Local Cultures of Control, Public Order Policing, and Gentrification in the Post-industrial City

Prof. Dr. Jan Üblacker
EBZ Business School, University of Applied Science Bochum
The Culture of Control

Governmental response to disorder in western societies (Garland 2001)

- new practices and institutions of crime control and criminal justice are being established to respond to **scandalized crime rate trends**
- expanding infrastructure of crime prevention and community safety at the local level that is based on new management styles and working practices
- Preventative partnerships between state, municipal, and private actors constitute a new crime control establishment → policing priorities on **fear reduction, quality of life, public order** and **cleanliness**
- Crime prevention panels, community-policing strategies, principles of crime prevention in urban planning, **municipalization of policing responsibilities** change the system of social control → ”high control societies” (Singelnstein/Stolle 2007)
How to explain local variation?
Local cultures of control and city habitus

In the **local context**, police and other law enforcement agencies are confronted with **different challenges** and varying regional and **local framework conditions** (Garland 2020)

*city habitus* (Lee, 1997, p. 132)

"a set of relatively consistent, enduring and generative cultural (pre)dispositions to respond to current circumstances"

is reflected in the way a city spends its budget, uses its land, or deals with issues of public order. Can be analysed by observing debates in local media, city council or community groups
How to explain local variation?

Local cultures of control and city habitus

In the local context, police and other law enforcement agencies are confronted with different challenges and varying regional and local framework conditions (Garland 2020) city habitus (Lee, 1997, p. 132) “a set of relatively consistent, enduring and generative cultural (pre)dispositions to respond to current circumstances” is reflected in the way a city spends its budget, uses its land, or deals with issues of public order. Can be analysed by observing debates in local media, city council or community groups.

Empirical findings

Devroe et al. (2017) studied the political dynamics between federal, regional, and local actors in the Belgium Municipal Administrative Sanctions Act, an instrument to sanction antisocial behaviour. They found the act to be interpreted differently in Antwerp and Liège.

Sharp (2014) tests the post-industrial policing hypothesis, which argues that the more a city’s economy reflects creative class and cultural tourism, the more its police will emphasize order maintenance (analysis of of 180 US cities support the hypothesis.
Neighbourhood Change & Gentrification

Gentrification: a multidimensional process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Change</th>
<th>Change of built environment</th>
<th>Change of retail landscape</th>
<th>Symbolic Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• <strong>Increase of socio-economic status</strong></td>
<td>• Increase of rents, house prices and land value</td>
<td>• Increase of commercial rents</td>
<td>• Extensive coverage by media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Smaller and younger households</td>
<td>• Redevelopment and modernization of existing stock</td>
<td>• Diversity of uses decreases</td>
<td>• Changes of stereotypes to describe neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <strong>Higher fluctuation/decrease in average length of residence</strong></td>
<td>• New built developments</td>
<td>• Professionalisation of local businesses</td>
<td>• Changes in framing of the neighbourhood (assessment and attribution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Horizontal differentiation of the population (milieus, lifestyles)</td>
<td>• Conversion of rental apartments to condominiums</td>
<td>• Increase of prices for local services and products</td>
<td>• Concomitants: events, decrease of territorial stigma, tourism, emphasis on historical significance, image reconstruction (by municipality, developer, or community)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increase of consumption oriented lifestyles</td>
<td>• Professionalisation of landlords and investment strategies</td>
<td>• Formation of consumption clusters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Improvements in the residential environment (parks, public spaces)</td>
<td>• Urban tourism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Increase of catchment areas, overuse and conflicts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on findings in Üblacker 2018
**Neighbourhood Change & Gentrification**

**Gentrification: a multidimensional process**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Change</th>
<th>Change of built environment</th>
<th>Change of retail landscape</th>
<th>Symbolic Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Increase of socio-economic status</td>
<td>• Increase of rents, house prices and land value</td>
<td>• Increase of commercial rents</td>
<td>• Extensive coverage by media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Smaller and younger households</td>
<td>• Redevelopment and modernization of existing stock</td>
<td>• Diversity of uses decreases</td>
<td>• Changes of stereotypes to describe neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Higher fluctuation/decrease in average length of residence</td>
<td>• New built developments</td>
<td>• Professionalisation of local businesses</td>
<td>• Changes in framing of the neighbourhood (assessment and attribution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Horizontal differentiation of the population (milieus, lifestyles)</td>
<td>• Conversion of rental apartments to condominiums</td>
<td>• Increase of prices for local services and products</td>
<td>• Concomitants: events, decrease of territorial stigma, tourism, emphasis on historical significance, image reconstruction (by municipality, developer, or community)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increase of consumption oriented lifestyles</td>
<td>• Professionalisation of landlords and investment strategies</td>
<td>• Formation of consumption clusters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Improvements in the residential environment (parks, public spaces)</td>
<td>• Urban tourism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Increase of catchment areas, overuse and conflicts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on findings in Üblacker 2018
Demand for Policing: Theoretical Explanations

Demand-Side Explanation

1. Neighbourhood level: population turnover and SES dynamic reduce collective efficacy for status lower groups and raises chance of victimisation (Van Wilsem et al. 2006) → Residents rely on formal social control (Sampson 2012)

2. Incoming middle class: different perceptions of and attitudes towards disorder and deviant behaviour in public (Rose 2004; Smets/Watt 2013; Weck/Hanhörster 2015)

3. Individual level: Risk-averse type → high social, cultural and economic capital and less acceptance of deviance and disorder (Rose 2004; Weck/Hanhörster 2015), high power to complaint, engaged in initiatives (Slater 2004; Bacqué/Fijalkow 2012) → Demand for public order policing

Results: fear reduction, increase in (subjective) quality of life, increasing attractiveness of neighbourhood → paves the way for further gentrification
City as a “growth machine”: Landlords and real estate developers work with city governments to generate economic growth (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Smith, 1996)

Occurs especially in large new built developments in central business districts and redevelopment of neighbourhoods

Disorderly behaviour is framed not just as a threat to public order, but to economic development and tax revenues → public order police as a ”mean” to displace these behaviours

Aims: increase economic productivity of previously disinvested neighbourhoods, develop infrastructure that suits middle-class preferences in housing, residential environment and consumption
City as a “growth machine”: Landlords and real estate developers work with city governments to generate economic growth (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Smith, 1996) Occurs especially in large new built developments in central business districts and redevelopment of neighborhoods Disorderly behavior is framed not just as a threat to public order, but to economic development and tax revenues Public order police as a “mean” to displace these behaviors Aims: increase economic productivity of previously disinvested neighborhoods, develop infrastructure that suits middle-class preferences in housing, residential environment, and consumption

Demand for Policing: Theoretical Explanations

Empirical findings: Demand and Supply

Collins et al. (2021) demonstrate that tracts experiencing gentrification (measured by the increase of non-poor populations and the decrease of poor populations) also experience a greater number of police citations related to homelessness compared to non-gentrifying tracts.

Laniyonu (2018) finds a positive association between gentrification and street-level police stops in New York, with the most dramatic impacts taking place in census tracts adjacent to gentrifying areas. Spatial distribution of police stops cannot be explained by a higher citizen demand for police intervention. Assumption: elite-level decision-making.

Testing for both supply- and demand-side explanations in New York, Beck (2020) finds that with the influx of the middle-class the demand for policing increases, but not the number of arrests. Low-level arrests follow rising property values. The fact that the increasing demand did not result in more arrests led the author to the conclusion that policing styles and outcomes vary as a reaction to neighborhood change.
Thank you for your attention

Prof. Dr. Jan Üblacker
Professor for Housing and Neighborhood Development
EBZ Business School – University of Applied Science Bochum

Contact
j.ueblacker@ebz-bs.de
www.janueblacker.com
Twitter: @januebl
Sources


