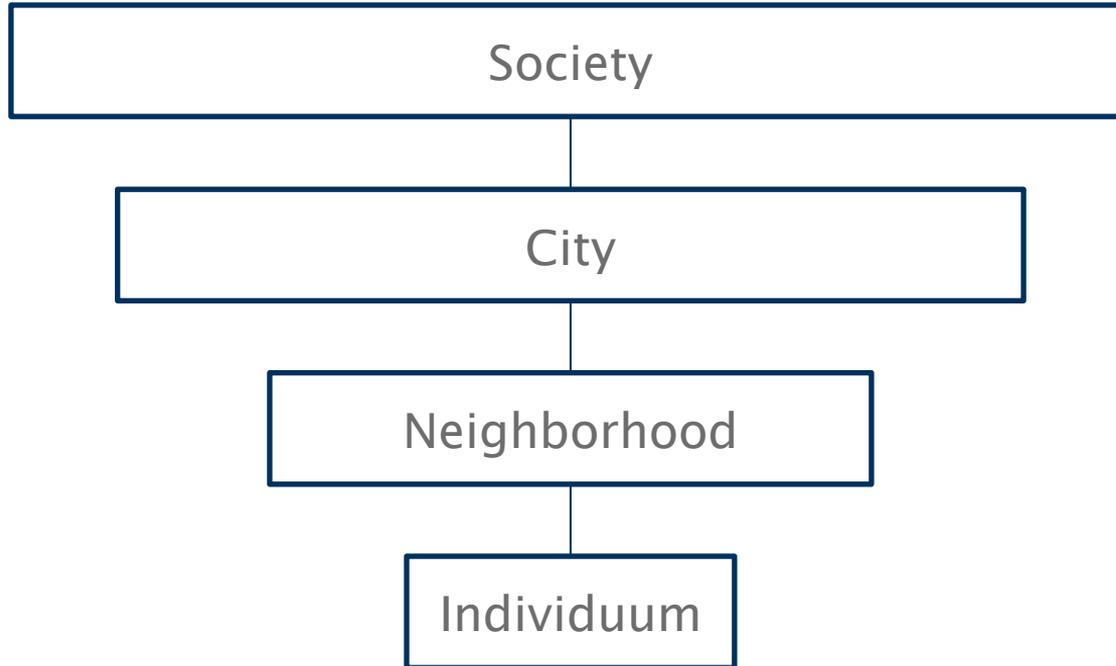


Local Cultures of Control, Public Order Policing, and Gentrification in the Post-industrial City

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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" (Singelstein/Stolle 2007)



Bildquelle: Jan Üblacker

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

Empirical findings

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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 180 US cities **support** the hypothesis

Issues of public order. Can be analysed by observing debates in local media, city council or community groups

Gentrification: a multidimensional process

Social Change	Change of built environment	Change of retail landscape	Symbolic Change
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of socio-economic status • Smaller and younger households • Higher fluctuation/decrease in average length of residence • Horizontal differentiation of the population (milieus, lifestyles) • Increase of consumption oriented lifestyles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of rents, house prices and land value • Redevelopment and modernization of existing stock • New built developments • Conversion of rental apartments to condominiums • Professionalisation of landlords and investment strategies • Improvements in the residential environment (parks, public spaces) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of commercial rents • Diversity of uses decreases • Professionalisation of local businesses • Increase of prices for local services and products • Formation of consumption clusters • Urban tourism • Increase of catchment areas, overuse and conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive coverage by media • Changes of stereotypes to describe neighbourhood • Changes in framing of the neighbourhood (assessment and attribution) • Concomitants: events, decrease of territorial stigma, tourism, emphasis on historical significance, image reconstruction (by municipality, developer, or community)

Based on findings in Üblacker 2018

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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

Supply-Side Explanation

- 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



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

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