPR is concerned to provide welfare services that benefit business and thereby demote individual needs to second place" (Jessop 1999, p. 355). Alongside this shift, the receipt of welfare becomes firmly placed in the context of a rising rights and responsibility discourse, reconfiguring the relation between government and citizens (see Imrie and Raco 2000; Peck and Theodore 2000). Heron and Dwyer (1999, p. 93) comment on relevant government publications (specifically, the Green Paper on welfare reform, DSS 1998) that "[t]he drive to pursue the work ethic and the emphasis on obligation and duty are becoming clear themes around which welfare reform will evolve".

The New Deal presents the most extensive welfare-to-work project for the UK, with its framework of compulsory enrolment. Peck (1999, p. 347) points out that, given the compulsory nature of the JSA, "to spare the benefit rolls by ensuring that all those who can work do work – means that the New Deal client group, in order to have remained on benefit for 6 months, must face significant barriers to

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<sup>144</sup> Note that this is not the case with programmes introduced in England and Wales under the Neighbourhood and Street Warden programme. Here the programme provides funding for wardens.

work, or few *opportunities* to work.” Every 18 to 24 year old, after having been unemployed for more than six months, enters the New Deal programme through a Gateway stage in which the young person is presented with a number of options and ‘tailored pathways’ to proceed. Whereas the New Dealers can choose between full-time education, a voluntary sector option, an environmental task force or an employer option, it is under this fourth option that people would be employed in the CCR project<sup>145</sup>.

A number of authors have pointed towards the uneven geography of the New Deal in largely extending, and in many ways exacerbating, the uneven geography of the British economy and its labour markets (re-visiting arguments made fifteen years ago: Allen and Massey 1988; Peck 1999; Sunley *et al.* 2001). In October 1997, one third of the New Deal’s client base were situated in only five major conurbations, among them Glasgow (IDS 1997, p. 1, cited in Peck 1999). The concentration of New Dealers in these urban areas also pinpoints one of the biggest tensions of the programme; namely, that is that of low local demand in depressed local labour markets. In these labour markets, intermediate labour market programmes and training programmes have started to play an important role in reducing the number of officially unemployed (Webster 2001). This is of even greater importance for those labour markets marked by high unemployment and low economic activity rates as it is the case with Glasgow, as too with many other former old-industrial regions.

Another indicator for increased localised policy response to labour market challenges is given by how local development agencies have been involved in the provision of intermediate labour market programmes. Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, the local economic development agency, has been running its programme Glasgow Works since 1994. Their target group is long-term unemployed living in Glasgow, who are placed in a wide range of projects ranging from childcare to call centres jobs. They stay on the project for up to one year during which, beside the work experience, they receive training and also work towards National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ). Especially in comparison with the Training for Work option (another national training initiative), Glasgow Works seems to be able to keep people on the project for longer, achieve more NVQs at leaving, and a higher number of participants who are eventually channelled into unsupported jobs

It is predominantly through these two channels that the wages of the trainees on the CCR project are funded. For a long time, the CCR presented themselves, as well as formally being so presented, as the flagship project for Glasgow

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<sup>145</sup> Besides the New Deal for young unemployed, there also exist New Deals for long-term unemployed, lone parents and disabled (but the funding for young unemployed amounts up to 80% of the whole project).



Works. This has been attributed to the fact that the patrol reps are highly visible throughout the city centre, and hence deliberately transport and visibly express part of the economic regeneration messages of Glasgow as a friendly city (this move has proved central to many of the key city agents' earlier efforts at economic regeneration which heavily relied on image politics and place marketing, Bianchini 1993; Holcomb 1994). Moreover, the project has proven in the past to be highly successful in securing future employment for its trainees. Up to 1996, overall more than 60% of Glasgow Works leavers moved on to paid employment (Cambridge Policy Consultants 1996). For the CCR, ongoing from 1995 to March 1999, 83% of those leaving the project were positive outcomes (which also includes those who progress into further education) (City Centre Representatives 2001). Due to the CCR's integration into Glasgow's politics of intermediate labour markets and its involvement in key developments therein, the project's success is highly dependent on its performance as an intermediate labour market programme and from the number of positive outcomes it manages to achieve, not least in comparison with other programmes<sup>146</sup>. At first sight, this seems very obvious, but this holds a couple of tensions for the nature of the programme:

As laid out, the institutional set-up is strongly influenced by local authority concerns about a particular service provision: the CCR are to provide a competent tourist information service, as well as one of monitoring and regulating service activities throughout the city centre. For these tasks they have to be competently trained and well enough experienced so that the quality of the service is sufficient. This aim can collide with the aim of training programmes to provide as many positive outcomes as possible. These are defined as people moving on from the programme into employment, and into unsupported sustainable employment, which is commonly regarded as jobs lasting longer than 13 weeks. Hence, a high turnover of trainees is desirable for the performance rate of the project (so long as people move into jobs, do not leave the project unemployed or get dismissed). It is this condition which mitigates against getting reps trained and fully experienced up to a standard at which they are actually in position to fulfil professionally their tasks, and do so with the necessary confidence in their own role. Hence, the institutional set-up as an intermediate training programme actually represents a structural contradiction in relation to the CCR acquiring a professional role of either a more pro-active policing agent or representing the city as a tourist information guide.

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<sup>146</sup> And, of course, the political climate which is currently in favour of intermediate labour market programmes.

To gain a sense about the kind of training that the reps receive and what the basis is for their increased 'employability', a closer look at the training programmes is necessary. As soon as the reps start on the project, all of them receive a basic first aid training. For the first week or two, they receive induction from the supervisors about the key tasks: how to operate a radio, how to keep records of actions, and, for the clean-up reps, how to carry out the different tasks of cleaning benches and tourist signs, and how to remove fly-posting and graffiti. At this point, the two different parts of the project continue with different training modules. Let us follow the patrol reps. They receive training in local knowledge (e.g. local history, where is what in the city), and in the past they were also given a basic course in welcoming overseas visitors in five different languages, as well as a course in public awareness given by the police. The latter included, among others, an education in their rights and powers, and how to avoid and to manage conflict situation. Whereas these two courses are not provided any more, the current training, regarded as central to the project, is a course called First Impressions. They are taught all those items that would fall under the recently much used term of being 'job-ready': how to make sure to be on time, how to be presentably dressed and, where appropriate, shaven, and how to address people. On top of these standard training modules, each trainee has a personal development account of £200, which can be spent on a variety of things, but most commonly is spent on driving lessons or forklift licenses. Throughout their time on the project, all of the patrol reps as well as the admin assistants work towards vocational qualifications – the patrol reps towards NVQ Level 2 in Customer Care (in 1996, 60% achieved this), and the admin reps towards NVQ Level in Administration<sup>147</sup>. In the past, a considerable proportion did not complete the course. The very first reps on the project actually achieved NVQ Level 3, but soon the level to be achieved was lowered to 2, which is the lowest level to get a certification of one's vocational skills.

With the training on the project, the reps are supposed to be able to enter the service sector industry, which in Glasgow has been one of the sectors prioritised by economic regeneration. In fact, recent government strategies have also laid out that a Level 3 qualification provides secure entrance and participation in the so-called knowledge economy (DfEE 2001). However, very few of the reps manage to obtain skilled or even semi-skilled employment. The majority of those finding employment become road sweepers, car park attendants, drivers, security personnel, and porters (all classified under 'Other occupations in Table 9.3). Looking at the employers providing the jobs for former trainees, one fact is striking: almost 80% (19 out of 24 for 2001) clean-up

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<sup>147</sup> Initially, the clean-up squad was working towards computer qualification, but this is not happening any more. Due to their specialised work, they receive various certifications about the equipment they use, such as power jets. There is no specific NVQ for cleansing.

reps proceed onto working with Glasgow City Council, almost exclusively being employed as road sweepers. A significant number of patrol reps, as well as some admin assistants, also move on to the Council, although the numbers here are lower. This is probably attributed to the fact that the patrol reps do not possess a clear job profile, unlike the clean-up reps who carry out a lot of tasks which fall under a local authority's statutory responsibilities. A few of the patrol reps become road sweepers too, and others are employed by the Council as car park attendants. The admin assistants are all employed in administrative or clerical positions throughout the Council.

Table 9.3 Employment destination by social-economic class (SOCMAJOR)

Socio-economic class	1996	2001	Total
Managers and Administrators	0	0	0
Professional Occupations	1	0	1
Associate Professional and Technical Occupations	2	1	3
Clerical and Secretarial Occupations	5	5	10
Craft and Related Occupations	1	2	3
Personal and Protective Service Occupations	5	4	9
Sales Occupations	3	3	6
Plant and Machine Operative	5	3	8
Other Occupation	12	28	40
Total	34	46	80

(Source: City Centre Representatives 2001)

As mentioned above, though, the project finds it increasingly difficult to recruit people, especially for the patrol reps. This situation seems to have worsened since the New Deal introduced a slightly changed entrance route into employment which is supposed to give young people more choice (Department for Work and Pensions 2002; Scottish Executive 2002b). Consequently, between February and May 2002, only three applicants came through this route, of which none was employed, due either to no further interest or a lack of skills needed to work as an administrator on the project. The reasons why the project has such difficulties are regarded from within the project as inefficient ways of working by the employment centre. Also, it is attributed to increasing

competition from various other intermediate labour market programmes, which often offer more direct routes into service sector jobs<sup>148</sup>. Yet, as suggested earlier, the fact that many intermediate labour market initiatives have been running for a number of years also highlights the severe hindrances that the remaining unemployed are facing. This argument made by Peck (1999) is extended by research by Sunley *et al.* (2001), whose work on the outputs of the early New Deal cohorts finds a rapid slowing down of how many individuals go on to secure future employment, which not only indicates the individual hindrances to work but also the quick saturation of relatively depressed local labour markets.

Even more important, the nature of training and the existing institutional relations of the project within Glasgow's urban governance, as well as the jobs secured by CCR trainees, also show how intermediate labour markets act as a catalyst for turning around large numbers of relatively unskilled workers. This is commented on by Sunley *et al.* (2001, p. 492) as follows:

[a]reas of weak employment growth may well be marked by the presence of more insecure, 'hire and fire' jobs at the bottom of the skill structures in service and construction sectors. In addition, by boosting the supply of relatively less skilled labour in areas of low labour demand the programme may serve to exert downward pressure on wages for this sort of labour...

#### 9.4.3 Disciplining and policing the workforce

Bringing together these two moments of policing the city centre and the intermediate labour market input, I can move into my my final point about the CCR project. Over the following pages, I will develop a sense of how the project simultaneously 'polices' its own workforce. Here, policing is again an almost inadequate verb to employ, while 'disciplining', in a Foucauldian sense, is similarly viewed negative by trainers and supervisors. Instead, trainers, and other practitioners involved in training and skills initiatives talk about motivation and 'work-readiness'. Hence, for the ensuing discussing, the reference to current intermediate labour market programmes and the extent to which these are tied into welfare-to-work policies such as Britain's New Deal both become of importance. Targeting almost exclusively the supply side of local labour markets, these policies aim at increasing the employability of individuals. This has been critiqued by various academic sources such as Peck and Theodore (2000, p. 747), who argue that labour market adjustments via welfare-to-work are associated with a number of detrimental characteristics such as the

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<sup>148</sup> Interestingly, the project does not have any sort of network exchange e.g. with other Glasgow Works project, who are known to suffer from similar recruitment difficulties. The Best Value Review focuses on many areas of improvement, but it does not indicate ways of dealing with the recruitment problem, or even acknowledge that there exists such a problem (Director of Land Services 2002).

destabilisation of contingent work, downward pressure on pay and working conditions and, more, long-term, the creation of a barrier to pursuing managerial and technological innovations as low-pay appears as a viable strategy to employers (for more detail, see Peck and Theodore 2000; Sunley *et al.* 2001; Tonge 1999). The current government has coupled supply-side approaches with a strong sense of compulsory welfare-to-work in place of universal benefits. Thereby it pursues not only a New Deal for the unemployed and other social groupings, but also a new moral order. As Heron and Dwyer (1999) have outlined, the role for citizens lies in 'doing the right thing'. This is embedded in a wider shift of current policy moving towards a rights and responsibilities discourse, as Imrie and Raco (2000) have argued in relation to urban policy. Within this shift, the disciplining of local work forces has become increasingly apparent.

The project's main positions are held by the four supervisors who, in close contact with each and every rep, structure their working day, see to their training and work hard to secure employment for them. In all of this, they make sure that the reps do what they are supposed to do. Here the accounts, as well as the observations, indicate the extensiveness of supervision. The supervisors not only openly control the location of the patrol reps, but they 'sneak up on them' (Field diary, guided tour with CCR supervisor, July 2001) from various directions to see what is going on. Furthermore, the CCR is a project which employs various techniques to increase and to promote work-readiness and employability, achieving these goals through tight supervision, discipline and the keeping of records. For this, the supervisors employ a variety of strategies, ranging from understanding for difficult personal circumstances to disciplinary warnings and dismissal. These developments also occur simultaneously on a larger scale where the reps as locally unemployed people are integrated into projects of upmarketing, equipping them with an ambassadorial role of the friendly and cheery 'locals'.

An account of the practices of representing the city centre would be incomplete if it did not consider how the CCR themselves carry out their tasks and in that process modify, negotiate and in many ways also resist being integrated into the projects of upmarketing and policing the city centre of Glasgow. From the previous discussion, the ambiguity of the policing tasks has exhibited the constant negotiation of what is carried out, and also how this is perceived as part of a regulating, ordering or policing body. Hence, it is not surprising that the policing tasks, such as needle uplift or checking street traders' licences, are those tasks that are regarded as most unwelcome and unwanted by the

trainees themselves<sup>149</sup>. These tasks make up the most contested part of the work, with different expectations from supervisors and outside agents, and also revealing non-compliance by the reps themselves. Simultaneously, the reps are very aware of these demands placed on them and what they are expected to do. If they do not do it and are found out, they are 'pulled in and disciplined' by the supervisors (interview with three patrol reps, CCR, September 2001), given a formal warning.

This demand of policing the streets, however, places the reps in a difficult position for carrying out their work on the street. They are acutely aware of what actions would make their job a more difficult one than it already is. Although being a uniformed presence, the reps themselves are very reluctant to actually be seen as policing street activities, especially those of BI vendors, street traders and beggars.

Here, the supervisors' views range from a clear understanding of how the reps need to avoid difficult situations vis-à-vis street-level activities to explicit demands to get on with the job. To me it seems that the key to understanding these different positions lies in the fact of the supervisors' own experiences. Clearly having been a rep yourself was identified by one of the supervisors as a reference point, especially for understanding difficulties and possible tensions for interactions on the street.

## 9.5 *Discussion*

The development of the project and its role as uniformed presence in the city centre of Glasgow gives us an insight into how the reorganisation of governance works. The CCR project is strongly influenced by and dependant upon the local authority. For Glasgow City Council, CCR takes on a range of jobs which are unskilled, but would be very expensive if located within the respective council departments and funded through the Council budget. In this sense, the CCR act as a reserve pool of labour for council positions, those positions that need very few qualifications such as roadsweepers and car park attendants. Here the GCC reduce their risk of taking on unsuitable candidates by employing former CCR who have been through up to a year of training, often on the same equipment, and have showed that they are job-ready. This move also highlights a changing position of the local authority. Rather than merely being altered, the position of the local authority is extended outwards as it draws on other funding opportunities (such as intermediate labour market programmes such as the New Deal) to fund parts of its own service. Through

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<sup>149</sup> These interactions clearly bring back the earlier discussion on Eigen-Sinn (see Chapter Three). Not necessarily resisting, the patrol reps have their own tactics of how to deal with what they perceive to be unjustified demands, placed upon them by their supervisors.

these programmes, the local authority possesses the opportunity to pre-select future employees as well as to out-source not only costs of training but, even more so, tasks for which council employees at basic rates still would be considered too expensive. Hence, the Council certainly utilises the effects of down-ward pressure on wages exerted by these kind of programmes for its own purposes.

The labour market positioning of the project nonetheless leads to tensions, in particular around the quality of the service provided. Taking on lowly-skilled and, in some circumstances, little motivated trainees mitigates against a professional service being provided. One example here are the shop visits that were conducted regularly in the past by patrol reps. Now the once a monthly visit has been replaced by more irregular interaction. Interviewees gave as one reason that the actual role of the reps was too restricted to warrant a more frequent service. The Best Value Review aims to address exactly this problem of professionalism by suggesting a pay reward for senior reps within the project. More importantly, avenues are being pursued to secure funding for a number of permanent positions within the project (Director of Land Services 2002).

The policing role of the CCR takes us back to a number of debates within criminology around the questions of social control, discipline and risk management. Over recent years a number of authors have argued that qualitatively new developments can be observed, reconfiguring the 'nature' of social control and discipline. Shearing and Stenning (1996), for instance, have conceptualised the emergence of a pragmatic and instrumental mode of discipline which is replacing discipline based on morality<sup>150</sup>. They refer to the social control and regulation employed in Disney World, stating that here the central goal of surveillance is that of profit maximisation. Hence, disciplinary strategies are employed to achieve this aim rather than to enforce authority, or even to socialise or to rehabilitate offenders. Such a situational logic of crime control has been found within many policies of crime prevention: to prevent crime by designing out the opportunities to commit offences, and CCTV has been a prime example of this (for a thorough discussion of crime prevention, see Hughes 1998). With this argument, Shearing and Stenning (1996) argue for a qualitative shift towards new forms of policing which are no longer characterised by their moral underpinnings but by the identification of dangerous groups (see also, Garland 2000; Johnston 2000). However, in the light of this study, I would like to contest these notions that morality and discipline based on morality have become less important. In doing so, I want to

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<sup>150</sup> Here, Foucault's (1979a) arguments about the disciplinary society which occurs on various levels is central. Simultaneously, the authors argue for a new mode of discipline, not any longer based on internalisation and self-discipline but organised around risk.



refer to Coleman and Sim (1998, p. 38) who contend that, “[a]s important as instrumentalism clearly is in the development of CCTV within urban regeneration, it is also underpinned by a moral vision of order regarding the use of public space of consumption.” These authors hence conclude that a dichotomy between moral and instrumental order may be a false one.

Glasgow’s CCR are clearly tied into various practices and strategies of enforcing and maintaining both a moral and an instrumental order within the city’s public spaces. The ‘internal’ disciplining of the local workforce is in the case of the CCR underpinned by the morality of the New Deal. It is also connected to an ‘external’ disciplining by a number of social control and crime prevention tasks that the CCR carry out in the city centre. As shown above, their mere presence throughout the city centre in official and highly visible uniforms is regarded as central to this aim. This uniformed presence is an example of ordering the city through authority. However, as has been discussed in detail, the official acquisition of police powers is avoided by the CCR. Instead, the project focuses on a range of low-level regulating activities, all geared towards a smooth ‘running’ of the city and its services. In England and Wales, the Street and Neighbourhood Warden programmes contribute to an emerging division of labour as street wardens more explicitly address crime and disorder issues in city centre spaces, in contrast to the CCR with the public image of an ambassadorial service.

These different types of city centre warden projects are, through their very embodied practices, actively involved in both the production of urban spaces and how these spaces are used and consumed by different publics. Their practices of ordering, regulating and being present add another dimension of ‘policing’ to city centre spaces. While this policing, as in the case of the Glasgow CCR, operates at a comparatively low intensity level – waste uplift, registering number plates and informing the CCTV system about potential dangers – it still complements, and in many cases replaces, the traditional policing activities of the police forces. Many of these initiatives receive a lot of media attention, especially given that street crimes seem to be the government’s favourite city dangers. Along the same lines, the street warden projects are hoped to be expanded and are indeed promoted by TCM initiatives, often explicitly linked to issues of terrorism in the wake of September 11, 2001 (CCP director, May 2002). Looking at the kind of target groups, being truant youth, beggars and drug addicts, one can of course wonder how these are connected to global terrorism.

The consequences of such developments are twofold. On the one hand, many activities and offences are taken out of police responsibility and are hence delegated to other authorities, indicating a seeming decriminalisation. If this is

looked at more closely, however, the range of what activities become policed and monitored is nonetheless widened – not so much nominally, as how in the past access control of shopping precincts was also regulated and enforced, but in the sense that dedicated officers now tackle those issues which previously fell under low priority for the police forces.

## 10 Chapter Ten:

### Conclusion– Towards (research on) safe city centres

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Thus far, this thesis has charted the theoretical, methodological and empirical grounds of a research project into the practices of building, securing and maintaining a city centre which provides safe spaces for its users. The remaining task is that of a final discussion of the whole project. Such a concluding discussion not only needs to provide a summary of key findings and an outlook beyond the thesis, but instead it needs to bring together empirical and theoretical concerns. This task is even more important given the claims made earlier that a research perspective based on a critical Marxism of social praxis is able to tease out exactly those practices of policing and regulating which are central for understanding ongoing processes in economic restructuring and crime control. Up to this point, theoretical concerns have not been discussed in depth throughout the empirical chapters. My motivation for doing so has rested in an attempt to provide an account of social ontology which allows us to explore those practices of work without overloading the empirical richness with theoretical claims. Such claims are nonetheless present throughout the empirical chapters, if only as ‘anchor’ for the accounts given. Consequently, this chapter needs to explicate these theoretical investments and also to discuss the appropriateness of employing a critical Marxism and the extent to which such Marxism provides a theoretical base for empirical study.

In order to do so, this discussion will start by providing a ‘higher level’ summary of research findings, taking up urban governance as an entry point, and linking together the different projects in my study. In so doing, the topic of my research is related back to wider issues of political economy. Following on from this summary, it is time to address the role of policy within my thesis. Having worked with policies at the intersection of economic regeneration and crime control, I will outline and comment on the scope of my thesis *vis-à-vis* critical policy analysis. The main section of the Discussion is designed to bring together

empirical findings and theoretical concerns, making explicit the grounded but situated social praxis of producing a safe city centre in the city of Glasgow. Taking Lefèbvre's spatial practices as a guiding thread, we revisit the key characteristics of social praxis as concrete, routine practice which also include practical reflections and 'small thoughts' to consider the empirical findings in an explicitly conceptual manner. This discussion enables us to consider how a notion of 'unhiding', in conjunction with social praxis, allows us to study social ontology so as to hold onto its historical and geographical specificity without losing sight of agents and their particular practices through which a social totality is produced.

### **10.1     *Summary of research findings***

There are two aspects of the empirical findings which I would like to bring up again, tying together materials from the earlier chapters. Being located at the intersection of crime control and economic regeneration, the study offers insights into the actual ways whereby urban governance in this particular field of policy is organised. It is this aspect of governance 'at work' that forms the first part of this summary. Throughout the chapters, and in particular in Chapters Seven and Eight, those on regulating urban spaces, the task and difficulties of joined-up governance are recurrent themes. Urban governance and its modalities have been at the centre of attention for practitioners and academics alike. The practices of governance, while often circulating beyond the local urban state, are nonetheless clearly 'folded into' the political-economic agendas of local capital/capitalists. The recent round of economic restructuring and its pressures, in particular, for old-industrial regions to regenerate and modernise, has emphasised this close relationship between urban entrepreneurs and the local state, when urban governance became characterised as 'urban growth coalitions', 'entreneurialism' or 'growth machine'. This basic framing of what is occurring in the 'revitalisation' of old-industrial regions, in particular, must not be lost sight of in evaluating my research findings. But, furthermore, I hope my findings can reveal something of how, in practice, the connections between governance and entrepreneurialism *are* pieced together (too often just assumed by the more theoretical expositions).

The discussion of community safety policies, in particular, has offered a glimpse into the problems of mainstreaming community safety and doing so in partnership across the respective agencies. Joined-up working poses problems for the acceptance of community safety by other long-established departments as resources are made available under community safety headings to address for instance long-standing maintenance commitments of housing services or land service. The involvement in community forums is to a large extent still

dominated by various local authority departments, and it is only slowly that the police hand over some of their leadership responsibilities (not necessarily because they are so keen on 'driving' community safety forums but they often feel that there is a distinct lack of other agents to take responsibility). In terms of city centre, my study has detailed how the City Centre Partnership (CCP) as town centre management organisation was able to put together a proposal of community safety which is very close to Home Office's narrow crime reduction agenda (in contrast to wider agenda of the Community Safety Partnership). The limits of the policies were explored by shifting perspective onto enforcement and regulation of not-street crimes, for instance in relation to licensing and monitoring businesses. These are clearly located outwith the community safety agenda, highlighting the policies exclusive focus on community safety as safety from street crime.

The CCP's defining role over community safety in the city centre of Glasgow is clearly reflected in recent policies of establishing community safety for the city centre. This definition is influenced on two levels, in terms of strategic development of particular policies for the city centre, and of the crime reduction partnership in particular. The latter, it has been shown, is almost exclusively focussed on crime *against* businesses and on aesthetic offences such as litter-dropping, fly-posting, graffiti and other vandalism. The representation of community safety towards a wider public, be it city centre users (as in consumers) or towards businesses, is largely dominated by these views which are regarded as representations of private sector interests.

A remarkable similarity arises once the community safety field is placed in relation to the policies and the policing of the homeless in the city centre. Homeless people, their homelessness and the visible aspects of their presences in the city centre are similarly represented (and in some perverse sense, 'negatively marketed') by the town centre management organisation. In terms of marketing and discursively framing the problem of homelessness in the city centre, the CCP almost exclusively controls the public sphere, only interrupted and challenged occasionally by homeless organisations.

However, both fields possess a second similarity, one which is closely connected to the observation that town centre management is crucial in defining the representation of the field. This second similarity is one of a partial separation between strategic aspects of the policy field and its practices on the ground. We found in Chapter Eight forms of co-operation between the police and homeless organisations in the form of ground-level alliances, centred around what interviewees made out as 'streetwise' understanding of how to address problems of begging, drug-dealing and street prostitution. These

alliances pursued policies which at times were in clear opposition to the officially represented lines publicised by the CCP.

Not so much in opposition to official policies, but in a similar manner fairly distanced from the policies of community safety, the City Centre Representatives (CCR) provided us with a practical view of what is involved in representing the city centre. Such practice of representing has been shown to encompass the previously discussed aspects of community safety, crime control and economic regeneration. The project encompasses these aspects in a grounded and applied manner as their particular practices of patrolling the main shopping streets of the city centre has revealed. The CCR project has provided us with a detailed picture of how practices of ordering the city centre are carried out. In this sense, Chapter Nine has equipped us with an understanding, in empirical terms, of the actual practices of ordering and regulating the city centre spaces as part of the job description for being a City Centre Rep. For the current discussion of urban governance, the CCR project has been shown to be a project where these ordering practices are closely tied to economic development strategies. The CCR provides a service that implements strategies of economic regeneration, as exemplified in its cleansing and tourist information remit, as well as those strategies of community safety which emphasise the need for a uniformed presence to reassure the public and generally keep an eye on events to contact the authorities if need be. For these services, organisations such as the City Centre Partnership, Strathclyde Police and the Community Safety Partnership employ the CCR to drop leaflets, to survey businesses about the crime reduction partnership and to patrol along special routes in the Saltmarket area where safety concerns had been aired. These objectives of representing and regulating the city centre of Glasgow are often of a piecemeal nature, with changing priorities. Nonetheless, the CCR are taking on more ordering tasks. Many of these ordering tasks have been at one point or another defined as policing. Dating back to Victorian times, mundane tasks of ordering presences and activities in public spaces, without necessarily constituting crimes or offences, were subjected to policing of the newly established 'New Police'. Recent moves to task civilian agencies with these low-level policing tasks have been highlighted, and it is within this trend that we need to understand city warden programmes such as the CCR.

While addressing community safety policies, they are not part of any strategic planning of community safety, and even less of crime control or policing measures. Difficult project as it is in many ways too basic to provide the services it is tasked with by especially Tourist Board or Council. This problem is acknowledged by the CCR and is also strongly reflected in its Best Value Review. The possibility of becoming a professional rep does not exist as the CCR is designed as an intermediate labour-market programme (ILM) with the

aim to train people and move into other jobs. Hence, the training of the reps is in many ways too rudimentary to produce a truly professional representative (also commented on by patrol reps themselves). A difficulty to reconcile these two different objectives, training programme and professional service remains at the heart of the project.

It seems that over the past few years almost a downgrading of tasks has occurred, in particular with respect to business liasing, which does not happen on a regular basis anymore. This seems to be at least partly a reflection on the pool of unemployed labour moving into the project once ILM have existed for a number of years. Whereas more highly skilled unemployed people are able to benefit from training programmes such as New Deal, the more persistent long-term unemployed people remain stuck in the process and move through a number of programmes and schemes without a successful permanent employment as outcome.

The CCR addresses a broad notion of community safety, while being itself part of community safety policies only in a very limited sense. Such a perspective on the CCR project also shows how community safety is addressed not as such but under a range of different headings, highlighting its cross-cutting character as a policy field. Community safety itself has been shown to deliver a specific agenda of activities related to crime control, albeit this policy field is not exclusively limited to crime control. In so doing, it actively connects crime concerns with social inclusion policies. Transferred, as it currently is, to city centre spaces, such inclusionary considerations are, however, quickly dropped in favour of crime reduction agenda which almost exclusively concentrates on business crime, as the plans to establish a business crime orientated crime reduction partnership have demonstrated. Business crime in this context is always understood by policy-makers as crime *against* business and not crime *of* business. Chapter Eight has challenged this notion of businesses as victims and highlighted those crimes and offences which are committed by businesses and affect personal safety. Both residential and commercial community safety and crime control have shown to reflect strongly a commitment to the Broken Windows concept.

From the *organisation* of crime control and economic regeneration, let us move towards the *content* of this conjunction. This thesis has explored in depth those agencies involved in the regulating of city spaces, and the city centre in particular. Furthermore, the empirical chapters have offered a detailed view of what constitutes policing and ordering practices in these spaces. It has done so by exploring in particular the fringes and margins of these spaces. The practices of marginalised groups such as homeless people and prostitutes have been examined. Fields of enforcement practices such as business regulation with



respect to licensing and food safety have been touched upon, and finally, the city centre has been put in its place by moving outwith the centre and looking at policing practices of the inner city and peripheral housing schemes.

The attention rested throughout on the work practices of regulating dispersed across these fields, spaces and agencies, and on how these practices have been explained by representatives of the agencies. Such an approach yielded a number of empirical findings to do with the uptake of crime control for purposes of economic regeneration; with the reorganisation of policing tasks in terms of municipal policing and how this is regulated; and with the practices of how policy strategies are being put to work. These empirical findings now need to be reviewed, more explicitly than before, in relation to a critical Marxism of social praxis. Before this is undertaken, though, another aspect deserves our attention. As a step towards theory, let us reconsider how policy is understood in the context of this study, and thereby ask questions about urban policy as they result from this study. Rather than regarding policy as discursive or outcome-related, I want to put forward a view of policy as embedded and practical.

## 10.2 *Contributions to urban policy*

These research findings, again, display a proximity to a set of policies running through my project. Yet, this proximity is not a straightforward one. This study has not been primarily policy-oriented so that policy recommendations would be its goal. It nonetheless has worked in detail with particular policies. The policies that run through the project are those of community safety and urban regeneration, in particular how the former has come to be employed as part of a urban regeneration agenda. Furthermore, these findings are situated within the context of a wider political economy, and concerned with economic development and regeneration more generally, they are located within urban policy.

Zooming in on particular work practices has enabled me to examine processes of policy *implementation*. Rather than policy-making as *devising* policy, the *doing* of policy has been moved into view. This implementation, and in particular the processes of implementation, rather than the outcomes *per se*, is a crucial part of the policy process but often left unexamined while strategic policy-making is studied. Looking at implementation is not a particularly original research strategy. However, by studying how these implementations are worked out by a range of organisations and their employees on the ground, I am in the position to provide an original perspective and make a valuable contribution.

Policies of crime control, community safety and urban regeneration have all been critiqued for their focus on setting (narrow) targets and thus becoming

rather self-referential, such as Chapter Seven has discussed in relation to the drugs priority of the Community Safety Action Plan. Here, these policy fields reflect wider problems of policy-making and its attempts to stitch together campaigns, so that they hopefully deliver results quickly, but often are replaced with another new policy soon afterwards. Another critique is nonetheless necessary. In the study of policy implementation, my research paid close attention to the explanations and arguments made by those employees who are *themselves* involved in the building, creating and producing of the city centre of Glasgow. Rather than merely tracing and making visible policy agendas, this research also teased out how such agendas cannot but be saturated with ontological claims (both positivist and utopian) about contemporary (urban) society.

Policy is in this process often regarded as non-theoretical and thus, it is implied unsophisticated in comparison to academic scholarship. To me this seems a critique that is insufficient. While policy often leaves out more explicitly theoretical and conceptual elaborations, seemingly confirming the critics, to dismiss policy as non-theoretical omits the, also political, potential of a critique engaging with the theoretical content of policy and policy-making. In my study I have explored the rationalisations and 'small thoughts' which underwrite the implementation of policies and by which these policies are justified in the working practices of police officers, town centre managers and community safety officers. It is these rationalisations which offer a theoretical take on policy, on policy as informed by a particular view of social ontology. As Chapter Three has argued theoretically, these views of social ontology are often incoherent, practical and only partially reflected, but cannot but be there underwriting much policy-making. Such views and explanations strongly support the application of the Broken Windows concept to community safety, for instance, and lend support to the notion of a cohesive community which is frightened of youth and homeless as Chapter Seven and Eight have shown in empirical detail.

To a large extent this view is based on individualised notions of social interaction as offending is often cast in terms of opportunities to offend, as situational crime prevention has argued. Similarly, paths towards social inclusion and social cohesion are those to be pursued by *individuals*, with obstacles being made out as skills shortage. Thus, problems of unemployment and social exclusion, also affecting large segments of the population, are attributed to particular people not being able to participate or to compete. Although shot through with a current of (authoritarian) communitarianism as in particular the resort to ideas of one community versus the persistent offender has shown, the theories of social interaction are predominately constituted by a methodological individualism. It is at this point of 'theorising in practice' where I feel that intervention has to happen. The shortcomings of a methodological

individualism have been discussed in Chapter Two and Three and prove this approach a hopelessly flawed one.

Also, there is a recurring problem of contingency that we need to consider if policy enacting/making is our interest. Explaining particular cases due to specifics (if these are influencing factors) is not an argument for uniqueness, but for a historical and geographical materialism which is sensitive to fragments, blurs and exceptions, but still perceives broader forces/tendencies that *do* traverse the fragments – giving a semblance of ‘totality’ (even if we now end up understanding ‘totality’ rather differently).

### **10.3     *Theoretical and conceptual discussion***

This view on policy as focussing on policy-making as active and embedded practice, and on the rationalisation and representations which are part of these practices, already reflects the theoretical undercurrents of the thesis and leads to the remaining task: to revisit the theoretical and conceptual investments of this thesis. What has my project done up to this point? I have researched the social practices of producing a safe city centre within the urban political economy of Glasgow. The empirical findings have already displayed a wide range of aspects located at the conjunction of crime control and economic restructuring. The commonality of these aspects and fields has rested on a methodological perspective that set out to study in detail the many and varied work practices of regulating, ordering and policing city spaces. In so doing, the study necessarily cut across apparently unrelated policy fields to ‘unhide’ connections within political economy and governance.

In many ways, this project reflects concerns of recent studies on governmentality, largely due to the earlier stated interest in Foucault's work, without being more explicitly Foucauldian. My interest in questions of social control and discipline has instead been conceptually pursued through Marxist social praxis. My motivation for not explicitly situating my research into such a post-structuralist body of work lies in the remaining dangers of a totalising account of social control insensitive to details of actual practices, the actual motivations and self-understandings of those involved, the possibilities for resistance or at least for ‘things sometimes to run out otherwise’.

These actual (work) practices have provided the hinge of this study. After setting out with a conceptual exploration into Marxist social praxis, Chapter Three discussed how such social praxis is centred around actual work practices. These practices are seen as crucial in the mutual constitution of social totality and subjectivity and thus social praxis has become conceptualised as a mediation between totality and agency. This argument has been put forward with close attention being paid to, often justified, critiques of deterministic

versions of historical materialism. Tracing the histories of everyday lives, in particular through the theoretical and empirical studies of Alf Lüdtke and Hans Medick, a conceptual framework, sensitive to fragmentation and contingency, was developed and illustrated with empirical vignettes.

Turning to my own empirical findings, it is now time to revisit critical Marxism and to discuss these findings *vis-à-vis* this body of theory. I will do this over the following pages by firstly relating the studied work practices to Lefèbvre's spatial practices. Filling his concept of spatial practices with the work practices of regulating, ordering and policing Glasgow's city centre helps us in addressing the key characteristics of social praxis as they have been discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.3.

Urban governance takes us some way towards understanding the labour relations of the subjects studied in this project. These labour relations are (re-)produced in concrete work practices and thus embedded in the production of safe city centres. At a practical level they contribute to the building of such a city centre. Tied up with jobs and their formal roles, these people cannot, however, be reduced solely to the specifications of their jobs. Rather, it has to be taken seriously how they 'inhabit' their jobs through their own experiences and representations, internalising certain ontologies in the process.

The production process in which they engage is constituted by what Lefèbvre calls *spatial practices*. Three kinds of practice underwrite spatial practice in the context of my study. They are clustered around the actual working practices on the street (and sometimes in the office) by which the streets are patrolled, made secure and safe; the managing of staff as well as the training in the context of the CCR project; and the operationalisation of strategies and policy demands. Working on the street involves the practices by which the interviewees 'work' on the physical environment in a practical manner such as the reps cleaning signs, putting barriers up around damaged pavement and so on, but also includes the reporting of broken pavement to the relevant Council Department as well as the passing on number plates noted down from vehicles parked in the shopping precinct without authorisation. Training of the proper work practices is a further necessary element, with CCR supervisors ensuring that work practices are adhered to in the city centre and checking up on the reps that they properly 'represent' the city centre. Lastly, all lower-level management staff and supervisory personnel engage in their routine work with given and formulated policies such as the public realm improvement and community safety policies. For their specific work context, they have to understand and apply, as well as in some situations, ignore and resist, particular policy demands. In this process, strategies are operationalised and applied, according to these people's understandings and rationalisations about their own work and how this work fits

into wider plans. These spatial practices relate to three aspects of praxis in Chapter Three and will be discussed accordingly.

Let us begin with aspects of embodiment and concrete praxis. Again and again the importance of being present in the spaces that require policing and ordering has been emphasised by interviewees. Being present, being seen and watching are significant characteristics of police officers as well as patrol reps. Both patrol the city centre spaces in their distinctive uniforms, and as the training for the CCR has shown, the comportment required to wear a uniform properly is regarded as a crucial skill that the reps learn in their First Appearance training module. Bodily 'becoming' a uniform-wearing person is also part of police officers' work routine. Here, one officer claimed that not only can she spot police officers without their uniform but similarly is she approached on the street even if she is not working in her uniform. It is embodied authority, trustworthiness and knowledgeable which mark police officer's habitus, as she explains.

In fact I'm convinced that the public can even tell police officer in... likes of wearing this suit because when I walk down the street, the number of people who stop me asking directions are unbelievable. Honestly, I think you've got that kind of police look about you. Yeah, I really do. It's quite interesting. Yeah, you will probably say what's the idea in this but I'm convinced that people sense this kind of... well, how do I say this, I don't want to sound as if we're all-knowing, we're certainly not, but we certainly have this air of I can sort something out for you. (Community Safety Officer, Strathclyde A Division, December 2001)

Researching crime control and safety necessarily brings to the fore feelings of safety and danger as I indeed discussed in Chapter Seven and Eight. These feelings also underlie interviewees accounts of their work practices across the city centre. The CCR project has been encouraged to perform cleansing tasks which are seen as insecure, if not dangerous for the reps. Here, I am referring to the uplift of used syringes from city centre streets and back lanes. The supervisors' motivation for being sceptical about such a expansion of tasks is clearly connected to a sense of danger in handling these syringes as well as feelings of insecurity when being present in back lanes and hiding places where drug taking occurs and, thus, the syringes would be found. Furthermore, the experiences of using the city centre at day and night, both during work hours and outside work, have shown to affect accounts of community safety and urban regeneration. Asked about feeling safe in the city centre, this female supervisor responds:

A: During day time it's a bit different right enough. Obviously because there are so many people about but still, I mean, I don't like walking through the city centre half the time.

GH: Even during the day?

A: Huhum.

GH: When you're doing your job?

A: Huhum. *Big Issue* sellers, drug users in every corner, people canvassing everywhere. I mean you can't even get from one end of the street to the other in five minutes because you're stopped constantly by people approaching you and then you have to fight your way

through rubbish and A-boards [advertisement boards]. [*both laughing*] (Supervisor, CCR, September 2001)

These embodied practices are to a large extent carried out frequently and routinely. Time was spent to explore these seemingly trivial tasks of policing and regulating. While at points difficult to get at, the interviews eventually circulated around normal work days, making the interviewees explicate and deliberate what actually constituted, for instance, their routine beat patrol of the peripheral housing scheme. In this it transpired how police officers experience was based on mundane watching and walking through residential areas, talking to residents, both while on patrol as well as at community meetings. From this routine, these officers have built up an experience of gauging situations, and assessing people and risks. Similarly, working in the Street Liaison Team was marked by many arrangements of, for instance, working in pairs, working where the prostitutes are, which involved following them through the city centre spaces as the day progressed, having particular hotspots to check routinely and so on. As an illustration of these habitual tasks, listen to the following, slightly self-ironic little story, told to me by the CCP's Operational Manager, while walking through the city centre.

Whenever we come across fly-posting on lamp posts, he rips it down. At the first occasion, he tells me a story of how he and his family were over in Edinburgh at the Festival and he automatically started ripping down fly-posters on Princes St, his daughter being embarrassed and telling him he can't do that because they are in Edinburgh, not Glasgow. "I do it without thinking. Wherever I go I am looking out for cameras, litter, fly-posting and graffiti." (Field diary, guided tour with Operational Manager, CCP, August 2001)

The third aspect of social praxis are the rationalisations and partial reflections that become employed in the processes of doing, and which I called earlier 'small thoughts'. They are the knowing how to go on and the attempts to account for practices which cannot but be part of these practices. My interviews attempted to get at these reflections, by asking questions about interviewees' work routines and their thoughts about city centre upgrading and safety, interviewees some times stood back to think ad hoc about it. More frequently, however, they responded with sentences like "This is what we do, or, it is just clear that..." Examples of this embodied thinking in action are the explications that there are no normal days for the CCR supervisors and an acknowledgement that their job operates along the lines of (routine) improvisation to juggle the various demands and situations that arise. Similarly, all police officers provided accounts of their knowledgeability and judgement with which they approach situations on the street. Their assessment of what constitutes aggressive begging happens while they observe people begging and a decision of whether to interfere or not is made at that point. When interviewed by me (or someone else for that matter) these officers give their reasonings which form part of their work routines.

Asking questions about processes which on an overt and strategic level were not necessarily part of an interviewee's job remit, yielded more on the spot deliberations, attempts at making explicit some of their 'hunches' and feelings towards this topic or that. Within the group of CCR supervisors, numerous of these occasions arose, in particular in relation to questions of economic restructuring, image politics and crime in the city centre. While there are some methodological question marks about asking people the 'wrong' questions, questions of which they do not possess expert knowledge, I deliberately employed this strategy to gain a sense of how these people embedded, often tacitly, their reflections on what was going on in the city centre. The strongest sense of such partial reflections arose in relation to crime and city centre dangers, as the interview section above with the female CCR supervisor has already shown. Also, it was in this field, where interviewees showed the highest sensitivity towards (not-)volunteering what they perceived to be sensitive information, with one supervisor being unwilling even to *name* the types of crimes he feels affect the city centre.

In all this appears an intimate connection between doing and reflecting. 'Connection' is probably even too weak a term, they are intimately bound up with each other, and I would even go one step further, reflection is necessarily part of doing. This does not mean that these reflections are explicit, fully thought through or can be talked about easily. Often they are of a subconscious kind, practical knowledge which makes people stammer and search for words when they attempt to talk about their reasons for doing something. In this, individuals cannot just go on 'auto-pilot', it is not the case that the individuals concerned do not have to think that they are *drilled* (and there are elements of this in Foucault's work, of course). Instead, they *do* have to think, in order to 'practice' policy on the street, and the thoughts involved *have* to come from somewhere, from their own experiences, to be sure, but as framed by some awareness of broader policy debates about safe cities, youth crime, broken windows and so on. Put like this, it becomes absolutely *vital* to understand something of what *they* understand (from within their situated position; within a given set of social relations; within a given (uneven) political economy)

These rationalisations are crucial when it comes to explaining and justifying representations of space. It is at this embodied level of actually having experienced vandalism or fear of crime that the interviewees are able to put these experiences into practices and reflect on these practices.

The imagineering and the marketing of the city centre as a safe place is intimately bound up with the former practices. It is these practices that link the practices of cleansing, patrolling and reporting to the production of particular representations of space. Such representations in turn inform spatial practices



of what has to be looked after, who has to be guarded or excluded and so on. In this sense, Lefèbvre's triad equips us with a tool to conceptualise particular practices. It does so insofar as it offers a way of working through different types of spaces and their practices. As Chapter Four has discussed, the danger of employing this tool lies in making a too clear distinction between spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation. Throughout the empirical research, my focus firmly rested upon social and spatial practices. Furthermore, the various attempts at putting into practice particular representations of space, most notably in line with economic regeneration and community safety, have been highlighted. These representations require themselves a complex set of practices, to develop them but also to implement them. Representational spaces have in this somewhat been sidelined. But if we think of how the city has been discussed as a complex patchwork of old and new spaces, people and processes, it is clear that representational spaces, the spaces that are lived, run through all these discussions. Most clearly they became visible at those moments, when attempts of imagineering and marketing were rendered futile because of the *Eigen-Sinn* of homeless people, outreach workers, or even those people that supposedly work on the project of building the new Glasgow, such as beat officers or patrol reps who do not arrest beggars or register number plates.

These social and spatial practices form social praxis. This social praxis, through its focus on labour, mediates between social totality, social relations of production and people. It also provides the grounds for subjectification and the objectification in turn by dialectical movements. Social praxis is thus characterised by embodied doing, and by maintaining a focus on this concreteness – as link to the body and the subject as well as social totality, political economy – it offers a fruitful basis for research. Current relational geographies provide in some ways a related ontology, an ontology of movements, change and fluidity. Touched upon earlier, their ontology, however, remains an abstract one as it does not attempt to elaborate the historical, social and geographical specificities of movements, networks and changes – unlike historical materialism does with political economy. A similar case can be made in relation to their geography. This remains too spatially abstract, wedded to notions of geometry and topology – to the detriment of engaging with messy and intermeshed particularities of *place*.

Social praxis thus takes us some way towards understanding the particular social ontology of cities such as Glasgow at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Rather than remaining locked in criticisms of a Marxism that is unable to account for contingency and fragmentation, social praxis has informed this study in such a way that the research topic of "Towards safe city centre? Remaking the spaces of an old-industrial city" opens up the historical and

geographical context of the city of Glasgow for sustained investigation. It has shown that the practices of regulating the city spaces are marked by a range of agencies which can form curious working coalitions such as those between outreach workers and (beat) police officers in the field of homelessness and prostitution. Similarly, the organisations involved with the regulating of a large commercial segment (entertainment industry) central the city's economic regeneration, are in no part involved in the policing of community safety in the city centre. Bringing these together with a focus on the social practices pursued to regulate in numerous ways city (centre) spaces has served to unhide relationships between these different aspects of social ontology. It has furthermore demonstrated the many relationships that exist across the city and its spaces, intimately hold together that old and new Glasgow. Let us illustrate this with a final example.

Interaction between street people and patrol reps occurs frequently, as my observations and interviews have shown. It happens on the street, where the patrol reps know some of the *Big Issue* vendors, greet them and talk to them. In terms of the begging, or even more problematic, drug-dealing in spaces where the reps patrol, they have a clear opinion on their role.

A1: Oh, yes, we see that, but you wouldn't get involved with that at all. You simply wouldn't [A2: Oh no].

A3: We would just not look. We wouldn't do anything to avoid any hassle. We would certainly get into problems with folk on the street and you wouldn't want that at all. After all, we have to work there every day, they could make our work hell. Also, you have to think of future reps. You simply wouldn't do anything. They do their job and you do yours. (Three patrol reps, CCR, September 2001)

It is at such points that cross-overs between these groups of people can occur, as the Barnardo's Street Team manager points out that one of the patrol reps at one point had been a client of her team, who managed to moved into permanent accommodation and get into the CCR training programme.

#### 10.4 *Moving on...*

I have discussed the research findings by bringing in another set of interview data; this time, material that highlights the key aspects of social praxis. This move is, in many ways, indicative of the 'status' of this PhD project. At this point, after more than 200 pages of studying theoretical concepts and their relation to the practices and policies of economic regeneration and social regulation, many more questions have been thrown up. It is only now that some of the 'pressure points' of where to research social praxis have become obvious. A methodology of moving through interviews, accounts of practical activity and to complement this with ethnographic work and documentary analysis brings social praxis of town centre management and CCR to the surface – in a manner which is more

akin to bubbles of air surfacing on a lake; It is moments of social praxis that appear, temporary and changing. A consequence of this search for social praxis lies in the broadening of the whole research project. Simply looking at the different policy fields touched upon demonstrates this broad approach. While necessary for the theoretical focus I intended to develop throughout, this breadth of the project remains also one of its difficulties in terms of its depth<sup>151</sup>.

Reading through this thesis, my own positioning as a native-German speaker, writing and working in Anglo-American academia, shines through. Practically, it shines through in terms of different writing styles, written at different points in time, chapters display my varying degrees of not so much language competency but maybe something akin to stylistic experimentation. Moreover, though, my academic career up to this point is woven into this thesis. It is a thesis which originates from interests in Marxist state theory and social theory more generally, coupled with immersion into British cultural and social geography at early points of my undergraduate degree. Looking back at how I approached the conceptual parts of the project, I am surprised how many 'German' influences there are, and by this I mean more those influences which originate from my studies in Germany. Although many key reference points of this are available in English translations, much of it still remains closely anchored in German debates. Transposing this into a foreign context, however constituted, changes it as people pick up on different aspects than the ones I maybe wanted them to pick up on; all to do with academic traditions, cultural connotations and so on. There is not much point in pondering about what would have happened if this thesis had been written as part of a German PhD, as it simply is not written as such.

Related to this foreign language context arises the final point of this thesis. This PhD project afforded me (through its location within British academia and the open nature of the scholarship, simply to work within field of Urban Studies) to get to grips with what remains for me a continuing political interest. How do we understand the potential for social change, or as it has become over the past few decades, the seeming lack of this potential? Dissatisfied with political *cul-de-sacs* I turned to understanding the continuing processes of why equal opportunities do not make a blind bit of difference if the race starts for people at highly uneven and unequal positions. That this 'unequal' often is not by chance

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<sup>151</sup> As specific methodological limitations, I would like to mention my contacts with the CCR project. The CCR project is marked with difficulties in terms of managing the day-to-day tasks as well as in terms of how to integrate and expand the project in its institutional context. Interviewing staff and trainees and gaining access to some of their records remained difficult throughout. It was a difficulties which probably was less due to me personally but more an expression of the improvised, and at points chaotic, workdays of staff. My approach in this was clearly characterised by insecurity on my behalf whether my requests were regarded as legitimate or not, finally letting me drop initial research aspects as they seemed impractical to me to put in practice within the project's context.

is a central tenet of historical materialism, and studying social processes reconfirmed the importance of capitalism for determining social relations. Holding on to these insights while taking on board criticisms, in particular to do with our understanding of determination, social totality and agency, lies at the heart of my academic work. It is for these reasons, that the history of everyday life with its serious engagement for developing a concept of human agency that holds on to the potential for intervention and radical change has inspired this work. In this, it resonates with Massey's proclamation that:

Divesting ourselves of that [structuralist] inheritance, therefore, potentially releases 'the spatial' to be conceived of as a realm of much more active engagement in the process of making history. Indeed, I think the point is in fact stronger than this: that thinking space as actively and continually practised social relations precisely gives us one of the sources of 'the system's' inability to close itself. The accidental and happenstance elements intrinsic to the continuous formation of the spatial [...] provide one aspect of that openness which leaves room for politics. (Massey 2000, p. 282)

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<sup>i</sup> „[...] mit bloßen Naturqualitäten ausgestattete Gattungswesen Mensch als leerbleibende Subjektivität der Natur als toter Objektivität passiv-anschauend, nicht-praktisch gegenüber.“

<sup>ii</sup> „Nicht nur weil die arbeitenden Subjekte das Naturmaterial mit sich vermitteln, läßt sich von diesem nicht als von einem obersten Seinsprinzip sprechen. Die Menschen haben es ja nie mit Materie als solcher bei ihrer Produktion zu tun, sondern stets nur mit ihren konkreten, qualitativ und quantitativ bestimmten Daseinsweisen. Ihr Allgemeines, die Unabhängigkeit vom Bewußtsein, existiert nur im Besonderen.“

<sup>iii</sup> „[...] Relationen, Konfigurationen und Arten der sozial-interaktiven Zuordnung zwischen Produktionsbeteiligten, nichts Freischwebendes, sondern substantiell und energetisch in der Beschaffenheit der jeweiligen Produzenten begründet.“

<sup>iv</sup> „Produktionsverhältnisse sind in sich Interessenverhältnisse, und ein irreduzibel eigenes Interesse gilt der Qualität, der personal-sozialen Dignität der Position, in der man den anderen Mitbeteiligten zugeordnet ist. Dies ist eine kardinale, wenn nicht die kardinale Bestimmtheit des gesellschaftlichen Seins von Individuen.“

<sup>v</sup> „Beide begreifen gegen die szientistische Herauslösung des Marxismus aus dem realgeschichtlichen Praxiszusammenhang den historischen Materialismus mit Hegel als Selbsterkenntnis der Wirklichkeit.“

<sup>vi</sup> „Freilich ist es, dem historischen Materialismus zufolge, nicht irgendeine Praxis, die die Synthese von Subjekt und Objekt leistet, sondern die der gesellschaftlichen Arbeit. Die Bearbeitung äußerer und innerer Natur gilt ihm als Grundlage für die Herstellung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse überhaupt, als Modell für deren Analyse unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Verhältnisses von Erzeugenden und Erzeugtem, von Produktion und Produkt.“

<sup>vii</sup> „Von der sinnlich-menschlichen Tätigkeit auszugehen, ergibt *keine zureichende Basis* für die Konzipierung einer brauchbaren Gesellschaftstheorie; für jede derartige Theorie aber bleibt dieser erste Ausgangspunkt [sinnlich-menschliche Tätigkeit und Praxis] *unerläßlich und unersetzlich*.“

<sup>viii</sup> „Das Sein der Menschen ist als Lebenstätigkeit selber schon 'bewußtes Sein'.“

<sup>ix</sup> „Wie sind von der organischen Komposition der Individuen her die Gedanken über ihre Praxis und ihren geschichtlichen Prozeß in diesen Prozeß selbst einbezogen, ein 'Moment' in ihm?“

<sup>x</sup> „Vor allem aber scherzte, neckte und balgte man sich herzlich gern, wo immer es anging. Überall suchte man unter guten Bekannten, die solche Neckereien verstanden, einander etwas auszuwischen: so warf man den achtlos vorübergehenden mit Thon, zog ihm heimlich die Schleife seiner Schürze auf oder in der Pause das Brett unter dem Sitze weg, stellte sich plötzlich einander in den Weg oder meinte es miteinander gut.“

<sup>xi</sup> „Damit sind jene sozialen Praktiken gemeint, welche die 'Produktionsweise' zur alltäglichen Wirklichkeit für einzelne wie für Gruppen ausmachen“

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<sup>xii</sup> “[...] Erfahrungen und Praxis in der Vielfalt ihrer verbalen, vor allen ihrer non-verbalen Ausdrucksformen ohne Absicht der historischen Überlieferungen niedergeschlagen, vielleicht eingekerbt haben”.

<sup>xiii</sup> “Lebensweise verweist stets auf ein Geflecht von Aktionen, Erfahrungen und Deutungen. In einer Vielzahl einzelner Situationen sind Ausdrucks- und Wahrnehmungsformen, aber auch Blindheiten der Beteiligten zu entschlüsseln. Der Akzent liegt auf den Prägungen durch die Handelnden (oder Leidenden) selbst. Die Formen, in denen sie sich Zumutungen und Chancen ‘aneignen’, sind nicht von ihren Erfahrungen, Selbstdeutungen und Hoffnungen zu trennen. In dieser Sicht sind zentral die Ausdrucks- und Erfahrungsweisen der Betroffenen.”