BETWEEN CRIME AND PLACE IN ATLANTIC WHARF

The landscape of crime and disorder in a regenerated neighbourhood

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the experience and perception of crime and disorder for residents of Atlantic Wharf, a regenerated neighbourhood in Cardiff. In doing so it brings together existing criminological approaches to place with perspectives from anthropology, urban sociology and cultural geography. It draws on empirical data gathered from a questionnaire survey, walking interviews and participant observation in order to develop an understanding of how participating residents make sense of, negotiate, and respond to issues of crime and disorder in the place where they live.

The use of walking interviews relates to an overall theoretical approach that attends to the role of pedestrian movement in making sense of crime and place in the regenerated landscape. Drawing on the work of Ingold (2000) and Lefebvre (2004) this situates this thesis within a wider mobility turn. A recurring motif of the 'in-between' captures the focus of this thesis on conceptual and physical boundaries. Furthermore, much of the empirical analysis works on the distinction between the landscape as a way of seeing and landscape as lived practice (Gold and Revill, 2003).

Participating residents actively interpret crime and disorder in relation to their representations of Atlantic Wharf as a place. Following Simmel's (1997) understanding of boundaries, the conceptual distancing of Atlantic Wharf from other places in relation to crime and disorder turns on a necessary connection with places near and far. The thesis shows that representations of crime and place inform and are informed by pedestrian practice. Empirical analysis reveals a tension between different ways of 'knowing' both crime and place relating to Ingold's (2000) concepts of navigation and wayfaring. This tension between direction 'from above' and finding a way through the neighbourhood landscape on the ground reveals processes of crime and place that are both mutual and mutable.

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1

INTRODUCING CRIME AND PLACE IN A REGENERATED NEIGHBOURHOOD

Introduction

This thesis makes two main contributions to academic inquiry. First, it engages with crime and disorder in the context of urban regeneration. Second, it expands on prevalent notions of crime and place through an understanding of how sensibilities toward each inform and are informed by the lived practice of inhabitation. This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical, empirical and geographical context in which this research is placed. In doing so it presents the rationale for researching crime and disorder with regard to regenerated spaces of affluence in the post-industrial city. It addresses the main theoretical approach and the guiding research themes that distil an overall focus on crime, disorder and place. The chapter concludes with a summary of the overall structure of the thesis and its constitutive chapters.

Context and rationale

It is argued that crime and disorder are pervasive features of everyday life in the UK (Garland, 2000; Crawford, 2002). The second half of the twentieth century saw an increase in crime rates that exposed greater sections of society to either direct experience or mediated encounters with crime. Definitive of this 'new experience of crime' has been the experience of the middle classes, both subject to and less forgiving of crime and those who perpetrate it (Garland, 2000). Although recent years have seen a significant decline in levels of recorded crime in the UK (Garland, 2000), it continues to play a central role in the organisation of social, cultural and political life. Over the last few decades the 'crime problem' has extended beyond levels of offending and victimization, and 'fear of crime' has

taken on a symbolic resonance also discernible in political projects to ameliorate incivilities and anti-social behaviour. Such a focus has run in parallel to and more recently become entwined with the redevelopment of post-industrial urban space. The 'pioneering' gentrification of dilapidated inner cities by the middle classes has been appropriated and re-configured through large-scale regeneration projects that provide attractive, safe and secure living environments.

As with many historical processes of urban change inner-city regeneration introduces new social relations through its spatial forms. The boundaries between redeveloped and deprived areas are thus recognised as sites of insecurity and anxiety for their new inhabitants. They also raise concerns over the fragmentation and exclusionary tendencies of such developments in relation to already marginalized sections of society. At the same time, the responsibilization of 'active citizens' as central to multi-agency approaches to 'community safety' places issues of crime and disorder in the individual and communal inhabitation of such sites. However, both in general and with specific regard to urban regeneration, the above concerns remain somewhat theoretical and abstract. There is therefore a need for research into how problems of crime and disorder are experienced, perceived and responded to in places subject to urban redevelopment.

It is in such a place that this thesis finds its empirical focus. Atlantic Wharf is a residential neighbourhood in Cardiff, an example of urban regeneration intended to revitalize a dilapidated industrial area. It was conceived and commenced building in the 1980s, and its development has played a central role in the wider regeneration of the city's deindustrialized docks into Cardiff Bay. It is only recently that building in Atlantic Wharf has been completed, and the piecemeal and prolonged nature of its development mean its architecture and the extent of its integration into a cohesive whole is varied. However, as with many such projects it is not without its tensions and conflict, and its building has reiterated existing deprivation to be found in places adjacent and antecedent to it. Indeed, the division between Atlantic Wharf and the existing residential community in Butetown provide one example of the problematic urban boundaries described above. In many ways these boundaries situate and describe Atlantic Wharf as a place, visible both in Figure 1.1 and the definition of the Atlantic Wharf Residents'

Association (AWRA):

> Atlantic Wharf is set between the waterfront of Cardiff Bay and the city centre, and is generally recognised as being the area south of Tyndall Street to Hemingway Road and from the Bute East Dock to Lloyd George Avenue.
>
> (*www.awra-cardiff.org.uk*)

Figure 1.1 Location of Atlantic Wharf in Cardiff. Source: Open Street Map

The map shows how Atlantic Wharf is bound through a combination of the roads, railway lines and the dock with which it is aligned. Indeed, the neighbourhood gets its name from the passenger terminal that was situated on the Bute East Dock, a point from which people could travel to and from North America. As the following chapters will detail, the current residents are also mobile, and their general designation as middle class indicates this movement as both social and spatial. Indeed, the theoretical approach to this research works on this interrelation, and also informs the methodology and empirical engagement that underpins this

thesis.

Understanding crime and place

As introduced so far, this thesis is concerned with issues of crime and disorder as they relate to urban regeneration. Atlantic Wharf has been identified as a suitable place for empirical study into many of the themes raised above. Crime and place provide the focus for this research, and this thesis therefore engages with how residents of Atlantic Wharf experience and perceive crime and disorder as part of living where they do. Criminological inquiry defined by an explicit focus on place is perhaps best represented through a broad range of approaches known as 'environmental criminology'. These are focused on the reasons why crimes take place where they do, and through locating and analysing crime 'events' environmental criminologists propose measures to reduce or prevent such crime occurring (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1991). While this research shares an interest in the relationship between crime and a given physical environment, the purpose here is to increase understanding of how both instances of and anxieties toward crime and disorder in the neighbourhood landscape are interpreted by residents.

The theoretical approach taken by this thesis therefore draws upon alternative approaches to place which, when brought into dialogue with relevant criminological literature, will open out issues of crime and place to creative inquiry. This provides the first (but by no means last) example in this thesis of the recurrent motif of the 'in-between'. As seen above, boundaries and marginal sites are identified as giving physical context to 'fears' of crime and disorder. The following chapters will identify conceptual and physical 'thresholds' that sit 'in-between' binary pairings such as order and disorder, or safety and anxiety. Theoretically speaking, the approach to place that will be developed is situated somewhere 'in-between' a representational 'sense of place' and the lived experience of or 'sensing' of place. In order to establish this position, this thesis will draw on theoretical perspectives from anthropology, urban sociology and cultural geography. Consequently, the thesis is guided by three research themes that draw together the conceptual and theoretical issues outlined above:

1. How do residents interpret crime and disorder in relation to representations of Atlantic Wharf as a place?

2. How do residents of Atlantic Wharf negotiate crime and disorder as part of their everyday inhabitation of the neighbourhood?

3. In what ways do residents respond to issues of crime and disorder both collectively and as individuals?

In order to investigate some of the ways in which crime and disorder can be understood through place, this research engages with pedestrian practice both as a primary research method and theoretical motif. In conjunction with a questionnaire survey and participant observation with the AWRA, this is used to show how everyday inhabitation informs and is informed by representations of crime and place. Following the work of Tim Ingold (2000) it is argued that to perceive and experience place is to be able to 'find a way' through the landscape, and in doing so to 'know where you are'. In other words, looking at how people move on foot works on a contemporary academic focus on mobilities, and identifies ways to advance the understanding of crime and place in the context of urban regeneration. To be in place is always to be on the way somewhere else, and this further sense of being 'in-between' provides a focus for making sense of the relationship 'between' crime and place.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 introduces a range of literature that contextualises the study of crime and disorder in the contemporary city. In doing so it shows how various modes of controlling and understanding crime are reflected in readings of orderly and disorderly urban space. By focussing specifically on the experience of the middle classes, this reading of crime and the city implies an urban landscape that has become increasingly mobile and fragmented. At the same time, however, there are academic 'fears' over the revanchist secession of urban space. These concerns are considered in relation to a critical reading of the fear of crime, which introduces perspectives on both the situated and generalised anxieties of late modernity. While fear is one affective response to crime and disorder there are various other ameliorative responses intended to manage both this fear and instances of crime

that might fuel it. As such, the chapter closes by considering ways in which 'community safety' and the responsibilization of 'active citizens' have become entwined with urban policy intended to bring disorderly cities back into line.

Chapter 3 argues that many readings of crime and urban space are overly narrow in their depiction of places as the setting for events rather than ongoing processes of experience and perception. After identifying the limitations of such approaches, the chapter gradually works through alternative perspectives that can complement or extend criminological engagement with place. In doing so it introduces the possibility that an understanding of crime and place can be re-configured through an approach to an (implicitly urban) landscape as not just a way of seeing, but as lived practice (Gold and Revill, 2003). Drawing on the work of Lefebvre (1991; 2004), de Certeau (1984) and Ingold (2000; 2007a; 2010) this will identify new avenues for inquiry into crime and place traced through attending to pedestrian practice.

Chapter 4 presents the processes and procedures of empirical research that inform this thesis. Beginning with a discussion of the overall research methodology, it establishes the mobile nature of the empirical engagement and data collection. The research is situated as a mixed-method approach that predominantly draws on qualitative techniques of data collection. Continuing the theoretical focus on pedestrian movement identified in Chapter 3, walking interviews are advanced as the central method of capturing and attending to the everyday experience of inhabiting Atlantic Wharf. Indeed, it is in varied modes of movement that the specific methods applied to this research can be and are consolidated into an overall approach. The chapter will show how doorstep surveys and participant observation with members of the Atlantic Wharf Residents' Association (AWRA) provide further means of engaging with issues of crime and place.

Chapter 5 provides background to the Atlantic Wharf development in order to give context to resident accounts in Chapters 6-8. It first traces the development of Atlantic Wharf in relation to industrial and post-industrial processes of urban change in Cardiff. This identifies a key role for Atlantic Wharf as the catalyst for the large-scale regeneration of the Cardiff docks. Furthermore it illustrates some of

the conflicts and tensions of this redevelopment, themes that are returned to in later chapters. Following this Chapter 5 provides information germane to crime and place in Atlantic Wharf, drawing on demographic data from the local authority and crime data from the South Wales Police. These indicate some of the ways in which subsequent chapters might address understanding of crime as it relates to Atlantic Wharf.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 broadly follow the research themes set out above in providing a detailed analysis of empirical data in relation to contextual and theoretical literature. Chapter 6 considers representations of crime and place in resident accounts of Atlantic Wharf drawn from survey data and walking interviews. In its analysis of how residents make sense of both crime and place it works through a number of related conceptual thresholds; spatial, social, cultural and temporal. These provide openings into how crime and place are conceived in Atlantic Wharf, emphasising the role of both movement and various affective registers. In doing so this implies that representations of various other places – both near and far – are central to how participating residents make sense of crime and disorder where they live.

Chapter 7 looks at how residents negotiate crime and disorder as part of their everyday inhabitation of the neighbourhood landscape. A focus on how and why participating residents walk in and around the neighbourhood reveals the role that pedestrian practice plays in informing representations of crime and place outlined in Chapter 6. In doing so it advances an understanding of inhabiting rhythms in sensing signals of crime and disorder. Furthermore it draws on Ingold's (2000) notions of wayfaring and navigation to propose ways in which the negotiation of issues relating to crime and disorder walks a line between direction 'from above' and the grounded practice of finding a way through the neighbourhood terrain. It works on, across and through boundaries, thresholds and vistas of crime and place to reveal how the real or imagined presence of crime and disorder figures in relation to everyday inhabitation.

Chapter 8 looks at resident responses to crime and disorder, in terms of their individual preventative and ameliorative actions, and the perceived responsibility

and responses of others. Drawing on many of the issues raised in previous chapters, this reiterates the status of those taking part in this research as first and foremost *residents*. This shows how inhabitation of their home dictates both their involvement in issues relating to crime and place, and ways that their sensibilities towards Atlantic Wharf might be disrupted. The role and activities of the AWRA provide the focus for much of the chapter, introducing some of the inherent tensions in the 'responsibilization' of active citizens through 'community safety'. This works upon similar themes to those of pedestrian practice outlined above, emphasising the role of threshold spaces as the focus for maintenance and repair of the harm inflicted through crime and disorder.

Chapter 9 provides a further discussion of the empirical analysis conducted in the previous three chapters. In doing so it draws together the main issues that emerge from Chapters 6,7 and 8 and advances and re-configures their findings in relation to a renewed position on mobile processes of crime and place. Given the stance adopted throughout this thesis, it is not intended to serve as a model or conceptual framework, but instead to provide a number of openings for the expansion of a place-based enquiry into crime and disorder. Chapter 10 identifies such future directions as part of an overall evaluation of the contribution of this thesis.

2

CRIME, DISORDER AND REGENERATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Introduction

This chapter will introduce key literature that relates to both crime and its control and the contemporary regeneration of urban space. In order to do this, the chapter examines how crime and disorder have been variously considered in relation to a number of binary pairings (conceptual and physical) and the boundaries between them. As Tonkiss (2000: 597) suggests, the city is a place where 'social questions might be posed in spatial forms', and what follows will show how concerns over crime and disorder are expressed, addressed, and reconfigured through changes to the social and spatial fabric of the contemporary city.

The chapter proceeds by considering the relationship between order and disorder in the industrial city. This is followed by a section that introduces the work of Garland (1996; 2000; 2001) in relation to the collective experience of crime and its control. Section 3 looks more closely at the concept of fear of crime, introducing a range of literature on the subjective experience of crime. The chapter ends by drawing together the work of the opening three sections in a discussion of crime and disorder in relation to the regeneration of the post-industrial city.

1. Order and disorder in the industrial city

Cities have always been places of juxtaposition; discernible in relation to the built environment, but also in terms of how people think, feel, and move about them. For instance, cities can be exciting and alluring on one hand, but dangerous and draining on the other (Hughes, 2007; Swyngedouw *et al.*, 2003). They can also be places of anonymity and solitude, whilst at the same time provide a multiplicity of

encounters with people across various registers of acquaintance and intimacy. These social activities, however, always take place in relation to spatial forms (Tonkiss, 2005). Following the motif of the between that is visible throughout this thesis, these are not mutually exclusive binaries, but urban juxtaposition as an interdependent mode of both the spatial and the social. That which makes cities exciting can also make them places of danger. Urban divisions – social, spatial, cultural, temporal, political, economic – have an abiding appeal to those (not least academics) who wish to make sense of the city. The extent of the 'dual' city, as both metaphor and material object, is therefore central to research into urban crime and disorder.

This thesis shows how the place of empirical study which informs it, Atlantic Wharf, is similarly described through physical and conceptual binary pairings. One such reading is that its population can be predominantly considered as middle class, a category which, as Butler (2007) notes, now takes in everyone from non-manual service workers to professional classes of bankers and lawyers. As such, this chapter will focus largely on the experience of crime and disorder in the city as it relates to the middle classes. However, this focus does not and is not intended to render other inhabitants of the city invisible. Indeed, much of what follows speaks directly to the relationship between the middle class and various 'others', and this interrelation of social and spatial thresholds provides insight into the relationship between crime, disorder and urban regeneration.

Shifts and transitions

As Graham and Clarke (2001: 153) state, 'in the processes of urban reform, renewal and reconstruction that have gone on since the mid-nineteenth century there have always been struggles over the organization of urban space in which issues of crime, criminality and criminalization have always appeared central rather than peripheral'. Of course, the necessity of urban reform and renewal of the industrial city implicates an inherent disorder. This disorder is definitive of the processes and expression of industrial urban expansion; rapid and largely unplanned growth. These associations are clearly evoked by accounts of industrial city life in the 19th century, from social reformers and philanthropists (e.g. Charles Booth; Henry

Mayhew) to Friedrich Engels' forays into the inequalities and stark divisions of industrialisation:

> In the immense tangle of streets, there are hundreds and thousands of alleys and courts lined with houses too bad for anyone to live in, who can still spend anything whatsoever upon a dwelling fit for human beings. Close to the splendid houses of the rich such a lurking-place of the bitterest poverty may often be found. (Engels, 1969 [1844]: 27-28).

In terms of processes of urban change, the relation between crime, disorder and the social and spatial organization of the city was also central to the work of the Chicago School of Sociology. Chicago experienced rapid growth and industrialisation during the 19th century, and the integration of many different immigrant groups created a kind of 'social laboratory' (Carrabine *et al.*, 2009). The Chicago School was best known not for its output of sociological theory, but as a source of empirical research into particular phenomena (Short, 2002). That said, the socio-ecological models for which it has become renowned are explicitly spatial.

This is perhaps best brought to mind by the concentric zones model of the city (Burgess, 1925). Successive rings radiating out from a central business district create a memorable and striking representation of not only land use but also spatial demographics. Here, the inner city 'zone in transition' provided the backdrop for studies of both spatial patterns of offender residence and ethnographies of street crime, gangs and delinquency (e.g. Thrasher, 1927; Shaw, 1930; Shaw and McKay, 1942). The succession (emphasising their ecological approach) of groups moving in and out made it a place of flux and instability, and while the type of people living there changed, the character of the area would remain (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1991). The inference was therefore that there was something particular to this part of the city that made it liable to social disorder. In part the character of the inner city remained *because* the people living there changed, and this is captured in the central theory of social disorganization:

> [A] general diagnosis that took in factors such as a highly mobile population, ethnic unease or conflict, sparse neighbourhood networks, lack of local organizations, social anonymity, and the formation of youth subcultures at odds with (or out of control by) 'mainstream' or adult

cultures. (Tonkiss, 2005: 49)

Shaw and McKay (1942) later expanded upon the concentric zones model, and were also sensitive to the concept of social disorganization. Through this dual process they not only illustrated the experiences of many people living in marginal areas but identified the inability of transient populations to express 'common and non-delinquent values and control' (Bottoms, 2007: 532). For the study of crime in the city this is an important connection; marginal lives are lived at the edges of both society and city spaces. As Tonkiss (2005: 46) states, 'edges or border zones have a particular grip on the urban imagination, whether [...] they are situated close to the centre, or they mark the periphery of an urban order'.

Making plans for change

In relation to the urban order Baeten (2002: 104) writes that 'ever since the industrial revolution, the modern city seems to have been infested with a vast range of ecological, social, political, economic and cultural time-bombs that are bound to bring down the city'. Yet, as Thrift (2005) correctly observes, although the order of urban sites may lapse (riots, war, natural disasters) the city rarely if ever collapses in its entirety. Although often associated with stark inequality, poor hygiene and cramped conditions, authors such as Franklin (2010) emphasise the likely wonder of the industrial, machinic city to its inhabitants. That said, Baeten (2002: 104) proceeds to observe that 'urban dystopianism has pervaded and perverted common sense thinking to such an extent that the mere phrase 'inner city' would instantly be associated with danger, dirt and disease'. The way that people like Engels, Mayhew and Booth 'discovered' the urban underclass (Hall, 1988) would suggest a previous separation and segregation from the consciousness of the affluent, and such exposure introduced a need to bring about change that Graham and Clarke identify above.

However, such programs of change intended to ease suffering and squalor often mask attempts to establish control over a disorderly city.[1] This can be identified across a range of sites, from Haussmann's 'modernisation' of Paris into an open

1 Peter Hall (1988) suggests the threat of disorder, rather than the plight of the poor, would be what convinced the powerful of the need to redevelop urban space.

city of boulevards and squares (see Pinkney, 1957), to the slum-clearance of Victorian 'rookeries'. Such cases ostensibly facilitate a new aesthetic and urban vitality, but also neutralise urban space amenable to political uprising, and untangle impenetrable criminal enclaves. An open, rational and sanitised city allows more systematic modes of surveillance, regulation and policing (Graham and Clarke, 2001). As Sandercock (2000: 22) states:

> The history of planning could be rewritten as the attempt to manage fear in the city: fear of disorder, fear of disease (and those subjects/citizens thought to cause its spread), fear of women, fear of the working classes, of immigrants, of gays ('polluting the moral order'), of gypsies. The 'solution' has been twofold: both exclusion - spatial policing and segregation, keeping certain bodies out of certain areas; and moral reform - the attempt to produce certain kinds of citizens and subjectivities [...] by providing parks and playgrounds, settlement houses, and other 'civilizing' urban facilities.

These processes of spatial ordering and increasing civic participation have found expression in policies intended to address crime and disorder in the contemporary UK context. These are visible in urban planning as well as other realms of social policy, something Fyfe (2010) terms the 're-moralization of city spaces'. As part of this, there has been a general shift away from the welfare of those living a marginal urban existence. Whereas the 19th century city was somewhere to concern the affluent and middle classes, today it seems they have 'retreated to purified spaces in the countryside, to suburbia or to urban gated communities where the urban poverty problematic is 'solved' through invisibility, neglect and blasé indifference' (Baeten, 2001: 58). The contemporary retreat that Baeten identifies is in part based on the ways that crime and disorder now impact on these sections of society. In order to arrive at a discussion of crime and disorder in relation to contemporary urban redevelopment, Section 2 will show how shifting modes of economic, social and spatial organisation have had corollaries for the interpretation of and response to crime and disorder in contemporary UK society.

2. Crime, late modernity and the urban middle class

There is a general consensus that crime and disorder have become increasingly entwined with the social, political and cultural aspects of everyday life (Crawford,

2002). In a series of influential publications, Garland (1996; 2000; 2001) identifies trends of crime and its control in contemporary US and UK contexts. Garland (1996) asserts that from the 1960s onwards, high crime rates became a normal social fact in both the UK and the majority of other contemporary western societies. Although UK crime rates have recently reduced notably, Garland states that we can still be considered to live in a high crime society due to the continuing significance crime plays in everyday life. He argues that the processes of social and spatial reorganisation that give rise to such high crime rates also form the basis of what he terms a 'new experience of crime'. For Garland (2000: 355) experience here relates to 'that which is constituted for, and lived by, socially situated individuals who inhabit the complex of practices, knowledges, norms, and subjectivities that make up a culture'. Definitive of this widespread concern, he argues, is the experience of the middle classes.

Crime-consciousness in the high crime society

Although the middle classes were at one time relatively insulated from issues relating to crime and disorder, from the 1960s onwards they became increasingly exposed through direct experience and mediated accounts. The expansion of mass consumption meant increases in property crime, and there was a greater exposure to violent assaults, drug-related crime, and an alienated and intimidating youth. Garland and Sparks (2000) opine that the social, economic and cultural changes that occurred as part of the shift towards 'late modernity' changed the way that crime and disorder are conceived and attended to in contemporary UK society. In this respect, 'late modernity brought with it new freedoms, new levels of consumption and new possibilities for individual choice. But it also brought in its wake new disorders and dislocations – above all, new levels of crime and insecurity.' (ibid: 199). Middle class concerns about crime were exacerbated in three main ways: Changes in social life after 1950s; policy responses to the epidemic-level crime rates of the 1960s; and the rise of mass media.

Post-war changes in social life involved a greater fragmentation and mutability among the population characterised by greater car use, suburbanisation, and not least the increase of a female presence in the labour market. Though having many

positive aspects, this reorganisation of social life also entailed a greater need for time and resource management for both families and individuals, and hence more pressure and vulnerability to influences outside of the home, leading to 'a more porous, more vulnerable, civil society' (Garland, 2000: 362). Garland here draws on Giddens' (1990) notion of ontological insecurity, the idea that 'a new element of precariousness and insecurity is built into the fabric of everyday life' (Garland, 2000: 361). This can be made sense of through the 'disembedding' nature of many late modern structural and cultural shifts, in which for example individuals feel less grounded in stable family units, local communities, and secure lifetime jobs. As will be seen below, this increase in general feelings of insecurity denotes an existential instability of which 'fear of crime' is often a rather crude proxy.

Garland (1996) and Johnston and Shearing (2003) show that various policy responses to high crime rates resulted in under-enforcement and greater tolerance for low-level crime and incivilities, or 'defining deviance down'. This had striking and very visible consequences for the public realm: the very space in which Garland argues the mobile middle classes would move between places of work, school, leisure and home. Additionally, the rise of mass media resulted in the popularity of both fictional and real life crime narratives; violence and harm inflicted upon individuals by vicious criminals, urban riots, and the failure of the system meant to control them. Significant here also is the notion of the 'moral panic' (e.g. Cohen, 1972), the idea that anxiety and fear related to the behaviour of certain people ('folk devils' as Cohen has it) can be whipped up by media outlets.[2] It is unsurprising therefore that a new crime consciousness among individuals, media agencies, and political bodies has come to define what Garland terms the 'collective experience' of crime.

These trends would become subject to fervent political moves in order to appear most in touch with public opinion - meaning toughest - on the crime problem (Garland, 2000). These changes in crime control – influenced by the experiences of the middle classes – can be characterised largely by what Garland (2001) terms a 'schizoid' response on the part of the state. On one hand, there is a strategy of 'punitive segregation' which emphasises expressive 'get tough' crime control

2 Carrabine (2008) provides a detailed engagement with the cultural influence of the media on narratives, representations and constructions of crime.

policies designed to reassure an insecure public that 'something is being done'. This represents a move away from the penal welfare approach that dominated responses to crime and disorder previously. Concurrently there is a paradoxical policy of 'adaptation' in which the state recognises its limitations in crime control and works to develop pragmatic, instrumental and managerial policies.

The former is based on irrational and populist desires for punishment, and the exclusion and segregation of a criminal 'other' away from the imagined long-suffering and sanctified victim (Hughes, 2007). This is in tension with neo-liberal ideas of risk prevention based on actuarial and administrative approaches to crime reduction - a 'new penology' (Feeley and Simon, 1994). As Jones (2007: 851) states, 'rather than seeking to punish offenders for past wrongs, or even to rehabilitate them as law-abiding and productive citizens, contemporary criminal justice systems increasingly seek to place offenders (and, crucially, potential offenders) into particular risk categories, and then manage them in the most cost-effective way possible'.

A further pragmatic management approach to crime and its control is evident in the increased emphasis on an extension of 'policing' to those outside of formal and state approaches, and the blurring of boundaries between private and public realms. Drawing on O'Malley's (1992) recognition of shifts in political and economic organization, Garland (1996) partly identifies these policies in an overall 'responsibilization strategy'. Here, 'the primary concern is to devolve responsibility for crime prevention on to agencies, organizations and individuals which are quite outside the state [...] property owners, retailers, manufacturers, town planners, school authorities, transport managers, employers, parents, and individual citizens' (ibid: 452-3). Rather than a transfer of power, Garland recognizes the capacity for such approaches to extend the 'reach' of the state, and in doing so weave such practices through the 'norms, the routines, and the consciousness of everyone' (ibid: 454).

Responding to the new experience of crime

As Hughes (2007) suggests, it is important to remain cautious regarding the

acceptance of such grand narratives, and Garland (2000) concedes the need for empirical work to engage with these ideas in order to evaluate, refine or refute them. Other authors have noted the prevalence of a 'before and after' binary in Garland's analysis, where the coming of late modernity relies on long term processes with no discernible beginning or end (van Krieken, 2008).[3] Nevertheless Hughes (2007) agrees that 'questions of crime prevention and control, public and private notions of safety and security, levels of personal and communal victimization and such like are of pressing social and political importance to many citizens across what we may term 'late modern' societies' (ibid: 9). Loader (2008: 399) similarly notes the 'rise of crime as a central organizing principle of political authority and social relations'.

In relation to such political relations, Simon (2007) argues that many western governments increasingly govern marginal populations via the institutions of criminal justice, rather than through welfare approaches, something he terms 'governing through crime'. In a British context, Crawford (1999) identifies a similar 'criminalisation of social policy' and, more recently (Crawford, 2009) 'governing through anti-social behaviour'. These strategies, he suggests, relate to the need of the government to be seen to be doing something about crime and disorder. What Fyfe (2010) terms 'symbolic gestures' (e.g. the 'war on drugs') emphasise the ability of the 'sovereign state' to deal with specific issues.

Therefore, punitive and expressive penal policies attempt to send out a decisive message to a fearful public that 'something is being done'. At the same time, governments realise that they cannot achieve instrumental success in terms of actual crime control by these tough law and order policies (and increasingly cannot afford to fund them). Thus, simultaneously, the state adopts the more pragmatic and instrumental approaches to managing the crime problem. Partly as a response to the notion that in punitive and rehabilitative approaches to crime prevention, 'nothing works' (Lipton *et al.*, 1975), a 'what works' approach scrutinizes and widens the administration of successful approaches to managing 'criminogenic situations':

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3 Given space limitations, it is equally difficult not to present Garland's ideas and their critique in a broad-brush fashion. For a detailed critique and overview see Beckett (2001), Young (2002) and Zedner (2002).

> They take a variety of forms and come in all shapes and sizes: unsupervised car parks, town squares late at night, deserted neighbourhoods, poorly-lit streets, shopping malls, football games, bus stops, subways stations, etc. Their status as more or less 'criminogenic' – as hot spots of crime or low-rate, secure areas – are established by reference to local police statistics, victim surveys and crime pattern analysis. (Garland, 1997: 187)

The recognition of criminogenic situations is best understood through what Garland (2000) terms the 'new criminologies of everyday life', a range of approaches to understanding, describing and preventing crime events captured under the umbrella of 'environmental criminology' (e.g. Brantingham and Brantingham, 1991). Townsley *et al.* (2008) suggest three main approaches that underpin this environmental approach to crime; the routine activities approach (Cohen and Felson, 1979); rational choice perspective (Cornish and Clarke, 1986) and crime pattern theory (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993). In all of these, crime is considered as an event occurring in the context of normal and mundane daily interaction. Rather than a punitive approach to a criminological 'other', this is something that Hughes (2007: 30) describes as the 'criminology of the self'. The routine activities approach (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Felson, 2002) and the rational choice perspective (Cornish and Clarke, 1986) suggest that everyone is a potential criminal given the right opportunity. Garland (2000) indicated that a greater crime-consciousness arose from the way it was embedded in to the *routine* aspects of everyday life in the landscape of cities from the 1950s onwards. Cohen and Felson (1979) similarly implicate the shifting spatio-temporal organisation of social life as the catalyst for crime opportunities.

Though Felson and Clarke (1998) identify four identifiable determinants of criminal opportunity – value, inertia, visibility and access (VIVA), Bottoms (2007: 540) suggests that these can essentially be understood through two ideas: target attractiveness and accessibility. Each of these variables can be manipulated through specific measures, notably through practices of Situational Crime Prevention (SCP). These range from 'target hardening' such as using stronger locks, through various means of formal (i.e. police), natural (i.e. resident) and employee (i.e. caretaker) surveillance. The presence of these formal and informal

agents reiterates Garland's (1996) identification of the increased responsibilization of groups and individuals outside of the formal agents of social control. The recognition that crime control has diversified within, beyond and below forms of state government (see Jones, 2007) requires an understanding of just how these approaches might play out in the contemporary city. This is something that will be addressed below.

Weighing up the criminologies of everyday life

The routine activity and rational choice approaches, as well as the program of SCP that they reinforce, have come in for much criticism within criminology. Much of this is based on their validity as philosophies informing tools for crime reduction; the image of a rational, utilitarian actor is at odds with the expressive nature of some crimes, and the ambiguous mental states of offenders (see Exum, 2002). Equally, Coleman (1989) suggests that their approach ignores the variation in disposition between individuals more generally – and that even among criminals opportunities may be interpreted differently. Hayward (2004; 2007; cf. Farrell, 2010) has offered a particularly vociferous evaluation of such approaches, suggesting that their view of crime as a normal fact arising from mundane everyday interaction actively ignores the pressing need to engage with the symptoms of high crime society (Hayward, 2007: 243).

As Koskela and Pain (2000) note, the shift towards 'designing out crime' derives from the dominant neo-liberal ideology of the 1980s where the emphasis on offending was shifted away from social and political causes. Significantly, this emphasis on the ameliorative power of the built environment would feed into the regeneration of deindustrialized urban sites over the same period. These rationalising perspectives strip out the pathology and biography of the offender, as well as the victim and the bystander. As such they are slow to adapt to the various strategies and tactics of offenders, as in the shift from hardened to soft – i.e. human – targets (Hayward, 2007). A further common criticism of approaches that seek to eliminate opportunities for crime is that they have specific spatial constraints. For example, Hakim and Rengert (1981) suggest that preventative measures in one area may displace certain instances of crime and disorder to other

locations, times, targets, tactics, and types (cf. Barr and Pease, 1992; Clarke, 1995).

Crawford (2007: 899) has noted 'an awkward relationship' between practices of crime prevention and the new 'experience' of crime as described above. Bannister and Fyfe (2001) similarly locate fears in the urban form, suggesting that people read the environment as a 'barometer' of risk or protection. This, they state, sometimes means that interventions to address crime merely reiterate the notion that there is something to be wary of. Sandercock (2000: 22) agrees, stating that very often strategies such as SCP address the 'hardware' of crime prevention rather than what she terms the 'software' of fear in the city. This is because, it is argued, crime prevention strategies are often focused on preventing crimes to property rather than threats to personal safety. Garland (2001: 165) hints at a further contradictory binary in his summation of state responses to the crime problem:

> The open, porous, mobile society of strangers that is late modernity has given rise to crime control practices that seek to make society less open and less mobile: to fix identities, immobilize individuals, quarantine whole sections of the population, erect boundaries, close off access. (Garland, 2001: 165)

The picture presented above has been necessarily abstract in order to engage with the wide scope of the processes that Garland describes. That said, the remainder of the chapter will build on the work above to introduce how the experience of crime relates processes of urban change in the contemporary city. First this will mean engaging more fully with concepts of 'fear' as they relate to the general experience of crime. This will lead on to a final section that draws together all of the above in a discussion of the experience of crime and disorder in the context of the post-industrial city. As Section 1 revealed, processes of urban change – whether planned or not – often have corollaries for notions of order and disorder. This works on a similar paradox to that which Sandercock (2000) identifies; interventions in the built environment – inclusive of shifting social and spatial relations – may address criminogenic situations, but in doing so introduce a range of other problems.

3. Experiencing fear and disorder

A central strand of crime consciousness in contemporary society is that it is not

just crime (or more specifically, offending and victimization) itself that is the problem (Walklate, 2007). Both an individual *response to* and an increasingly salient *part of* the problem has been the emergence of the fear of crime.[4] The problem of fear has most often related to its seeming irrationality; individual reports of fear and readings of the risk of victimization can be at odds with statistical likelihoods projected from victim surveys and recorded crime. For instance, women and the elderly generally exhibit a greater propensity to be fearful in relation to crime when statistically speaking they are least at risk. Lee (2007) characterises the development of fear of crime as both an inevitable invention of criminological enquiry (related in part to victim surveys) and a result of the development of the fearing subject. This work of 'genealogy and governmentality' suggests that responsibilized 'active citizens' experience subjective fear as part of their drive to self-govern their way through Garland's (2000) high crime society. The majority of studies relate fear of crime to three main variables: the levels of victimization in a given area; the disposition and psychological vulnerability of the individual; the perception of disorder and crime in the social environment (Innes, 2004). Given the focus of this thesis on the way crime and disorder are encountered through inhabiting a specific place, the latter is of the most interest to this chapter.

The situated nature of fear

Banks (2005) has indicated that the majority of research into the fear of crime neglects the possibility that such emotional responses are dynamic across a variety of situations. Stephen Farrall, Jonathan Jackson and Emily Gray have engaged in a lengthy and comprehensive series of investigations into the concept of fear of crime that have explicitly questioned and de-constructed the notions of 'fear' and 'crime' as they relate to everyday life (see Farrall *et al.* (2009) for the culmination and accumulation of this work). They thus suggest that there are numerous and multi-faceted ways in which people think about and interpret crime and disorder on one hand, and that crime and disorder may themselves relate to a wide spectrum of everyday encounters with undesirable activity (or its signs) that vary in terms of formal criminal classification. This work is partly based on the formal

4 See Hale (1996) for a useful and comprehensive overview of the fear of crime problem; Jackson *et al.* (2008) offer a thorough review of insecurities about crime in the UK context.

ways in which fear of crime has been empirically researched and developed as a concept.

As mentioned above, the use of survey instruments to measure people's subjective responses to crime have resulted in an often objective reading of 'fear' that has obscured the range of emotional, behavioural and cognitive responses that people have to problems of crime and disorder (Innes, 2004; 2005). In this respect, Jackson (2004) makes the distinction between experiential and expressive fear. The former implies the significant and overwhelming experience of fear as an actual response to an immediate threat. 'Expressive fear', on the other hand, is indicative of 'a range of complex and subtle lay understandings of the social world. These relate to broader social values and attitudes about the nature and make-up of society and community, the value placed on crime in its symbol of deterioration, and all the implications that flow from both its prevalence and its impact' (Jackson, 2004: 963). Jackson here follows the lead of Ferraro (1995) ascribing symbolic interaction between the experience, activity and awareness of crime for the individual, and the resultant fluid (re)interpretation of their physical environment, situation, or location. Jackson and Gray (2010) note that whether experiential or expressive, rather than being an irrational response to an inflated sense of risk, fear (or its cognate responses) can be seen as functional if leading to behaviours that ultimately reduce exposure to threat.

Girling *et al.* (2000) have also made a significant contribution to the interpretive aspect of crime and disorder as it is experienced by people in everyday settings. As Beckett (2001: 900) notes, their work is along similar lines to that of Garland, in that they are both focused on the 'cultural sensibilities concerning crime, order, and security; that is the structures of feeling and ways of thinking and talking about these subjects'. Whereas Garland's analysis is broad, Girling *et al* offer an in-depth qualitative-led study into lay perceptions of crime risks for residents of an English town. They break from the conventional descriptions of 'fear of crime', looking instead at the 'crime talk' of residents:

> People's everyday talk about crime and order (its intensity, the vocabularies used, the imagery mobilised, the associations that are made) both depends upon, and helps to constitute their sense of place;

> that is it takes the form of stories and anecdotes that fold together elements of biography community career, and perceptions of national change and decline. (Girling *et al.*, 2000: 170).

They join Jackson (2004) in the assertion that a greater contextual understanding of place helps to 'explain away' the disparity between crime statistics and the perception of risks relating to crime (Sparks *et al.*, 2001). Innes (2004: 337), drawing a further parallel with Garland (2000; 2001), interprets their work as indicative that 'crime and disorder problems [are] used as a cipher by people to articulate deeply-rooted existentially based ontological insecurities'. Other research shows how feelings about crime and disorder are bound up with the experience of places. Gray *et al.* (2007) conducted a series of in-depth qualitative interviews with residents of four research sites in Glasgow selected across two 'dichotomies' (i.e. between affluent and poorer neighbourhoods), as well as two contrasting areas in Hounslow, London. The interviews explored the 'emotional reactions, cognitions and connections people make when talking about crime, their environment and community,' (Gray *et al.*, 2007: 2). In common with Jackson's (2004) work on the experiences and expressions of crime, they assert that although people make use of environmental 'cues' relating to crime when assessing the risks of victimization, this relationship is not straightforward. For instance the same types of cue can be interpreted differently across research locations. Additionally, people present an understanding of crime at a local and national level ('crime consciousness') that enables them to make judgements on their perceived risks of victimisation.

Social geographies of fear

Valentine (1990) shows how women's interpretation of places as safe or unsafe can be influenced by architectural design, though any impact is largely determined by spatial and temporal variation, as well as the familiarity and knowledge the individual has about them. For example, and to appropriate Garland's situational interpretation of crimes to fear instead, 'anxiogenic situations' may arise at night in spaces otherwise perceived to be safe in daylight. Alternatively, an ostensibly well designed environment can still be feared if the kind of people around – or the lack of passers by – leads to an increased perception of risk to the individual. Bannister

and Fyfe (2001) note that such affective responses to urban space are not limited to women, and that the intersection between fear and urban form reveals anxiety in both genders. Lutpon (1999) proposes further ways of conceptualising geographies of fear:

> As part of the strategy of dealing with the risk and uncertainty of crime, each person develops a 'mental map' of places, defining some as likely to be 'safe' and others as 'risky'. This 'mental map' does not simply rely on geographical aspects of space and place, but also draws on ideas and assumptions about social relations and the kinds of people who inhabit or pass through these spaces and places at specific times of the day or night. (ibid: 13)

This is a further example of how the experience of crime is mediated across the spatial and social relations of urban space. This point is important, especially as Chapter 3 will introduce a theoretical approaches to place understood through maps and mapping. As Lupton suggests, however, social relations such as gender, age and ethnicity all play a role in mediating the impact of urban space. For instance, urban parks have their own connotations of leisure in the daytime, as well as illicit activity in the evenings. In addition, Madge (1997) shows how in such sites women are fearful of personal attack, the elderly of mugging, and Asian and Afro-Caribbean people are in fear of racial abuse. Her study provides a distillation of the interrelation of social and physical elements in the variously expressed anxiogenic potential of certain urban spaces:

> This geography of fear is mediated through a set of overlapping social, ideological and structural power relations which become translated into spatial behaviour. These spatial actions are place – and time – specific and mediated by locally constructed gender and race relations. This shows the salience of place in forming perceptions about fear of crime, and how these perceptions influence use of space in urban areas. (Madge, 1997: 245)

Most discussions of fear of crime normally focus on the fearing of ethnic minorities rather than the fear which they might experience. Extending the discussion on fear and gender, Day (2006) writes on the experience of *being* feared among men, specifically highlighting the experience of men as they interpret the fear of others through both their gender and ethnicity. Pain (2001a) draws a distinction between discourses of fear that take for granted assumptions about race, age and gender,

and more recent work that has begun to question how these social identifiers are used to ascribe the fearful and the feared. Smith and Pain (2009) note that by focussing on the social politics and particularities of place, feminist scholars across the social sciences have revealed emotional landscapes for marginalized groups. Koskela and Pain (2000: 270) suggest that it is disingenuous to think of females as vulnerable to both crime and feelings of anxiety towards it when 'difference and diversity amongst women – race, age, sexuality, pregnancy and motherhood, income, living arrangements and so on – can be expected to be reflected in women's attitudes to and use of particular environments.

Pain (2001a) suggests that it is common to construct geographies of fear – often related to violent attacks - along lines of gender and age, meaning that particular places become risky parts of the (implicitly urban) landscape to be avoided. Kallus (2001) makes similar connections in the way that women subjectively read and interpret urban space through perceived risks of victimization. Koskela (2010) notes the individual, social and spatial nature of fear, suggesting that the fear of crime is produced through differential power relations that are socially produced. As such, fear is not something that is avoidable in relation to movement through space, but is always 'there' in one way or another. This is visible in the extent to which the presence of women in certain spaces or at certain times is seen acceptable or not, such as their walking alone at night.

Although female fear may be considered irrational in relation to statistical risk, Koskela (2010) argues that women are subject to implicit intimidation in ways that men are not, and this 'attention' might imply more threatening and serious behaviour. On the other hand, Koskela (2001) presents an alternative view of urban space for women, suggesting the need to be wary of assumed positions regarding their relationship with place. In a study into the 'bold walks' of female participants, Koskela argues that in relation to interpreted risk of crime 'women are active agents, not passive victims: many women are confident and well able to cope with their environments and take possession of space' (Koskela, 2010: 395). However, a key paradox is that while it is public space that is most routinely feared, it is in the home where women are most subject to violence and harm (Koskela, 2010).

Responding to signs of disorder

Though fear has been taken to mean both an expressive and experiential response to inhabiting a certain lived and material landscape, Innes (2004) has suggested a number of other responses to signs of both crime and disorder. More overtly critical of the overuse of the concept of fear, and along similar lines to Ferraro (1995), Innes (2004; 2005) has developed his own symbolic approach, the 'signal crimes perspective'. He suggests that while the majority of quantitative studies of fear suggest that it is a stable part of identity, the majority of qualitative work (including that above) would suggest it has a more situational element. He shows the way that both crimes and more general signs of physical and social disorder can act – either as powerful events or cumulative exposures – to give people retrospective and prospective sense of risk relating to their local area.

Such 'expressions' – for instance the presence of litter, or public drinking – can lead to the 'effect' of not merely anxiety and concern over a declining neighbourhood, but anger, helplessness and melancholy. Similarly to Pain (1997; 2001a) he notes other effects may be changes in the way people think about crime, and the way that they use or avoid certain areas. Furthermore, echoing the concerns of Crawford (2007) and Sandercock (2000) above, Innes (2004) suggests that sometimes 'control signals' relating to the presence of police or crime prevention hardware may actually act to amplify insecurity rather than be reassuring. This work has been hugely influential in government policy circles, inspiring the drive to 'reassurance policing' and more latterly the Neighbourhood Policing Programme. These are directed towards a highly localised approach to tackling crime, anti-social behaviour to reduce the fear of crime and increase feelings of safety (Quinton and Morris, 2008).

Significant in Innes' work are therefore not just encounters with the signs of crime but with signals relating to social and physical disorder more generally. Jackson *et al.* (2010) support the idea that encountering disorder can be significant in the way that people interpret more general insecurities relating to social change, as well as fear of crime. They also suggest that 'neighbourhood disorder is not a naturally

mandated category lying out there waiting to be discovered but is partly contingent on public anxieties about crime and a perceived decline of social bonds and controls' (Jackson *et al.*, 2010).

In an attempt to decipher the differential impact of such disorder, Girling *et al.* (2000) make the distinction between what they term 'thin' and 'thick' disorder. This concept is reflected along lines of mobility; thin disorder is seen through the eyes of those who do not rely on the community to provide them with feelings of security, who have 'a high degree of geographical mobility and a corresponding cosmopolitanism of outlook; both things that enable them to distance themselves, materially and emotionally, from the stresses and troubles that afflict the neighbourhood in which they live,' (Girling, *et al.* 2000: 171). On the contrary, 'thick' disorder afflicts those who do not have the same means to distance themselves from their neighbourhood, and who rely on their community and social bonds and attachments to preserve feelings of safety and security.

Other significant work linking disorder with crime, and also associated with specific policing approaches, comes from Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken windows' thesis. This suggests that in a given area, signs of physical decline and social disorder suggest that 'no one cares', that there is no social control being exerted by either the local residents or the formal authorities. They thus make the connection between tolerance for 'incivilities' and the eventual spiral of decline into more serious disorder and criminal activity – alongside increased insecurity and fear in the public sphere. For them, disorder relates to 'incivility, boorish and threatening behaviour that disturbs life, especially urban life' (Kelling and Coles, 1996: 14). Given the considerable critique and lack of empirical evidence relating to their thesis, Innes (2004: 335) notes that 'the almost iconic status [it] has acquired in political and media discourses on the criminal justice system over the past decade appears remarkable.[5] Herbert and Brown (2006) note that while the metaphor of broken windows suggests physical disorder, the resultant policing of 'order maintenance' and Zero Tolerance Policing deal with its social expression targeting the behavioural incivility and spatial presence of those living on the

5 See Harcourt (2001) and Taylor (2001). Newburn and Jones (2002) provide an account of broken windows and 'zero tolerance policing' (ZTP) in the context of policy convergence between the UK and US.

margins – the homeless, young people, drug users. That said, although such practices are described in terms of their '24/7' approach to policing incivility, the reality is something more like a 'zero hour' approach – crackdowns as 'symbolic gestures' that emphasise its role in the reminder of the power of the sovereign state (Fyfe, 2010). Crawford (2006a) identifies the inherent paradox in the control of such incivilities that threaten the moral order of the city as imposing civility through coercion. In a mirror to the laissez faire responses of the 1960s, this takes place as part of 'defining deviancy up' (Krauthammer, 1993), at a time when crime rates have fallen markedly.

This section has developed a varied understanding of the fear of crime, as one of a range of affective and behavioural responses to a perceived crime problem. It has also developed some of the ways in which people think about and respond to issues relating to crime and disorder and how they are implicated in their everyday lives. Experiences and expression of crime and various forms of social and physical disorder can therefore be taken to be important in the way that people inhabit the city. The next part of this chapter considers the way insecurity, fear and disorder relate to the landscape of the post-industrial city.

4. Crime, disorder and the regenerated neighbourhood

The retreat from the disorderly city identified by Baeten (2001) above is not only contemporary but has been visible for the greater part of the 20th century. For instance the 'garden city' programme of Ebenezer Howard sought to create not only order in the city, but newly built and wholly planned, ordered and balanced cities, intended to address urban overcrowding and rural depopulation (Parker, 2004). In doing so this was intended to create a new kind of settlement, conceptually if not spatially situated between the two (Franklin, 2010). These ideas would later influence the development of New Towns in the UK, with Milton Keynes a notable and in many ways unfairly derided example (see Finnegan, 1998). However, Garden Cities and New Towns represent new *kinds of* city. Whereas processes of suburbanization and gentrification describe alternative ways of living *in* the city.

Pioneering the post-industrial city

Butler (2007: 761) asserts that suburbanization and gentrification provide the two strongest accounts of processes of urbanization during the 20th century. This lead to a broad divide where 'the inner city was poor and deprived, and the suburbs were affluent and 'aspirational'. Just as Garland (2000) identifies the experience of the middle classes as crucial to contemporary issues of crime and its control, Byrne (2001) identifies trends within the same demographic from the 1960s onward as paving the way for new urban spaces of utopia and dystopia. Glass (1964) first described the 'gentrification' of the inner city, generally recognized as the positive decision of the middle class to eschew suburbia and settle in, refurbish and redevelop relatively poor and working class neighbourhoods. These 'pioneers' of the 'new urban frontier' (Smith, 1996) took advantage of cheap housing, proximity to the central areas of the city, and in no small part the vitality and thrill of living somewhere with the potential for more tolerant, anonymous and deviant lifestyles (Fulcher and Scott, 2003; Franklin, 2010).[6] This revival of interest in the central areas of the city would ultimately expand into a private-sector led model of urban renewal configured by modes of cultural consumption; urban pioneers inevitably leading the way for urban entrepreneurialism (e.g. Zukin, 1987; 1988; 1995; 1998; Harvey, 1989a).

The deindustrialization of many western economies provided the opportunity both for early gentrifiers and latterly public-private partnerships aimed at revitalizing the urban realm through redevelopment of dilapidated and abandoned industrial zones.[7] The deteriorating physical fabric of the city was also indicative of wider social problems and unrest, as introduced in Section 2. Ultimately these processes would feed into the larger-scale remodelling of the post-industrial city in the decades preceding the arrival of the 21st century. The public-private partnership approach in particular can be seen in the Thatcherite and Major governments that dominated the last two decades of the 20th century. This approach was typified through the formation of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) as part of the

6 Smith (1996) correctly notes that they are only pioneering in the sense of relatively affluent people discovering and exploiting opportunities; these areas already 'discovered' and inhabited by the people already living there.

7 See Doron (2000) on the inadequate, yet prevalent, language used to describe such sites and their inhabitants.

1980 Planning and Land Act. The remit of these non-departmental public bodies was to deal with the problems encountered through urban decay; conflict, crime, and pollution (Stenson, 2007). Of course, these policies address the degradation of the industrial urban environment as a problem (or perhaps opportunity) of their own making, the neo-liberalisation of the economy having accelerated the decline of 'smokestack industries' (Stenson, 2007: 28).

Early examples such as the London Docklands Development Corporation would set a blueprint for waterside development that would typify many such schemes to follow, as they could be 'easily exported and 'plugged into' the built environment of virtually any city' (Hayward, 2004: 81). Butler and Robson (2001: 2157) identify what they call the 'social tectonics' of gentrified areas; a celebration of diversity and integration in principle that belies the tendency towards separate and individual lives in practice. These ideals, however, are absent from the para-urban space of such grafted-on inner-city suburbs, characterised as 'enclaves of visual and social sameness (Tonkiss, 2005: 91).

Insecurities of urban redevelopment

As Atkinson (2006: 821) states, 'the colonisation of many areas within towns and cities that were previously considered too "dangerous", either as areas for financial investment or personal safety, has been a defining feature of the current urban renaissance' (see also Crawford, 2006b: 219). Therefore, the post-industrial landscapes of many contemporary cities now feature varying degrees of securitized architecture, ranging from street furniture that is resistant to vandalism and vagrancy, to completely sealed residential enclaves, or gated communities (Davis, 1990; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; MacLeod and Ward, 2002). There is a common assertion that the polarity of urban architectural security has inverted in the modern age; whereas one of the historic purposes of city walls were to keep threats to the polis at bay, to render the space inside them relatively safe, today cities are seen as the principal domestic terrain of danger, insecurity, risk and fear (Ellin, 2001; Bauman, 2007).

Davis (1990; 1992; 1999) has been influential (and not a little controversial) in

describing the way that urban development has shifted increasingly towards the crystallisation and hardening at the spatial margins of these urban tectonic plates. The city of quartz that he identifies as Los Angeles reveals an urban subduction zone whereby the public space of the city is overwhelmed and hollowed out by encroaching private spaces of consumption and control. His identification of a city in meltdown has been criticised by many for being overly militant (Lees, 1998) and inaccurate (Westwater, 1998), as well as limited in scope by the unique set of conditions (physical, economic, and cultural) that comprise Los Angeles. However, there is no doubt that the themes raised in this important work have resonated with academics across multiple disciplines, and continue to have influence:

> In our current times, it is widely argued by social scientists that inequalities between the affluent and the poor, the cosmopolitan and the immobilized, appear to be on the increase and they are being expressed spatially, as for example with the sharp and dramatic divide between the 'urban glamour zone' and the 'urban war zone' of many mega cities. (Hughes, 2007: 168).

Such a depiction indicates the sharpening juxtaposition in many cities between fear and desire, the wish to consume both the goods and spaces of the 'glamour zone' while avoiding the danger and disaster of the 'war zone'. Although Hughes (2007) identifies a broad trend of identifying spatial and social polarisation within critical sociology and criminology, it is not one that he wholly agrees with. He argues that 'it is vital to examine the porous and contested spaces associated [...] with the governance of cities and their regeneration' (ibid: 187). While the 'mega city' obviously provides an extreme example, there are many reasons to be cautious over the trend for cities to reform themselves as an 'uneven patchwork of utopian and dystopian spaces that are, to all intents and purposes, physically proximate but institutionally estranged,' (MacLeod and Ward, 2002: 154). If this is an accurate depiction of contemporary urban life it raises fears that these developments are indicative of a tendency to individualism and isolation which will progressively undermine collective civic values. As Flint (2009: 419) asserts, there is an urgent need to examine the ways in which the sharpening of boundaries across urban space plays out for those who experience them:

> Whilst much academic and policy attention has been given to the physical manifestations of urban segregation [...] there is a need to focus

> on how the dynamics of segregation and identity become internalised within individuals and their everyday cultural practices. (Flint, 2009: 419)

In the UK context, recent work suggests that more or less 'privatised' residential developments are on the increase, reflecting their continuing popularity across global cities (Atkinson *et al.* 2003; Atkinson and Flint 2004a). In a landscape seemingly dominated by 'doomsaying academics' (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 128; also Thrift, 2005) and their totalizing dystopias, the work of Atkinson (2006; and Flint, 2004a; 2004b; and Blandy, 2007) aims to give an empirical grounding to the UK context. These studies show how feelings of insecurity have led to practices that reveal themselves in the increasingly defined boundaries between home, neighbourhood, and the city beyond. Atkinson (2006) develops a 'typology of residential disaffiliation' through progressive stages of insulation, incubation and incarceration from the risks 'out there':

> Insulation might be viewed as an initial stage on a road that begins as households start to express residential preferences – here, which neighbourhood takes on an increasing importance in the expression of status as well as a nurturing realm of assurance related to personal identity [...] Such insulation is also about a need for relative immunity from the negative externalities of such problems as crime, disorder and anti-social behaviour – banding together to create a sense of refuge that is more extensive and embracing than the home alone could ever be. (ibid: 822)

Agreeing with Sennett (1970), Atkinson argues that the development of such purified spaces of existence reduces the opportunity for encounters with diversity and difference that enable the formation of citizenship skills, empathy, and compassion. Germane to this concern over diversity and difference, the work of Oscar Newman (1972) and Jacobs (1961) also implicate roles for public and private space – as well as that which lies between – as they relate to feelings of safety and the control of crime and disorder.

Between public and private spaces of safety

Newman's (1972) notion of defensible space is associated with the reduction of crime and disorder through the specific architectural configuration of urban

housing developments. Similar to practices of SCP described above, Newman's work is also now associated with Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). Defensible space depends on the territoriality, surveillance, image and milieu of housing developments. This involves 'the subdivision of buildings into zones of influence to discourage outsiders from entering and encourage residents to defend their areas' (Shaftoe, 2004: 77). This was intended to create clear distinctions between public, private, and semi-private space (Reynald and Elffers, 2009).

In other words the creation of barriers and boundaries – both real (walls, gates, locks) and symbolic (signs, plantings, landscaping) – would send a message to potential offenders to 'keep out' and result in residents taking more responsibility for the spaces around where they live. Part of this responsibility lay in the surveillance by residents of any activity that is outside the norms set through territoriality. Although the capacity of residents to observe behaviour while out on the street is not ignored, the emphasis lies more heavily on surveillance from buildings.[8] Importantly, this is intended not only to deter offenders but to also make residents feel safer while inside and out (Pain, 2001b; Reynald and Elffers, 2009).

Jane Jacobs (1961) on the other hand, is perhaps best known for her treatise against an urban planning approach that privileges large-scale new build developments over the finer grain of existing neighbourhoods. Jacobs also felt that crime and disorder were more problematic in places where residents did not know each other (Kitchen and Schneider, 2007). Although they share concerns over the territorial boundaries between public and private space, the need for surveillance, and residents taking control of public space, there are also differences between them. Jacobs (1961) argued for a vibrant street life, where it is not just routine but sustained and local activity that helps make both public and private spaces safer. This safety was dependent on a setting where 'public and private spaces cannot ooze into each other as they do typically in suburban settings or in projects' (ibid: 35). For Jacobs, the safety of the public realm derived from the way it allowed strangers to be present – part of the 'intricate sidewalk ballet' giving 'eyes on the

8 A reversal of the roles in Bentham's 'panopticon' that gave the impression of surveillance of the many by a single unseen observer.

street' something to look at. This would require adjacent houses and shops to be so positioned that 'they cannot turn their backs or blank sides on it and leave it blind' (ibid). Both residents going about their daily business and non-residents drawn by shops and amenities are therefore fundamental for neighbourhood safety.

This hints at a clear separation of public and private space, with no 'semi-private' space as in Newman's defensible space. For Jacobs strangers could be present, maybe even an asset, as their behaviour was either suitable to a shared public realm, or kept in order by surveillance. For Newman, the stranger is largely someone of whom to be suspicious. The notion of the stranger has an abiding appeal in the representation of urban life; as Lofland (1973) has it the city *is* a 'world of strangers'. Central to the sociology of Georg Simmel was the figure of the stranger as representative of an inherent strangeness to all human interaction, whether between intimates or unknowns. In Allen's (2000: 58) reading of Simmel's thought, the stranger represents 'a symbol or icon through which all manner of social and spatial tensions may be channelled'. As Lupton (1999: 13) asserts, 'the figure of the stranger is disquieting because it can not yet be categorised as either friend or enemy and is therefore disorderly, blurring boundaries and division'.

Such a blurring is of importance here; Jacobs' ideal was a neighbourhood situated in the bustling inner city, neither a standalone housing development or suburb – be it located on the edges or laid out as an inner-urban enclave. What this suggests, it would seem, is that in such suburban settings (which can be taken to stand for the types of post-industrial development described above) the contrast between public and private space is likely less marked. In this sense, Hunter (1979; 1985) and Lofland (1973) have expressed a shared concern with the private, the public and the parochial. Parochial spaces are those that can be appropriated by particular groups, whether they live in the adjacent private spaces, or have come from the public spaces 'outside' (Lofland, 1998).

What this suggests, therefore, is an inherent permeability to spaces such as those described above. Unless developments are completely secure from people on the outside they are open to both interpretation and appropriation. It is in this space

between the home and the rest of the city that outsiders and strangers can be identified and scrutinised by residents. Mayol (1998) suggests that the neighbourhood is a device for connecting the abode, the intimate space of inhabitation, with the rest of the city, with the world, with the *other*. Chapter 3 will draw on some of these ideas in its discussion of places as understood through the marginal and interstitial spaces 'between'.

In Lofland's (1998) terms, the parochial relates to the 'neighbourhood', and as such the ability to maintain surveillance, territoriality, image and milieu of this 'between' space is vital. More recently, Kusenbach (2008) has identified how these particular social and spatial ideals can help to present locales as contingent upon familiar routines, feelings of responsibility and by implication mobility and organization. Indeed, this implies the importance of responsible and active residents in the maintenance of behaviour and the physical environment. Cozens *et al.* (2002) note how criminals interpret the maintenance of residential settings across a range of housing and development types, noting that the upkeep of both buildings and parochial spaces indicates the presence of 'active citizens'. Sites where parochial activity was most keenly interpreted were seen as the least attractive targets for crime.

Wallace (2009) cites Herbert and Brown who, in referring to SCP and broken windows, state that each 'promises great benefit not through any large-scale redistribution or shifts in political power, but through the more basic, and easily accomplished, tactics of landscape alteration' (Herbert and Brown, 2006: 758). Wallace (2009: 18) makes the point that the responsibilization of individuals and groups means that landscape alteration is 'more easily accomplished *by those who live there*' (emphasis in original). What is unclear, however, is to what extent such residents should express 'zero tolerance' in pursuit of order maintenance. The potential for such behaviour is something that Merrifeld (2000) recognises as a revanchist response to displaced 'rights' to a safe and clean neighbourhood environment.

Responsibilities of regeneration

While ambiguities over definitions of neighbourhood and community can be problematic (see Williams, 1985; Galster, 2001), what is clear is the way they have become prominent in the delivery of crime control and urban renewal. Whitehead (2004: 59) notes that neighbourhoods became 'the dominant spatial motif' of the New Labour government and that 'nowhere is the centrality of the neighbourhood to the New Labour movement expressed more clearly than in the field of urban policy' (ibid.). Though the fields of urban policy and crime control have been traditionally overseen by separate government departments, Johnstone (2004: 86) suggests that recent urban policy has contributed to all areas of crime and disorder reduction agenda in the UK.

As part of this, public participation has moved from a role of notional assistance in tackling complex urban issues in the 1970s, to in the 1990s being promoted as a necessary and vital part of public service delivery at a local level (Docherty *et al.*, 2001). Hence in a number of ways, citizens have become 'responsibilized' in more than just issues relating to crime control. One of the key sites of this responsibilization is that of community, and the notion of 'community safety' has been integral to the delivery of a tranche of initiatives that tackle not just crime, but wider issues relating to 'rights, opportunities, enhancing "quality of life" and citizenship values' (Squires, 2006: 2). Crawford (1998; 1999; 2007) notes the increasing significance of appeals to community as part of crime prevention strategies. However, exactly what community means in this context can be a source of confusion, as it is variously conceived of as 'a sense of something lost and [...] as a focus for building modern democratic institutions' (Crawford, 2007: 888). There has been much criticism of the morally prescriptive tone of much regenerative policy surrounding notions of 'community' (Amin, 2005; Hughes, 2007; Stenson, 2007) and the way it offers up a particular vision of urban life as superior.

Hancock (2007: 172) claims that 'reducing "antisocial behaviour" and "crime", and securing the involvement of "communities", are now seen as being pivotal to the regenerative task'. These trends have are formalised in policy; Section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 placed a statutory responsibility on local authorities

to work with local businesses, community groups, and both state and private policing bodies to reduce crime. This led to the formation of Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs), who monitor performance and chase central targets for crime reduction, develop problem-specific partnerships and liaise with community members. In terms of Atlantic Wharf, these are known throughout Wales as Community Safety Partnerships, emphasising their focus on matters beyond crime and disorder.

While an emphasis on community safety may be a more recent development (Hughes, 2007), appeals to community as part of policing practice in the UK have been established for the last three decades (Innes *et al.,* 2009). That said, reforms to state policing have introduced significant roles, for example Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), as well as an approach to Neighbourhood Policing explicitly linked to residential localities (Hughes and Rowe, 2007). Innes *et al.* (2009) note that while police forces have their own approach to engaging with neighbourhoods and communities, the main realm where such integrative policing 'gets done' is the police-community meeting, or 'PACT' meeting.[9] The dynamics of such meetings and how a range of residents and agents work 'together' is so far under-researched for England and Wales, although some authors note that they 'improve relationships' both between residents and police and between residents themselves (Gravelle and Rogers, 2009).[10]

Not only does such an approach require the recognition and definition of specific 'neighbourhoods' from wider urban realm, but it further blurs the boundaries between urban, social and criminal policy and their practical results. These have both positive and negative corollaries for the conceptualisation of disorder and incivilities. For instance, Stenson (2005) suggests that safe communities are sought through governance from both 'above and below'. Here, official agencies with professional expertise blur together in localities with a more informal 'folk' expertise and local knowledge. It is possible to therefore conceive of a number of formal or quasi-official groups that seek to exert control upon local spaces;

9 South Wales Police define PACT as 'Partnerships and Communities Together', again downplaying the role of formal 'policing' as part of community safety. Other iterations are Police and Community Trust (North Wales) and across England the more widely used 'Police and Communities Together'.

10 Brunger (2011) provides an overview of PACT in the context of Northern Ireland.

'spontaneous gatherings, residence associations, ethnic, religious, criminal and paramilitary organizations, and youth self-organization,' (Stenson, 2005: 374).

Innes *et al.* (2009) note the need to engage with the local knowledge of residents, an approach that facilitates 'seeing like a citizen', in order to attend to subjective interpretation of disorder and threats to community safety. More recently, the drive towards an ostensible local accountability of such policing has been evident in the implementation of online crime maps (Sampson and Kinnear, 2009). In 2011 the delivery of the most detailed mapping of recorded crime resulted in a demand too high for the website to cope with (Travis and Mulholland, 2011). Whether this plays to voyeurism or a yearning to replace or augment 'folk expertise' with the expert knowledge of the police is unclear. However, reliance on recorded crime statistics plays on abiding concerns over the ability of such data to represent the 'reality' of the high crime society.

Rights to the neighbourhood

The top down approach to building sustainable 'communities' has been criticised for overlooking the input of local residents and authorities (Atkinson and Helms, 2007). In addition it relies on a nostalgic conception of community at odds with the private lives and retreat from neighbourhood involvement that characterises many urban areas (Hughes, 2007). As Crawford (2007: 888) states, 'the ideals of community – reciprocity, intimacy, trustworthiness – sit awkwardly with contemporary concerns for individuality, freedom, and mobility'. That said, the concept of social capital (Putnam, 2000) ascribes possibilities for informal social control within such local areas. Here, what Putnam describes as 'bridging capital' might provide the possibility that denizens can respond to issues and problems through 'light sociality', without the need to display the 'bonding capital' or strong social ties of traditionally conceived community (Amin and Thrift, 2002).

Atkinson and Flint (2004b) have emphasized the importance of informal networks of influence (alongside more formal social control) in bringing order to neighbourhoods. They also note, however, the intractable divisions between neighbourhoods of different types, and the tendency in more affluent sites to see

the source of much crime and disorder outside of (but close to) the immediate area. On the whole, it can be said that the regeneration of urban neighbourhoods has mirrored a drive to revitalise the democratic participation and responsibilities of citizens. As Raco (2007: 46) states:

> There is a particular emphasis on the twin subjects of neighbourhoods and active citizens. The former not only represent the contexts within which criminality and social disorder are present or absent but also provide the spatial frames of reference through which active citizens can be mobilised to enhance their own security and support those who have suffered from the ill effects of crime.

There are other people 'active' in and around such sites (however defined) that are less able to participate in a democratic manner. There are strong concerns from some quarters that the dual approaches of coercive social control and situational prevention prevalent in contemporary crime control may be in themselves criminogenic, 'exacerbating rather than ameliorating "social injustice" [...] with the consequences bearing down disproportionately on the most marginal groups' (Hancock, 2007: 57). In areas where regeneration has reshaped the social mix of the neighbourhood, it is also possible that social solidarity between like groups leads to an 'othering' of people from different backgrounds or areas. The socio-cultural context that informs and shapes these reactions to perceived crime and disorder is complicated by the social mix generally encountered in areas close to those subject to regeneration. The values of communities living side by side can be at odds with each other, so it is unsurprising that this can create conflict or animosity (Hancock, 2007; Skogan, 1988b, Podolefsky and Dubow, 1981).

Hancock (2007) in particular has focused on the way that young people are often marginalized as deviant as a result of the inequalities inherent in the regeneration of urban space for the affluent. The lack of provision for lower income groups in terms of new residential developments is stark, and the focus is primarily on attracting affluent professionals that will bolster the local economy and reinforce commitment from investors to further prop up the entrepreneurial city. There is also a sense of segregation between old and new that can be reinforced through the design intervention from the subliminal (planting of dividing shrubs, creation of new road networks) to the explicit (the walls and physical barriers of gated

communities). Where opportunities lie to integrate newcomers with established communities the need to reassure prospective residents over security means that concessions are made, resulting often in patterns of secession (Hancock, 2007; Coleman *et al.*, 2005; Cowans and Sparks, 2003).

The responsibilization of these 'communities' will therefore become compromised by different motivations and incentives for controlling crime and disorderly behaviour, as well as seeking community safety. However, those potentially disadvantaged by the purified and unequal spaces of renaissance need not be those that are excluded or marginalized in such clear terms. Beebeejaun (2009) notes how the regeneration and securitization of contemporary urban space often establishes an overly masculine approach to issues of control. Over reliance on CCTV and SCP means that much of the verbal and less overt sexual harassment that females are subjected to goes undetected. Gosling (2008) also notes how often the importance of women as primary users of local areas and community facilities is underplayed or ignored in the processes of regeneration. This is obviously important relative to the readings of expressive and experiential fear provided above, as well as abiding representations of the public space of the city as inherently masculine (see Wilson, 1991).

Evident in these accounts, therefore, is a tension between the intention of urban planning and narratives of community and neighbourhood to 'get the city right' (Donald, 1997), to create orderly and regulated localities, and the result that certain, often already marginalized, groups are refused the right to be present. Indeed, as Coleman (2004: 189) has it, weaving together 'top-down' agendas of regeneration with 'responsibilized' approaches to their policing leads to a 'strategy of socio-spatial transformation that is fostering the cultivation of urban subjectivities around particular groups and individuals that will raise questions over their right to the city' (see Lefebvre, 1996). What Fyfe (2010) terms the 're-moralization' of city spaces seems to draw from the top-down, 'sovereign state' approach to controlling various registers of disorder. Here, regeneration is a 'symbolic gesture' addressed towards the disorderly and deindustrialized urban sites. At the same time, processes of adaptive prevention captured through street level intervention in the built environment and responsibilized groups or

individuals are needed to ensure that such developments are kept both 'safe and clean'. Consequently, the various rights and responsibilities of those residing within regenerated neighbourhoods – and the orderly environment they might seek – may variously foster the distrust and disdain of the disadvantaged. It could therefore be concluded that the right of certain groups to a safe and secure city is privileged in preference to the inclusion and participation of the already marginalized (Whitzman, 2007).

5. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced a wide range of literature related to crime and disorder in the contemporary city. This has indicated various responses to crime at the level of individuals and groups. Some of these are affective, and relate to how people negotiate and experience crime as part of daily life in 'late modernity'. In relation to these experiences, other responses are ameliorative, either intended to change and re-order the urban fabric, and in conjunction attend to problems of crime and disorder through a combination of symbolic gestures and situated prevention. The chapter has also identified a range of physical and conceptual thresholds through which these processes take and make place. One such example is the blurring of the boundaries between governance from 'above' and 'below'. Similarly, accounts of the redevelopment of contemporary urban space emphasise the role that physical and symbolic boundaries play in nurturing or undermining a sense of safety and security.

The use of neighbourhood and community as part of regeneration and drives towards safety and crime prevention emphasise the need to account for the ways that crime and disorder are experienced in such localities. Indeed, the situated nature of the experience of crime, and the more fluid and abstract expression of other urban fears suggest how such accounts of crime, disorder and regeneration can be understood through a focus on places. Above, Carrabine *et al.* (2009) noted how the growth of Chicago created a 'social laboratory' in which to make sense of processes of industrialisation and urban change. Given this, it makes sense to follow the advice of Flint (2009) above, to look at how the fragmentation of urban space as part of post-industrial urban redevelopment relates to the everyday

experience and interpretation of crime and disorder. As Carrabine (2006: 1) observes, 'all these developments have been subject to intense speculation but little empirical analysis and one of the major tasks of future research will be to challenge and refine existing theories of migration, place and identity'. In this light, Chapter 3 will develop a theoretical approach that works between representations of crime and place, and their interpretation and appropriation in the everyday lived practice of inhabitants.

3

MAKING SENSE OF CRIME AND DISORDER THROUGH PLACE

Introduction

Chapter 2 identified a number of ways in which issues of crime and disorder are implicated in the spaces of the contemporary city. This introduced a range of complicated and overlapping responses to changing notions of crime, and shifts in the organisation of social life and the urban fabric. As Girling *et al.* (2000) assert, this complexity means that there are numerous ways in which the experience of crime may be studied. However, to get to grips with what are broad concepts and concerns, it makes sense to ground them in some way. One means of achieving this is to consider how they play out in a particular place. The issues that Chapter 2 introduced such as Situational Crime Prevention, geographies of fear, and a localised approach to community safety all show that when it comes to understanding crime, place matters. However, the geographical imagination in much criminology remains somewhat specialised, particularly when it comes to place. The following will present a theoretical approach which, coupled with empirical data, will open up these issues to creative inquiry.

Given this approach (both a 'grounding' of issues *in* place and an 'opening up' of issues *of* place) what follows will predominantly operate at an abstract level in its execution, but with the intention of facilitating a suitably practical interpretation of crime and place in later chapters. This chapter thus proceeds by showing that due to a preventative focus, criminology defined by an emphasis on place interprets it as a location for crime events. After discussing the limitations of this approach in relation to the very subjective experience of crime and disorder, the chapter begins to introduce alternative readings, first through engaging with the dwelling

perspective of Tim Ingold (1993). The idea of landscape is used to show that places can be understood as a way of seeing and as lived practice (Gold and Revill, 2003). Following this, the chapter introduces further possibilities for understanding crime in terms of a sense of place. This will lead to a section on the sensing of place, introducing the rhythmanalysis of Henri Lefebvre (2004), before moving on to discuss how people build up knowledge of place as part of finding their way. This motion will then be placed back in an urban context, by considering links between walking and the city. The chapter concludes by setting out a framework for empirical analysis of crime and place that operates between the visual and the experiential.

1. Places for crime

As Carrabine *et al.* (2009: 138) note there is no adequate single term to capture the range of approaches and perspectives that relate to crime, space and place. In no small part this is due to the many different ways that space and place can be understood and thus utilised as concepts (see Gieryn, 2000; Crang, 1998; Cresswell, 2004; Hubbard, 2005).[11] Girling *et al.* (2000) suggest that while much of what criminology does relates to places (e.g. Sampson and Wilson's (1995) abiding concern with social disorganization), it is not always an explicit feature. Definitive inquiry into crime, space, and place is most prominent in a cluster of approaches to understanding, analysing, and preventing crime events known as 'environmental criminology'.[12] A focus on events, or alternatively offences, is what distinguishes this approach to crime and what determines its reading of space and place in the city. It is important to briefly consider the historical development of this approach, if only to illustrate how alternative enquires into crime and place have become less renowned as part of contemporary research.

Origins and transitions

Smith (1986) identifies two traditions that have developed side by side as means of expressing and explaining the place of crime in the city. First is the empirical-

11 In this discussion I do not intend to engage in the complicated and tricky task of separating or defining these. Instead, as will be seen below, I will follow Hall's (2009) use of 'landscape'.

12 Bottoms (2007) prefers the term 'socio-spatial criminology' due to the burgeoning criminology of ecological and 'green' issues, also defined as environmental criminology (see White, 2008).

analytical tradition with its roots in the cartographic criminology of 19th century European scholars such as Guerry (1833) and Quetelet (1842). Their work was reliant on newly available French crime data which allowed them to identify and map spatial patterns of demographic and criminal statistics. This showed that patterns of crime were not distributed randomly, but spread unevenly and concentrated in certain urban and national regions (Herbert, 1989). While these accounts of crime and the city were detached and top-down, around the same time Engels (1969 [1844]) was engaging with the inequalities and repulsion of life for the working class urban dweller (Hayward, 2004). In contrast to Guerry and Quetelet, his was an endeavour partly conducted *on foot*, walking, talking, observing and recording the experiences of individuals. While Engels also made extensive and stark use of revealing statistics and secondary data, his work is most powerful as part of what Smith (1986) terms the oral-ethnographic tradition. The latter half of the 1800s found Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth conducting their own ventures into the insalubrious regions of the divided city, and while they also followed ethnographic paths to understanding its problems, their reformist agenda increasingly made use of convincing arguments based in the empirical recording of statistical categories and typologies (Herbert, 1980, Graham and Clarke, 2001). Booth was a particular exponent of the power of mapping statistics and demographic data in order to reveal spatial patterns of affluence and inequality. No less influential in the study of urban space and social disorder, and the eventual development of environmental criminology, is the work of the Chicago School:

> Just as Engels and Mayhew sought to understand the 19th century city by entering into its darkest recesses, the Chicagoans attempted to unravel the complexities of early 20th century modernity by taking to the streets of their own heaving metropolis. For Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and the other key members of the School, the social effects of rapid industrialisation and population expansion were central to the way they set about theorising the link between crime and the 'environment'. (Hayward, 2004: 93).

Chapter 2 introduced some of the ways in which the Chicago School accounted for crime in urban space. Drawing on both the empirical-analytical and oral-ethnographic traditions, members of the Chicago School adopted a largely appreciative approach to explaining social problems grounded in theories of social ecology. They employed a variety of research methods from ethnographic

interviews and documentary analysis, to participant observation and statistical distributions (Hayward, 2004; Deegan, 2001; Bottoms and Wiles, 1992; Matza, 1969).

> Their approach was twofold, 'in the first place, they meticulously mapped the residence of juvenile delinquents [...] secondly, they also tried, in the tradition of the Chicago School more generally, to stay close to the life of the people and the communities they were writing about' (Bottoms, 2007: 530).

They thus represented both research traditions identified by Smith (1986) above; McKay gazing down on his desk where he 'plotted the maps, calculated the rates, ran the correlations and described the findings which located empirically and depicted cartographically the distribution of crime and delinquency in Chicago' (Snodgrass, 1976: 2). Shaw meanwhile was 'talkative, friendly, personable, persuasive, energetic and quixotic – out to make his case through action and participation' (ibid: 3).[13] Through this dual process they not only illustrated the experiences of many people living in marginal areas but also identified the inability of transient populations to express 'common and non-delinquent values and control' (Bottoms, 2007: 532).

The way in which Chicagoans appreciated and researched the city, the urban experience at street level operating across spatial divisions and boundaries, would seem to naturally lead on to a tradition of ethnographic 'on the ground' research into crime and disorder today. However, on tracing the impact of the Chicago School on environmental criminology, one finds that while the spatial modelling and statistical distributions of offences and offenders have direct ancestors, much of the focus on street life, the first hand experience of the city in transition has proved less durable as a research approach (Hayward, 2004). Brantingham and Brantingham (1991: 18) highlight the move from research grounded in the urban experience to an approach that privileges geographic space:

> At least three related and critical shifts in perspective separate contemporary environmental criminology from the nineteenth and early twentieth century research: (1) the shift from a disciplinary to a criminological relationship , (2) the shift from concern with offender motives to concern with criminal events, and (3) the shift from the

13 See for example Shaw (1930)

sociological to the geographic imagination.

These three shifts also reveal the key ways that environmental criminology accounts for crime, people, and place. Here the disciplinary approach to crime has been enveloped by an overall criminological approach, one that draws (selectively rather than comprehensively) on those disciplines that once saw crime as 'an interesting special example of more general processes' (ibid.) While this is important to remember - and such appropriation of other disciplinary approaches is central to this thesis – it is to the second such shift which the chapter now turns.

Locating the crime event

Environmental criminology focuses not on the motives of the offender but is part of an approach guided by the 'rediscovery of the offence' (Bottoms, 2007: 532).[14] This reflects the development of risk-based forms of crime prevention identified in the previous chapter (see Jones, 2007). It signals the convergence of administrative criminology with environmental criminology, emphasised most notably through the development of Situational Crime Prevention (Hayward, 2004). The previous chapter introduced the notion of the criminogenic situation, and that against a backdrop of increased awareness and concern over crime it became clear that understanding and reducing offences did not require understanding the disposition of the offender. It is the criminologies of everyday life (Garland, 2000) with their focus on the facilitative aspects of the built environment that have done much to inform this approach to crime prevention, and also environmental criminology.

As Chapter 2 introduced, rational choice suggests that each opportunity for crime is weighed up by the potential offender as part of a cost-benefit analysis regarding the positive and negative consequences. Routine activities (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Felson, 2002) takes the stance that opportunities for crime arise through 'the convergence of likely offenders and suitable targets in the absence of capable guardians' (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 590). This approach explicitly addresses the everyday moves, the daily activities of these potential offenders, victims, and

14 This can be traced to the need to reduce spiralling crime rates against a background where in terms of rehabilitation of the offender, 'nothing works' (Lipton *et al*, 1975).

guardians.[15] Although both approaches have since been expanded (see Felson, 2008; Cornish and Clarke, 2008) they fundamentally retain the same core beliefs regarding the way that both opportunities and the people to exploit them arise through situations afforded by the combination of people and places. Such approaches converge to a certain extent in what is now known as 'crime-pattern theory'. Brantingham and Brantingham (1991; 1993) among others (see Carter and Hill, 1980; Rhodes and Conly, 1991) have developed the notion of how offenders come to produce cognitive maps of urban space through their routine daily activities as part of a 'criminal commute':

> People in general, including those who commit crimes, develop routine activity spaces. Some areas within these routine spaces become better known than others; areas outside their routine space may be vaguely known, but will typically lack detail. All people, including those who commit crime, develop an awareness space that builds upon the activity space and its associated places. Criminal targets are usually picked from within this awareness space. Exploration of the unknown is not part of the target search process for most individuals. (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993: 11).

The influence of Lynch (1960) is apparent, as the locations of crimes are understood through nodes, paths, and edges. Lynch (1960) proposed that places are made legible through both the knowledge and 'imageability' of salient features of the built environment. These 'spatial elements' – nodes, paths, edges, landmarks, districts – are clearly brought to mind through specific parts of the urban infrastructure – certain roads, striking buildings, and wide open vistas. For Brantingham and Brantingham (1991: 16) nodes are those places of high activity where the concentration of people in place makes for 'crime generators or hot spots' (ibid: 16). These are generally conceptualised as places of home, work, or shopping and entertainment. They are connected by paths, routes of transit that may also bring the potential offender into contact with opportunities for crime either directly as they pass, or indirectly at some later stage. Edges can be thought of as 'places where there is enough distinctiveness from one part to another that the change is noticeable [...] Parks have edges. Residential areas have edges. Commercial areas have edges [...] The major roads themselves can produce an

15 The latter of which was extended by Felson (2002) to cover not only guardians of targets and potential victims, but 'intimate handlers' of potential offenders whom may dissuade them or block them from offending.

edge,' (ibid: 17).

These edges, pathways, and nodes of activity are all part of the 'urban mosaic', the way that areas of the city are spatially differentiated through demographic characteristics of inhabitants and types of land use. Furthermore, the 'edge effects' will likely impact on opportunities and locations of crime (see Bottoms, 2007: 547). Carter and Hill (1980: 196) report that the interaction between nodes, paths, and edges (the 'action space') may be determined by a differentiation between how potential offenders orient both their short term activities and longer term mindset:

> When planning a crime, the rating attached to each element is determined by both strategic and tactical considerations. Strategy, as used here, concerns the broader aspects of the problem such as the area to select, while tactics involves a very short term plan required to surmount or neutralize site deterrents [...] Rather than reaching equilibrium with his environment, the criminal probably continues to learn and perceive new meanings which in turn affect his interaction with the environment.

There is hence a general consensus here that the routine activities of people and places are important as sites of research into crime and disorder (see also Brunet, 2002). Though often understood as focused on the 'offence', these approaches might be construed as being seen *through* the eyes of the offender, if not a view *into* their motivations for offending. They have rather less to say about the experience and perception of the potential victim. Though these implications of opportunistic, offence based approaches are important, what is of greater relevance to this research is how these approaches invoke ideas of space and place, as well the flow and mobility of people.

Expanding the geographic imagination

The third of Brantingham and Brantingham's (1991) key shifts above related to the adoption of a 'geographic imagination' within criminology. Drawing on Harvey (1973), they suggest that this has not been a complete paradigm shift, but has introduced what Harvey calls the 'spatial consciousness' into criminological research:

> Environmental criminologists set out to use the geographic imagination in concert with the sociological imagination to describe, understand, and control criminal events. Locations of crimes, the characteristics of those locations, the movement paths that bring offenders and victims together at those locations, and people's perceptions of crime locations all become substantively important objects for research from this shifted perspective. Moreover, overt policy choices which create or maintain crime locations or areas of criminal residence also become important objects of research. (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1991: 21)

Within environmental criminology criminal events are described, understood and controlled by interpreting space and place as cognate of location. A process which begins with the analysis and mapping of crime patterns and hotspots results in an approach to crime and place that locates space and place as areas and points (i.e. Block and Block, 1995). Other recent work has kept this focus on place as a unit of analysis rather than theoretical construct. For instance, in their recent volume the main question for Weisburd *et al* (2009) is at what level to focus their location-based enquiry: regions; cities; neighbourhoods; hotspots. This describes a hierarchical unit distribution, and the authors note that as such empirical enquiry draws on units as defined 'from above' by administrative bodies. The authors acknowledge that:

> 'Criminology of place' has reached a critical juncture, at which real advancement will require scholars to critically assess the unit of analysis problem [...] Perhaps the most important barrier to date develops from the relatively uncritical theoretical approach that crime and place researchers have brought to units of geography. (ibid: 21-2)

As Tita and Radil (2010: 474) assert, even the micro-scale categories of place 'must still wrestle with the problems of place as something that is ultimately socially constructed and therefore contested and subject to change'. Braga and Weisburd (2010: 3) state that 'despite a growing theoretical and scientific base, gaps remain in our knowledge of crime and place'. However, they also assert that 'it is time for criminologists, policy makers, and practitioners to focus on very small units of analysis when trying to understand and address crime problems' (ibid: 5). Rosenbaum and Lavrakas (1995) argue that an environmental approach that purportedly combines the sociological and geographic imagination is somewhat idealistic and flawed. Conceding that the routine activity approach does attempt to

make some sense of the social processes behind crime events, they argue that much of what can be termed environmental criminology 'draws its strength from a focus on the spatial distribution of criminal activity at the expense of other variables in the crime equation' (ibid: 289).

A focus on crime events privileges location in understanding crime and disorder. As Crang (1998: 102) asserts, 'the basic geography of life is not encapsulated in a series of map grid references. It extends beyond the idea of location, and thus beyond the ken of locational science'. Rosenbaum and Lavrakas (1995) thus call for an expanded, integrated view of crime – one that encourages researchers to *define the social and physical reality of place from the viewpoint of persons who frequent the area*' (ibid: 289, emphasis in original). That said, it is important to note the contribution that 'locating' the crime event can make to an inhabitant interpretation of crime and place. However specific these approaches are they identify salient features of place such as the circulation and mobility of individuals, as well as the sorts of spaces through which they move. For instance, crime-pattern theory emphasises how knowledge of crime opportunities might arise from movement through and between localities.

Ironically, however, this indicates a local knowledge (on the part of criminals) contingent on motion, something at odds with space and place represented by areas and points as in environmental criminology. As Hall (2009: 576) states, 'to know a place only as a specified location, the setting for events, to know space as uniformly calibrated distance, is to know from the outside – to survey'. The purpose of this thesis is to establish how crime, disorder, and place are understood from *within*. The limitations of seeing place as a designed and built backdrop, the 'setting for events', indicates the potential of an approach that is sensitive to immanent processes of place, rather than places as products. Therefore, the next section will consider one such approach that, in conjunction with a specific understanding of landscape, will do just that.

2. Dwelling in the everyday landscape

Tim Ingold, a social anthropologist, has developed what he calls the 'dwelling

perspective', partly to emphasise the ways in which a person's knowledge should be understood 'in the context of an active engagement with the constituents of his or her surroundings' (Ingold, 2000: 5). Ingold's position is based in the phenomenology of Heidegger (1971), who sees dwelling as a pure and fundamental requirement of place attachment. Dwelling speaks to the way that bounded regions are central to human existence; to dwell is to live an authentic life situated between nature and culture (Urry, 2007). Part of Heidegger's (and thus Ingold's) concern with the importance of dwelling relates to the separation of thinking from a 'being-in-the-world'. This has resulted from the perspective that sees building and dwelling 'as separable but complementary activities, related as means to ends' (Ingold, 2000: 185). In other words, dwelling is only possible once something has been built; houses are first built in order for them to then be lived in, for dwelling to be possible. Drawing on Heidegger, Ingold rejects this perspective, and emphasises the role of dwelling in the physical and conceptual construction of place, where 'the forms people build, whether in their imagination or on the ground, only arise within the current of their life activities' (Ingold, 1993: 154). This introduces the possibility of alternative criminologies of everyday life, the understanding or knowledge of crime and disorder 'that people derive from their lived, everyday involvement in the world' (ibid: 153). Given this proposal for alternative views of the everyday, it is worth briefly noting the how the everyday should be understood in the context of this research.

Everyday life

Everyday can mean mundane, boring, run-of-the-mill; these can in part relate to the monotonous regularity of activities engaged in on a daily basis. As such these practices are prone to being omitted from enquiry into social and cultural phenomena. The everyday has been a recent focus for cultural theorists, the specific appellation of 'quotidian' emphasising the influence of French scholars such as Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre and Marc Augé (Moran, 2005). Quotidian also captures the essence of their focus a little better; the everyday relates to the 'realm within which regulatory practices pervade and are resisted or ignored' (Edensor, 2010: 2). Everyday life is where society is represented, performed, spatialized and materialized (Edensor, 2010). Moran (2005) draws on

Sartre in discussing the concept of the everyday through a queue at a bus stop. While waiting at a bus stop might seem ordinary, as boring a place as one could find on an everyday basis, it also reveals the way that daily life is organized through temporal ('waiting'), spatial (an orderly queue...or not) and material (advertising) gestures.[16]

Sheller and Urry (2006) have charted the rise of what they term the 'new mobilities paradigm', where the increasing relevance of all manner of virtual, material and lived flows are reflected in the accepted limitations of sedentarist and nomadic approaches to social science. Hall (2008; 2009) shows how this necessitates a refreshed and reconfigured perspective of urban sites in particular as something more than bounded and rooted places, stretched and connected by abstract spaces of flows. In this respect, Amin and Thrift (2002: 30) have suggested that cities, and places in general, 'are best thought of not so much as enduring sites but as *moments of encounter*, not so much as 'presents', fixed in space and time, but as variable events; twists and fluxes of interrelation' (emphasis in original). The 'lived, everyday involvement in the world' that Ingold speaks of as part of the dwelling perspective is therefore related to such an approach to place:

> What is of interest about the new urbanism is its concern with another order of fluidity, decidedly local: the small and (seemingly) trivial practices and movements that constitute the urban everyday. Routine urban undulations – mundane recurrences, people and objects making the rounds and doing the usual, practices started over and over again – are as much a part of the flow of the city as are translocal circuits of movement, and, as such, equally disruptive of a sedentarist social science. (Hall, 2009: 574).

To a certain extent, a focus on dwelling may seem to emphasise the strong and local attachment that people have to a fixed and bounded site, a necessary preclusion of spaces of flows and mobile encounters with the city (see below). The simplest way of addressing these issues is in a discussion of landscape, as this reveals how places are always understood by inhabitants through an everyday sensing grounded in motion (Urry, 2007). Gold and Revill (2003: 34) assert landscape as most often thought of either as lived practice, or as a way of seeing. As a way of seeing 'landscape is a process of framing the world' (ibid: 35), and as Urry

16 A bus stop is a further example of a threshold, a place 'in-between' two different kinds of motion, as will be seen below.

(2007: 257) notes, 'this visual sense enables people to take possession of objects and environments, often at a distance'. For Ingold (1993) landscape should not be seen only as a fixed and set 'image' of a certain place as might be represented in a painting (see also Relph, 1989). Rather, as part of a dwelling perspective landscape can be thought of 'as a lived and material terrain owing its character to the experiences it affords those spending time there, and shaped, in turn, by the kinds of activities in which inhabitants engage' (Hall, 2009: 576).

The next two sections of this chapter will work on this tension between landscape as a way of seeing, or the way that they are given meaning, and the landscape as lived practice. As Cresswell (2009: 169) observes, places are 'meaningful sites that combine location, locale and a sense of place' (see also Agnew and Duncan, 1989). In this respect the next section will engage with some of the ways in which places are understood through representation, the ways in which their material form takes on meaning as a threshold for social and spatial relations. This will suggest how notions of crime and disorder might be interpreted in the ways that inhabitants make sense of place. This 'sense of place' implies the section that follows, where attending to how people experience the everyday places of inhabitation, the sensing – 'knowing' - of place, relates to various forms of movement. This reiterates the tension between certain kinds of representation or 'images' of place, and their everyday lived practice, and will ultimately point towards ways in which crime and disorder might be 'negotiated' through the landscape.

3. In-between a sense of place

A sense of what a place is like can be related to distinctive qualities or characteristics that help to give it an identity, something that often attracts people to live in certain places (see for example Butler, 2008). On the other hand it may also act to repel, and thus reinforce landscapes of fear (Tuan, 1980). These are largely conceptual registers, and yet a sense of place relies on perception produced through the five main senses. As Feld (1996: 91) states, 'as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place'.[17] So places are identified by

17 Although Edensor (2008: 130) points out that Western cities have become 'increasingly desensualised', especially for the pedestrian.

the individual through sight and sound, as well as smell, touch, and in some cases taste (i.e. Edensor, 1998; see also Wunderlich, 2008: 128). Hence, people come to form attachments or to identify with certain places over others, often dependent on their individual biographies of experience and perception. In Anderson's (2010: 41) understanding, '*who we are* is fundamentally connected to *where we are*' (emphasis in original). At the same time however, those characteristics of place exist independently of individuals and are thus hybrids of social relationships and spatial perception (Hayden, 1997).

A sense of connection and separation

Chapter 2 has already revealed the importance of sense of place in work on the fear of crime (or *sensibilities* to crime as Girling *et al.* (2000) have it) and the way people inhabit cities. Girling *et al.* (2000) show how a relational and comparative awareness of place – both in local and global terms – is evident in representational 'place-myths' which inhabitants express as influential in their choice of where to live. People might also use such place-myths to locate certain qualities of places with which they are more or less familiar. For instance, the perception of areas as unsafe may be put in to context through using notions of 'the ghetto' or 'the Bronx'. A sense of place is also evident in responses to signs of physical and social disorder as identified by Innes (2004). For those who have much invested in where they live, a feeling of helplessness over the decline and erosion of place is indicative of general anxiety and worry relating to their place in the world. Other work featured in Chapter 2 revealed a number of ways that age, class, ethnicity and gender relate to how individuals use and read urban space (see Koskela and Pain, 2000). In this respect, Atkinson and Flint (2004b) show how inhabitants of both affluent and deprived neighbourhoods identify the salient features of the place in which they live when justifying their own (dis)engagement in informal social control. They also judge the efficacy of more formal practices of policing in terms of the overriding identity of their local area.

Along similar lines, Agnew and Duncan (1989: 2) see a sense of place as a kind of 'territorial identity', which in part relates to how inhabitants identify and make sense of their territory. Considering the importance of territoriality that Chapter 2

ascribed to a defended, safe neighbourhood, this aspect of territorialization needs to be taken into account.[18] For instance, Brown *et al.* (2003) reveal the relationship between a strong attachment to place and the reduced perception of incivilities, an increased sense of social cohesion, and lower levels of fear of crime. It is difficult to ascertain cause and effect here, though what can be stated is that the way that people identify with place is clearly bound up with the perception and experience of crime and disorder. Hay (1998) proposes that place attachment will differ between those who are long term inhabitants of a place and more fleeting users and transient populations.[19] Such a contrast between long term residents and those from the outside turns on a distinction between a bounded sense of place and one configured through mobility and flow.

May (1996) notes a distinction between the approaches of Harvey (1989b; 1991; 1993) and Massey (1997) in relation to the politics of such places, and how these relate to a world in motion, in which Garland (2000) identifies the uncertainty and insecurity of living in late modernity. For Harvey, inhabitants of place tend towards secession and a 'reactionary place-bound politics as people search for old certainties and struggle to construct a more stable or bounded place identity' (May, 1996: 194; Cresswell, 2009). These processes can be identified everywhere from the 'forting up' of urban enclaves identified in Chapter 2, to the drive towards stricter and stronger border controls at the national level (Hughes, 2007). Massey (1991) has been a particular critic of the tendency to define places as contingent upon fixed boundaries that privilege and contain the local. Instead she argues for a more global sense of place, where an understanding of character, identity and feel 'can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond' (ibid: 29). Here, to identify with a particular place does not necessarily imply a reaction to perceived threats of insecurities resulting from globalization. Massey argues for a progressive sense of place, a way of being rooted without being reactionary. Drawing on empirical work, May (1996) works through these contrasting perspectives to suggest that places are neither bounded nor progressive, but (as Massey notes) have multiple identities.

18 In this respect see also Suttles (1972)
19 This is echoed by Girling *et al.* (2000) in their concepts of 'thin' and 'thick' disorder as introduced in Chapter 2.

In that respect, boundaries and thresholds have long been thought of as places of separation *and* connection. As Simmel (1997: 67) states, 'the human being is the connecting creature who must always separate and cannot connect without separating [and is] likewise the bordering creature who has no border'. In one sense, then, creating barriers to keep out undesirable behaviour only serves to cement its presence within the walls:

> [F]or Simmel, the work of separating and connecting are part of the same process. To draw lines of separation in space makes no sense without the idea of connection [...] the separation of objects, people or places is always shadowed by the idea – the 'fantasy' or the danger – of their connection (Tonkiss, 2005: 31).

This operates in two ways: First, to conceive of two things as separate is to simultaneously create a connection between them; second, the urban infrastructure is replete with examples of devices intended to connect (such as roads) that create physical boundaries in the urban landscape. The focus here on boundaries is no accident; Chapter 2 showed a number of ways in which the experience of crime and disorder in the post-industrial city is described through various binaries, both physical and conceptual. The margins of the city have a strong grip on the sociological and geographical imagination, and a particular relevance as places of deviance and disorder. Thrasher (1927; 1933: 500) identifies in the city marginal, transitional, spaces between as the 'breeding places of gangs, delinquency and crime'.

Similarly Jane Jacobs (1961) suggests that the interstitial, bordering parts of the city such as waterfronts and railway lines present particular problems in terms of urban blight, something she terms 'the curse of border vacuums' (ibid: 257). However, boundaries and margins should not be seen as empty. As seen above, Brantingham and Brantingham appropriate Lynch's (1960) image of the city in which edges play a strong and defining role in the way that people move around between places. Papastergiadis and Rogers (1996: 76) describe such parts of the city as parafunctional, 'where activity occurs but the relationship between use and place remains unnamed'. The sense that places can have multiple, somewhat unintended identities has been captured by recent work drawing on Foucault's (1967) notion of heterotopia.

Other places

McDonogh (1993: 13) emphasises the importance of interest in seemingly forgotten or neglected sites, as 'such spaces do not define a vacuum, an absence of urbanness, so much as they mark zones of intense competition: the interstices of a city'. Such boundaries or marginal areas can thus be seen as places in their own right, often for those without the right to the city (see Hall, 2008: 73). Though maybe neglected by planning and capital, as evident in the discourse of emptiness and degradation (see Doron, 2000; 2008), such sites can provide both a sanctuary for the downtrodden and the capacity for semi-opaque expressive and deviant behaviour (see Dovey and Fitzgerald, 2001; Ferrell and Weide, 2010). Stavrides (2006; 2007), Sennett (1997) and Marcuse (1997) echo Lynch (1960) in his assertion that edges and borders should be seen as potential seams, stitching the city together, rather than barriers and exclusion zones. Thinking back to notions of public, parochial and private space in Chapter 2, this reading emphasises how such 'in-between' sites play a crucial role in making sense of place, not least in terms of order and disorder:

> The threshold provides the key to the transition and connection between areas with divergent territorial claims and, as a place in its own right, it constitutes, essentially, the spatial condition for the meeting and dialogue between areas of different orders. (Hertzberger, 2005:51)

Stavrides (2006; 2007) suggests that such threshold spaces provide the potential for political inclusion for otherwise marginalized groups. Here then is vitality; the possibility and potential for nominal edges and borders to give a real sense of what places can be like. Stavrides (2001; 2007) appropriates Foucault's (1967) notion of 'heterotopia' in order to describe the qualities of such sites. Literally meaning 'other places', heterotopia 'describes a world off-center [sic] with respect to normal or everyday spaces, one that possesses multiple, fragmented, or even incompatible meanings' (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008: i). Hetherington (1997) provides one reading of heterotopia relevant to this discussion of place boundaries as the expression of order, or alternatively a global space of flows open to more progressive politics. Hetherington (1997) draws from the work of Shields (1991), Turner (1969) and Wilson (1991) to propose a reading of heterotopia that insists

not on social order, but on social ordering. Arguing that dominant representations of marginal sites are either based on order or transgression, he instead proposes that 'social order is never an order but an ordering that is itself continually changing, fixing and unfixing itself' (Hetherington, 1997: 28). As Stavrides (2007: 178) has it:

> These "other places" therefore, are being simultaneously connected to and separated from the places from which they differ. We could consider this characteristic of heterotopias an indication of their relational status. And we could name as thresholds those arrangements that regulate the relationship of heterotopias with their surrounding spaces of normality. Heterotopias can be taken to concretize paradigmatic experiences of otherness, defined by the porous and contested perimeter that separates normality from deviance. Because this perimeter is full of combining/separating thresholds, heterotopias are not simply places of the other, or the deviant as opposed to normal, but places in which otherness proliferates, spilling over into the neighboring [sic] areas of "sameness".

Other such places of ostensible sameness, emptiness, or placelessness (Relph, 1976), might be identified in the contemporary conceptions of proliferating spaces of flows, an acceleration of mobility as exhibited in global time-space compression that threatens to undermine a more rooted sense of place (Cresswell, 2009). Augé (1995) has written on the non-place of supermodernity, a hypothetical pure form of placelessness that finds partial expression in the seemingly inexpressive forms of airports, shopping centres, motorways and service stations. However, these spaces of circulation, communication and consumption should not be seen as complete emotional and cultural voids (Cresswell, 2009). Such exemplars of non-place are often connected to the increasing homogenization and placelessness of the contemporary city. Thrift (2000) argues against this, noting that such ideas are often based in (admittedly powerful) exemplars that are rarely applicable to physical realities.

Similarly, as the final part of this chapter will show, city space can be used and appropriated in a plethora of ways. Thrift (2000) also introduces the arguments of Savage and Warde (1993: 143) in asserting that it is the contemporaneity of such sites that make place attachments seem impossible, and given time they might be woven into the fabric of urban life by 'wear and tear, feats of imagination, or by

reputation' (ibid.). This everyday friction emphasises the tactile experience of the city rather than the purely visual. Thrift (2005) regards wear and tear as especially significant to urban sites, identifying the routine and regular maintenance of the urban fabric as fundamental to the very possibility of the city. As Cresswell (2009: 6) suggests, 'while it is clearly the case that we live (in the West at least) in a way that is increasingly mobile and uprooted it is surely not the case that place is no longer important'. Thus while it is important to be aware of the impact of mobilities on locations, locales and a sense of place, it is not the case that they take on opposing roles in a zero sum game (see Hall, 2009: 575). That said, Dehaene and de Cauter (2008: 5) suggest that Foucault's heterotopia 'embodies the tension between place and non-place that today reshapes the nature of public space'.

This section has begun to open out issues of place in ways that will be useful to subsequent analysis in the empirical chapters. Anderson (2010: 41) suggests that places are traced by people to different ends, leading to 'a feeling of belonging, or not belonging, to a particular geographical site'. He suggests that 'traces' of place lead to a both a cultural ordering and a geographical bordering. This can be seen as a dominant spatial expression of behaviour and values buttressed by physical demarcation and impediment to access in the built environment. Alive to the claims of Massey, Anderson qualifies this by stating that 'as traces combine from distant as well as local places [...] from the present and the past, borders are crossed and orders change. Place, and our belonging to it, is therefore not fixed in a real sense; it is dynamic and evolving' (ibid: 51). This suggests a further reading of the in-between, where places as seen as always becoming, rather than being (Dovey, 2010).

Anderson also notes that 'through our everyday actions, whether intentional or otherwise, we leave traces that take and make place' (2010: 51). Although this section started by considering the double meaning of a sense of place, it has concentrated on its representational rather than experiential aspects. This is something that is shared with the majority of criminological approaches to crime, space and place (Carrabine *et al.*, 2009). Banks (2005) suggests that most research into crime and place has neglected the situated nature of fear and anxiety (as well as safety and assuredness). The work of feminist and cultural geographers provide

rare exceptions, implicitly emphasising the role of *movement* in the embodied geographies of fear that influence how people engage with, or disengage from, the city. There remains a pressing need to introduce such aspects into a broader approach to crime and place (Klauser, 2010). With that in mind, the final section of this chapter will attend to the ways in which movement plays a fundamental part in the lived practice of the landscape.

4. Sensing the rhythms of place

Implicit in many of the accounts above is the role of 'sensing' place (as Feld, above). In order to engage with just how place may be sensed this section will work across two related dichotomies that are central to understanding its inhabitation; movement and fixity, and tactility and visuality. One such expression of those activities – very much placed in the realm of the everyday - is what can be called the 'rhythms' of place. Along with Chapter 2, this chapter has suggested how the routine activities of people and places might facilitate the occurrence of criminal events. Such ideas might be developed further by focusing on those routines as integral in the processes of inhabitation, rather than their contingent denouement and representation as 'crime events'. After first considering such urban rhythms, this section will introduce ways in which knowledge of place – as based in experience and perception – is predicated on movement. This will indicate how an inhabitant knowledge of crime and disorder relates to their movement through the landscape. To close the chapter, these ideas will be placed in the context of the city by considering the work of Michel de Certeau (1984) and Henri Lefebvre (1991). Lefebvre is also central to work that understands the immanence of place through rhythm.

Tracing cycles and lines of rhythm

Henri Lefebvre is almost the archetypal urban scholar, and the range of his intellectual enquires is captured in a plethora of published work across multiple conceptual registers (Merrifield, 2006). In a posthumously published and somewhat incomplete work on rhythmanalysis, Lefebvre (2004) provides an influential interpretation of how city rhythms relate to the processes and ordering

of everyday life. For Lefebvre, 'everywhere where there is an interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is *rhythm*' (2004: 15, emphasis in original). This reiterates the importance of both time and space, how people are able to grasp the becoming of place through sensing variations of rhythm that are constitutive of an immanent dynamism. Lefebvre identifies the interference between, and mutual reinforcement of, cyclical rhythms – 'days, nights, seasons, the waves and tides of the sea' – and linear rhythms – 'social practice [...] human activity: the monotony of actions and of movements, imposed structures' (2004: 8). The rhythms of people may be read as 'the routine, daily flows of people through space and place' but also in the embodied senses 'that organise the subjective and cultural experience of place' (Edensor, 2010: 5). Thus the commuter might come to develop a mobile dwelling in which they are attuned to 'the familiar, the surprising and the contingent' (Edensor, 2010: 14).

The rhythms of people thus flow concurrently with those of non-human origin, a polyrhythmic becoming situated between nature and culture. Though this everyday world might be mundane and monotonous, Lefebvre is also attuned to the power of events or 'moments' to remould inscribed spaces. As Edensor (2010: 10) makes clear, 'though the immanence of experience is usually anchored by habit and routine apprehension, there is always a tension between the dynamic and the vital, and the regular and reiterative'. It is the repetitive nature of rhythms that makes those moments of difference and surprise all the more revealing, indicative of 'the totality of possibilities of daily existence' (Leach, 1997: 132). It is worth pointing out here that in their routine activities approach Cohen and Felson (1979: 590) explicitly refer to *rhythm*, drawing on the ideas of Hawley (1950) in relation to the rhythm, tempo, and timing as key components of community structure:

> (1) R*hythm*, the regular periodicity with which events occurs, as with the rhythm of travel activity; (2) *tempo*, the number of events per unit of time, such as the number of criminal violations per day on a given street; and (3) *timing*, the coordination among different activities which are more or less interdependent, such as the coordination of an offender's rhythms with those of a victim.

Their approach therefore creates an opening through which to explore subjectivities towards crime and place related to the sensing and inhabiting of

these urban rhythms. Lefebvre engaged with everyday life as a critique of modernity, thus 'the idea of a rhythm was deliberately provocative, an assault on those who reify the city as a thing, who document only what they see rather than what they feel or hear' (Merrifield, 2006: 75). This resonates with Ingold's (1993) concern that the visual is often privileged in Western societies as part of a dominant 'ocularcentrism', something which applies to many readings of place as landscape. Ingold has his own understanding of the temporalized activities of everyday life, which he terms the taskscape, as contingent on a rhythmic repetition, which is countered by a more ordered or metronomic repetition. Place as landscape then comes to be understood as a form of 'congealed taskscape':

> The landscape is never complete: neither 'built' nor 'unbuilt', it is perpetually under construction. This is why the conventional dichotomy between natural and artificial (or 'man-made') components of the landscape is so problematic [...] the forms of the landscape are not pre-prepared for people to live in – not by nature nor by human hands – for it is in the very process of dwelling that these forms are constituted. (Ingold, 1993: 162).

As with Lefebvre's rhythms, this means that inhabitants are both sensing and part of the sensory landscape, there is 'not just activity but *inter*activity' (ibid., emphasis in original). Interactive place is also multisensory; vision, but additionally sound and touch are fundamental modes of encounter with place. As Atkinson (2007) observes, the importance of sound has been particularly underplayed in conceptualisation of the urban fabric. For Ingold, knowing place is bound up with the way that people inhabit the world. It follows then, that how people move around, specifically how they find their way, is indicative of their knowledge of place. This is because 'in dwelling in the world, we do not act *upon* it, or do things *to* it; rather we move along *with* it (Ingold, 1993: 164). In that sense then, place is underpinned rather than undermined by mobility, but in a local and necessarily everyday form. In terms of the overall objectives of this research, from the perspective of inhabitants, their (and other's) comings and goings - the 'taskscapes' of dwelling - are fundamental to the way they experience and perceive crime and disorder through place. Here, the lived experience of individuals as they inhabit place will reveal not just representations of crime and place, but how crime and disorder are implicated in the way that people inhabit their local area.

As Wunderlich (2008: 126-7) suggests, 'it is through walking that we immerse ourselves and dwell in the representational and lived world'.[20] Wunderlich (2008) reveals the way that walking provides purposive, discursive and conceptual overlaps between top-down perspectives and everyday lived realms of place. This account of walking in public resonates with Gehl's (1996) notions of necessary, optional and resultant activities. Here, 'purposive walking is habitual, a recurrent activity that fosters a sense of order and continuity in urban places. In contrast, discursive and conceptual walking promote encounter and discovery' (Wunderlich, 2008: 133). In this sense then, walking does not just help to constitute urban rhythms, but offers a way in, a participatory and embodied mode of sensing and responding to the cyclical and linear rhythms of place.

Wunderlich (2010) invokes the phenomenology of David Seamon (1980) in describing how places come to be known through time-space routines.[21] Similar to the dwelling perspective, Seamon's argument is that the construction of places relies on a kind of unchoreographed yet ordered practice just as much as their more static and bounded qualities. As Cresswell (2009: 175) understands it, 'the meaning of a place may arise out of the constant reiteration of practices that are simultaneously individual and social'. This everyday existence, based in one or another form of movement, correlates with the view of walking as *the* authentic mode of urban encounter (cf. Thrift, 2004). While there are clearly many forms of mobility which transcend that of the pedestrian these are, as Urry (2007) notes, in one way or another reliant upon walking. Trains, planes and automobiles have platforms, boarding lounges and driveways that express the intersection between the pedestrian and the transported.

Ingold (2000; 2007a; 2010) has developed a vocabulary of movement along these lines, and it is lines, or paths, with which he recognises place. In wayfinding and navigation (Ingold, 2000) and wayfaring and transport (Ingold, 2007a; 2010), he

20 Lefebvre (2004) noted the balcony as the ideal place in which to become attuned to these rhythms, and there will likely be a contrast between observing such rhythms and being immanent in them.

21 Somewhat evoking Jacobs (1961), Seamon (1980) terms this a 'place-ballet'.

identifies the different ways that people move through the landscape. Navigation, or transportation, follows a path of representation – for example the reading of a map. Ingold suggests that this is how people travel when they do not possess intimate knowledge of either where they are or how to reach their destination. *Locating* their position on the space of the map then allows them to plot their onward journey. However, the inhabitant does not hold a map in their hand, or even their head, because for them 'places do not have locations, but histories' (Ingold, 2000: 219). Instead, wayfaring/finding is 'understood as a skilled performance in which the traveller, whose powers of perception and action have been fine-tuned through previous experience, 'feels his way' towards his goal, continually adjusting his movements in response to an ongoing perceptual monitoring of his surroundings' (ibid: 220). Thinking back to Lupton's (1999) assertion in Chapter 2 that people have 'mental maps' of the places they *avoid*, this presents an intriguing possibility for the analysis of how people 'find their way'.

Rather than reading a paper or cognitive map, wayfinding is the process of mapping itself, and how people find their way is concomitant to knowing place. As Tilley (2008: 271) notes, 'having a sense of orientation, knowing where to go, is dependent on familiar and place-bound memories'. Drawing on the ideas of Gibson (1979), Ingold further suggests that people know places as a series of vistas. The routes along which inhabitants of places travel are experienced as a progression of segments whereby one vista is encountered and moved through before passing into another. These vistas are linked together through 'reversible occlusion':

> The passage from one vista to another, during which the former is gradually occluded while the latter opens up, constitutes a transition. Thus to travel from place to place involves the opening up and closing off of vistas, in a particular order, through a continuous series of reversible transitions. (Ingold, 2000: 238).

Notions of thresholds, boundaries and transitions have been encountered throughout much of the above, as well as in Chapter 2. This perspective on how people find their way suggests that as people move, encounters with boundaries are not experienced as limits but more as liminal or ritual sites, a crossing over between one vista and the next. In that sense then, the vistas are separated just as

much as they are connected. Ingold (2010: 35) expands on the distinction between wayfinding and navigation by suggesting that 'the wayfarer is continually on the move' and that any pause for rest is suffused with tension. In this respect he contrasts wayfaring with transportation, which is 'not so much a development along a way of life as a carrying across, from location to location' (ibid: 35). Whereas the wayfarer moves along a line of inhabitation, the transported come to occupy discrete areas. These ideas are important as they build upon the differences between navigation and wayfinding to further highlight the contrasting ways of moving through, and hence knowing, places.

Arriving in the city

This binary understanding of knowledge from 'above' and 'below' is especially relevant given the introduction in Chapter 2 of the role of contemporary preventative practices of responsibilization in relation to crime control and community safety. There are many tantalising connections to be drawn here between the 'folk expertise' of inhabitants in contrast to the 'expert knowledge' of crime control practitioners (Stenson, 2005). This is especially relevant in light of the recent widening appeal and deployment of online crime maps. These binaries of above and below also find their place in representations of the city. Germane to Ingold's example above of map reading above, Ken-Ichi Sasaki (1998) writes of the 'tactile' place of inhabitants as opposed to the very visual realm of the tourist:

> This kind of knowledge is not described in guide books. It includes things which are impossible to describe, because they are concerned with knowledge as the sum of accumulated experiences. The inhabitants of the city become acquainted with it very naturally, on foot and through the body, much in the way that we learn our mother tongue' (Sasaki, 1998: 42).

The distinction between tourist and inhabitant, and the pertinence of spoken language, finds a notable exemplar in the work of de Certeau (1984).[22] In a much cited passage, de Certeau finds himself 'lifted out of the city's *grasp*' (ibid: 92, emphasis added) at the viewing platform of the World Trade Center. This is hardly an everyday place of inhabitation but just the kind of place a tourist might go.

22 The same is true for Ingold (2000: 219) who states that 'wayfinding more closely resembles storytelling than map-using'.

Looking down upon New York, 'the gigantic mass is immobilized before the eyes' (ibid: 91). This is a view that contrasts sharply with the experience at street level, where the inhabitants of the city 'are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read' (ibid: 93, emphasis in original). The view from above speaks to the all-seeing rational order of place as represented by the map.

De Certeau draws on the work of Augoyard (2007 [1979]) in describing the possibility of the city as reconfigured through pedestrian 'speech acts' that either privilege or abandon space through appropriation: 'what the map cuts up, the story cuts across' (ibid: 129). First, the concept of 'synecdoche' shows how the part stands for the whole – such as in using 'wheels' to mean a car. As such it is a representation of how places can be identified through striking salient features, not overly dissimilar from Lynch's (1960) idea in relation to landmarks in the image of the city. It speaks to the way that the experience of specific parts of the urban landscape might be used to represent a whole. Second, the concept of asyndeton denotes the ways in which conjunctive parts of sentences are omitted in everyday speech, in order to improvise a route through the landscape, or abandon certain sites through particular spatial practice in order to access places of meaning (Duff, 2010).

Thrift (2004) is critical of the way that de Certeau privileges language as the main resource of social life. Similarly, as Tonkiss (2005) states, it is hard to observe and track the ephemeral everyday tactics of the urban inhabitant when by definition such activity slips away in their passing. For the purposes of this thesis, however, it is the distinction between urban space as administrative and planned, and urban space as lived that I wish to trace through the chapters which follow. I do not argue that each has precedence, but that there is a push and pull between them, 'on the threshold where visibility ends' (de Certeau, 1984: 102). This threshold runs through the distinction between de Certeau's (1984) other most notable binary pairing of strategies and tactics. Although as Buchanan (2000) argues they should not be seen as opposites but relational in the same way as the material and lived landscape:

> The former involves a design that extends across and organizes space, the latter work as chancy and sudden plays within the field of strategy. If strategies of urban design operate through the ordering of space and vision [...] tactics of urban use are 'non-space' and unseen [...] We take different routes through the city, not always the most rational, the quickest or the most well-lit. We don't always cross at lights. Protean tactics of everyday movement involve passing and clever appropriations of space. (Tonkiss, 2004: 241).

These distinctions as they relate to the city are also visible in the work of Lefebvre (1991) on the production of space. In a similar vein to the contrast between building and dwelling outlined above, Lefebvre (1991) argues that urban space is inherently social, and that rather than being a finished product it is continually produced through social relations in conceived, perceived and lived spaces. Conceived space relates to ideas and representations of place, both for individuals and also in terms of how places are conceived by planners and local government. Perceived space is that which is encountered through everyday inhabitation, the concrete space of the built environment. Lived space, on the other hand, 'is the complex combination of perceived and conceived space. It represents a person's actual experience of space in everyday life' (Purcell, 2002: 102). As such, lived space occupies the space 'between' navigation and wayfaring, thresholds through the landscape as a way of seeing and as lived practice.

5. Conclusion

While this chapter has reached its end point the same cannot be said for place. As Ingold (2000: 172) states, 'the most fundamental thing about life is that it does not begin here or end there, but is always *going on* [...] environments are never complete but are continually under construction' (emphasis in original). In this respect, both people and places are always becoming, in a state between the past and future that is never entirely removed from either. In more ways than one, a sense of 'the in-between' is instructive to the theoretical approach taken in this thesis. What is clear from the above is that places are both conceived of through representation, and also experienced and negotiated through everyday inhabitation. This speaks to the conceptual and physical binaries of crime and the city identified in Chapter 2.

For instance, between the conceived images of 'order' deployed in urban regeneration and the inherent insecurity of encountering disorder at the margins. At the level of the regenerated neighbourhood, the approach taken by this research will therefore aim to establish how residents make sense of crime through representations of place. Although Atlantic Wharf is somewhere that has specifically been 'built', as a place it is not a mere container for events, but somewhere that comes into being through the way that people inhabit it. Being able to find the way relies, it is argued, on knowing where you are. Therefore, knowledge of crime and place can be related to the way that people negotiate their way through the landscape. What links all of the above is an explicit focus on walking as the authentic mode of encounter, and this is something that not only informs the analytical work to be presented in Chapters 6-8, but the methodological approach that will now be set out in Chapter 4.

4

MOVING THROUGH THE RESEARCH LANDSCAPE

Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 have introduced literature relevant to research into crime and place in the context of urban regeneration. While Chapter 2 identified the regenerated neighbourhood as a suitable place to study crime and disorder, Chapter 3 explored theoretical approaches that advance the possibility that place is as subjective and 'on the move' as the people who inhabit it. This chapter will highlight how the research methodology shaped procedural processes of empirical engagement. Given the overall focus of this thesis on the 'experience of crime' (Garland, 2000: 355) for people living in a regenerated neighbourhood, the argument is that a focus on everyday inhabitation will help to highlight the social and spatial tactics that inform and are informed by senses of crime and place. It is worth briefly returning to the research themes to reiterate just how they address the issues and concerns – theoretical and empirical – that emerge from the review of literature in Chapters 2 and 3. As stated in Chapter 1, the research themes are as follows:

1. How do residents interpret crime and disorder in relation to representations of Atlantic Wharf as a place?
2. How do residents of Atlantic Wharf negotiate crime and disorder as part of their everyday inhabitation of the neighbourhood?
3. In what ways do residents respond to issues of crime and disorder both collectively and as individuals?

The first theme addresses many of the points raised in Chapter 2 in relation to 'crime-consciousness' as it relates to specific urban sites. The intention here is to

gain insight into the ways in which crime and place are represented by residents in their conceptualisation of where they live. In addition this research theme will lead to empirical data in relation to crime in Atlantic Wharf as an example of urban regeneration. Drawing on the work presented in Chapter 3, the second research theme expands upon the first to look at how these representations both inform and are informed by practices of everyday life. The idea here is to move beyond narrow conceptualisations of crime in relation to place, and in doing so address some of the more nuanced readings of place introduced above. Although it is not made explicit, the third research theme broadly considers the relationship between Gold and Revill's (2003) landscape as seeing and landscape as lived practice. In other words, by looking at how people respond to issues that affect their dominant representation of place – both as individuals and with recourse to others – it will reveal ways in which different perspectives on crime and place conflict with individual experience and the views of others.

The first section of the remainder of this chapter will therefore show how these research themes suggest a predominantly qualitative approach. The importance of movement to inhabiting place as presented in Chapter 3 informs a related 'mobile' methodology. This section thus considers methodological issues in relation to conducting research on the move across a somewhat arbitrarily delimited research site. This is followed by a second section that details procedural aspects of data collection, including comment on issues of ethics and access. The final section covers the analysis of empirical data, and reflects upon the overall research process. Taking the predominantly mobile approach that was adopted here as a guide, I wish to present my time in the field as a gradual process of finding my way.

1. A guiding framework

As indicated above, the overall objectives of the research meant that empirical engagement was informed by a qualitative perspective. This section will outline the reasons for this approach, leading into a discussion of methodological issues in relation to researching place on the move.

An overall approach

My research into crime and place in Atlantic Wharf centres on how residents of a regenerated neighbourhood make sense of and experience crime and disorder as part of living where they do. Chapter 3 has identified that such experience is related to movement in and through place, and as such there were two main points to consider. Firstly, the research is focused on the interpretive experience of phenomena; both crime and place. Therefore, I felt the research should be guided by an overall (but not entirely) qualitative approach, as it relates to how social worlds are 'viewed, experienced and constructed' (Smith, 2000: 660). In this respect, Creswell (2007: 42) asserts, 'the process of designing a qualitative study begins not with the methods [...] but instead with the broad assumptions central to qualitative inquiry'. The argument here is that adopting a qualitative approach facilitates a capacity to 'account for how people, places and events are made and represented' (Smith, 2000: 660).

Chapter 1 introduced an interest in the representation of crime and place to this research, and as such an overall qualitative approach implies a range of methods that are suited to making sense of how residents conceive of crime and disorder where they live. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 3) assert, qualitative research 'consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible'. A further focus of this research relates to how individuals experience and negotiate crime and place through everyday practices of inhabitation. However, all attempts to capture the elusive everyday nature of lived experience – of which this thesis is clearly an example – result in representation (Anderson, 2010). Therefore, it is not just the representative and interpretive practices of residents that qualitative research 'uncovers', rather 'qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 3). In other words, partaking in qualitative research means being 'immersed in, rather than detached from, the production of knowledge' (Smith, 2001: 25).

Qualitative inquiry has a long tradition in criminological research, a notable example being the work of the Chicago School on crime and disorder in relation to processes of urban change. However, as noted in Chapter 3, Smith (1986) identifies aspects of Chicago School sociology as informed by both 'empirical-analytical' and 'oral-ethnographic' traditions. Given the emphasis outlined in

Chapter 3 on advancing the appreciative aspects of crime and place rather than analysing statistics and mapping crime rates, this research is situated more towards the latter. However, while the majority of data that informs this research could be described as *ethnographic* in Hammersley and Atkinson's (1995) terms – especially in relation to interviewing and participant observation – the research could not be described as *an ethnography*. Through adopting a mixed-method approach to data collection, empirical engagement in this research made use of a variety of techniques that cannot be located in any single approach.

'Mixed-method' describes an approach to research that makes use of more than one research method, commonly drawing on both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection. Combining methods allows the researcher to validate or evaluate findings from one particular method, compensate for respective singular strengths and weaknesses, and develop or drive the analysis (Denscombe, 2007). Although the use of multiple methods is hardly new, one significant feature of the mixed-method approach is a practical or pragmatic approach to research problems. Following the position of Noaks and Wincup (2004), in my own research I used a range of research methods to meet the needs of the overall project. I used a questionnaire survey to provide both quantitative and qualitative data relating to demographics and experiences of crime and disorder, but also to recruit residents for further research. This later stage of the research – taking the form of an *in situ* qualitative interview – drew on topics and issues raised in the survey, allowing me to explore them with the participants in greater depth. Furthermore, in consideration of the research focus on communal responses to crime and disorder, I engaged in participant observation with members of the Atlantic Wharf Residents' Association. This gave me a slightly different perspective on some of the themes that came to light from both the surveys and walking interviews, as well as an insight into how the local programme of 'community safety' outlined in Chapter 2 is delivered. On top of this I also used secondary data from the local authority and South Wales Police Force, primarily to increase my own understanding of crime and disorder in the area, and to give context to the interpretive experience of my research participants. The walking interviews provided the core empirical data that underpins this research, and as such it could be stated that my own 'mixed-method' approach is situated between the empirical-analytical and oral-ethnographic research traditions that Smith (1986) outlines

above. In order to provide a critical procedural account of the three main methods – survey, walking interview, participant observation – I would first like to establish the methodological ground upon which this research took place.

Research on the move

The previous chapter established the importance of movement to understanding the inhabitant interpretation of place. The idea that people 'know as they go' (Ingold, 2000) feeds directly into the methodological approach that this research takes. This suggests that in order to examine the ways in which people experience or perceive where they live it makes sense to attend to how they move around it. Second, it suggests that to gain some understanding of their movement the researcher should attempt to experience that same landscape of inhabitation. As will be seen below, the methods that relate to my adopted research strategy are based on various kinds of movement. In some respects this is nothing special, since even a very localised empirical engagement is predicated on a great deal of movement by the researcher and the researched (Hall, 2009). Put another way, as Ingold and Lee Vergunst (2008: 3) suggest, 'everything takes place, in one way or the other, on the move'. In this respect, the significance of 'the new mobilities paradigm' can be read as indicative of a more expansive approach to the social sciences (Sheller and Urry, 2006), aware of the growing need to grasp mobility as 'a fragile entanglement of physical movement, representations and practices' (Cresswell, 2010: 18).

This implies a related sensitivity to mobility in research methods, and recently there have been a number of steps taken in this direction, not least in the explicit focus on the world as it is experienced and recounted by the pedestrian. Ricketts Hein *et al.* (2008) see this as the expansion of a theoretical, political and practical project, making moves both within and beyond formal academic study. They suggest that as a precursor to the decidedly mobile method of walking, research has increasingly diverged from the placeless and distant site of the sedentary research interview by attempting to integrate the social world of the respondent.[23] Visual methods, participatory mapping and text and audio diaries have all

23 Ethnography and anthropology have of course long established this importance. The difference here is in opening up possibilities for site-distant methodologies to place data within specific contexts.

underpinned methodologies that emphasise the importance of the context in which data is generated. These shifting contexts are at the heart of a renewed understanding of mobile ethics, 'sensitive to the contingencies of time and place' (Ricketts Hein *et al.*, 2008: 1270).

A focus on the subjective world of individuals constructed through their walking practices lends itself to modes of interpretive qualitative research, movement as object and method (Hall, 2009). As Zussman (2004: 352) asserts, qualitative research 'works best when it addresses *people in places*' (emphasis in original), and in this light there has been a recent upsurge in academic research which takes the interview out for a walk. Much of this research can be identified as part of an interpretive approach that is loosely phenomenological, which looks to the ways in which 'social reality, everyday life, is constituted in conversation and interaction' (Schwandt, 2003: 299).[24] Given the parallels between verbal discourse and walking that were introduced in Chapter 3 (see de Certeau, 1984; Augoyard, 2007), there is an inherent potential for developing methods which integrate walking and talking.

Outside of their use as part of a mobile or 'walking' methodology, interviews are one of the most commonly adopted methods as part of a qualitative approach to research, reflective of the overall place of talking or 'asking questions' as central to making sense of the world we inhabit (Fontana and Frey, 1998). Interviews are an important part of not only qualitative research, but a cultural trope of contemporary Western society (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003). As such, 'a significant problem lies in the question of whether these "authentic accounts" are actually, instead, the repetition of familiar cultural tales' (Miller and Glassner, 2011: 131-2). Qualitative interviews provide data on both the construction of meaning in social worlds, but also claims to factual knowledge (Kvale, 1996). Interviews are not without limitations both in relation to the kind of knowledge they produce, and what kind of knowledge they provide access to. For instance, Atkinson *et al.* (2003: 116) identify the need to remain aware that 'what people say' and 'what people do' are not the same thing.

That said, Miller and Glassner (2011: 145) recognise that 'qualitative interviewing

24 For example, Tilley (1994; and Bennett, 2008) defines the 'phenomenological walk' as 'an attempt to walk from the inside, a participatory understanding produced by taking one's own body into places and landscapes and an opening up of one's perceptual sensibilities and experience' (2008: 269).

produces accounts that offer researchers a means of examining intertwined sets of findings'. In relation to the experience of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf, interviewing on the move introduces possibilities for drawing on salient features of the physical research landscape. For Hall *et al.* (2006: 3) walking interviews have the potential to become 'three-way conversations, with interviewee, interviewer and locality engaged in an exchange of ideas'. In many ways this goes against the conventional practice of static research interviews, where suitable locations are selected for their privacy and neutrality (e.g. Denscombe, 1998: 119). Indeed, following on from ideas about place introduced above, rooms are chosen as a *location* for the conduct of interview whereas this research is interested in highlighting other senses of place, of experiencing locale as *part* of the interview itself. As Chapter 3 makes clear however, there are many different ways of going for a walk, and this holds for the purposes of qualitative inquiry.

Kusenbach (2003) has argued that the 'go-along' method allows the research to reconstruct the dynamics of interaction in communal and private realms, by allowing intimate access to the intricacies of perception, spatial practice, biography, social architecture and social realms. The practice of walking and talking with residents through their landscape of inhabitation uncovers an everyday knowledge that features emotion, experience and the effects of interpersonal relationships. Anderson (2004) agrees, suggesting that walking methodologies allow researchers to harness the power of place, and as a mobile method they exhibit the purposive, discursive, and conceptual aspects of walking as described by Wunderlich (2008; see Chapter 3). For instance, Lee and Ingold (2006) suggest that walking encourages connection with the environment, establishes an understanding of place through routes rather than roots, and is in itself a more sociable practice.

Kusenbach (2003) states that walking interviews are most effective when they follow people's 'natural' everyday movements. Anderson (2004) suggests a freer approach that allows the relationship between place and the individual to unfold and express itself in unexpected ways. My own perspective and practice is somewhere between these two. In reviewing certain ways in which research might 'place' walking interview data by capturing the time-space trajectories of route, Jones *et al.* (2008) show that different approaches provide different kinds of

knowledge. So for instance in research where specific locations are of interest it is advisable to follow a fixed route so that all participants have an opportunity to give their perspective. This means that it is possible to get multiple perspectives on a given site even with a relatively small sample. On the other hand, giving participants freedom to choose their route might highlight specific sites that would otherwise seem unimportant to the casual observer and researcher alike.

Brown and Durrheim (2009: 925) suggest that mobile interviews 'occupy an interesting point along a continuum drawn between naturalistic data-collection methods and those interviewing methods that are directed/produced by the interviewer'. As will be seen in the procedural account below, there are many benefits of this approach to studying place, and the subjective experience of crime and disorder situated through it. There are other issues that need to be taken into account as part of the research methodology however. Housley and Smith (2010) identify 'walking and talking' as indicative of a 'second-wave reduction' in processes of social research. It is therefore important to be aware of the limitations of claims made in relation to 'walking and talking'. As with any engagement between the researcher and the researched, 'walking and talking' is purposefully contrived in relation to the research objectives.

As Dovey (1999 :44) notes, attending to lived experience 'should not be a quest to define some presupposed 'sense' or 'spirit' of place – it should be an opening to the world, not a reduction of it'. In that sense, the approach taken through adopting a mobile methodology provides only one way of capturing the relationship between knowledge of crime and place. Though walking interviews would provide the core data collected for this research, they were deployed alongside a survey on the experience and perception of crime and disorder in the neighbourhood. As well as this, I was able to observe and to some extent participate in the activities of the Atlantic Wharf Residents' Association; attending meetings and events and receiving messages sent to members on a mailing list. These are obviously quite different approaches to studying place from those afforded by walking interviews. However, as I show below, each of these methods relate to mobile practice in one way or another. A further aspect of this research that is perhaps more 'active' than it may at first appear is the delineating (or 'bounding') of the research site.

Delimiting the field

Although selecting the site in which research will take place is often an instrumental matter, in this case there are also methodological concerns to consider. Chapters 2 and 3 have already emphasised the importance of the margins of place, variously conceived through contestable spatial boundaries as well as sites 'between' that inform both subjective experience and theoretical understanding. At the outset of the research I was interested in the way that various forms of urban design might implicate specific perceptions and experiences of crime and disorder. As such the selection of Atlantic Wharf operates on two related levels which are best described through an illustrative map (see Figure 4.1). The first relates to the possibility of selecting a site (or sites) which express clear spatial boundaries. As seen from above, Atlantic Wharf is described by a combination of roads, railway lines, and bodies of water. The mapped representation gives the impression of how these spatial elements act to define and separate it to a greater or lesser degree from adjacent places. Overall, there is an external rectangular boundary of roads and railway that frame a variety of clustered cul-de-sacs and discrete developments.

As a regular and rectangular tract of urban space it stands out, although this characteristic does not influence my choice as arbitrarily as it may seem. For one, it should be remembered that this configuration of architecture and infrastructure was not assembled at random but designed and built following an overall plan (see Chapter 5). However, it does more than suggest who is or is not an Atlantic Wharf resident by virtue of location, and what activity is or is not occurring within; it presents these neighbourhood edges as places of interest in their own right. As suggested in previous chapters, the way that people traverse, resist and encounter these neighbourhood contours is fundamental to understanding their relation to place and inhabitation of a terrain. The fact that the boundaries to Atlantic Wharf are so pronounced gives emphasis to these issues. However, defining the field of study in this way has other implications which relate to matters of epistemology. While it ticks the boxes in terms of being somewhere developed through urban regeneration, it is hard to square a rectangular frame of roads with a textured view of place.

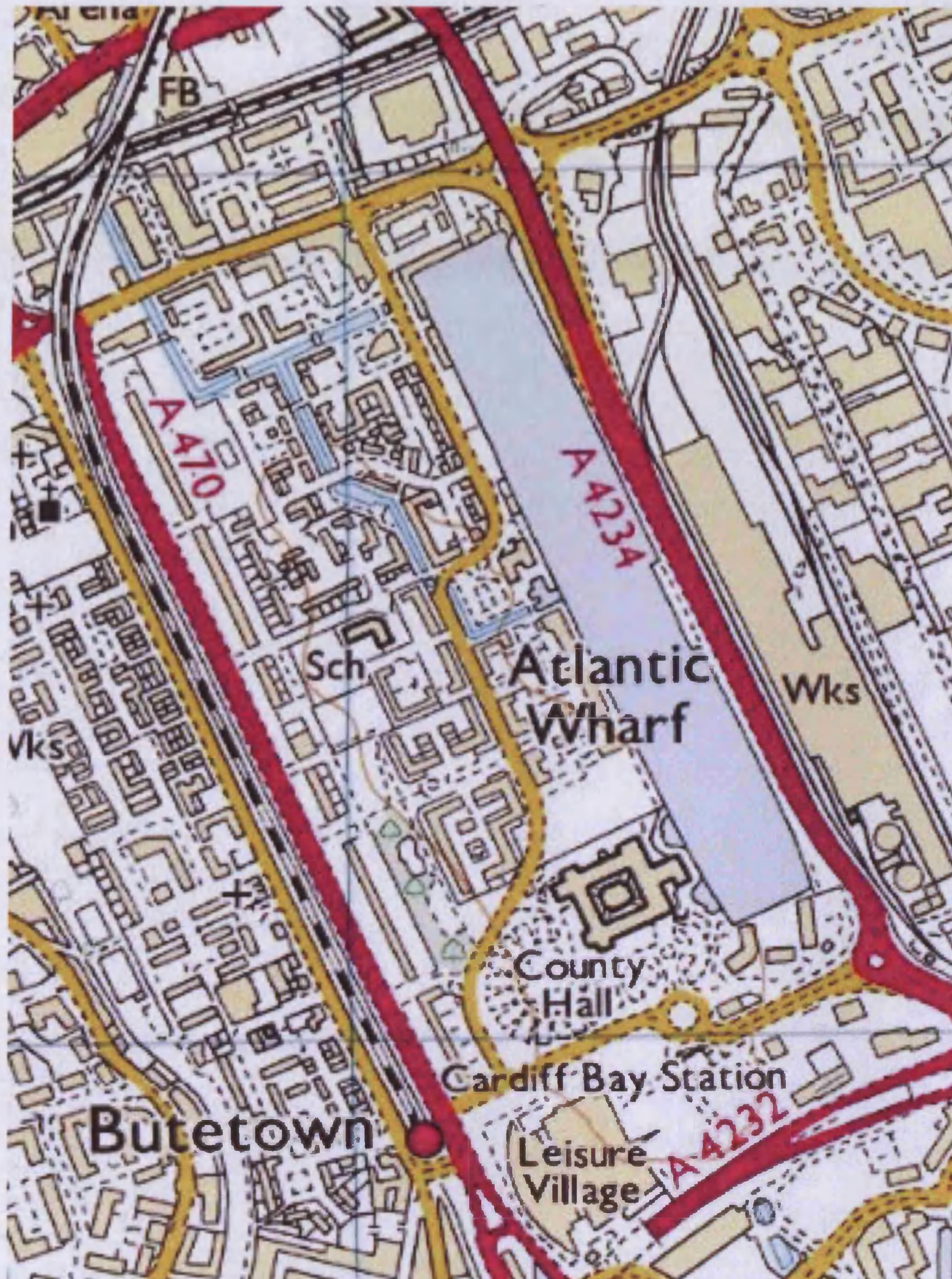

Figure 4.1 Atlantic Wharf boundaries. Source: Edina Digimap

One decision that I took relatively early on in the research was that I would focus on the residents of Atlantic Wharf, who are not the sole *inhabitants* of it as a place. This was because of the focus of much criminological and urban sociology on the private spaces of the home as well as the public and parochial space of the neighbourhood. In part I wished to look at the different ways that these spaces are inhabited by residents, and how the movement of themselves and others relates to

perception of crime and disorder. In both a spatial and social capacity then, the arbitrary separation of what I thought to be the Atlantic Wharf neighbourhood from its surrounds was to emphasise its points of connection. Instead of 'framing' it as a knowable whole it merely emphasised its fragmented and incomplete nature. Following Candea (2007: 179), Atlantic Wharf in this sense is 'not an object to be explained, but a contingent window into complexity'.

In this respect, interviewing and surveying only residents of the neighbourhood would necessarily introduce just how their own lives were connected to others from within and beyond the local area. It was not because I thought that the neighbourhood was a pre-existing place awaiting my discovery, but exactly because I was sensitive to the way that place is constructed by its residents, as but one example of its inhabitants. Giving the neighbourhood arbitrary limits would allow me to interrogate just how this spatial ideal compares to how people inhabit the landscape, the relationship between their representations of place and their individual and collective activities.

Retaining a sense of place

It will already be clear that I have chosen not to change the name of the place in which this research is situated; Atlantic Wharf, Cardiff. One of the key reasons for this is that as far as this research is concerned, names are important. Clark (2006) suggests that both people and places should be given some sense of anonymity to ensure that neither is given an unwanted reputation. Nespor (2000) disputes claims that using pseudonyms in relation to place helps to preserve the anonymity of individuals.[25] He suggests that such approaches are largely unquestioned, and yet their ability to obscure personal identity is similarly unfounded. Much of the work presented in the empirical chapters relies on significant descriptions of locations and locales, information which would betray any attempts to change names. In this respect, Christians (2003) suggests that pseudonyms of people and places are often recognisable to 'insiders'. The very matter of this research being focused on the loosely phenomenological experience of place – the experience of the 'insider' – means that it is justifiable to retain the names of places as used and appropriated by their inhabitants.

25 See also Walford (2002; 2005).

Clark (2006) also suggests that 'anonymising place names, particularly in a multi-method research project, becomes a futile exercise because it is quite simple to identify such places through other sources' (ibid: 9). Although he mentions the cultural significance of names as they relate to individuals, he does not give the same consideration to places. Attempting to change names while also trying to retain their original meaning would likely provide sufficient information for the pseudonym to be rendered obsolete. Although many of the names of developments and cul-de-sacs have been pilloried for having 'hardly a lexical connection to the land they occupy between them' (Finch, 2002: 64), they are indicative of a common overall approach taken in much urban redevelopment.

In this sense, continuing to strip away layers of historical meanings completely would be to the detriment of the research overall and would reproduce the ongoing place-making processes the research aims to examine. The prominence of various spatial elements and geographical locations throughout the research makes it somewhat difficult to construct a place-based anonymity. Furthermore, Nespor (2000) argues that anonymity helps to represent places as complete and knowable, private rather than public realms, which conflicts with the overall approach of this thesis. He suggests that giving pseudonyms to places helps researchers to 'strip away the particulars, and treat what is left as a generic, abstract exemplar of some larger category' (ibid: 556). That is not the purpose of this research; the approach taken here is one that is sensitive to place as it is represented as well as the non-representational or everyday aspects of place inhabitation. I am not intending to offer an account of place as 'generalizable' to a wider population - something revealed in the sampling strategy, analysis and presentation of data below. As such retaining place names will allow me to 'emphasize connection among people, places, and events and to highlight the systems of relations and articulation that produce boundaries and entities' (ibid.).

2. Proceeding with data collection

As already established, having knowledge of a place is connected with the accumulation of passages, journeys made along pathways of appropriation. As such, it is hard to state with any certainty when I started 'collecting' data, as even

prior to beginning the doorstep surveys I was gathering data on the area available from online repositories, contacting the relevant police department in order to obtain the recorded crime figures for the area, reading up on news articles that were of interest and thinking about the sorts of questions I was likely to ask residents in the walking interviews.[26] I was also active through walking the area, getting to know the different parts of the neighbourhood and how accessible they were. This helped me get to know the terrain a little better, a practice that extended to the deployment of the doorstep survey.

(Door)step by step

In the last chapter, I highlighted the fact that to survey was to consider place from the perspective of an outsider. In many ways, at the beginning of data collection, that is exactly what I was – an outsider – and it was a position that would not be entirely escaped from. The surveys would therefore have a different, though multi-faceted, purpose. Surveys have a long history of application in the field of criminology, including assessing the levels of victimisation in relation to data gathered by official statistics. They have also provided the basis for landmark studies into the relationship between crime and place (see for example Jones *et al.*, 1986). The survey used in this research (see Appendix 1) was intended to provide an initial overview of how residents interpret crime in Atlantic Wharf, helping to build up an inhabitant glossary of knowledge and experience in relation to specific sites. They were also used to recruit residents for the later stages of research. As Davies (2008) notes the process of collecting surveys through 'door knocking' can be an extremely useful way of recruiting research participants. I completed 138 doorstep surveys which resulted in 30 walking interviews it can be said that as a recruitment strategy this was quite successful (better than 1 in 5).[27] While it would have been possible to conduct a greater number of surveys, I was conducting them side by side with interviews, and once a sufficient number of interviews had been secured it was deemed necessary draw doorstep surveys to a close.

Standing on the doorstep after knocking was a surprisingly instructive experience.

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26 I do not offer a detailed analysis of these datasets in this research, although Chapter 5 illustrates how Atlantic Wharf is represented by some of them.

27 Although a handful of these surveys and resultant interviews came from 'snowballing' rather than direct door knocking. In general there was little opportunity to have participating residents recommend me to others, outside of the members of the AWRA.

I was able to consider the threshold, noting neighbourhood watch stickers, other messages to deter nuisance callers, and sometimes signs warning of a dog. The responses and conversations that I had with residents often moved beyond the limits of the survey questions themselves. I soon learned to make notes either at the time or after the survey was completed – and this was an especially useful tactic in those instances where people declined participation yet still had things to say. A small number of people said that while they did not have time to complete the survey there and then, I could call and collect it another day. Sometimes I returned to no response, while on other occasions individuals gave much longer and more considered responses than would have perhaps been possible on the doorstep.

The actual experience of walking from door to door was useful as it built on my existing knowledge of the neighbourhood. For instance, it allowed me to identify differences between specific development types, as well as areas that were quiet and isolated and those more exposed and visible. This emphasises that place is important 'not only as subject for investigation, but also because of its influence in the research process' (Ricketts Hein *et al.*, 2008). The act of 'doing' the research was in itself an engagement with place, irrespective of the responses provided by residents. Davies (2008: 6) agrees, stating that 'door knocking is an embodied, sensory experience that enables the researcher to experience the locality in which their participants live first-hand'. The caveat is, of course, that the locality is experienced and perceived in different ways for different types of inhabitants. Speaking of different inhabitants, the use of the doorstep survey as a recruitment tool also had a direct impact on who took part in later stages of the research. Although the surveys produced a limited amount of quantitative data, the primary function of the doorstep survey was to facilitate participation in the walking interviews. Before proceeding to an account of the walking interview it is important to consider the effect this had on access to and representation of Atlantic Wharf residents.

Representation and access

The initial contact with residents in their homes, the act of door knocking, informed the sampling strategy which can be seen as a purposive non-randomised

opportunity approach (Kemper *et al.*, 2003). In simpler terms, this merely meant that if I could get to a door, I would knock on it. Others have noted the difficulties in recruiting participants to research such as mine (Noaks and Wincup, 2004) and thus it made sense to explore all avenues open to me. It is likely there are extraneous variables at play here – the kind of people who were home when I was knocking, those that would open their door, and those that would indulge a stranger on their doorstep would eventually be those who came to take part in walking interviews. As part of the research is interested in how people respond to issues of crime and disorder, it is likely that a willingness to take part in research relating to crime and place implies some kind of 'active' involvement or concern on the part of the participant. It was never my intention to capture a statistically representative sample that would allow me to make generalisations to the 'Atlantic Wharf population'. The perspectives presented in later chapters therefore relate to those particular residents who took part in this research, and any findings should be recognised as such.

Nevertheless there were some residents of Atlantic Wharf that were harder to access than others and as such their participation in later stages of the research was limited. As Chapters 5 and 6 show, although Atlantic Wharf is often regarded as a 'middle class' area, throughout the neighbourhood there is a given proportion of social housing, inhabited either by council tenants or people put in place by housing associations. These buildings and their occupants had already arisen as problematic during some surveys, and they would feature in many of the walking interviews later on. Therefore I was aware that they were mainly inhabited by people of a different ethnicity and culture from the majority of the neighbourhood. Along Lloyd George Avenue, on the fringes of the neighbourhood, there are two rows of such houses together, sandwiched between more recent examples of exclusive gated developments. The experience of surveying here was quite different, and only negative in that I did not manage to recruit any residents for walking interviews.

There was an initial challenge in overcoming the language barrier, the occupants being mostly of Somali extraction. In the first instance I was waved away and told that they did not speak English.[28] In other cases however, the children who were

28 I recognise that this could be a tactic to get rid of me – appearing as I did at their door as a white middle class man with a clipboard in hand. That said, I did not dress in a formal manner, and, as

present were able to translate for their parents. One notable experience was where a Muslim mother who was not wearing her religious attire had to give me her responses from behind the door, her children looking up at me smiling and laughing. While she took part in the survey, she mirrored the responses of others living in the same row by stating that she could not take part in a walking interview. It was not appropriate for her to be seen walking around the neighbourhood with me.

Another such response came from a young Somali man who chatted to me at length about his experience and perception of the neighbourhood, and yet did not think it would be good to be seen out walking with me. It is clear in this respect that walking can be far from a mundane activity, but a display of cultural sensibilities (Morris, 2004; Wunderlich, 2008). As stated above I was not intending to provide a statistically representative sample of the neighbourhood, and yet it was frustrating that I would not be able to see how such experiences and perceptions played out in the context of a walking interview. That said, as I took notes around these surveys I was able to record information that illustrates and expands on and in some cases contradicts the responses given during the walking interviews with other inhabitants of Atlantic Wharf.

As stated above, this thesis provides an account of the ways in which people negotiate crime and disorder as part of their everyday inhabitation of a regenerated neighbourhood. Although I am not trying to provide 'the' authentic view of Atlantic Wharf, it should still be recognised that those who took part may skew the view that is presented in a certain way. There is a risk of a self-selecting 'affluent worried' taking part precisely because of their general feelings of uneasiness with regard to crime and issues of social disorder. Indeed, at a later point this chapter engages with just such a quandary in respect to the motivations of those taking part, especially from the AWRA. I also mention above that it was difficult to recruit people from certain parts of the neighbourhood, especially those living in council or housing association properties. This is a difficulty that is challenging to overcome and something I address in Chapter 10, the conclusion to this thesis.

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noted by Davies (2008) was aware that dressing in such a way could give the impression I was trying to sell them something, or an official of some kind.

Another group that were to some extent excluded, given the primary method of data collection, were those 'non-walking' inhabitants (although those with physical disabilities aside, everyone walks to some extent). My analysis was focused on the pedestrian experience, but it is clear from subsequent chapters that automobility has a large role in the way that residents inhabit the neighbourhood as part of the wider urban milieu. There are also those residents who did not wish to participate in a walking interview who may nonetheless have had much to say about crime in Atlantic Wharf. However, given that my focus was on the relationship between representations of crime and place, and how they inform or are informed by everyday inhabitation, I affirm that their pedestrian practice provides the most relevant point of study.

Walking the talk

Appendix 2 provides a profile of those residents who took part in the interviews, and it can be seen there are a broad range of ages and occupancy types that reflect the demographic data presented in Chapter 5. The age range of interview participants was from 21-68, of whom 14 were male and 16 female. 8 of these were tenants and 22 owner-occupiers which reflects the general difficulty I had in recruiting tenants to further stages of the research. However, as a group they allow me to access a broad range of experiences in relation to their time in Atlantic Wharf. Some had only recently arrived to live in the area, while others had been living in Atlantic Wharf for well over 10 years. Similarly, the types of housing developments they lived in were different, from smaller and older 'traditional' houses to more recent, generally larger, and more standalone apartment blocks.

The 30 interviews conducted varied in length, often as a result of differences in walking speed and the length of time that particular parts of the neighbourhood were considered. For instance, if something was of specific interest to the resident being interviewed then we would often stop a while in order for them to address certain issues. Furthermore, it might be that something would catch our attention that was not always there, such as signs of crime or disorder. That said, the interviews ranged from 45 mins to 1h 30 mins, with most coming in at about an hour in length. The walks were designed to take in features of Atlantic Wharf that were of particular interest given the findings of the initial doorstep survey.

Residents had mentioned particular places in relation to issues with crime and disorder, and the route therefore engaged with the sites mentioned by specific residents. As some of these were more common – such as 'along Tyndall Street' – these were integrated into all walking interviews. Similarly, the overall interest in boundaries and thresholds of place meant that the walking interviews were traversed and crossed these. Figure 4.2 shows a palimpsest of these walking routes and as such gives some sense of the repeated and in-depth engagement with the neighbourhood terrain. The points of interest raised in the surveys and taken in on the walks allowed me to a certain extent to use the neighbourhood as a cue to ask specific questions of how residents interact with these places.

In addition, and rather helpfully, the more 'mundane' spaces between these would yield things of interest that I had not envisaged prior to starting my fieldwork. The most fruitful of these would allow both me as the researcher, and my research participants to tap into features of the landscape that act almost imperceptibly on the users of everyday urban space. Just as de Certeau (1984) describes the strategies and tactics of urban inhabitation, so empirical research has its own overarching strategy and tactical opportunity (i.e. Phillips, 1971). This is true for walking, as the routes upon which we set out would rarely follow the same path with absolute precision. It was not uncommon for there to be deviations as topics, and the related places, of interest came up in conversation – again reflecting the relationship between speech acts and pedestrian movement. That said, I had a list of topics that I returned to as we walked, and this was particularly useful for walks with interview participants that were rather more reticent or less forthcoming with spontaneous comments on the neighbourhood landscape.

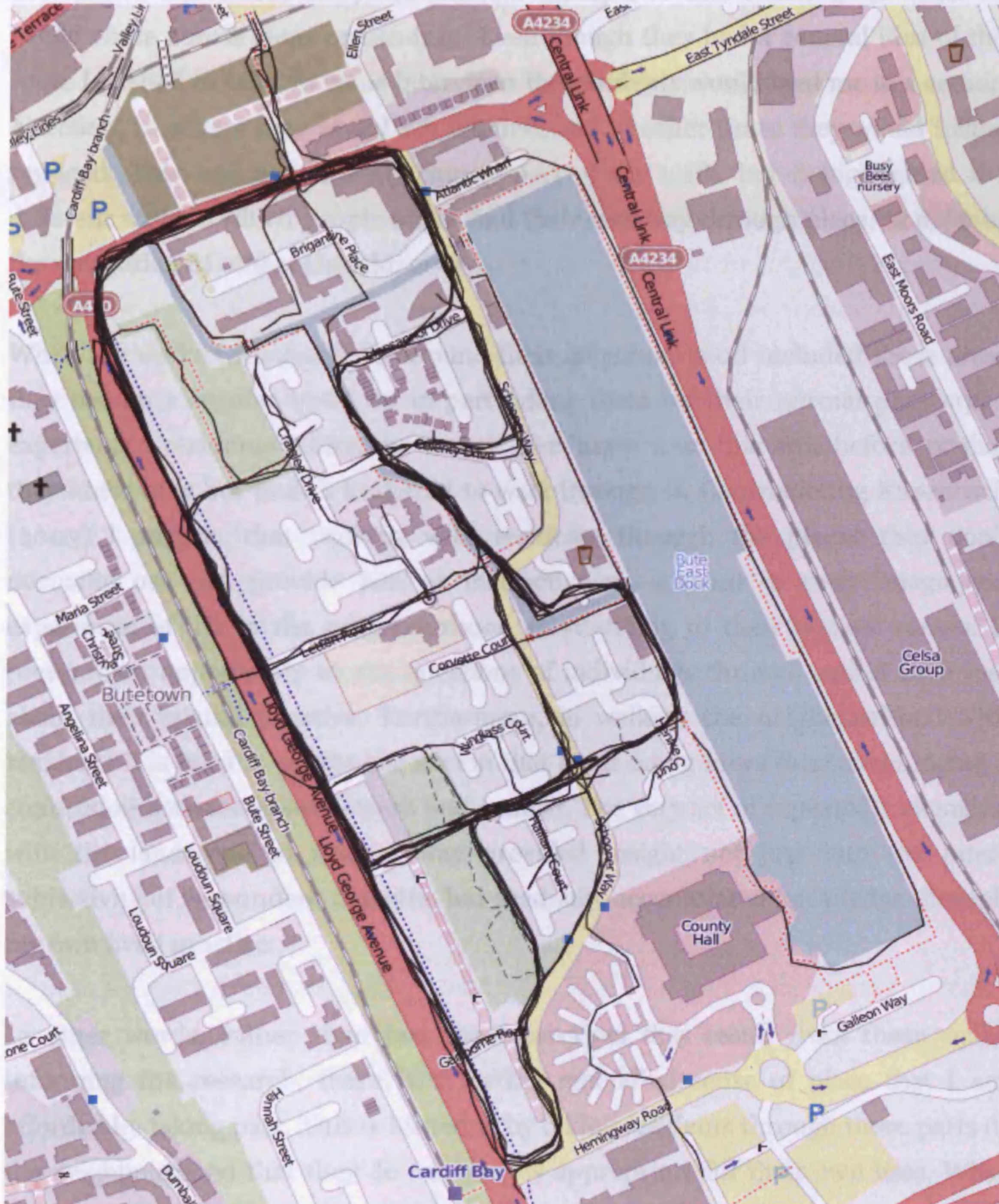

Figure 4.2 Palimpsest map of walking interview routes

The actual experience of conducting the walking interviews was always different. As I had not used this method before it is clear that my own ability to stay on top of it as a data gathering process – with certain things that I wished to find out along the way – developed the more that I did. Though I could not be sure before I started, the act of walking certainly seemed to nurture a collaborative and egalitarian interview, where it was never exactly clear who was in control (see

Brown and Durrheim, 2009). A concrete example of this comes from when we would come across steps or turnings. Even though they had a general idea of the route I wished to take, in some interviews the residents would lead me in a certain direction, in others they would ask me first, and at other times they would follow my lead. This was a seemingly clumsy part of the walk, but it highlighted the different ways in which people might find their own way through place, or defer to the navigation of others (Ingold, 2000).

While the walks with residents around their neighbourhood included those areas they use on a regular basis, by in part taking them off their normal pathways I experienced residents telling me that they've 'never seen this area before' or that they knew of it but hadn't bothered to walk through it. Contradicting Kusenbach (2003) I suggest that walking with residents through the places they don't normally use can provide just as instructive an account of their image and experience of life in the neighbourhood as attending to their normal routes. It presents an opportunity to ask questions of individuals through rather than just about their spatial practice. Furthermore, in walking the neighbourhood with residents it is hard to escape the notion that I was doing more than encouraging a connection between conversation and context. The very act of repeatedly engaging with the landscape in such a way provided insight not just into the inter-subjectivity of respondent and site, but gradually accumulated knowledge through my own lived practice.

In other words, rather than just the transcripts that result from these walks informing the research, there is a further embodied sense of place that I am afforded by taking part. This is hinted at by taking residents through those parts of the neighbourhood that they do not usually appropriate for their own uses. What begins as a kind of disorientation actually results in them having increased their knowledge of the neighbourhood as a place. It also informs the overall concern with Ingold's (2000) concepts of navigation and wayfaring that will be applied through analysis in subsequent chapters. As such it is impossible to deny that my own experience of Atlantic Wharf as a place was nurtured in a similar fashion. With the walking interview there is a real sense of embedding oneself in the landscape. In paraphrasing Amit (2000) I return to an overarching theme of this chapter; this place of the research was not somewhere awaiting discovery, but had

to be constructed through multiple engagements with it, both before, during and after the 'time in the field'.

By taking this approach it was possible for me to see how people use and interact with their environment, as well as give a physical context to discussions of social interaction and community. On more than one occasion people were able to directly show me areas they identified as risky, unsafe or criminogenic. I could also see their direct response to both physical and social cues as we walked around the area. However, only on one occasion did a resident see someone they knew while we walked together, and similarly I once saw someone who had taken part in an interview while walking with a further resident. This experience in part validated many of the claims that residents had made for the neighbourhood as somewhere that was quiet and anonymous. Speaking of being quiet, even though there was rarely anyone else within earshot, residents would lower their voices when saying something that might be considered contentious. This would most often occur when residents were talking about issues relating to ethnicity. Another notable example would arise on those occasions that we encountered others. During another interview we passed through a group of children playing football outside of the social housing along Lloyd George Avenue. Though I had asked the resident a question they did not respond, and for a brief moment there was an awkward silence.

Silence, however, does not quite capture the situation. Hall *et al.* (2008) describe the importance of paying careful attention to what might otherwise be considered background 'noise' or 'interference'. Rather, they emphasise the 'gains [...] which come from inviting and attending to such a "difficult" and plural soundtrack' (ibid: 1031). So although the environment through which we walked could sometimes make it difficult to discern words when transcribing this should not be considered as purely problematic. The wind that interfered with the microphone, and the noise of traffic are all part of the everyday landscape. The rhythms of place, and the activities of the taskscape (see Chapter 3) are after all indicated by the presence, rather than the absence, of noise. As the empirical chapters show, sound has a significant role to play in how residents conceive of Atlantic Wharf as a place, and perceive the presence of crime and disorder.

Walking interviews thus provided a key method with which to investigate the inhabitant experience and perception of place, and although the topics of conversation did not always mirror the features through which we walked, much of the time it allowed me to see the ways that residents engage with, as well as disengage from, various parts and places of the neighbourhood and the areas around it. I have mentioned access above and such a method, though contingent upon conflicting schedules and weather forecasts, allowed access not just to residents as individuals, but as key components of the unfolding and construction of Atlantic Wharf as a place. Though they also presented their own specific problems, I would suggest that walking interviews were an extremely useful tool in the overall context of this research.

Joining in with the AWRA

A significant part of the research related to other kinds of activity and movement in the neighbourhood, somewhat different from both the walks and the surveys described above. Primarily, this was a function of getting to know the members and activities of AWRA. The intention here was to gain insight into a 'formally' defined communal aspect of inhabiting the neighbourhood. Although focused on their 'activities', the meetings that I attended were less overtly based on movement. Nevertheless, various 'events' – in which I would participate – were precisely concerned with movement, although of a different kind from that of the walking interviews. In a general sense, qualitative interviews and participant observation can be seen as separate but complementary forms of empirical engagement (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003). That said, the relationship between them is both more complicated than a simple focus of observation on 'events' and interviews on 'experiences'. As mentioned above, interviews may seek information regarding 'experience' yet this is always as construed through the co-constitutive 'talk' of the subject and the researcher (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003). Similarly, although participant observation affords both access and analysis of situated 'events', these never exist 'outside' of the mundane world in which everyday life, and therefore observation, takes place.

The AWRA were one of the first points of contact for me prior to commencing other forms of data collection. They were only too keen for me to attend meetings

and events, both those organised by themselves and as part of the wider strategies of 'community safety'. I therefore attended the AWRA committee meetings and AGMs, as well as accompanying various members to local PACT meetings, where I was introduced to members of the Neighbourhood Policing Team. Although I did not conduct formal interviews with police officers, both their presence at PACT and their attendance at some of the AWRA meetings and events meant that I was able to build an idea of the way that they operate in the area. This was evident both from their interaction with residents and their responses to my own questions. Having been introduced I thus felt able to talk to police as and when I saw them patrolling the area. Indeed, one of these meetings resulted from reporting an instance of car crime, and I was thus able to see the response and then talk to the officer involved about his thoughts on the area in general.

In all I attended 6 PACT meetings, 2 AWRA committee meetings, 1 AWRA AGM and 1 specially organised meeting between members of the AWRA and the Chief Inspector for Cardiff police. I felt that attending these meetings gave me insights into the interface between local residents and those responsible for policing and maintenance of the locality. From the point of view of crime and disorder, attending PACT meetings alongside residents of the ward allowed me to observe some of the sources of information and processes of local governance as described to me in both walking interviews and surveys. As the Butetown PACT involves more than just Atlantic Wharf residents, but also those from the Butetown estate, and other developments around the Cardiff Bay area I was also able to see the extent to which different groups of residents interacted. It was clear that the members of AWRA had more to do with those other formal residents' associations than they did with individual residents or those from the Butetown estate. This was partly because of different concerns, and yet it also mirrored the fragmentation of the wider Cardiff Bay area.

In many ways the members of the AWRA could connect with the work that I was embarking upon, as they to go door to door in an effort to raise awareness and involvement in their efforts. Their own struggles in reaching people were relayed to me at this early stage, making me aware of some of the difficulties I might encounter. Their cause, and the related activities, can be summarised in the gathering together of both people and knowledge on everything that relates to their

definition of the neighbourhood. Given the intention of this research to address the phenomenology of place, I was as interested in what people did when they came together, and where they did it, as I was in the ways that people talked and discussed the neighbourhood and that which threatens to undermine it.

As Ruane (2005: 169) suggests, 'observation work is not restricted to what we see. Much understanding is gained by listening to the noises, sounds, talk, and conversations of the field'. Reflective of this, the role I took in the activities of the AWRA can be located between being an observer as participant and participant as observer (see Ruane, 2005). For instance, during meetings held in the wider area and the organised meetings of the AWRA themselves I was invited to attend but made no direct input. This was because I did not want to interfere with the processes of 'governance from below', either by challenging perspectives or introducing my own information. However, towards the end of my time in the field I was invited to take part in one of the AWRA 'litter pick' events, and it would have felt awkward not to contribute something after the Association had provided me with so much information and assistance. The access I was afforded also extended to the membership of the online mailing list where I could receive information into the various goings on in and around the neighbourhood, although I did not join in with group discussions conducted over this. I both observed and participated to varying degrees then in all my encounters with the activities of AWRA. In PACT meetings I attended I took notes on both their verbal content and the general way in which people acted and responded to one another. Overall the time spent with the AWRA provided me with a number of insights into the practice of 'community safety' as outlined in Chapter 2. That said, 'safety' was not just limited to that which I was studying, but played a key part in ethical considerations for the research as a whole.

Research ethics

Although ethical approval was attained prior to commencing data collection it makes sense to discuss ethical issues as part of the processes of procedural engagement rather than something 'completed' before entering the field. Gaining approval from an ethics committee should not be seen as cognate with acting ethically, it is important to remain alive to ethical considerations from the

beginning of the research until completion (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). I therefore had to consider carefully my role as the researcher and my responsibility to those I was researching. I also had to give assurances that identifiable data generated in relation to individuals would be kept confidential in a secure location, in line with the Data Protection Act (1984). In relation to ethics, the case for the confidentiality of material can be made through consequentialist, rights-based and fidelity-based arguments (Israel, 2006). It is possible that if participants were not granted such assurances then they might not divulge certain information. Equally, people should have the right to privacy, and such rights support the mutual bond between researcher and the researched.

One particular consideration during the research is implicated in its focus on crime and disorder. I did not wish to put my participants in situations where they might feel threatened or unsafe. I made sure before the walking interviews started that they knew where we would and would not be going, and they were able to voice their concerns. There was one instance where a walking interview posed potential difficulty, as I walked with a resident who had been mugged in the area a few months prior. After checking that she was okay to proceed, she walked me through the incident, showing me how she reacted then and the way that she perceives the same space now. No resident suggested that they felt uncomfortable walking the neighbourhood with me, although this might have been a reason for others not to take part. However, the walking interviews rarely took place after dark, and in most cases they followed the routes with which residents were already familiar.

It is important to note that as I spent a lot of time walking the area, often after dark during the doorstep surveys, I had to contend with my own feelings of vulnerability and governance of risk (see Bloor *et al.*, 2007). In that sense I was able to gain some insight into how residents might feel as they inhabit the area. Jamieson (2000) notes how the safety of the researcher is often overlooked in favour of the researched, especially in situated research into crime. Furthermore, I was aware of how my own presence – a lone wanderer moving between houses – might appear suspicious to some. As one of many inhabitants in the area however, there is little I could do to manage how I might be perceived in every instance.

Before beginning analysis a further ethical consideration I deemed necessary was

to give pseudonyms to my participants. Even though, as indicated above, I thought it was detrimental to the research to give place anonymity, I felt that it was important to conceal the identities of my participants. In terms of the survey data, when I transferred the information from page to database I used only initials as an identifier. Though this field would not be used in any presentation of data, this would allow me to more easily find and identify individuals among the collective dataset. In terms of the activities of the AWRA I was already aware that certain prominent members had already been featured in newspaper articles and other material. As such in the empirical chapters I identify any residents that I also interviewed as 'members' rather than specifying their role. I felt that this was the best compromise between preserving the anonymity of individuals and gaining insight into the activities of the AWRA in the neighbourhood.

3. Crossing paths with analysis

Having introduced the three main aspects of my research strategy, this final section details the ways in which the data which these generated was handled, and also provides a reflective consideration and evaluation of the research process.

Assembling the data

Successful data analysis is reliant upon and related to the ongoing and important task of data management (Huberman and Miles, 1998). The latter can be defined as 'the operations needed for a systemic, coherent process of data collection, storage and retrieval', whereas an ongoing analysis involves 'data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification' (ibid: 180). In that sense, data management is something that takes place during its collection on one hand, and then during a process of collation and assembly to facilitate analysis. Although this gives the impression that everything is 'tidied' it is important to note that during the corresponding processes of management and analysis there is the need to preserve (and embrace) 'noise' and 'mess' in many senses (Law, 2004; Dunne *et al.*, 2005: 91).

One of the main tasks of data management was transcription of the walking interview recordings. While transcribing I paid attention to more than just the

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words spoken by myself and the resident, indeed as noted above sometimes it was hard not to notice the presence of other sounds on the recording. Although I did not transcribe to the detail required for formal content analysis, I gave what I felt to be a faithful rendering of the conversation, including the nuance of inflection and delivery as and when I thought it important. Furthermore, I noted any major changes in the way people were speaking, which I believed to have some contextual significance. So, as mentioned above, when people lowered their voice, or when they appeared less confident, I thought about the reasons why, if I had not done so already at the time of the interview.

As I used three different methods during my research it follows that I did not follow one mode of analysis. Indeed, it could be said that even the analysis of the transcripts from the walking interviews was accomplished in more than one specific way. Facing reams of data can be overwhelming, and as such I was advised to try out a variety of approaches to see what worked best. Following Coffey and Atkinson (1996), analysis is not something that should be attended to only at the end of the data collection period. One of the benefits of qualitative data is that analysis is not contingent upon a whole or complete dataset, though this is certainly when its full richness and texture is most accessible.[29] Chapter 3 presents an overview of the theoretical approach taken in this research, and yet this was not something that was entirely clear before data collection began. I knew that I wanted to access the experience and perception of the neighbourhood as constituted through walking in order to expand upon existing representations of crime and place. However, the theoretical framework was something that was made clearer only *through* the practice of walking, and subsequent analysis of as it appeared through the research data. Moving around on foot, then, would make for a relatively grounded approach, though not one that strictly follows Glaser and Strauss (1967) or their derivatives. Significant themes and issues were partly the result of the kinds of questions I asked participants. Yet as suggested above, the walking interview as a method highlights just how these issues are interpreted by individuals as they move about. Hence there were many themes that emerged only when reading through, marking up and coding the data.

Though I followed a traditional 'pen and paper' approach, I also used the CAQDAS

29 Although as Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003: 351) note, this is not the case in all mixed-method research designs.

package Atlas.ti to assist me in the organisation, and cross referencing of themes and quotes. This was particularly useful as it allowed me to make direct links between transcripts relating to whether participant accounts were supported or refuted by those of others. It also allowed me to generate outputs of themed codes and quotations as a separate file, which greatly aided analytical processes. Though there are also disadvantages in using such software, such as the fragmentation of data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996), Atlas.ti and other CAQDAS packages are particularly advantageous when dealing with large amounts of data, as I was. Given the complexity of place, at first it felt like I was making a code for everything I encountered in the transcripts. Atlas.ti helped me to refine and collate some of these themes into broader and more useful themes that would then give the empirical chapters greater clarity and structure. It is important to note here the very 'pedestrian' labour of data analysis, something that mirrors my own engagement in walking Atlantic Wharf, treading and picking my way through the same terrain. Just as this was a different experience every time, so was the reading and rereading of data transcripts, as things would stand out that had not done so previously. The coding, marking, themeing and cross referencing of data is something that can, and must, be ongoing and repetitive in nature, gradually feeling the way through in order to get a better grip on, to really 'know', the data.

My coding framework followed the typical descriptive-topical-analytical technique as described by Richards (2009). Here I begun by coding my data in order to provide descriptive information, such as who the interview was with and when it took place. At a topical level the interview transcript was then coded in relation to the specific themes that (a) I was interested in (b) seemed to jump out from the data. This was something that was achieved using Atlas.ti in order to be able to create a large amount of codes and keep them organised. It also made it easier to give multiple codes to the same sections of data. Analytical coding was something that, following Richards (2009) intended to get to the bottom of 'what is going on' when residents were talking about specific things. For instance, the following data extract shows that although the interviewee (Henry) makes a description of a certain place, deeper analysis suggests how meaning is and is not ascribed to certain parts of the urban fabric:

> I just thought to be honest with you, that these industrial estates were

> just factories or warehouses or whatever, so I'd never even think about venturing into there you know, none of my business...this is a nothing bit really this is...um...a nothingy bit.
>
> *Henry*

This particular extract will be returned to in Chapter 6, and the analytical description provided will show how Henry's dismissal of the sites in question relate to theoretical concerns regarding boundaries and place in the margins.

What counts as analysis is open to interpretation; a lot seemed to happen in those times when I was most distant from my desk. Description is in itself a form of analysis, and hence in presenting and sharing my research with others (both academics and not) I would be making sense of what were in some respects still complicated, messy and disparate accounts of place. Part of the analytical process was for me bound up with the writing of early drafts of the empirical chapters. The redrafting of thesis chapters plays a significant part in the development of the theoretical framework, as those innovative and sometimes loose ideas are also 'grounded' by the need to present them in a clear and considered fashion. This process of writing was something that though ongoing throughout the research period, really takes off after leaving the field. Sitting at my own workspace where I would revisit my time with Atlantic Wharf over and over was a strange experience, somewhat removed from the audio recordings that captured the research landscape. While there has been much written about the epistemology and practice of mobile methods in terms of data collection (see Ricketts Hein *et al.*, 2008) there is less work on modes of analysis. Though there was much movement backwards and forwards on the part of the computer cursor, trying to get to grips with a mobile experience of place while sitting was sometimes difficult and frustrating. In part to relieve this, I found myself often listening back to the audio recordings as I walked in to the postgraduate offices, revisiting the walks through a juxtaposition of place.

The analysis of the doorstep surveys was relatively simple, and provided a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data. So while there were questions that asked participant ages and the length of time that the resident had lived in the area, there were also more open-ended questions where the residents would provide answers in their own words. As stated above, the main purpose of the surveys were to

indicate the areas in which the walking interviews might be routed, and to reveal some of the ways that individuals represented the neighbourhood as a whole. As such, the analysis on this data was kept to a basic level, primarily intended to illustrate and provide a base for accounts generated from walking interviews and observation. Similarly, the data I gathered from time spent with the AWRA and the other sources of secondary data and information that were available to me were not analysed as rigorously as that from the walking interviews. That said, the AWRA field notes that I took were also fed into Atlas.ti to allow me to draw comparisons between the activities and discourse of AWRA meetings and events, and the accounts and experiences of individuals.

Through the looking glass

It can be hard to tell exactly when to leave the field, to recognise when data collection is complete. Although the data from the walking interviews had approached what could be called 'saturation', the subjective nature of inhabitant experience meant that I was guided more by having enough data rather than too much of the same thing. I had an initial idea of the number of walking interviews I would like to complete (roughly 30), and achieving this, alongside survey data, general observation and attending meetings, it was felt that sufficient data was available to move through the following stages of the research process. The need to press on with developing analysis and writing meant that my activities in the field gradually declined rather than coming to an abrupt halt. Indeed, I continued to receive the group emails from the AWRA, and it was hard to ignore articles in the local newspaper that related to Atlantic Wharf in some capacity.

I used three main research methods during the course of data collection, and to some extent these allowed the 'triangulation' of findings, although this should not be considered as a simple exercise in validation (Bloor, 1997). The methods used – surveys, walking interviews and observation – provide different kinds of knowledge and can therefore not be considered as giving cumulative reinforcement to each other. Although this chapter claims that walking interviews offered a different kind of knowledge on the neighbourhood, as qualitative inquiry they are subject to the same issues of validity as those that are conducted sitting down in a room. Given the many different aspects of place as covered in Chapter 3, using a

mixture of methods as part of an overall research strategy can help to provide not just more detail, but also the possibility of capturing how these aspects interact with one another in place construction.

Although the thesis makes some use of secondary data – crime statistics, demographic figures and maps – I took the conscious decision that analysis of such datasets would not form a substantive proportion of my overall argument. As previous chapters have made clear, this thesis is an attempt to investigate how inhabitants of a given area negotiate crime and place in the everyday. Although crime statistics might be able to provide some background and context – and I use them to this effect in Chapter 5 – I do not think that they complement the overall aims of the thesis. Reflecting on the three research themes above, there is little that immediately suggests a detailed analysis of crime statistics at the local level would be useful. Furthermore, to use such statistics as anything beyond contextual description in this case would have proved problematic. As Chapter 5 shows, the differences in capture and representation of crime figures on one hand and population statistics on the other makes synthesis and comparison of the two difficult.

Positioning myself on the move

As I agree with Hall *et al.* (2006) regarding the potential of walking interviews to be 'three-way conversations', it is clear that in addition to respondents (residents) and place (Atlantic Wharf), I am also present (although not always explicitly so) in the research, both as process and product. As Ganga and Scott (2006) suggest, the positionality of the researcher is something that is central to the production of knowledge derived from data collection, especially that which is qualitative in nature (see also Geertz, 1993). Above I have already alluded to the impact of my position in relation to my outward appearance when discussing accessing hard-to-reach groups. Furthermore, it could be stated that as a white, middle-class male I was afforded access to the other kind of people that reside in Atlantic Wharf, broadly similar demographically speaking to myself.

Of course, given the perspective on place that is taken throughout the remainder of this thesis, it is clear that this position was not fixed but was constantly in

development. It is something that I had to attend to often, as my relationship with individual residents, and the collective members of the AWRA, meant that my own actions had the potential to align me with a particular position. Such issues arose frequently; when discussing the residents of 'Butetown', I had to appear impartial and disinterested when the tone and content of interviewees' discourse exhibited superficial prejudice. It was important, I felt, not to allow my own opinion to influence that of the researched at the data collection stage, although I would of course tactfully address what I perceived to be 'strong' views. My own position becomes clearer through the production of this thesis, although I have taken care not to appear overly morally prescriptive.

By the same token it is likely that those that took part in this research would make their own judgements about me, and in doing so would shape their responses accordingly (although the extent to which this is a conscious process is unclear). One example of this would be that – especially for the members of the AWRA – there might be an expectation about what they might 'get out of' taking part in the research with me. Informal discussions with such members implied that previous interest from university researchers and trainee journalists had been welcomed given the expectation that it might further their causes and give greater exposure to the demands made on those responsible for local governance. Although I could obviously do little to control what others thought about me, I was able to make clear that my thesis would have little immediate impact on, for example, how often the canal was maintained, or how often police would patrol the area. That said, in the final chapter of this thesis I make the case for just what impact this research might have on the local governance of crime and disorder.

Making a connection with the notion of positionality I would like to now consider the impact of the walking interviews. I would argue that the walking interviews themselves provided me with a certain status as 'insider' as opposed to someone on the outside looking in. Lee and Ingold (2006) relate the story of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz and his wife who were not accepted into the fold of the Balinese tribe they were studying until they ran *with* them as the tribe fled to evade censure from local police for cockfighting. In a similar vein I would like to suggest that the walking interviews, in some senses, afforded me an access beyond mere contact with people, to being accepted and therefore trusted to be told their opinions:

> Walking does not, in and of itself, yield an experience of embodiment, nor is it necessarily a technique of participation. Rather, both embodiment and participation presuppose some kind of attunement, such that both the ethnographer's pedestrian movements and those of the people he or she is with are grounded in shared circumstances [...] to participate is not to walk *into* but to walk *with* – where 'with' implies not a face-to-face confrontation, but heading the same way, sharing the same vistas. (Lee and Ingold, 2006: 67, emphasis in original).

In other words, having walked many of the same paths and seen the same things as the residents themselves, they felt able to relate to me in a way that they perhaps could not to someone unfamiliar with the local terrain. The position taken here then is that walking interviews provide a distinctive means of accessing particular social phenomena, in relation to a given territorial context. On reflection, it can be seen that using such a method as the primary means of data collection afforded insights that might not have been possible through one-to-one interviews or in focus groups. That is not to say that these approaches would not have provided unique data of their own, but given my concern with the interaction between people and place – and the argument that the landscape is produced through such interaction – walking interviews provided the best 'fit' with the theoretical position.

Although a visual method in one sense, other visual methodologies drawing on user-generated photographs or maps would no doubt have provided distinctive and useful information relating to representations of place. However, in order to understand how people negotiate the neighbourhood landscape, walking interviews provide the best means of accessing and inhabiting their everyday terrain (cf. Housley and Smith, 2010). This is especially true, I would argue, in Atlantic Wharf; later chapters reveal that 'public life' in the neighbourhood does not afford the opportunity for conventional ethnographic participation, to hang out and about, to co-mingle and observe. In that sense, walking interviews – and walking the neighbourhood in general – facilitates (an admittedly constrained) access into the everyday life of its residents as they move with it.

Although it sounds like a cliché, the research process was a personal journey, not least in the development of my data collection and management skills. It would be a strange claim to make that during the process of conducting my most extensive

piece of research I did not learn new things, come across unforeseen difficulties, have my own conceptions challenged, be worn down and worn out, but then also rejuvenated and inspired. In this respect, Mason (1996) asserts that the real challenge of research is not identifying and developing a field upon which empirical work unfolds, but dealing with the unexpected issues and problems that arise as part of *doing* it. There are many overlaps between the research process and the approach to place adopted in this thesis. Just as the landscape of the neighbourhood was not approached as a 'given' or 'pre-formed', neither were my own skills and expertise. The research landscape was similarly constantly under construction, a process which only came to a halt with the submission of this thesis.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the research landscape, and in doing so shown how I 'found my way' through methodological issues and my own time in the field. It has introduced three main methods that provide the data informing my empirical chapters – a doorstep survey, walking interviews, and participant observation. These methods relate to the overall research themes that inform empirical analysis, namely the representation of crime and place, how residents negotiate crime and disorder in the everyday, and how they come together to address issues relating to crime and place. As part of a mixed-method approach to empirical engagement they are all connected in one way or another through movement, and this is something will figure in the findings chapters that follow. However, in order to provide some background and context to the accounts of residents in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, the next chapter will trace the development and demographics of Atlantic Wharf across a range of secondary sources.

5

MAPPING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATLANTIC WHARF

Introduction

Having covered the conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches to this research, this chapter introduces Atlantic Wharf as the site of empirical study. As a prelude to the analysis of empirical data presented in Chapters 6-8, it will 'map' the Atlantic Wharf development in three main ways. First, Section 1 traces the emergence of Atlantic Wharf as a place in the context of the development of Cardiff Bay. This will draw on theoretical and empirical literature that relates to the regeneration of post-industrial Cardiff. Following this, the chapter presents demographic data relating to the area of Cardiff in which Atlantic Wharf is located. This will reveal inherent complexity in conceiving of Atlantic Wharf in relation to its administration in local government. As part of this process, the chapter will conclude with an overview of the Neighbourhood Policing approach of the South Wales Police force. In doing this it discusses two ways that Atlantic Wharf is accounted for in terms of recorded crime, namely crime statistics and online crime maps.

1. Situating Atlantic Wharf

Cardiff was only designated an official city in 1905, becoming the capital of Wales in 1955, and it therefore has a relatively short history. Hooper and Punter's (2006) edited volume provides a comprehensive and critical evaluation of the development of Cardiff from 'coal metropolis' to a 21st century 'European' capital. Here, I would like to focus on how Atlantic Wharf can be located in the context of this wide-ranging process of urban redevelopment.

Cardiff Docks and Butetown

As the above suggests, coal was central to the growth of industrial Cardiff. This was based on its strategic position for the export of coal brought down from the South Wales Valleys. As Hooper (2006) notes, Cardiff experienced its most rapid expansion at a later date than most other cities, and as such only had a relatively short window of opportunity in which to press its advantage. Cardiff's docklands were built up by investment from the Marquess of Bute, beginning during 1839, with the Bute East Dock that now runs the length of Atlantic Wharf being completed in 1859. At the completion of the Queen Alexandra Dock in 1907, the disadvantages of Cardiff's narrow industrial base were becoming clear, and changes in the coal market and prevalence of railways resulted in a period of dockland decline from 1914 onwards (Hooper, 2006). The emphasis on the export of coal would mean that import and processing industries did not develop, partly due to the fact that the docks were owned and controlled by the Marquess of Bute rather than the city (Cowell and Thomas, 2002). This meant that the docks were essentially separated – spatially, economically and politically – from municipal Cardiff (Thomas, 1994; Hooper, 2006).

The industrial sector fell away sharply into the 1970s, exacerbated by the closure of the East Moors Steelworks. That said, this overall decline did not leave it a complete wasteland, as falling land values attracted many smaller scale industrial firms (Thomas and Imrie, 1989). Even so, as Cowell and Thomas (2002: 1246) note, the overall decline of heavy industry around the docks meant that into the 1970s 'the bulk of the estate was semi-derelict'. Prior to its eventual regeneration, however, the residential areas of the docks had already undergone significant redevelopment. The building and operation of the docks had drawn many people into the city, especially foreign immigrants (Jauhiainen, 1995). As such, the area is still known to some as 'Tiger Bay', and in many ways this name represents a romantic allusion to both its exotic and untamed nature as a multicultural part of Wales (Cowell and Thomas, 2002: 1245).

The Tiger Bay 'community' was located in Butetown, a residential area 'cut off from the rest of the city by railway lines, canals and the Taff River' (ibid: 1246). This

marginalisation was exacerbated in the 1960s and 1970s by a post-war urban 'renewal' programme. Although characterised as 'slum-clearance' there were many examples of large and impressive houses inhabited by the middle and affluent classes. However, in part due to their flight to suburbia, large areas of housing were cleared around Loudon Square, the hub and focus of the Butetown community. This similarly displaced many poorer residents to other parts of the city, notably new 'satellite estates' such as Ely and Fairwater. Therefore, narratives of post-war housing renewal in Butetown are tinged with what Cowell and Thomas (2002: 1246) recognise as 'overtones of social hygiene'.

Although the docks had declined, a burgeoning service economy associated with the city's designation as capital of Wales in 1955 meant that the overall population continued to grow. Up until the 1970s the city had turned its back on the dilapidated docks, but pressure for space and the bordering effect of the M4 motorway meant that a return to the waterfront was inevitable. Some displaced residents of Butetown had already returned, and more recently Somali refugees originally resettled elsewhere in the city have begun to live in the area. This return to the docks was a sign of things to come in terms of the city as a whole. In this respect, Hooper (2006) notes the primary catalyst for urban renewal in Cardiff over the last quarter of the 30 years was a change in governance; the South Glamorgan County Council and Cardiff City Council were in 1974 transmuted to Cardiff County Council. This removed many of the tensions between these two bodies, as control for development was assured by new Cardiff County Council. As Jauhiainen (1995) observes, this was part of the overall approach of the Conservative government at the time to redeveloping deindustrialized urban sites through Urban Development Corporations (UDCs; see Chapter 2). Furthermore, these were afforded autonomy in their operation and substantial planning powers (Jauhiainen, 1995; Hooper, 2006). As noted above, the dockland area was not entirely abandoned, either by industry or inhabitants. That said, the development of Atlantic Wharf would provide a (much contested) turning point for the area.

Atlantic Wharf and Cardiff Bay

As Thomas (1994) observes, proposals for the development of Atlantic Wharf were

first drawn up in 1982, with development commencing in 1985. Thomas (1994: 316) notes that the development of Atlantic Wharf relied on a shift in the orientation of planning policy, 'from a focus on generally small industrial firms to high value offices, housing and leisure uses'. This renewed focus was not welcomed by all, and there were initial concerns and resistance based on fears of reduced investment in the city centre (Thomas, 1994). Similarly, the incumbent businesses were subject to Compulsory Purchase Orders, and there was much resistance among them. However, as Imrie and Thomas (1997) observe, even those businesses agreed with the 'hegemonic' belief that the redevelopment represented progress. Thomas (1994) notes that the local press had a key and somewhat partisan role in spreading this message, and there was a lack of firm critical assessment in the media.

The project was initially funded through a public-private partnership between the Welsh Office, Cardiff County Council and Tarmac plc. (Imrie and Raco, 1999). However, this was subject to considerable initial investment on the part of the public sector in order to attract and secure private tenders. The commercial risk in developing what was a large site at 90 acres meant that £9 million of central and local government grants provided the incentive needed to overcome these concerns (Cowell and Thomas, 2002). The renewal was based on the recovery of three warehouses (Spiller and Bakers; Edward England Wharf; The Granary), the building of over 700 new housing units, a retail centre, a technology campus, a mixed commercial development and County Hall, a new administrative base for Cardiff County Council (Tweedale, 1988). Cowell and Thomas (2002: 1248) note how the provisional plans and artists impressions of the intended redevelopment featured 'neat, managed systems of canals, passing through carefully mown, paved and planted areas, in marked contrast to the derelict wharves'.

Although begun in 1985, the final developments in the area were only completed in the first few years of the new millennium, and as such the '700 new housing units' are varied in relation to when they were designed and built. Other than the recovered warehouses, the earliest buildings were mostly relatively small semi-detached or back-to-back houses, located primarily in the northern half of the area. Larger developments of both three-storey 'town houses' and standalone apartment

blocks were the trend through the 1990s. Into the 21st century the most recent developments are both larger in scale and more securitized. Indeed, the redevelopment of two of the warehouses (Edward England Wharf and The Granary) both feature secure gated entry. There is also a provision for social and affordable housing in Atlantic Wharf, the most obvious example being two rows of houses (contrasting with adjacent flats) managed by a housing association that are located either side of The Granary. Significantly, the piecemeal nature of this development and the varied ownership of sites such as Bute East Dock and the water and areas around its adjoining waterways means responsibility for maintenance and upkeep is fragmented and unclear.

Although, Punter (2006) is disparaging about the majority of architecture in Atlantic Wharf, describing it as either bland or based on the principles of defensible space (Newman, 1972; see Chapter 2) it is recognised that the development of Atlantic Wharf provided the catalyst for the comprehensive redevelopment of Cardiff's docklands enacted by the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (Thomas, 1994). As Cowell and Thomas (2002: 1249) assert this was due to not just to its own qualities or 'success' as a venture but the way that the Cardiff Bay development mirrored its 'conception, content and justificatory rationale'. Whereas the development of Atlantic Wharf was focused on the docks, the Cardiff Bay development was a far more comprehensive and ambitious as both a feat of engineering and political boosterism (Cowell and Thomas, 2002). The implementation of a barrage would create a freshwater lake of 500 acres, and the area to be regenerated totalled 2700 acres (see Figure 5.1). Nevertheless, the Atlantic Wharf development was awarded a British Urban Renewal Association (BURA) award for best practice in 1993 in recognition of the role it played in making such visions politically and economically viable (Jones and Gripaios, 2000). It achieved this through 'changing perceptions and in attracting inward investment in both manufacturing and financial services (ibid: 225). The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation was set up in 1987, only a few years after development had begun in Atlantic Wharf. It had seven main objectives as part of an approach to stimulating private investment, providing infrastructure and consolidating land holdings (Jauhiainen, 1995):

(1) reunite the city centre of Cardiff with its waterfront;
(2) promote development which would provide a superb environment in which people would want to live, work and play;
(3) achieve the highest standards of design quality in all types of investments;
(4) bring forward a mix of development which would create a wide range of job opportunities;
(5) stimulate residential development which would provide housing for a cross section of the population;
(6) establish the area as a recognized centre for excellence and innovation in the field of urban renewal;
(7) achieve maximum leverage on private investment

(CBDC, 1988).

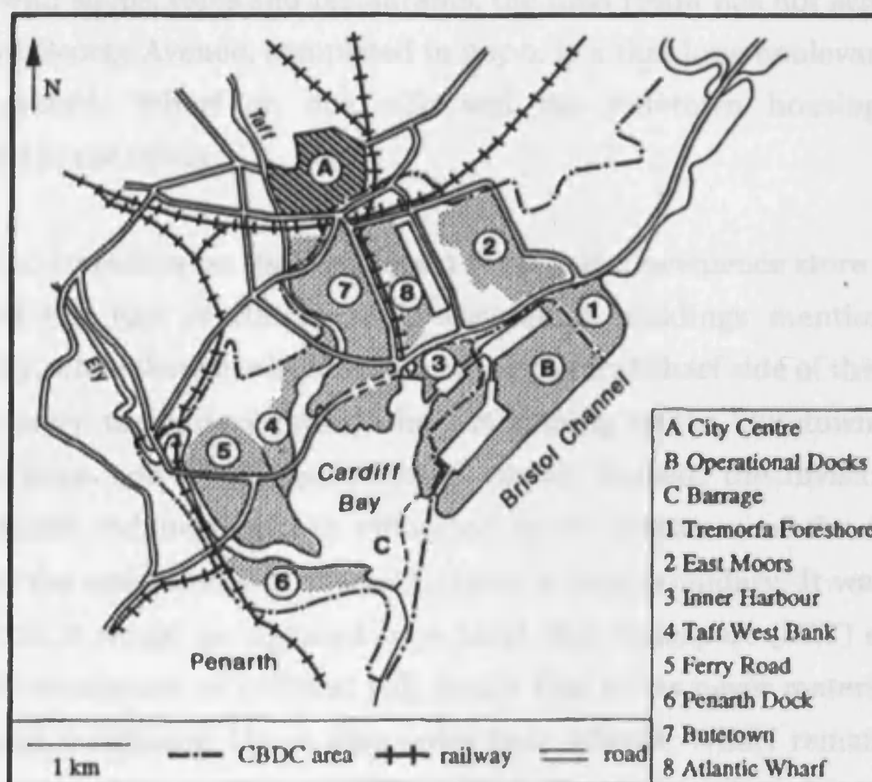

Figure 5.1 Cardiff Bay Development Corporation area. Source: Jauhiainen (1995)

Punter (2006) provides a detailed assessment of whether these bold aims were achieved, and in overview it is possible to state that there was a measure of success in each of them. The newly built Wales Millennium Centre and Senedd (seat of the

Welsh Assembly) provide political and cultural monoliths that complement the various shops, bars and restaurants around the waterfront. There are also many other developments, mostly based around apartment blocks and secure developments rather than the houses that dominated the early phase of Atlantic Wharf. Perhaps the one most relevant to Atlantic Wharf is the first objective relating to the connection of Cardiff Bay with the city centre. For Cowell and Thomas (2002: 1252) the development of Cardiff Bay, inspired by the redevelopment of Baltimore Harbor in the USA as much as London's Docklands, represents 'part of the global archipelago of safe urban places in which to consume'. The project of reuniting a once 'wild' area of the city ('Tiger' Bay) with its core was similarly regarded as 'negating the area's danger, making Butetown safe for respectable business' (ibid.). Although the main transit route between the city centre and bay was originally intended to be a 'European' style boulevard, complete with shops, cafés and restaurants, the final result has not achieved these aims. Lloyd George Avenue, completed in 2000, is a 1km long boulevard that runs between Atlantic Wharf on one side and the Butetown housing that was redeveloped in the 1960s.

There are no amenities on the road, apart from one convenience store situated on the end of the row of the housing association buildings mentioned above. Significantly, while there are buildings on the Atlantic Wharf side of the road (such as 'The Granary' mentioned above), there is nothing on the 'Butetown' side but a pavement, grass and bus stops (Punter, 2006). Indeed, the division between Atlantic Wharf and Butetown is reiterated by the presence of the Cardiff Bay branchline, the embankments of which create a clear boundary. It was originally intended that it would be replaced by a Light Rail Transport (LRT) system, but insufficient investment or political will means that it has never materialised. The BURA report mentioned above also notes that Atlantic Wharf remains 'distinct from the deprived community of 'Tiger Bay', literally on the other side of the railway track, a situation which is likely to remain until the railway and associated embankment are removed'.

Hooper (2006) suggests that while Cardiff is often hailed, especially in local government publications, as a city of diversity and multiculturalism, this implies a

relative tendency to deny racism and prejudice. It could be generally stated that the people living in and around Cardiff's docklands have played and continue to play a key role in its prosperity and continued growth. More recently, the city centre has undergone its own gradual process of renaissance, although the same concerns over the displacement of marginal groups remain. The people who lived in Butetown helped build and operate the docks, and their continued presence lends the area the character that some more contemporary developments lack (Punter, 2006). The people who now reside in Atlantic Wharf and other Cardiff Bay developments are central to the continuing economic focus on service and financial sectors, as well as new spaces of leisure and consumption in the city centre and Cardiff Bay. Having situated Atlantic Wharf both in Cardiff and as part of the overall regeneration of Cardiff Bay, the next section will turn to two different ways in which it is represented. These will also show that Butetown and Cardiff Bay, as its precursor and antecedent respectively, shape the ways in which it can be accounted for.

2. Accounting for Atlantic Wharf

This section details two 'official' representations of Atlantic Wharf relevant to both crime and place. First it will make use of available demographic data relating to Atlantic Wharf to show how this can make sense of it as a place. Second, this section will provide an overview of the formal policing and representation of Atlantic Wharf in terms of recorded crime data. As will be seen, the complicated and contrasting ways in which Cardiff Bay, Atlantic Wharf and Butetown are represented and appropriated by the police and local authority mean drawing firm conclusions in relation to Atlantic Wharf as a place are difficult.

Administering to Atlantic Wharf

As I mentioned in Chapter 4, I made use of several sources of secondary data in order to become more familiar with Atlantic Wharf, so that during later stages of research I could be conscious of how individual residents might interpret or respond to such representations. During this process I became aware that in terms of 2001 Census data, Atlantic Wharf is not represented as a place in its own right.

Atlantic Wharf is part of the Butetown Electoral Division within Cardiff (see Figure 5.2). Cardiff Council divides this not into named places, but to three 'Lower Super Output Areas' (LSOAs), presented below:

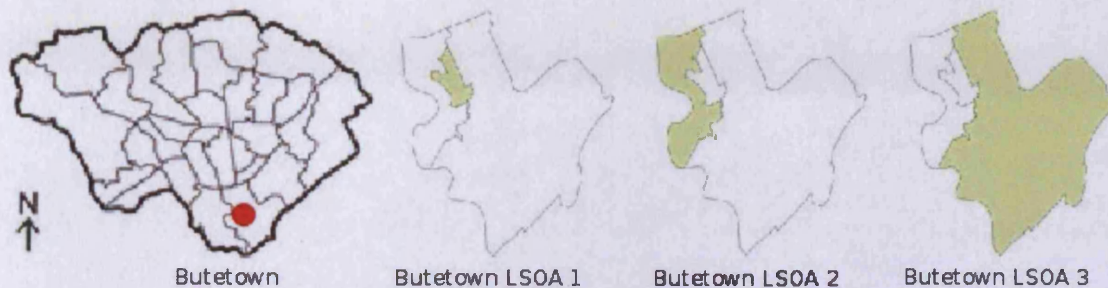

Figure 5.2 Location of Butetown in Cardiff Local Authority; Three Lower Super Output Areas. Source: Cardiff County Council

Figure 5.2 shows the location of the Butetown Electoral Division, to the south of Cardiff. On the right, the ward is divided into Butetown LSOAs 1, 2, and 3. LSOA 3 is the region in which Atlantic Wharf is located, and looking at a further map of the area provided by Cardiff Council, it is possible to see that this encompasses not only Atlantic Wharf, but the wider Cardiff Bay area (see Figure 5.3). However, even though it might seem clunky, referring to it as LSOA3 rather than 'Cardiff Bay OA' will avoid confusion with the presentation of policing statistics below. LSOA 1 represents the post-war redeveloped area of social housing in Butetown, whereas LSOA 2 covers the remainder of Butetown up to the River Taff. Cardiff Council provides demographic information from the 2001 Census relating to the above three output areas, and as Atlantic Wharf is not differentiated from the rest of Cardiff Bay this means it only provides a cursory indication of what Atlantic Wharf demographics might look like. Here I would like to provide some indication of demographics for the area in which Atlantic Wharf is located.

At the time of the 2001 census, the population for the LSOA 3 was 1579 people.[30] The data suggest that, in relation to the whole of Butetown and Cardiff beyond that, the population of LSOA 3 is under-represented in terms of younger people (0-

30 Having tried to locate a more recent estimate on population from Cardiff Council I was provided with a mid-year estimate for 2009 of 2,780 which is a considerable increase. This would reflect the completion of more recent developments around the waterfront.

19) and older people (60+). While representation of the 45-59 age range is of a similar proportion to the other parts of the overall area, the age range of 20-44 is of a much higher proportion. In terms of age then, this suggests a profile skewed towards young people of working age, with those 25-29 years old particularly well represented. The gender mix is also different from Cardiff and Butetown as a whole, with a significantly greater proportion of males (58 per cent) to females (42 per cent). In terms of employment, 80% of residents are economically active, compared to 60% for Butetown as a whole, and a figure for Cardiff of 65%.[31] The jobs for people living in LSOA 3 are overwhelmingly located in the service industry (80% in areas such as Finance, Hospitality or the Public Sector), with a similar proportion of specific roles classed as managerial, professional, technical or administrative and secretarial. In 2001, dwelling types were divided into around 32% houses and 68% flats, with a 55% - 45% split between tenants and home owners. Of those tenants, over 75% were private renters, with nearly a quarter of tenants either renting from the Council or a housing association. Overall LSOA 3 features a greater proportion of single people than either the Butetown Electoral Division, or Cardiff as a whole.

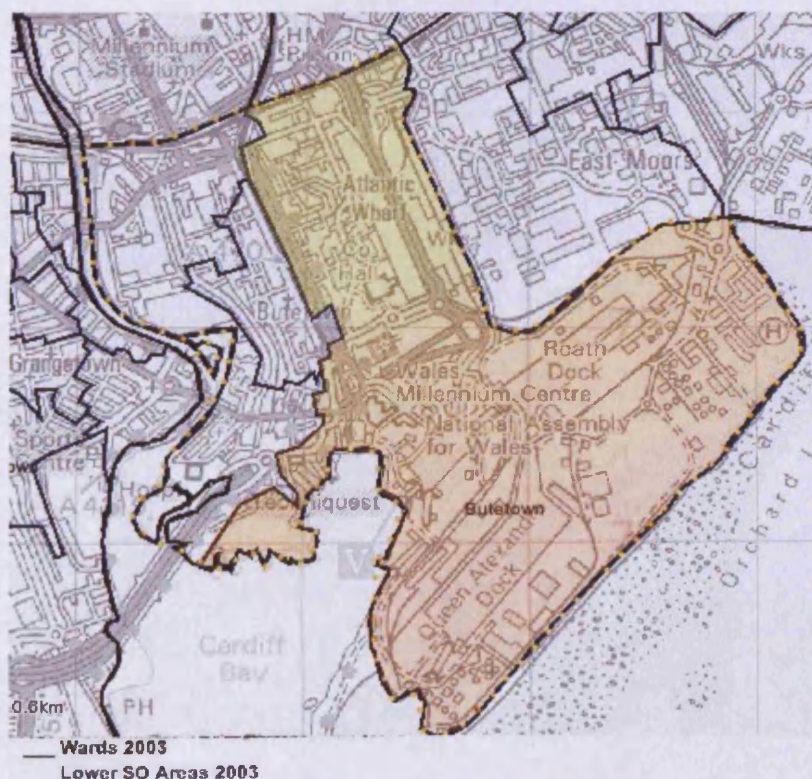

Figure 5.3 Atlantic Wharf as part of LSOA 3

31 Economically active is defined as either in Full or Part time work, self-employed, unemployed and seeking Job Seeker's Allowance, or a full time student.

The ethnic profile was broken down into 85% White; 4% Black; 5% Asian; 2.5% Chinese; and 2.5% of Mixed Ethnicity. The Butetown Electoral Division as a whole had a lower proportion of white residents, with greater proportions of Black, Asian and Mixed Ethnicity residents. Cardiff, in contrast, had figures of 90% White; 1% Black; 4% Asian; 1% Chinese; and 2% Mixed Ethnicity. LSOA 1, related to the multicultural 'Tiger Bay' described above, had 45% White; 27% Black; 12% Asian; 4% Chinese; and 12% Mixed Ethnicity. This reveals that the area continues to be very diverse, and significantly although it is often construed in terms of 'other' ethnicities, the dominant group in the 2001 Census were still white. Furthermore, the figures for economic activity in LSOA 1 echo the assertion made by Hooper (2006) that it is generally recognised as one of the most economically deprived districts in Wales.

The above statistics give a broad snapshot of the demographic profile for the 'Cardiff Bay' OA in which Atlantic Wharf is located. Subject to significant caveats, the area seems to be inhabited by a middling group of age-ranges, if not what would be described as middle-aged. It is likely that the area will have changed somewhat since 2001, and the upcoming 2011 Census will reflect the increased number of housing developments that have been built since the turn of the century. Another representation of place based in demographic information which is more recent, and yet broadly supports the indications of the 2001 Census data comes from the ACORN categories developed by CACI, a market research company. ACORN (A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods) is based on Census data and ongoing market research, and allocates given geographical areas (such as postcodes) into 5 categories, 17 groups and 56 types.

Searching for details on relevant postcodes reveals that Atlantic Wharf is first represented through two different categories, the majority being Category 2, 'Urban Prosperity', with a minority represented by Category 3, 'Comfortably Off'. These are broken down further into different 'groups', with Group E 'Educated Urbanites', Group G 'Starting Out', and Group D 'Prosperous Professionals' deemed representative of Atlantic Wharf. Finally these groups are placed into different 'types': Type 14, 'Older Professionals in Detached Houses and Apartments'; Type 17, 'Young Educated Workers, Flats'; Type 19, 'Suburban

Privately Renting Professionals'; Type 25 'White Collar Singles/Sharers, Terraces'.

These two kinds of data, then, give a broad impression of what Atlantic Wharf is like in terms of the people who live there. They have less to say on crime, although ACORN have been used in order to compare the demographic categories and types with various iterations of crime and disorder (e.g. Pantazis, 2000). Furthermore, ACORN provides 'community safety' profiles for each of its 'types' as introduced above. However, as these are based not on a specific location but the agglomeration of data for a range of different sites these will not be introduced here. Therefore,the remainder of this section highlights ways in which crime in Atlantic Wharf is accounted for by the South Wales Police.

Policing in Cardiff

In the words of the South Wales Police, 'every neighbourhood has a dedicated Neighbourhood Policing Team made up of Police Officers, Police Community Support Officers and Special Constables, who work with the community to deal with the issues that matter most' (South Wales Police website). As with policing authorities more generally, South Wales Police have a notable online presence, where they both disseminate and appeal for information. This might detail specific (and successful) operations, such as 'crack downs' on certain offence types such as drug dealing, or longer term approaches to fostering good community relations. An iteration of this online presence at the local level is the 'ourbobby.com' website, a portal that allows the user to access information on their local policing team. Atlantic Wharf comes under the Cardiff Bay Sector, and is the responsibility of the 'Butetown' Neighbourhood Policing Team.

The website gives information on upcoming PACT (Partnerships and Communities Together) meetings, as well as the priorities from previous ones. These are three issues that the Neighbourhood Policing Team focuses their activity on, and are agreed upon between all of those who attend. There are also contact details for the Butetown Police Community Support Officers, and information related to the non-emergency 101 number that operates across Cardiff. This is an alternative to 999 that encourages residents to report issues and crimes in such a way that does not

affect the emergency services. Another notable feature is a link to an online crime-mapping portal.

Mapping crime in Cardiff Bay

As of January 2009, all 43 police forces in England and Wales have provided an online facility that gives data on recorded crime over a given period, although its detail and display varies between forces.[32] Such information for Cardiff is provided by South Wales Police, and Atlantic Wharf is situated in the area represented as 'Cardiff Bay'. As Figure 5.4 shows however, Cardiff Bay in these terms is the same as the Butetown Electoral Division outlined above. Confusingly, it does not relate to the 'Cardiff Bay' policing sector as described on ourbobby.com (see below), as this incorporates both Butetown and the adjacent ward of Grangetown.

As can be seen, the interface gives a general overview of the crime level for each area, and Cardiff Bay is shown as 'high', with this measure being relative to the overall South Wales Police crime rate. The crime rates for Cardiff Bay are presented for the last 12 months, and the current three month period compared to the same from the preceding year. In Figure 5.4, it is shown that crimes in Cardiff Bay had decreased by 5.1% in 2010 compared to the same period in 2009. The provided graph appears to show that crime rates have fluctuated during the course of the previous 12 months, with a peak in crime for March 2010. There are also figures provided for various different crime types (see Figure 5.5). These show crime broken down into five different types: Burglary, Robbery, Vehicle Crime, Violence, and Anti-Social Behaviour. Violence and Vehicle Crime are both classed as 'high', Robbery and Anti-Social Behaviour 'above average', and Burglary 'average'. Figure 5.5 shows that Vehicle Crime in Cardiff Bay is also subject to considerable fluctuation, while charts of crime rates for the other four areas reveal similar patterns.

32 In February 2011 this facility was integrated into a more comprehensive service that supplements the approach described here with more detailed information on specific offences at the local level. This account relates to the crime map facility as it was available towards the end of the data collection period.

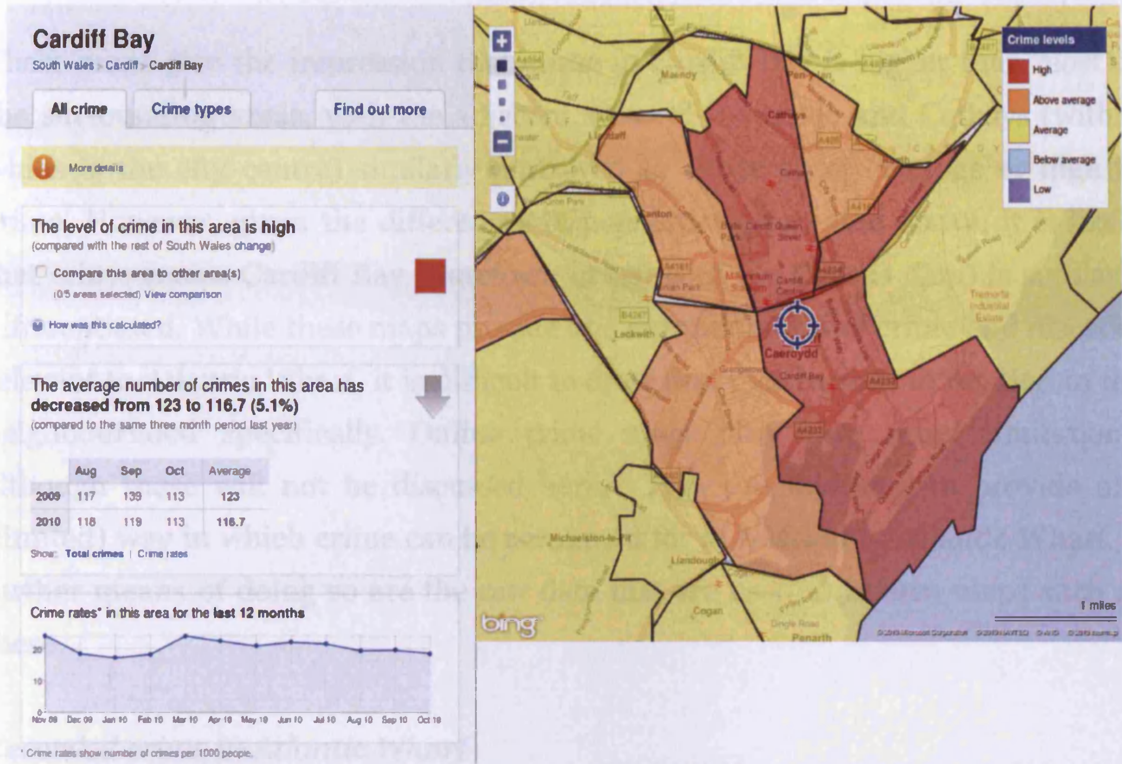

Figure 5.4 South Wales Police online crime map for Cardiff; the 'target' indicates Cardiff Bay

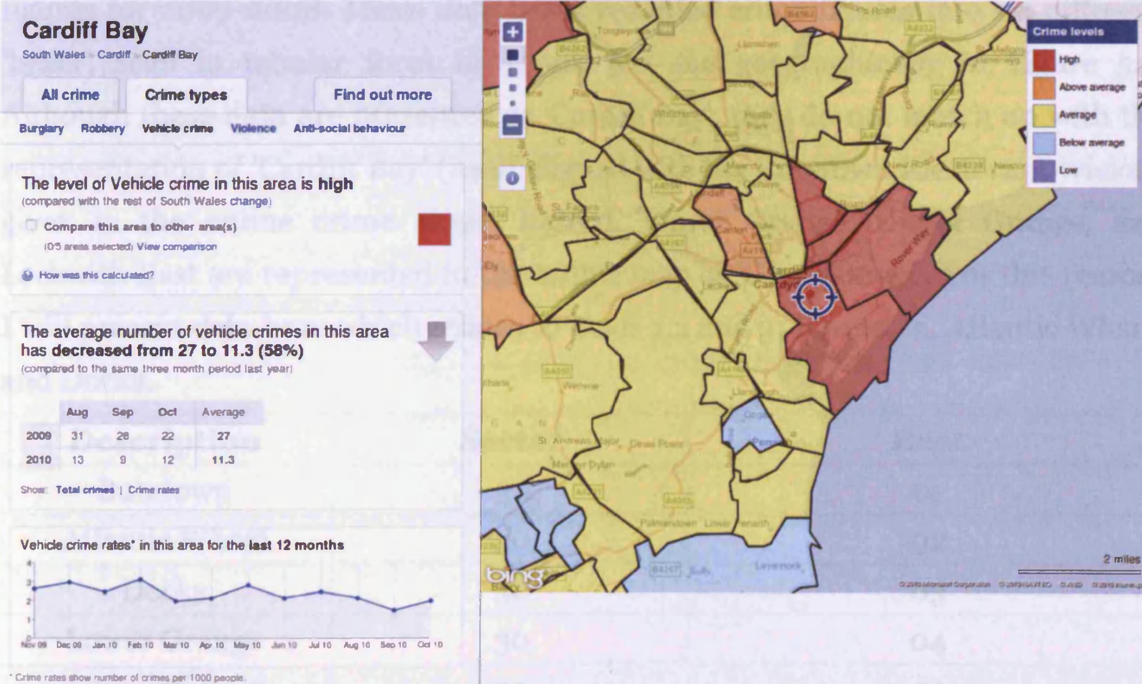

Figure 5.5 South Wales Police online crime map for vehicle crime in Cardiff Bay

These maps give the impression that crime in Cardiff Bay is higher than most of the surrounding areas, with the adjacent areas of Riverside and Cathays (within which is the city centre) similarly portrayed as either above average or high in crime. However, given the differences in population presented above, it is likely that crime across Cardiff Bay (Butetown in terms of the Census data) is similarly differentiated. While these maps provide one representation of crime and disorder relevant to Atlantic Wharf, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions in relation to the neighbourhood specifically. Online crime maps also have other limitations, although these will not be discussed here.[33] They are intended to provide one (limited) way in which crime can be accounted for in relation to Atlantic Wharf. A further means of doing so are the raw data that are used to inform maps such as these.

Recorded crime in Atlantic Wharf

In order to get a more detailed break-down of recorded crime relating to Atlantic Wharf, before commencing my primary research I obtained Cardiff Bay crime figures for 2007-2008. These data break recorded crime figures into six different 'beats', seen in tabular form in Figure 5.6 and geographically in Figure 5.7. Although these data are presented as 'Cardiff Bay', they do not match up with the representation of 'Cardiff Bay' (itself aligned with the Butetown Electoral Division) given in the online crime maps. Indeed, Lower Grange, Upper Grange, and Leckwith East are represented in the online map as 'Grangetown'. For this reason, I will present data here which relates to Beats 1,2 and 3; Butetown, Atlantic Wharf, and Docks.

Description	Sector	Beat
Butetown	30	01
Atlantic Wharf	30	02
Docks	30	03
Lower Grange	30	04
Leckwith East	30	05
Upper Grange	30	06

Figure 5.6 Cardiff Bay (Sector 30) Beats. Source: South Wales Police

33 Wallace (2009; see also Sampson and Kinner, 2009) provides an overview of the key limitations in relation to online crime maps.

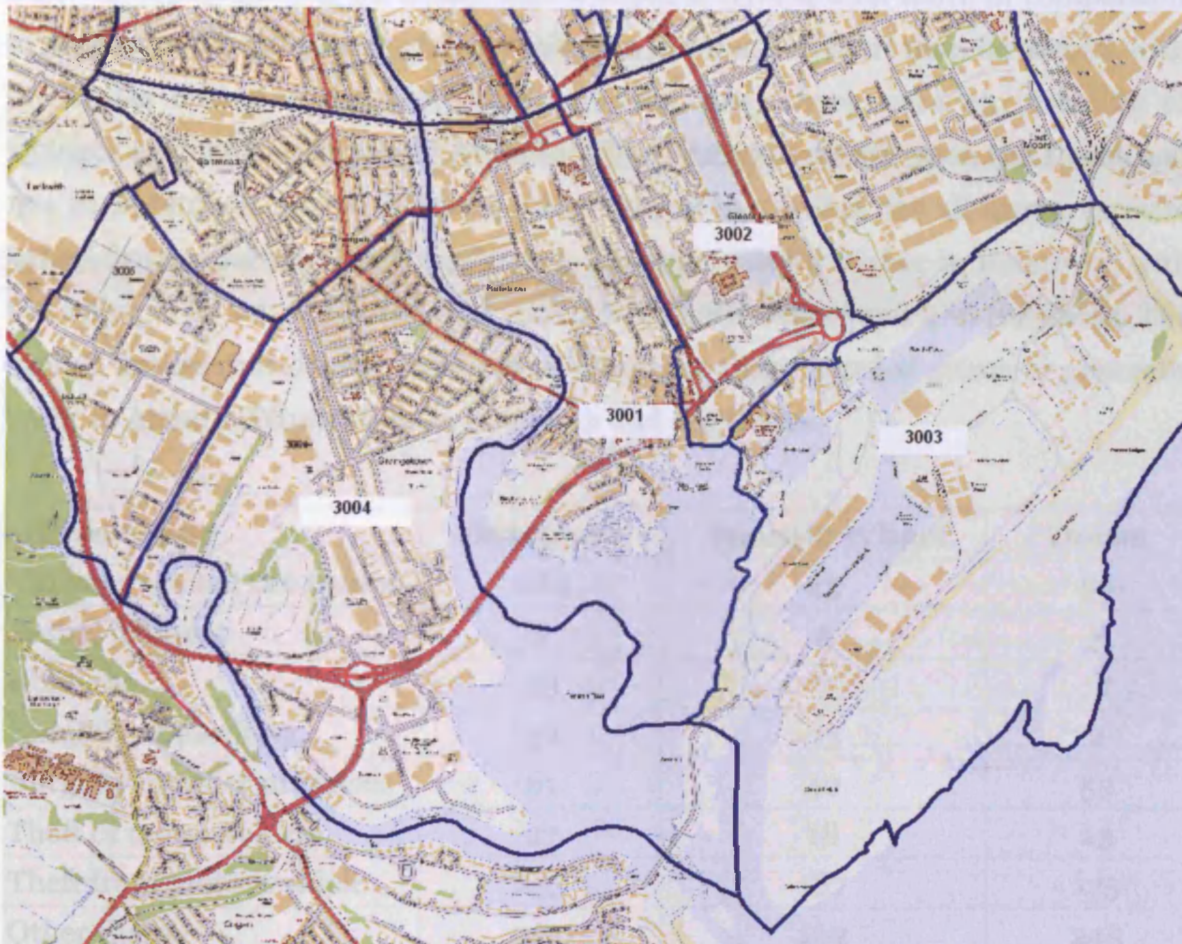

Figure 5.7 Police 'Beats' for Sector 30. Source: South Wales Police

Figure 5.8 shows a summary of total crimes for 2007-2008 for Beats 1, 2 and 3 in Cardiff Bay. In Atlantic Wharf there were 577 recorded crimes for 2007-2008, compared with 1051 for Butetown and 755 for the Docks. It is difficult to compare like-with-like as these are individual offences rather than crime rates. That said, it is possible to draw out which offences are more represented in each area. In Atlantic Wharf, the most common crime was 'theft from motor vehicle' (n = 187), whereas 'theft of a motor vehicle' was much lower (n = 18). Thefts from vehicles were also the most common types of crimes in Butetown, and there were also a large number in the Docks.

Property crime also represents the two other most numerous types in Atlantic Wharf, classed as 'other theft' and 'criminal damage'. There were just as many burglaries from dwellings in Atlantic Wharf as there were in Butetown, and far more than in the Docks, which had virtually none. There were more burglaries

from other premises in all areas, with the Docks having a lot more in comparison to dwellings. There were far fewer robberies in Atlantic Wharf than Butetown, with the Docks sitting somewhere between. That said, there were 43 instances of violence against the person in Atlantic Wharf, compared with 59 in the Docks and 104 in Butetown. Sexual offences were similar in number for all areas, as were 'other' drugs offences. Drug trafficking, however, was far higher in Butetown, with 150 offences in 2007-8 compared with 7 in Atlantic Wharf and 4 in the docks. The overall impression drawn from these figures is that recorded crime is generally lower in Atlantic Wharf than in Butetown and the Docks.

Offence type	**Butetown**	**Atlantic Wharf**	**Docks**
Violence against the person	104	43	59
Sexual offences	7	5	5
Robbery	33	7	17
Burglary of dwelling	32	33	2
Burglary of other premises	61	40	55
Theft of motor vehicle	27	18	23
Theft from motor vehicle	253	187	175
Other thefts	131	102	245
Fraud and forgery	14	11	11
Criminal damage	186	78	105
Drug trafficking	150	7	4
Other drugs offences	53	41	50
Other notifiable offences	10	5	4

Figure 5.8 Total crimes across categories and beats for Butetown Electoral Division 2007-08.
Source: South Wales Police

Looking at crimes in Atlantic Wharf specifically, Figure 5.9 shows how numbers of recorded offences varied month-by-month across the 2007-8 reporting period. It can be seen quite clearly that there was a spike in recorded offences during the months of November and December 2007, and January 2008. This is largely attributable to an increase in 'theft from motor vehicle', and in January 2008 an unusually large instance of 'theft of motor vehicle'. It can also be discerned that while 'burglary of dwelling' peaks between June and September 2007, there are noticeably fewer instances in Autumn, Winter and Spring months. While the reasons for these variations are unknown at this stage, data from survey interviews

and walking interviews presented in Chapter 6 and 7 will give some insight into such variations. That said, the crime figures presented here are intended only to give an impression of the frequency and types of crimes recorded for Atlantic Wharf. Just as with the data that inform the crime maps, police statistics have inherent limitations as they only relate to recorded offences, and these in turn rely in a large part on their being reported by the public (Pantazis, 2000).

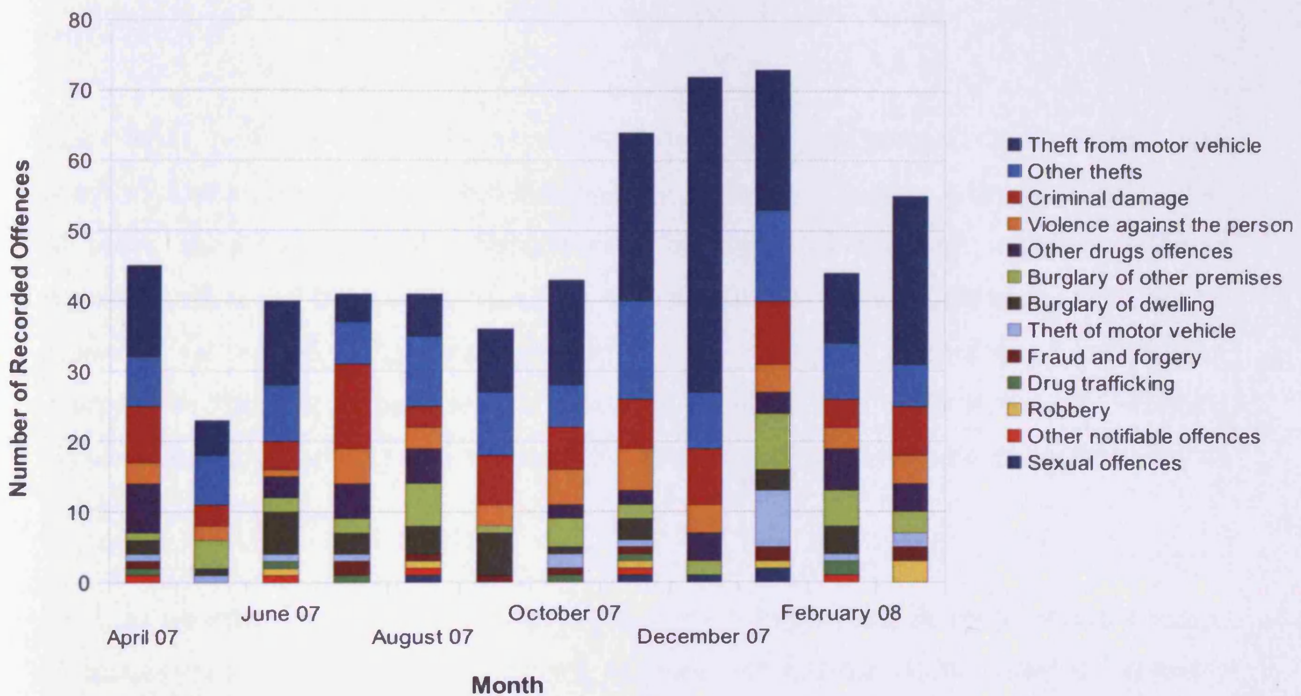

Figure 5.9 Monthly distribution of recorded offences in Atlantic Wharf

3. Conclusion

This chapter has provided three different ways in which the development of Atlantic Wharf can be mapped; in terms of academic enquiry, demographics, and police statistics. Although Section 1 showed the clear influence that Atlantic Wharf had on the subsequent regeneration of Cardiff Bay, it is harder to discern its direct presence in relation to freely available demographic data. Online crime maps conflate Atlantic Wharf with a much wider area, and police statistics reveal that for 2007-8 it had far fewer recorded offences that other parts of Cardiff Bay or

Butetown. The next chapter will begin to show how participating residents conceive of both crime and the kinds of people who live Atlantic Wharf. In doing so, it will show that their representations of crime and place similarly overlap, relate to and are in tension with the key sites introduced above.

6

RESIDENT REPRESENTATIONS OF CRIME AND PLACE IN ATLANTIC WHARF

Introduction

The first half of this thesis introduced the contextual, theoretical and methodological approaches that inform this research. Chapter 5 revealed a number of ways in which Atlantic Wharf can be mapped through various 'official' representations of both crime and place. This chapter will address the first of the research themes directly and introduce how residents conceive of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf as the place where they live. It does this by working across a range of conceptual thresholds. Here I intend threshold to indicate three main aspects of place.

First, as an entry point, thresholds of place are a beginning through which a range of issues can be addressed. Second, thresholds denote some level of sensory stimulation or response, indicating how people feel about where they live. Third, recalling Simmel's (1997) assertion that boundaries both separate and connect, I wish thresholds to express modes and registers of movement, between fixity and mobility. Along with Chapters 7 and 8, this will draw out the various ways these issues are implicated, interpreted and understood through representations and experiences of place. Further discussion of these themes in terms of the overall theoretical approach to this research is carried out in Chapter 9.

The chapter first presents readings of the crime and disorder landscape gathered from the doorstep survey as one such physical threshold. The second section identifies various spatial thresholds, engaging with place through location, area, and delineating boundaries. Section 3 will then show how resident accounts make

sense of various social thresholds, attending to community and culture. The final section highlights the role of time in how residents conceive interpret crime and place. Although drawn out for analysis, these thresholds are also intended to speak to and of each other.

1. Surveying the landscape

During the course of the doorstep surveys I would often be met with two opposing responses to my intended research. One set of people would ask 'why are you doing it in a place like this?', while others would knowingly suggest I had 'come to the right place'. It is clear that people have very different opinions on both crime and the place where they live.

Crime and disorder 'in a place like this'

The survey asked residents what they thought was the biggest issue relating to crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf. This was an open-ended question, and residents responded with a range of perceived problems. That said, a considerable proportion of residents (22%, n=138) stated that in their view Atlantic Wharf had no specific crime problems. Others stated that they simply did not know, or had not lived in the area long enough to provide an informed perspective.

There was greater certainty among the 43% of residents who stated car-related crime posed a significant problem in the neighbourhood, and this tallies with the official statistics introduced in Chapter 5. It is worth noting that residents spoke of such crime in a variety of ways, from 'car break ins' to 'opportunist car thieves', 'theft from cars' and 'car crime - breaking in and taking'. Police categories in Chapter 5 defined car crime as either 'theft of motor vehicle' or 'theft from motor vehicle', yet survey responses interpret involvement of not just a vehicle but people, and particular kinds of people at that.

It was not *crime* that was the problem, but *thieves* taking advantage of *opportunity*, chiming with the opportunistic spatial dimension of offending recognised by Felson and Clarke (1998). Furthermore, among other survey

respondents not only was car *crime* an issue, but car *parking*, either relating to problems with neighbours or, more often, 'uncontrolled commuter parking'. In some instances this, as well as resultant car crime, was linked to specific places; e.g. 'along the roads' or 'along Schooner Way'.

Making explicit links between people and places, another resident claimed that the problem was not 'theft from motor vehicle', but 'people coming from the other side of Lloyd George Avenue breaking into cars'. This detailed reading draws boundaries and identifies the all too proximate origins of criminal outsiders. Already then, there is a sense of the way that crime and disorder are related to different kinds of people, and certain kinds of places. Significantly, it is not just that these places are adjacent, but that there are both figurative and literal 'moves' made between them.

Other crimes in Atlantic Wharf identified by residents were property related, with 5% of residents perceiving burglaries (i.e. 'break-ins') to be the biggest problem, and 5% robbery. Robbery was most often described as 'mugging', connoting the emotional and physical landscape of the inner city. As Waddington (1986) asserts, the term 'mugging' was popularised during the 1970s, during the same period that Garland (2000) identifies an increasing crime-consciousness among the middle classes. A minority of residents also raised issues of prostitution and drug use, perceived to have an impact upon specific areas in and around Atlantic Wharf, such as Tyndall Street, Lloyd George Avenue, and Bute Street in Butetown. Notable again is that residents mention not just places that are inside the ostensible boundaries of the neighbourhood, but the boundaries themselves, and places beyond.

Experiences of crime and disorder

Among residents there was variation to the extent they had directly experienced these crimes over the past year. 10% reported suffering some kind of crime in relation to their car – its theft or the attempted theft of items from it – or vandalism such as 'keying'. A smaller proportion of residents (7%) reported bikes being stolen or vandalised, and 5% had been burgled. Four residents stated that

they had been 'mugged' in the neighbourhood in the preceding 12 months. In terms of other disorder, two residents also recalled having stones and a brick thrown through their windows. Some residents had either witnessed or heard about incidents of crime and disorder in the past year. Fifteen percent stated that they were aware of instances of car related crime and disorder. Again, around 5% of residents recounted specific burglaries that they were aware of but not the victim. Eleven participating residents had either witnessed or knew of someone (such as a partner or neighbour) being mugged or attacked.

Although they didn't recall specific incidents, other residents suggested that they were aware or had 'heard' of ongoing crime and disorder over the past 12 months, and included issues such as noise and disorderly behaviour in the parks or around housing developments after dark. A significant proportion of residents (10%) raised the issue of 'young people' in relation to disorder, either their 'loitering', being noisy or being intimidating. In some cases, the behaviour of young people was construed as disorderly through use of peculiar words or phrasing. For instance, one resident stated there had been 'a few cases of kids walking around'.

The questions asked in the survey related to 'Atlantic Wharf', and yet even in their relatively short answers residents made reference to specific kinds of places, people and times. For example, one resident described the biggest problem as 'prostitutes and the men who visit them, and teenage residents of the Butetown council estate who hang about looking for people to mug and cars to break into'. As specific and comprehensive as this perspective is, other residents suggested that Atlantic Wharf's problems were more general, such as the lenient laws, an insufficient police presence, carelessness and complacency. Others suggested that crime and disorder were due to young people having few opportunities – no places to work or play, neatly mirroring the crime 'opportunities' available to them.

The data here broadly reflect the statistics on recorded offences as featured in Chapter 5. In summary, it is clear that certain crimes are almost renowned as part of the Atlantic Wharf landscape, whereas other problems are perceived by a smaller proportion of residents. Resident responses imply different perceptions and experiences of crime and disorder in the neighbourhood, and it is this lived

practice that subsequent chapters will work through. Having introduced the main issues as represented through doorstep surveys, the next section begins to trace crime and place Atlantic Wharf through other kinds of thresholds.

2. Spatial thresholds

The Atlantic Wharf Residents' Association definition of the neighbourhood outlined in Chapter 1 provides three spatial categories through which to engage with crime and place. First, it states that Atlantic Wharf is 'set between' Cardiff city centre and its waterfront, namely Cardiff Bay. Second, it suggests that Atlantic Wharf is an 'area'. Third, this area is delimited by three roads (Lloyd George Avenue, Tyndall Street, Hemingway Road) and a body of water (the Bute East Dock). This section proceeds by addressing the location of Atlantic Wharf, before then outlining how this location is further interpreted through various boundaries. The presence of these (and other) spatial thresholds in resident accounts will reveal the usefulness of understanding Atlantic Wharf as an 'area'.

Proximity and distance

Many residents make sense of Atlantic Wharf as a place through its location between the city centre and Cardiff Bay. The majority of residents report proximity to these sites as one of the major attractions of the neighbourhood; Brian states that he and his wife specifically moved here to be 'in the centre of things'. There is, however, a juxtaposition at work in many resident representations of Atlantic Wharf as a place. To paraphrase Butler (2008; see also Bauman, 2007: 74), while Atlantic Wharf is located *in* the city, it does not necessarily feel to residents like somewhere *of* the city:

> This is more like the quieter life around here, as you can see, you know...sometimes it looks quite idyllic, you come in here and it's a nice sunny day and it's, it looks really nice you know...you wouldn't think about a quarter of a mile from the centre of town would you?
>
> *Carol*

> When we came here and stood on that bridge we said oh this is nice and we said yeah it's lovely and it's very peaceful, when people come to the

> house they say oh this is quiet, never realised it's ten minutes from town and that is a very big thing, that you can walk up to the library in five minutes, the rest of town ten minutes after that. It's really convenient for the city.
>
> *Frank*

Even though 'the city' is close at hand, Atlantic Wharf is not entirely within its grasp. While it may be 'set' between the city centre and Cardiff Bay, it is rather difficult to pin down what kind of place Atlantic Wharf is. 'Quiet' and 'peaceful' are not generally descriptions associated with living 'in the centre of things'. Indeed, in stating that Atlantic Wharf is convenient for 'the city', Frank implicitly suggests that Atlantic Wharf is something other than urban. Deciding just what kind of place Atlantic Wharf is has connotations for making sense of the kind of activity that takes place there:

> I've lived in inner city areas before, Barcelona what have you, and the beauty is that you can walk places, you can just step outside your door and go to shops and things like that. Here, if I want to go and get milk or whatever I have to get in the car you know? I normally go down to Tescos [sic] down the Bay here or something like that. It's almost as if you're living in a suburban enclave but in the inner city area.
>
> *Ieuan*

For Ieuan, Atlantic Wharf is located in the inner city, yet resembles a 'suburban enclave'. In this respect Atlantic Wharf is something other than urban because it doesn't offer the facilities that one might find in similarly located urban areas. This aspect of the neighbourhood contrasts with the atmospheric appeal of the gentrified inner city. As Tonkiss (2005: 91) states, 'if the early gentrifiers rejected the sameness of the suburbs, the mass production of gentrified spaces now creates suburbs in the city – higher rent enclaves of visual and social sameness'. It is the interface between such 'sameness' and encounters with difference that this chapter works across. In one such conceptual encounter, some residents exercise caution when associating Atlantic Wharf with an explicitly urban location:

> I don't see Atlantic Wharf as inner city, I don't perceive it as inner city, I perceive it as a unique development.
>
> *OC: So it's not suburban, it's not inner city, it's something different?*

> No, no, I would say it's er, it's...I don't know how I would describe it. My perception is linked to the city without the stigma of inner city.
>
> *Arnold*

There is some reason for Arnold to be wary of thinking of Atlantic Wharf in terms of the inner city, given pervading associations with 'danger, dirt and disease' (Baeten, 2002: 104). This is clearly not the landscape of inner city gentrification fuelled by a desire to be immersed in the urban experience. Butler (2008: 142) identifies denizens of such 'inner-city suburbs' as showing significant variation to the 'metropolitan habitus'. Where people live in proximity to the urban core yet feel distant from it, concepts of urbanity are clearly open to change and interpretation. Arnold speaks of 'stigma' as it relates to the inner city, suggesting he does not associate Atlantic Wharf with the decay, crime, and disorder of the urban imaginary (see Fraser, 1996; Fyfe, 1997). As Simmel (1997) suggests, juxtapositions of proximal places have the potential to create conflict, and one way of resolving this dissonance is through conceptual distance (see Allen, 2000: 68).

So far there has been little mention of a place that is somewhat closer to Atlantic Wharf, and certainly not somewhere residents report association with. Chapter 5 showed how Atlantic Wharf is situated in the Butetown electoral ward, and it is the 'old Butetown' that most residents actively associate with the stigma of the inner city. While residents report the attraction of living close to the city centre and waterfront, proximity to Butetown is something that threatens to detract from the experience of living in Atlantic Wharf:

> I didn't want to move here it was my husband's idea. I'm originally from Cardiff and I know the reputation. But when we actually came and looked at the house I fell in love with the house being three floors.
>
> OC: *When you say the reputation do you mean...?*
>
> Butetown.
>
> OC: *So even though you were in a new development you weren't sure about living here?*
>
> Yeah...but as it is it's very safe, and very quiet.
>
> *Jane*

Jane asserts that having lived in Atlantic Wharf she finds it a safe and quiet place.

She claims to 'know' what Butetown is like, and although she does not state it in this extract this is because she spent her formative years living there. Such biographical representations and validation of 'knowledge' regarding crime and place will emerge throughout this thesis. Also of interest, and something addressed below, is that even though she is 'from Cardiff' she did not 'know' Atlantic Wharf before she moved there. Putting these questions to one side for the moment, it is clear that being 'set between' the city centre and Cardiff Bay does not adequately capture how Atlantic Wharf is conceived in relation to proximate urban sites. Resident interpretation of neighbourhood 'boundaries', to which this section now turns, will help explore this further.

Delineating the neighbourhood

Earlier chapters have shown how neighbourhood 'edges' are important in making places legible (e.g. Lynch, 1960) and making sense of the spatial patterning of offences and offenders (e.g. Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993). Resident accounts of Atlantic Wharf indicate that 'edges' are much more than sites for crime. Conceived physical boundaries frame resident representations of place in the most concrete sense. However, marginal sites are identified not only in terms of containment or exclusion, but as places 'between' that speak to that which lies on either side:

> I love this area, I really love these canal areas I think it's a really nice part of Cardiff, but it's a shame that you have to be worried about your safety...but people around here seem to be okay, they keep to themselves...I wouldn't call [Atlantic Wharf] a rough area at all...it's just quite nice.
>
> *OC: So for you where would Atlantic Wharf start and end as a neighbourhood?*
>
> Do you know what, I don't know this because people argue this one, and I think it's up to Tyndall Street...and Lloyd George Avenue and down to...uh what's that road name, the Council, I think that's Atlantic Wharf [...] I would say it is up to Tyndall Street because that becomes the city then.
>
> *Stephanie*

In this 'becoming', Tyndall Street has an active role in shaping representations of Atlantic Wharf. Residents are also active in *producing* such sites, not least in their

everyday movement with and across them, as Chapter 7 will show. Stephanie hints at ambiguity in the boundaries of Atlantic Wharf, and difference between residents in terms of 'the' neighbourhood and 'their' neighbourhood is something that will be picked up on below. Somewhat suggestive of how boundaries of place are open to interpretation, Stephanie most clearly interprets Tyndall Street and Lloyd George Avenue as neighbourhood edges.

Tyndall Street and Lloyd George Avenue feature in resident accounts as quite different places, both from each other and in relation to Atlantic Wharf. Starting with the former, it is described as noisy, industrial, run-down and commercial; here Atlantic Wharf 'becomes the city'. The convenient location of Atlantic Wharf necessitates crossing Tyndall Street, and it is an opening onto one aspect of the city, rather than Cardiff in microcosm. There are hotels to accommodate tourists and business conferences, offices that underpin the service economy and light industry and warehouses that have until now resisted post-industrial reorientation:

> I just thought to be honest with you, that these industrial estates were just factories or warehouses or whatever, so I'd never even think about venturing into there you know, none of my business...this is a nothing bit really this is...um...a nothingy bit.
>
> *Henry*

Jacobs (1961: 265) notes how bordering sites are often created by or colonised with things the city needs in order to function: roads, railway tracks, warehouses, office blocks. Although Henry describes it as 'nothing', there is much taking place, 'as a border exerts an active influence' (Jacobs, 1961: 257). Indeed, there will soon be more, and different, things taking place. Work has begun on a significant site north of the road, changing an area of light industry into a 'mixed use' development (see Figure 6.1). Referred to as Tyndall Street across resident accounts (and in the AWRA definition), the road running across the north of Atlantic Wharf is divided into Herbert Street, Tyndall Street, and East Tyndall Street. So 'Tyndall Street', is used by residents – knowingly or not – as a label for other spaces, a part standing for the whole – not least 'the city'. Its status as synecdoche (de Certeau, 1984; Augoyard, 2007) captures the general difficulty in ascertaining where Atlantic

Wharf ends and the city begins:

Figure 6.1 Redevelopment on Tyndall Street

> You're aware that here is sort of offices and a trading estate and the railway, so it does feel like a different area from the predominantly residential area of where we live. I think for me the main barrier is the railway line, and you feel like you've got to find a bridge or whatever to get over it, and then once you're over the other side you are in the city centre then as I would see it. So we're not quite in the city centre yet, you've got to cross the railway line to get into the centre.
>
> *Anthony*

The threshold between Atlantic Wharf and the city, the combination of non-places (Augé, 1995) of supermodernity (hotels, office blocks) and modernity (industrial estates, workshops), is far from a simple perimeter. In some senses, it is here that notions of crime and disorder enable residents to give place meaning, to draw lines in the sand. As will be seen in Chapter 7, the bridge over the railway line – as a specific kind of threshold – is often associated with feelings of anxiety and uncertainty, and perception of social and physical disorder. This chapter has already noted how residents conceive of Tyndall Street as a place for particular kinds of activity:

> *OC: What are your thoughts about here* [Tyndall Street]*?*

> It's hooker alley isn't it?
>
> *OC: Have you ever noticed anything going on?*
>
> Oh I go to the gym on Ocean Way, so um, you know, I come up and down here quite a bit and you see the odd woman of the night sitting around at 6 o'clock in the evening.
>
> *OC: Was that a surprise when you first moved in?*
>
> No, I knew, I came down to Cardiff and saw the area, knew about these areas and they used to say that, what was that called before the Novotel? They used to say that around that area was a bit dodgy.
>
> *Richard*

> They're not a problem, this is where they hang out, the thing is, when they're working further down in the residential areas um, a few of them have got flats down there, that is an issue for people, it would be an issue for me if they're working next to me...now, when they're hanging around here in the industrial areas, I'm not arsed, you know?
>
> *Laura*

Richard claims a widely acknowledged association with prostitution, and Laura implies Tyndall Street as a place of and for prostitution; only when it encroaches on Atlantic Wharf is it a problem. Hubbard and Sanders (2003: 79) note how red-light districts are often recognised in such terms, through a 'moral geography, that implies that some behaviours are acceptable only in certain places' (see Cresswell, 2005). As Chapter 3 showed, this hints at Simmel's (1997) understanding of such marginal sites, where 'the separation of objects, people or places is always shadowed by the idea – the 'fantasy' or the danger – of their connection' (Tonkiss, 2005: 31).

In this case there is also a clear concern over displacement, first in the sense that prostitution might take place away from Tyndall Street, in Atlantic Wharf 'next' to Laura. This taking place itself connote displacement read on an affective register whereby individuals' sense of where they live is displaced through encountering activity in sites they do not associate it with. In terms of making sense of such activity on Tyndall Street, Richard's colloquial use of 'hooker alley' reveals how residents might use facetious humour or indifference to untangle a complicated and emotional site. Simone neatly summarises the variable emotional responses when taking the problems of such people and place into account:

> It's not something that you sort of welcome, it's not a nice image is it, for an area? But I'm just struck by the difference between the prostitutes, and the ones you see on The Bill, and they're just like really young normal looking girls, standing there in the rain looking cold...and obviously it's not they who would be the danger it would be their clients, but my main sort of feeling is feeling sorry for them.
>
> *Simone*

A mixture of sympathy, anger, anxiety and aversion are thus revealed in the way residents make sense of particular crime and disorder in this 'loose mix of two different environments' (Stevens, 2007: 75). Disorder is implicated not only by associations with prostitution, but in the interpretation of Tyndall Street as an ambiguous site in relation to Atlantic Wharf. Here the city appears as something that threatens to undermine Atlantic Wharf as safe, clean and quiet. This complex range of emotional responses to salient features of crime and place in the margins is similarly expressed through representations of Lloyd George Avenue. The interface between Butetown and Atlantic Wharf is central to how residents conceive of crime and place.

Chapter 5 described Lloyd George Avenue as a symbolic and functional gesture to unite Cardiff city centre with its waterfront. Resident accounts suggest, however, that it has not fulfilled its potential as somewhere that bridges that gap effectively. This is understood through registers of (in)activity, the first of which is denoted by low levels of vehicular traffic. Second, as mentioned above, there is only one shop, meaning that its intended interpretation as a 'continental style' boulevard has not been realised. There is no continuity between the city centre and Cardiff Bay as places to meet people, do things, eat and drink:

> I mean this is a great vista isn't it? I mean I love if you're walking up to town, it's like Blade Runner or something...and this is as lovely as it gets looking towards the opera house [...] Although, when I saw the original plans for Lloyd George Avenue it was going to be like a French boulevard basically. The ground floor was going to be shops and restaurants and the flats would have been above. But er, it never happened. I think they missed an opportunity there...I mean it's purely functional isn't it?
>
> *Ray*

Figure 6.2 Lloyd George Avenue looking toward the city centre

Ray's nod to Blade Runner is striking in light of its pervading association with urban dystopia (e.g. Davis 1999; cf. Taylor *et al.*, 1996: 299). The visual sense of 'looking towards' the city centre (see Figure 6.2) and Cardiff Bay distances Lloyd George Avenue from 'bustling street scenes' and recalls the 'strange and awful suburb, when the film takes us to the Tyrell Corporation headquarters [...] the dreary brownness of the landscape' (Rowley, 2005: 211). Indeed, Ray's disappointment in the experience of Lloyd George Avenue hints at somewhere that visually anticipates 'busy' places but is not one itself. That said, many residents report they appreciate Lloyd George Avenue as a quiet and open space for them to walk or cycle to the city centre or Cardiff Bay. This north-south sensibility suggests a threshold that reiterates existing boundaries between Atlantic Wharf and Butetown:

> I think it might be a stereotype I don't know, but I think there's like two distinct areas separated by the railway, and you've got the old Butetown, and then the new development, and I think it's a lot safer on this side of the railway than the other side.

Simone

Simone identifies two places 'separated by the railway', and in doing so firmly places Butetown on the wrong side of the tracks. The continued presence of the railway line and its embankment is, if anything, more of a boundary between the two sides than the road itself. This means that Lloyd George Avenue is symbolic rather than definitive of the spatial division between old and new, a contrast accentuated by the lack of apartments on the Butetown side of the road. Some residents suggested that this was because of the proximity of the railway line, or that looking out over Butetown is not something they would want due to the dilapidated and 'depressing' nature of the built environment in Butetown. Furthermore, in terms of being a threshold between Atlantic Wharf and Butetown, Lloyd George Avenue is implicated in notions of crime and disorder in two main ways.

First, residents report that Butetown has deeply ingrained social problems, and is a dangerous or unsafe place compared to Atlantic Wharf. Their accounts associate Butetown with more serious problems related to poverty, drug use and crime. These are loosely identified through certain social and cultural differences, as will be seen. In line with Goldberg's (1993) reading of spatial divisions in the city, Lloyd George Avenue is a 'buffer zone'. Some residents appreciate its breadth more than anything, that along with the barrier of the railway line it puts some distance between them and a perceived problem area:

> It's kind of a security blanket kind of thing I think, yeah, it's quite nice to have...although I think it does kind of, I think because people do see it as two separate areas maybe it's made it more like that as well, I mean I'm sure not everyone over there is bad and not everyone over here is good, so it shouldn't be seen as good and bad but um...yeah, it is nice to have it there, just as a bit of distance really.
>
> *Angela*

> I mean civilization ends here basically...sounds harsh but it is a bit, it is a bit strange over there. Old Butetown over there...old Butetown is a bit of a...I hate to use the word but almost a bit of a ghetto...like a project, I don't know if you've been to America but you know like you get the projects?
>
> *OC: And does that impact on your perception of Atlantic Wharf at all?*

> No, because the demarcation is so marked, what with Lloyd George Avenue being pretty wide.
>
> *Ray*

It is not just that there is physical distance between Atlantic Wharf and Butetown, but that such a boundary is symbolic of difference between places with specific issues of crime and disorder. Angela's use of 'security blanket' suggests how a safe sense of place in Atlantic Wharf 'depends in part on its ability to insulate these new residents from the wider poverty of the city through boundary building and partition' (Atkinson, 2006: 825). In describing Butetown as a 'ghetto', Ray appropriates salient imagery of urban segregation and social inequalities. Thinking back to Ieuan's sense of Atlantic Wharf as a 'suburban enclave', it is clear that while it shares a sense of being separate and distant from 'the city', spatial discourses of 'the ghetto' and 'the suburb' recall vastly different symbolic landscapes (Cooper, 1999). As Gold and Revill (2003: 37) assert, however, they are united 'by conscious acts of social marginalisation and clearly articulated fears'.

In that spirit of connection, Lloyd George Avenue provides not only insulation but opening and opportunity. Two subways that run under the railway line are reported by some residents as particularly unsafe or threatening, and others recall that the shop has undergone a number of robberies. Section 1 noted how some residents perceive those responsible for crime in Atlantic Wharf to come from Butetown. This suggests that although Lloyd George Avenue may provide a symbolic division between two places, this does not preclude movement that undermines it. Similarly, residents were aware of relatively serious crimes taking place along Lloyd George Avenue:

> It is nice to have a big divide, but there's nothing to stop them coming over and walking, which happens.
>
> *OC: but do you feel the road sort of cushions you a little bit from [...]*
>
> No, because they come through, and it is well known that that road Lloyd George Avenue at one point had the highest [rate of] muggings in Cardiff.
>
> *Jane*

As Bauman (2007: 79-80) asserts, 'the realities of city life will surely play havoc with such neat divisions [...] all drawings of a line are provisional and temporary,

under threat of being redrawn or effaced'. Here Jane suggests Lloyd George Avenue as somewhere contested and undermined through its inherent permeability, but also 'well known' for its reputation for muggings. Something as mundane as 'walking' breaks down boundaries, facilitates disruption of the boundary itself, and subverts residents' sense of place. The everyday, and more eventful, manifestation of these processes will be returned to respectively in Chapters 7 and 8.

Open and closed spaces

Although the Bute East Dock and Hemingway Road are identified as boundaries in the AWRA definition, residents conceive of these sites somewhat differently. Rather than external boundaries, open space and building types denote other kinds of thresholds. In this respect, the Bute East Dock reveals the interface between nature and culture that resident accounts recognise as part of Atlantic Wharf, something that also describes a threshold between open and closed space:

> The dock area is delightful I must say, I think at one time there were plans for turning it into an dreadful sports centre, for watersports and things, but personally I prefer the swans and ducks.
>
> *Rodney*

In line with residents' representation of Atlantic Wharf as somewhere quiet and peaceful, there is a sense of both nature and wildlife as part of the neighbourhood image. Ironically, given the original industrial origin of the dock and its attendant waterways – and as such much activity – Rodney privileges sedate wildlife over watersports. However, while it may look 'delightful' from afar, viewed up close the threshold between nature and culture reveals an inherent instability and propensity for disorder.

> I'm aware that the dock has become...I don't know when it was last cleaned and it's all looking very sorry for itself, the same with the canals, they look in really poor shape...I don't know whether it's something changed in the council, but something has changed and it's now looking much more run down...when we first came down we used to walk around the dock, but we find it slightly boring now.
>
> *Sally*

The condition of the water in the Bute East Dock reveals a fragmented landscape of ownership and responsibility in Atlantic Wharf, between individual residents, the local authority, and private bodies. This literal muddying of the waters is in part a relic of the public-private partnership approach to the Atlantic Wharf development, something which will be addressed further in Chapter 8. The dock is just one example of certain spaces throughout the neighbourhood where residents are unsure as to just who is responsible for maintenance or dealing with physical disorder. In terms of aesthetics, above Sally suggests how she finds the dock 'boring', and Will identifies the reasons why:

> Like when they first built it they thought ah it looks really good, but now...it doesn't serve a purpose does it, this expanse of water. You can't do anything with it. You could have a little beach or something...but it wouldn't really work with the main road there. I mean, okay you're by a lake, but that's not the place to be with a road by it. That's probably why there's nobody here isn't it?
>
> *Will*

Figure 6.3 The Bute East Dock

One problem with the reliance on such spaces for a sense of place is that while they may promote a certain aesthetic, they represent a functional and cultural void. Seiber (1993) recognises a preoccupation with being 'close' to nature as a trait of the middle classes, suggesting that proximity predicated on vision objectifies nature and requires its enclosure. Here, the threshold between culture and nature 'becomes more sharply drawn, more highly charged, and more ritualized [...] than ever before' (ibid: 190). Another notable feature of the area located in this threshold is that of wildlife, nature, and the 'green spaces' of Atlantic Wharf:

> If you look down the Bay there is no greenery, I mean it's very stark isn't it, across the far end by the, by the barrage. Whereas here and if you like further into Atlantic Wharf as the trees are now matured, you know, it's actually quite a green area. And when I bought my flat the tree that's outside there now that completely covers the windows was like that you know [indicates small size using hands], like a twig, and I've watched it grow over the years.
>
> *Ray*

This implies somewhat of a blurring of the 'stark' boundaries between built-up areas and greenery. The 'green' space around Atlantic Wharf is something that residents are largely keen on, as it provides distinction from the city centre and Cardiff Bay. That said, it too is associated with various kinds of disorder. For instance, along the canals there are overgrown bushes, and as with the water of the canal and dock they gather much litter and dumped waste. While there are trees, bushes, and green spaces as Ray mentions, these are only appreciated when actively maintained. At any point where bushes overhang and grass overgrows it can start to look unruly and wayward. The irony is that in living somewhere conceived of as a sanctuary from the city, the disorder that residents identify in green spaces and bodies of water is a result of too much nature and not enough culture. Indeed, many residents identify a lack of maintenance of nature in the neighbourhood as anxiogenic:

> When the street light goes out here [along the canal] then that can be very dark...and that is the only concerning area I have really...but then I have never encountered anything, it's just not a very friendly place when it's dark because again there are lots of places that people could lurk if they wanted to, especially when it is so overgrown like this...but it's better in the winter time because there aren't as many leaves.

The canal is a particularly interesting case, as residents appreciate the distance it gives them from the city in its nature and wildlife, while simultaneously identifying it as a somewhat abandoned and marginal site. Many residents suggested that it was somewhere they felt uneasy walking alone, and others stated that they knew of muggings having taken place there. Seiber (1993: 191) comments on the inherent paradox of nature in the city, where 'long-standing objectification and romanticizing of 'natural' elements [...] has historically accompanied, if not signified, their increasing lack of utility, their containment, even their 'marginalization' [...] as a part of people's everyday life in modern, urban settings'. This is also evident in the spaces between buildings in Atlantic Wharf. For instance, Ieuan regards many of the green and open areas as 'negative space' because they are under-utilised or useless. Here, space is seen as not just open, but somewhat empty. This recalls Jacobs' (1961) notion of 'border vacuums', and suggests that green open spaces reiterate divisions between different parts of Atlantic Wharf.

Life between buildings

Gary McDonogh (1993: 7) writes on the geography of emptiness, arguing that 'it may simply seem wasteful, uneconomic, or threatening, but empty space begs explanation'. Open or empty spaces are themselves thresholds, as 'they do not define a vacuum, an absence of urbanness, so much as they mark zones of intense competition: the interstices of a city' (ibid: 13). Just as boundaries can never separate without also connecting, open space is contingent upon enclosure. Resident interpretation of housing developments and specific buildings also imply open and closed space:

> I was walking along Lloyd George Avenue with [my friend] and some of the buildings are housing association buildings, and maybe that's the way it was designed where it's interwoven I mean...but there are pockets, in my opinion I don't think it flows, you know. You have the hotels and then you have little pockets. For instance, this block here is maybe the poorer part, well not really Atlantic Wharf in a way, and then you have the high buildings that cost a fortune [...] These are the older, the older cheaper ones. It's a funny area because then you have the Cardiff County Council in the middle of everything, you know they park outside, and then you have the complex. It is quite odd. But then it was

> designed so I guess maybe I just don't know about urban planning.
>
> Valerie

Rather than being a coherent 'area', the various buildings and developments in Atlantic Wharf are differentiated through their age, size, and perceived cost. Valerie states that where she lives, a small house overlooking the canal, is older, cheaper, and significantly 'not really Atlantic Wharf'. On the other hand, she notes the 'interwoven' social housing, on which more below. It was noted above that boundaries of 'the' neighbourhood were not necessarily recognised by residents in terms of their own subjective attachment to place. One striking feature of resident accounts is how they vary in comparisons of 'neighbourhood' and 'Atlantic Wharf'. For some the neighbourhood is closely linked to their walking routes and where they spend their time, either at home or out and about. In the words of Rodney:

> It can be as broad as you make it or as short as you make it, uh, I mean you know all I can say is the distance between my place and work because that's as far as I tread.
>
> *Rodney*

Others did not conceive of 'neighbourhood' as such, but 'my part of Cardiff', a niche carved out through attachment and belonging to a particular region. For Anthony, this was 'everywhere South of the [mainline] railway line', while Bethan considered her own neighbourhood to be 'quite a small patch really'. Kusenbach (2008) has drawn on the work of Hunter (1979) in describing hierarchies of urban communities, where people make sense of places depending on attachment and involvement at a range of local scales. This means that, as Mayol (1998) asserts, the neighbourhood is situated 'between' the private space of the home, and the public realm of the city at large. As subsequent chapters show, such scales of neighbourhood relate to both the perception of and response to signs of crime and disorder.

In terms of the kinds of buildings in Atlantic Wharf, residents conceive of crime and disorder in two further ways. First, the 'older, cheaper' buildings that Valerie refers to are seen as more vulnerable to crime and disorder. These housing developments either front onto roads, or have various pathways that run through and between them. More recent developments have fewer openings through which

they can be accessed, and turn their back to the street. At their most extreme, as Figure 6.4 shows, these developments have gated access and are completely separate. As such, as Valerie states above, this creates 'little pockets', bubbles of security. While some residents report an understanding of the need for security, others are more sceptical:

> I would hate to live in a gated community, and having had the experience of living in Johannesburg for a year, and living with gated houses, armed response the lot, over there you had to put up with it because that's the way it was, you know. Here that isn't the case, and I would hate it, absolutely hate it, and I think it just encourages a culture of fear.
>
> *Anne*

Figure 6.4 The Granary, a secure gated development on Lloyd George Avenue

Secondly notions of crime and disorder are related to the perceived aesthetics of the buildings themselves. Resident accounts identify the various housing developments as 'modern' or 'new-builds', and in so doing contrast them with the dilapidated and run-down housing in Butetown. That said, only the redeveloped

'original' industrial buildings rather than the newly built developments are thought of as lending character to Atlantic Wharf. Residents also report that they provide it with some sense of 'heritage', a link to an industrial past. On the other hand, Henry describes the majority of apartments as 'Lego kits', and other residents consider them to be 'standard' or 'nothing special', that Atlantic Wharf is similar to many other such post-industrial developments. In terms of disorder, however, residents distinguish between buildings and developments not based purely on their architecture, but in terms of how well they are maintained. This level of maintenance is often linked to just who it is that lives there, and representations of place through understanding of people will be the focus of the next section.

3. Social and cultural thresholds

Lynch (1960: 2) asserts that while spatial elements are important in the legibility of places, 'moving elements in a city, and in particular the people and their activities, are as important as the stationary physical parts'. In playing up the convenience of Atlantic Wharf for 'the city', as well as the potential threat of those crossing and occupying its various spatial thresholds, resident accounts indicate the importance of attending to such movement. This section begins by briefly introducing how resident accounts make sense of who lives in the neighbourhood. These are then expanded on in three main ways. The first of these relates to notions of a 'transient community', implying a dynamic sense of spatial and social relations. The second shows how residents interpret the presence and absence of youth, and the third relates to notions of ethnicity and class. These will be shown to imply various cultural interpretations of crime and place, accounts of which will close this section.

Who lives in a place like this?

Previous sections have alluded to or identified crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf through the reported presence of various 'outsiders', such as 'youths' from Butetown, or commuters parking in the neighbourhood. As part of identifying such outsiders, residents largely report the demographics of the neighbourhood along similar lines to one another, in terms of its age structure, activity and occupancy.

Residents report that most people living in Atlantic Wharf are 'young professionals', and that there is a smaller but significant number of older people. Just what is meant by 'young' in this sense is unclear, as residents identified anyone from early adulthood to late 30s as in these terms. Relative to 'older' residents this makes sense, although a better distinction is perhaps made through economic activity – 'young' meaning working, mostly in professional or service sectors, with some students and self-employed. Common in such new developments (see Atkinson, 2006: 821; Butler, 2007: 771), the older residents are typically thought of 'empty-nesters', having moved to the area after their children have left home. Speaking of children, residents largely agree that there are few families in Atlantic Wharf, mostly due to the many flats and apartments being too small, and suitably sized houses both scarce and expensive.

A shifting sense of community

As Tonkiss (2003) argues, even when grounded in the spatial and social context of the city, community remains a complicated and slippery term. The way residents appropriate it, however, captures the interaction between what kind of people live in Atlantic Wharf, and what kind of place this makes it. Here, 'the spatial and the social are continually overlaid, as if particular spaces might produce definite social ties or vice versa' (ibid: 299). A common manifestation of this interaction is visible in accounts that conceive of the local population as inherently mobile:

> This is one of the big problems you've got in an area like this, it's a very transient community, and lots of people live in flats so there's not much of a community spirit...and therefore people don't want to get involved...and they'd rather shut themselves in and pretend it's not happening.
>
> *Laura*

Immediately, transience is a problem, a high resident turnover undermines community in the sense of a stable and 'rooted' population. This relates to a common assumption – especially among longer term residents – that many of the people living in Atlantic Wharf are tenants. Laura here mentions community 'spirit' as undermined by a transient population, where people on the move are not necessarily minded to interact and 'get involved'. Not only this, but that apartment

living connotes a sense of spatial (and social) distance. In a more immediate sense, some residents report that a mobile population does not take as much care, or notice, of the surroundings. It was noted above that certain buildings seemed 'disorderly' due to a lack of care and maintenance, and residents report that this is due to negligent landlords or apathetic tenants. This, residents suggest, means that incivilities and other kinds of low-level disorder are almost inevitable. Kusenbach (2003) similarly reports such judgements based on the physical appearance of housing, where residents construct a moral landscape of those who do and do not care for their property and by extension the neighbourhood. That said, a transience of community highlights further dimensions of place:

> I think people move within their own, I think community means different things now, people have their work community or their leisure community, and I think it's based more around their activities than their geographical location. Therefore trying to engender some sort of residential community is actually quite hard because people are involved with their other communities, so their residential community is only where they put their head down.
>
> *Theresa*

Here, then, is the community of taking place, rather than a community of place (Amin and Thrift, 2002). This makes sense given the accounts of 'convenience' above, where other than moves made to and from the city centre, Cardiff Bay and other such sites, residents report that there is little else going on. As such, it is in part being on the move in and around Atlantic Wharf that means people might just interact. This has corollaries for how residents conceive of crime and disorder, in both understanding how and where it might take place, and their own feelings of safety and security. That the neighbourhood feels less 'territorial' is not always a bad thing, however, and for some residents is one of the attractions of living in Atlantic Wharf:

> I can stroll down to the Bay, and maybe it's because there's this feeling of everybody being in transit or also it's quite a touristy area so you know there's definitely a sense of security for me. There isn't that territorial thing you know, 'what are you doing here?'
>
> *Valerie*

Valerie notes how she has a safe and secure sense of place *because* people are on the move, rather than due to a stable – and territorial – community. Tonkiss

(2003: 298) identifies an ethics of indifference in such statements, the benefits of the 'exquisite solitude' that can be found in the city. Thinking of Atlantic Wharf as being somewhere with everyone on the go facilitates a sense of freedom, a mobile population does not hold the same threat for her as one strongly bound and territorial over its place. It is worth noting that she experiences this feeling as a resident of the neighbourhood, and this partly relates to something else that gives residents a sense of Atlantic Wharf as a safe place. For all the moves through the neighbourhood, other resident accounts suggest that it is the same *kind* of people moving in. This implies a population moving in the same direction, even if not coming together:

> *OC: So why do you think Atlantic Wharf is a safe place to be?*
>
> I think it's the nature of the community to an extent, the sort of people who live there really, um...It's a fairly aspirational area isn't it you know, but I think people actually like the fact that it's quite clean and tidy, quiet, safe...and that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy then because it stays that way.
>
> *Ray*

One thing that most residents agree on is that they *trust* their neighbours to look out for their property, to 'keep an eye on things'. This trust is largely implicit as part of living in the same place, and being the same 'kind' of people. As stated in Chapter 2, Butler and Robson (2001) note the social tectonics of lives lived in parallel between different social groups in gentrification. In Atlantic Wharf the same appears true, where people share traits and characteristics if not their spare time. In another sense, then, the population is rather more 'fixed' due to the relative homogeneity of the type of people that move in and out. Resident accounts suggest that on the whole they do not need to interact with their neighbours, or other people in the neighbourhood. This means they mostly do so in exceptional circumstances, as Chapter 8 will show in relation to individual and collective responses to crime and disorder. This indicates a time-share community of seemingly affluent and professional people, who by virtue of what has attracted them to the neighbourhood in the first place – tidy, quiet, safe – uphold that very image, as and when it is needed. That said, there are instances when neighbours are not what they seem:

> I was talking to [my neighbour] and she said 'oh they've closed down a

couple of crack houses' or something and I just thought I must just walk around in a dream, because I just wouldn't imagine anything like that you know, I think she said the people next door to her, who I could see from my house who seemed quite pleasant.

Rodney

Rodney here reveals the thresholds of trust based on various registers of neighbourly contact. On one hand he learns of crime and disorder through contact with someone he knows, who like him lives in Atlantic Wharf. On the other, those people who appeared 'quite pleasant' are implicated in illegal activity. Henry further alludes to the way that a transient population can bring problems of disorder close to home:

It's such a sort of transient community anyway, I mean there's so many rental properties and everything else and sometimes it goes in phases, so you'll have a really nice period where everything is quiet, and all your neighbours are lovely and everything else, and suddenly you'll have a nightmare for a year where everything seems to be happening, if it's not litter it's theft or minor crime...um you'll get a bit of that and then it'll stop again.

Henry

While Henry does not claim that the flow of tenants in and out of the area necessarily brings serious problems, there is the sense that it introduces a certain amount of disruption and doubt into neighbourhood life. These, it would seem, are the chance encounters with problem neighbours that 'wreck the abode' (Kristeva, 1991: 1; Sandercock, 2000). Significant here also is the way that problems are understood and interpreted through their expression in 'phases', something to be returned to below. In general however, a mobile population both undermines and defines notions of community in Atlantic Wharf. Above, Ray talks of Atlantic Wharf as being 'aspirational', and this relates to not only to the spatial, but also a sense of social mobility:

The people this side of Lloyd George Avenue are predominantly white middle class, mobile, upwardly or sidewardly.

Graham

Here residents identify Butetown as somewhere with a stable and more rooted population, and given prevailing feeling about Butetown this is one of the few things that residents accounts envied. The people living in Butetown are seen to both interact and have a sense of interdependence. Being 'stable', however, implies

a traditional sense of community as very much a fixed – and territorial – place. This contrasts with the 'aspirational' Atlantic Wharf population, and in all manner of ways suggests a spatial persistence to social problems:

> The real Butetowners, even though they say it's the most deprived area in the country the real Butetowners who've been there for years are decent people struggling to live a decent life really...and they take pride, they're happy to be in Butetown, but it's what gets chucked at them that's the problem. We've only got the issues of passing through crime...car crime...litter...and the council not doing things, cutting back trees and so on, but over there they've got a hell of a lot of problems...drugs...mainly their problems really seem down to the council, the type of people they put over there...they put in Loudon Square...they've put loads of men in there and they're all drop outs, they're on drugs.
>
> *Frank*

This is the very antithesis of Atlantic Wharf as somewhere on the move; for Frank Butetown is where people are both 'put' and put upon. Most people living in Atlantic Wharf – although not all – have chosen to move there, and can by and large choose to move on. Indeed, two participating residents that did have families were moving elsewhere for the reasons outlined above. By contrast, the 'real Butetowners' are stuck where they are, and subject to the arrival of certain people who themselves have been 'placed' there. Frank here hints at 'passing through crime' in Atlantic Wharf, and notes the car crime, litter and maintenance issues that have been raised above. Other kinds of people who 'pass through' Atlantic Wharf might sometimes also be a cause for concern. This is perhaps best understood through introducing how residents make sense of the Atlantic Wharf population in terms of age.

Marginalized youth

While not an entirely child free zone, residents variously report that it is a shame that Atlantic Wharf has not really become an area associated with families. Places where children would normally be are seen (such as the playparks) are reported to be empty or underutilised. Furthermore, although there is a primary school in the area it does not have very high enrolment. Some residents, in a similar fashion to their desire for a greater sense of community in the area, wish that the proportion of families was higher. It is not exactly clear what people miss about having

children around, although a yearning for families and younger people would seem analogous to a general nostalgic view of community. Here, 'the longing for such coherence [is taken as] a sign of the geographical fragmentation, the spatial disruption of our times' (Massey, 1997: 315):

> I think you need families to sort of balance a community out, you need to have enough kids and you have enough elderly for instance, coupled with people like me, thirty-somethings without children yet.
>
> *Diane*

That said, accounts of Atlantic Wharf share common attributes with what Valentine (1996) identifies as narratives of children as either 'angels' or 'devils'. While the majority of residents wish that there were more families and more children around, when children and young people do feature in the accounts of the neighbourhood it is often in a largely negative light, identifying different shades of disorderly behaviour.

> I suppose the only other thing is we've had problems with kids running around here, these little ones [...] they're from that little street on Lloyd George Avenue, and um they're really little and they get led on by bigger kids, and I caught one one day, a little redhead kid I see him all the time, but they run round wild and start throwing stones at the windows of that flat there, and I caught him and went 'oi' and he started shaking! I said 'what did you do that for?' and he said 'my friend told me to do it'. And I said would you jump off a bridge if your friend told you to do it and he shrugged. I said don't let me see you around here again and he ran away and I haven't seen him again since, but I think...don't think they intend any malice but you've got to have words with them occasionally, just to remind them that you're watching them.
>
> *Stephanie*

> So what you're getting is the kids, the little hoodies, tend to come over and break into all the cars here....They skulk around, they literally do wear hoods, they skulk around and they scope out the cars in the middle of the day and then they come back when it's quieter and they smash in.
>
> *Laura*

While tenants are often cast as a 'younger' and 'transient' group, the presence of children in resident reports of Atlantic Wharf takes this to new levels. Residents often report their surprise that the playparks are so empty on one hand, while speaking in disparaging terms of coming into contact with children 'out of place' on the other. For instance, one resident (Anne) spoke of her general feeling that

residents she knew did not like children coming from Butetown to use the facilities that are 'meant' for Atlantic Wharf. Troublesome youths certainly are seen as outsiders for the most part, either from the immediate locality or the neighbourhood altogether. These representations of youth in a regenerated neighbourhood chime with the work of Hancock (2006; 2007). She argues that in such sites of urban regeneration notions of unruly youth suggest an overall 'intolerance for young people and other marginalized groups [...] deeply rooted in the social divisions and inequalities which flow from economic restructuring' (2006: 183). As Carrabine *et al.* (2002) note, is important to consider that while young people are the group most prone to accounts of 'visible' incivilities and crime, they are also the victims of much crime themselves, and no small amount of intolerance. In part, pejorative terms such as 'hoodies' help to make such intolerance all the clearer. Stenson (2005: 268) notes how this comes under an overall process of defining deviance up, 'a diminishing tolerance for youthful incivilities, reinforced where there are class, ethnic and other markers of difference'. In general, social thresholds of place in Atlantic Wharf reflect dominant cultural and political reactions to an anxiety over disorder through 'moral breakdown, incivility and the decline of the family' (Garland, 2001; Hughes, 2007: 29). Although it is suggested that Atlantic Wharf is a socially homogeneous place, where such difference stands out, there are also marginalized *residents* of the neighbourhood that similarly unsettle and disrupt.

Community in the margins

For all the ways that community was used and understood by residents, its association with specific dwellings is perhaps most striking. Just as common as the refrain that Atlantic Wharf is 'transient', or that there is 'apathy' among residents, is a somewhat disparaging view of 'community' housing. The most prominent examples related to two rows of houses situated on Lloyd George Avenue, either side of 'The Granary', a redeveloped industrial building with gated access and secure under-croft parking. Most residents report an understanding that a certain percentage of any development must be given over to either housing association or social housing. That said, this is not something they were generally keen on:

> I've got to be honest with you and I hate to say it, the snob in me rose to the surface when I realised there were going to be council houses on LGA as well. I think there's often the perception of people who live in community housing or local authority housing aren't as good or will cause problems or whatever, I just think that...that when the houses were put there, there were a lot of people moving in that you wouldn't have assumed would live in the AW area.
>
> *Henry*

Although most residents recognise that this proportion of housing association is dispersed throughout the whole development, the houses on Lloyd George Avenue are the most readily identifiable as they are different from the other apartment blocks that run the length of the road. Accounts of the housing association or 'community houses' bring together a number of issues relating to who lives in the neighbourhood and the possibility for a 'community life'. First, there is a concentration of a particular ethnicity, suggested through resident accounts as being 'Somali'. Second, the houses are occupied by families, often of more than two generations. Third, there is a discernible difference in the social and spatial practice of those living in them:

> *OC: How does it become obvious that these are community houses?*
>
> I see them, I think um...they're quite visible really...they play out, they've got children with families, they play out, whereas I was saying that most of these flats have got young people, professionals, so you don't see them like on the pavement, whereas you see children's toys outside and things like that [...] There's usually people spilling in and out of them and going out of the doors, and so you suddenly it's a more kind of almost friendly place.
>
> *Simone*

In many ways, here are the things that residents identify as missing or negative about Atlantic Wharf as a whole: families, interaction, signs of *life,* of getting involved. Significantly, as Stephanie implies above, this is a nascent 'street' life, in contrast to the 'Close', 'Court' and 'Drive' that signify most Atlantic Wharf addresses. The paradox being, of course, that in relation to representations of Atlantic Wharf as a place, especially in terms of its 'image', these houses, and the people living in them, can also be identified as a cause for concern:

> This is where, this is where you see, right, there are houses either side of the Granary that are totally, well not totally, but 98% populated by Somalian [sic] families, and this is where I think kids who were causing

> the nasty crime along here actually lived, or live, so...you know, yeah it does then devalue the whole area unfortunately when that's happening.
>
> *Laura*

This begins to show how issues of ethnicity and class are implicated in accounts of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf, linking crime to concern over 'value'. As Chapter 4 mentioned, it proved hard to access the housing association residents. That said, from the field notes I gathered after talking with some of these residents it seems that they have different views on Atlantic Wharf and Butetown. I present two such extracts here, in order to provide some context to their experiences, although I concede that the respondents here, as with the rest of my participants, speak only for themselves:

> Ali and his family moved here from Somalia to escape the civil war, and he and his family have lived in Atlantic Wharf for 5 years. He says that although he misses Somalia, he finds Atlantic Wharf and Butetown to be very nice places to live. In terms of crime, he feels safe because he knows who is responsible for muggings and can deal with them on his own. However he also states that he thinks people are unaware of the risks of walking along Lloyd George Avenue alone, especially when talking on mobile phones or listening to mp3 players. He said that he has seen muggings take place there. As we talk a police car drives along Lloyd George Avenue and its occupants look over at us. Ali stares back. I think that maybe I look odd standing here chatting to him. The Imam from the Mosque (in Butetown) approaches and Ali introduces me. He agrees with Ali that this is a nice place.
>
> *[...]*
>
> Chris and his family are from Cardiff originally. They do not like living where they are because all of the other people living in community houses are foreign and they cannot communicate with them. Chris' daughter and wife both worked at the shop on Lloyd George Avenue for a time, but were robbed at knife point on two occasions and so do not work there now. Chris suggests that there are always problems on Lloyd George Avenue, and the perpetrators come from Butetown. He also states that the police are very slow in responding, and that as a family they want to move out as soon as possible. However, it does not seem that they will be able to, and they are stuck here for the time being.
>
> *Field Notes, 20th February 2008*

These accounts of Atlantic Wharf present a somewhat different image from that provided by the majority of participating residents. In terms of their overall

notions of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf, survey responses suggested that people living in the community housing on Lloyd George Avenue conceived of different issues. There was no mention of car crime, or the disorder caused by commuter parking, graffiti and litter. Instead, one respondent mentioned street robbery, another theft of bikes from back gardens, and a third the slow police response. This is the first time that formal 'policing' has arisen in this chapter, and resident accounts of police and policing will emerge further over the following chapters. Furthermore, Chris' account gives a suggestion of being 'stuck' in place, unable to move away from perceived problems. Ali, on the other hand, suggests a sense of safety, somewhere that is a real refuge. This implies that such residents are not always marginalized, even when the live on the fringes of the neighbourhood. That said, it is notions of culture that perhaps best capture conceived differences in class, ethnicity and age.

Thresholds between cultures

Although there is a common tendency to express concern over the safety and welfare of children in the city (see Taylor *et al.*, 1996: 265), resident accounts of children in Atlantic Wharf rarely refer to perceived risks and dangers. Only one resident (Jane) expresses a concern over children playing out on Lloyd George Avenue, related to a moral judgement of their parents. Similarly, Bethan conflates concern over young people smoking and drinking behind her house with the notion that their parents – perceived to be Muslim – would not condone this behaviour. That such disorderly behaviour would be expressly prohibited neatly contrasts with Graham's perceived morals, norms and values of young people arriving to live in the area:

> [Talking about attacks by young people on Lloyd George Avenue] Now that um...you see, that's something we didn't used to have...you've always had petty crime and stuff like that, cos [Butetown] was always a depressed area financially, but you didn't have random attacks...so I don't know...but then you can't import people from a warzone and expect them to suddenly, you know, commit to Cardiff, Cardiff Bay... morals can you, and morals of behaviour and Cardiff Bay norms?
>
> *Graham*

In making sense of crime both in Butetown and Atlantic Wharf, Graham conceives of the 'norms and values of Cardiff Bay' and compares these with the state of mind that comes from living in the 'warzone' of Somalia. He asserts that Somali refugees will naturally have a different understanding of what kinds of behaviour are acceptable. In making sense of a 'spate of attacks' on Lloyd George Avenue, Graham places crime in the context of not only a spatial threshold between two places (Atlantic Wharf and Butetown), but the interface between different cultures. The presence of Somali 'refugees' (as they are perceived through numerous resident interviews) in Butetown means that the warzone is present in terms of its perceived cultural sensibilities. The emergence of this cultural threshold makes it possible to take seriously Hughes' (2007) wary summation of the spatial division between the 'urban glamour zone' and the 'urban warzone'. That said, other than parts of the city centre, Cardiff Bay is perhaps as close as Atlantic Wharf, and Cardiff, gets to the 'urban glamour zone'. As Cooper (1999) argues, these spatial discourses allow individuals to elicit moral and symbolic landscapes in order to describe the salient features of place in terms of how they *are* and how they *should be*. This does not always operate in relation to 'outsiders' however, or if it does then it is in supposed contact with them rather than their exclusion:

> It depends what you call crime...if you call using drugs crime then I know there are plenty of people in these flats that live those kinds of lifestyles...so even if you're in a nice environment you're still dealing with a drug dealer [...] What's that about? You could be the lawyer, the doctor, you want your recreational drugs and you've got to buy it off someone, and that's...you're in the chain aren't you...and you're in a nice, you're sitting in your one hundred and fifty thousand pound flat...ugh...you know, it's morality isn't it, and it's a perception of what's right and wrong...and to that person it's not wrong.
>
> *Arnold*

This emphasises the way that crime and disorder is construed in Atlantic Wharf on a visual register, and an earlier extract from Rodney reiterates that illegal activity can go unnoticed behind closed doors. Here, then, norms and values towards crime and disorder are laid out in relation to their impact on the public realm. This aligns with Fyfe's (2010) recognition that 'symbolic gestures' against certain crimes and types of disorder amount to the re-moralization of urban space. Hubbard (2000: 248) identifies an 'exclusionary urge' where those who are not 'normalized'

have their rights to the city refused. As Cresswell (2004: 93) recognises, the carving out from the landscape of 'nice places to live' masks in its banality the importance of maintaining those values and any number of ongoing threats that exist at (and in) the margins. One way that this is achieved relates to the names that individuals use to identify with specific places, and to disassociate from others.

Naming rights

Place names are used by residents to establish what kind of place Atlantic Wharf is, with respect to specific sites in and around the neighbourhood, and other places whether real or imagined. For instance, above Ray referred to 'Blade Runner', an imagined landscape, and yet a clear metaphor for his experience of Lloyd George Avenue. Similarly, residents might describe the canals that run through Atlantic Wharf as 'little Venice'. Residents also refer to other places – Peckham in London, Glasgow, Birmingham – in making sense of crime in a 'big city' compared with their experiences of Cardiff.[34] On the whole residents report that they think of Cardiff as 'safe' when compared to other such places. Just as with the boundaries that delineate Atlantic Wharf, in referring explicitly to these places they attempt to separate Atlantic Wharf, and by extension Cardiff, from having such problems. A similar process operates at a more local level when residents report they differentiate Atlantic Wharf from Butetown, and related to this identify where they live through association with Cardiff Bay:

> I know for a lot of people it jars that the ward constituency is Butetown, and people don't like being a part of Butetown, so when they get their council tax through or their you know electoral register thing it's all Butetown.
>
> *Anne*

> Although I don't think of places like [Lloyd George Avenue] as part of my neighbourhood, I would say that the Bay is where I live. If people ask me where, where do you live, I would say Cardiff Bay because I think that's a name people recognize...uh, I think that's possibly because Atlantic Wharf was more of a known name when we first moved in here and Cardiff Bay has become more well known since we've been living

34 As Appendix 2 shows the majority of interview participants were neither from Cardiff nor Wales originally.

here.

Bethan

Recalling Stephanie's sense of the boundaries to Atlantic Wharf, she did not recall the name of Hemingway Road, suggesting for her a less overt delineation from Cardiff Bay. As such, there are various reasons why residents report they might describe where they live as Cardiff Bay rather than Butetown. First, Cardiff Bay is regarded by residents as a relatively safe and more 'mature' part of the city, especially in terms of its night life. Residents are aware of the reputation of the city centre for alcohol related crime and disorder, especially at weekends. On the other hand, Cardiff Bay is seen as a more managed and regulated site. For some, this means that it has little 'edge' or vitality, and they still seek out areas in or around the city centre that provide more excitement or authenticity. Notions of being authentic lead on to the second reason for this association with Cardiff Bay:

> And I think that the sort of local people, the Butetown people, I remember talking to one and they said oh where do you live, and I said the Bay, and she said it's not the Bay love it's the docks. And I went oh right, okay. To them it's the docks community and it always will be the docks.

Ieuan

Cardiff Bay, 'the docks', Atlantic Wharf, Butetown; each of these names mean something specific, while also being taken or appropriated as something all encompassing. In this sense, what is perhaps most telling is that Ieuan refers those living in Butetown as the 'local people'. While residents resist their categorization as 'Butetown', they yield to the authority of people living there to give places their authentic names. The authenticity of knowing or living in the docks is something that implicates a wider cultural narrative, as Tuan (1991: 688) states, 'naming is power – the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things'.

Residents are aware that Atlantic Wharf is not as well known as it once was, and in order that they do not become associated with the moral and symbolic landscape of 'the ghetto' in Butetown, they therefore play up connection with Cardiff Bay as an exemplar of somewhere safe, clean and orderly. Similarly, while most residents suggest that the docks have always been 'multicultural', this masks a thinly veiled

frustration or inability for these cultures to now live together as one. Here, notions of time are also evident in how residents make sense of places, and such temporal dispositions are important in notions of crime too.

4. Temporal thresholds

This section considers the role that various temporal thresholds have in representations of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf. In order to do this, it will first consider 'temporality' in notions of crime and place related to understanding of the past, present and future in Atlantic Wharf. This place temporality is similarly revealed in the way that residents conceive of crime as a feature of the neighbourhood landscape, where crime and disorder are interpreted through attending to everyday inhabitation.

Temporalities of crime and place

Participating residents have lived in the neighbourhood for varying amounts of time, some only recently arrived, and others having lived here since the area was first developed. As such, it is possible for some residents to make judgements and elicit certain representations of place that recall shifts and transitions in the fabric of Atlantic Wharf. Residents who have lived in Atlantic Wharf for a long time identify changes to both the social and spatial fabric of the neighbourhood. As the area was built up over a period of 20 or so years, residents report the experience of living among 'empty space' or wasteland, as certain sites awaited development. As Ray reports, there was a sense of the frontier about Atlantic Wharf in its early years:

> It was very weird at the start actually, yeah, I mean to be honest with you it was pretty rough. Um, the flat below mine was a crackhouse [...] and further round a lot of trouble with prostitution [...] When I first moved into my flat in Cardiff Bay...in fact we didn't call it Cardiff Bay in those days it was just Atlantic Wharf...and they said ooh rather you than me
>
> *OC: So it had a reputation back in those days?*
>
> It did, back in the day.
>
> *Ray*

Reputation of place is something that has been raised above, and will be addressed further in Chapter 7. However, residents draw on either their experiences of living in other places to make judgements about crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf and Cardiff in general. In some instances this means that they draw comparisons between crime and disorder in Cardiff as a whole, and biographical encounters or imagined representations of other places. This is especially significant when resident report claims to some kind of authentic or real connection with Butetown.

> You know I am originally actually from Butetown when I was a child, we lived for a few years there before we moved away [...] but because I've come from there I know what it's like. I know what poverty is.
>
> *Jane*

> You see I grew up in Clarence embankment, do you know where Clarence embankment is?
>
> *OC: [nods]*
>
> So I'm a docks girl, so none of this really phases me all that much, because I grew up with all the little bastards. I've just moved away from them slightly.
>
> *Laura*

The first extract reveals how Jane makes truth claims about Butetown based on her formative experiences there. Laura similarly relates her current perception and experience of place to her experiences of living in 'the docks'. For Laura, there is comfort and reassurance in her current place of residence, having been an 'insider' in what is now firmly for her on the 'outside'. These extracts reveal if nothing else the power of 'the docks' as a signifier of validity and authenticity.

Other accounts that make sense of time and place are similarly important in understanding how crime and disorder is implicated in the Atlantic Wharf landscape. Returning to notions of Tyndall Street as a red light district as presented above, residents understood this site differently. There is some disparity in whether residents report that there are still issues with prostitution there. While some claim it is an ongoing problem, others assert that it is a thing of the past, or that it is more sporadic. Tyndall Street in general is implicated in accounts of Atlantic Wharf in the future. Some residents assert that the ongoing redevelopment of old warehouses and workshops will have a beneficial effect on

the area as a whole:

> I had thought, at one time prostitution was quite bad here and I thought they had cleared it by targeting the crawlers you know...they come from down Adamsdown, odd ones [...] But it's come back...and it's damned annoying actually...you know you try and er...you try and enjoy a decent area and you're surrounded by these [...] which you tend to cop the trouble for...yeah it is annoying...hopefully when these get knocked down and that gets redeveloped it will be better.
>
> *Frank*

Even though such accounts suggest a greater integration of Atlantic Wharf with other sites, a more harmonious progression, residents are alive to signs of decline in the neighbourhood. Some residents suggest that as a place, Atlantic Wharf is no longer what it once was:

> It was always you know, the posh area of the Bay, but I have heard a few years ago some people saying it's gone really run down now, Atlantic Wharf, not like it used to be, because you know like the Spiller and Bakers building, that used to be quite prestigious to live there, it was one of the blocks, the new apartment blocks...but I don't think it is now, like when I walked past a few months ago there was a mattress lying out in the garden.
>
> *Lucy*

This perspective is balanced against those of residents such as Ray in an earlier section, referring to the 'maturity' of Atlantic Wharf. Chapter 8 will show how residents respond to these signs of decline, and in doing so maintain and repair the moral and symbolic landscape made legible through dominant images of place. There are clearly differences in how crime, disorder and place are made sense of, which relate to the subjective position of the individual. The temporality of the neighbourhood landscape is revealed through resident judgements about the past and future from the immanence of the present. Whereas in the first instance residents are alive to change and variation in their sense of crime and place, the rhythms of crime and disorder show how they are alert to the (ir)regularity of its presence in the landscape.

Rhythms of crime and disorder

Resident accounts have made sense of Atlantic Wharf as a place that is in, but not

entirely of, the city. This, if nothing else, has hinted at an inherent mobility with which residents must engage in order to get things done. If what they value about Atlantic Wharf is its proximity to other places, then this indicates no small amount of travelling to and from these other sites, no matter how close they may be. As such, and considering the survey responses relating to crime and disorder covered in Section 1, it is important to note that this is rarely one-way traffic. In light of the usual 'peace and quiet' with which Atlantic Wharf is associated, it is noise, and activity, that signals the arrival of disorder:

> At the moment it's quiet, and at 7 o'clock in the morning it's like Piccadilly Circus, they're all coming down 'get a parking spot, get a parking spot' by 8 o'clock at night they've all gone.
>
> *Vera*

> Directly opposite my house, there are people now who in the morning, you have the workers who just before 8 o'clock drive in, park their car, and walk into town and use the road as a free parking space so it never gets swept. It then sometimes brings car crime as well if they're stupid enough to leave things in their car which they are sometimes.
>
> *Henry*

Commuter parking provides one example of non-residents taking advantage of how well situated Atlantic Wharf is for both Bay and city (see Figure 6.5). Residents report it is not just its location but the relative lack of parking controls that makes such activity possible. These temporary occupants of the neighbourhood create striations that disrupt the calm tranquillity of Atlantic Wharf as described by of residents. Henry also suggests that cars get in the way, meaning routine maintenance cannot be carried out effectively. While to a certain extent *displacing* the overall sense of peace and quiet, commuter car-parking also *creates* places for opportunist crime, attracting potential criminals that, as covered in the first section of this chapter, are perceived as coming from other parts of the city. In a sense, this creates an impression of not just crime, but the city itself making an appearance in the neighbourhood.

People have different reactions to these crimes, ranging from nonchalance to aggravation and annoyance. The blame is usually apportioned to the careless drivers as much as the criminals themselves. As Ieuan suggests, 'people park here

and go into town or work, and they leave mobile phones and bags'. Arnold agrees, stating that criminals 'create £500 of damage to your car to get a briefcase with your sandwiches in...but then people are stupid enough to leave things on show'. In line with Innes (2004), the broken glass that car break-ins leave behind acts as a 'signal' that the neighbourhood is vulnerable to crime, no matter how detached from city life it can feel at times. The way that the neighbourhood can at times be appropriated for the use of those that do not live there is reflective of an overarching vulnerability and complexity to the identity of Atlantic Wharf, and the way that it speaks to the rest of the city.

Figure 6.5 Commuter parking along Schooner Way

Disorder related to commuter parking – and car crime more generally – is something that many residents are aware of. The broken glass often left at the kerbside makes it a very visible crime, one that can leave a mark for a long time, as Henry suggests above. Other residents note how controlled parking zones – introduced in order to control parking by non-residents – end up indirectly victimizing residents and their visitors through misinterpretation or ignorance of their restrictions. As convenient as Atlantic Wharf is for desirable parts of the city,

problems around car crime and car parking are somewhat of an inconvenience that reflects the porosity and permeability of Atlantic Wharf as a place.

Chapter 3 introduced the way that attending to rhythms provides insight into the circular and linear variations with which places can be construed (e.g. Lefebvre, 2004). Here, resident interpretation of the disorder brought by commuter parking is something that follows something between a linear and cyclical rhythm. Linear in the sense of the 'monotony of actions' that are part of commuting, cyclical in their expression through the constant unfolding of morning and evening. As will be seen in later chapters, such rhythms can be traced through a variety of movements made by inhabitants through the Atlantic Wharf landscape. Whereas the noise and disruption seemingly arrives on a daily basis, actual incidents of car-related crime – as well as instances of other crimes – are described slightly differently:

> Last week actually there were about two or three cars broken into, you can still see the glass, so um, you know I think that over the last couple of weeks that, it appears to be one or two people I think, and they appear to be doing a return you know, they kind of do it cyclically, they don't do it all the time. You have a spate of it for a while and then it goes away again.
>
> *Paul*

Paul's assertion here broadly reflects the way that instances of crime and disorder are understood in most resident reports. Chapter 5 presented a similar picture of crime, whereby recorded levels of certain offences run in peaks and troughs throughout the year. Cohen and Felson (1979) describe the 'routine activities' that lead to opportunities for crime events to take place. Drawing on the work of Hawley (1950) they specifically refer to rhythm, tempo and timing as temporal components of community structure that influence offending patterns. The reading of crime and place here is somewhat different, in that certain routine, everyday rhythms – commuter parking – are seen as inherently disorderly by some residents. Rhythms of offending – the 'cyclical' crimes to which Paul refers – take place less often, although they are notable in the way 'they appear to [...] return'. Residents have various ways of making sense of this, either that the culprits move on to other areas, or that they are caught by the police and the break-ins stop.

Rhythms of policing are a further aspect of crime and place that feature in resident

accounts. The picture of crime and disorder introduced here is one of relatively low-level disorder, coupled with persistent car crime. Furthermore, most residents reported an awareness of muggings on Lloyd George Avenue. As such, encounters with police, and the visibility of formal policing in the landscape relate to residents' need for safety and reassurance. Fitting in with nostalgic views of community as stable and featuring a range of ages, many residents expressed a desire for more visible policing, where they 'knew' their local police. Of course, the visibility of police activity is rarely as durable as signs of crime and disorder such as broken glass or graffiti.

As Chapter 2 noted, however, it is not just the police force who are responsible for 'policing', given shifts towards responsibilization of local authorities, business, individuals and groups (Garland, 1996; Stenson, 2005). Chapters 7 and 8 will show further how the activities of these individuals and collectives take place through temporal and spatial thresholds. This, then, can be taken as one further representation of how crime is implicated in the Atlantic Wharf landscape. Such crimes are events that take place every so often, yet leave their mark on resident sensibilities. As Ingold (1993: 171) asserts, individuals are not passive observers of places, they do not 'look at the world outside through the window of their senses', but instead 'time is immanent in the passage of events' (ibid: 157).

5. Conclusion

This chapter has worked across a number of conceptual thresholds in order to present resident representations of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf. It has been shown that although Atlantic Wharf is largely regarded as a clean and quiet environment, this representation is challenged and undermined through necessary association with a variety of marginal sites of and for crime and disorder. Similarly, its location situated between certain other sites speaks to specific kinds of disorderly behaviour to which it is prone. It is clear that spatial elements play a large part in how residents make sense of Atlantic Wharf as a place. As part of this, the physical environment is the terrain upon which crime and disorder are construed. Conceptual and physical boundaries are used to establish differences between places, while at the same time they are places for understanding certain

phenomena. In this respect, Tyndall Street becomes a place for and of prostitution. Lloyd George Avenue is a threshold upon which the sensibilities of different cultures come together.

The chapter opened by setting out an understanding of thresholds as openings or entry points onto understanding place. In this respect, the analysis of empirical data carried out above has pointed towards a number of issues relating to crime and place in Atlantic Wharf that will be developed further below. Secondly, understood as emotional registers affective thresholds of place imply how individuals both respond to issues relating to crime and disorder and elicit salient emotional imagery such as the 'ghetto' or 'the docks'. Third, thresholds as indicative of movement in and through the physical terrain reveal that Atlantic Wharf as a place, and the crime and disorder implicated as part of that understanding, is contingent on movement. This is implied in resident accounts that speak of the convenience for the city, which is predicated on the ability to move between sites of leisure and consumption and the neighbourhood in which they live. Similarly, understanding of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf is based on the movement of various 'others', as well as the way that the 'transient community' undermines meaningful relationships between residents.

Although this chapter worked with spatial, social, cultural and temporal thresholds of crime and place, it is important to emphasise that these are not separate entities. These arbitrary divisions reflect the paradoxical nature of boundaries as illustrated in the understanding of Simmel (1997). So while it is possible to consider spatial forms, these are always related to social elements, and as such any difference or separation is predicated on connection. The following chapter will draw on the issues identified here in introducing the ways that residents negotiate the landscape of crime and place through their everyday spatial practice. This will show how making use of their own movement, and making sense of the movement of others informs and is informed by the thresholds of crime and place identified above.

7

NEGOTIATING CRIME AND DISORDER IN ATLANTIC WHARF

Introduction

This chapter engages with the way that various modes of pedestrian practice allow residents to negotiate crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf. As such it will introduce the ways that residents move in and around where they live, and the places and people they encounter while doing so. Chapter 6 developed resident representations of crime and place through various conceptual thresholds. Drawing on data from the walking interviews, this chapter will show how residents negotiate such liminal sites through their everyday lived practice. Furthermore, the chapter reveals the ways in which these thresholds are resisted and undermined through the activities of others. As with Chapter 6 the following sections work on particular phenomena that emphasise separation and connection.

Section 1 introduces relevant data from the doorstep survey, before considering the way residents walk through the neighbourhood, where they walk to and from, and the reasons they have for doing so. It will engage with the routes that residents report taking and what this implies in relation to their knowledge of crime and place. Section 2 follows on from this by considering resident encounters with conceptual and physical thresholds. In culmination the chapter addresses resident accounts of moving along and across Lloyd George Avenue. The chapter builds on that introduced in Chapter 6 and points towards themes to be explored further in Chapter 8, which will lead onto their substantive discussion in Chapter 9.

1. Walking through the neighbourhood

Before moving on to look at residents' walking practices in Atlantic Wharf it is again instructive to consider some of the survey data. One question asked residents whether there was anywhere in the neighbourhood they would go out of their way to avoid. 55% (n=138) of residents (47% of men and 66% of women) stated that they would avoid walking through particular places. These places were most often not in Atlantic Wharf itself, but on or beyond its edges. Although the question asked about 'the neighbourhood' residents interpreted this in such a way that the main place they would 'avoid' was Butetown, or Bute Street, irrespective of the time of day. Other residents did state that they would feel uneasy on Tyndall Street (especially walking through the trading estate) and Lloyd George Avenue after dark. There were places in Atlantic Wharf itself that residents would be wary of at night, with some stating they would avoid walking along the canal footpath or through the parks or other open spaces.

Many of those who said they would avoid Butetown or Bute Street did so because they had 'heard' that they were unsafe, or knew someone who had been mugged there. Others stated that they had previously walked along Bute Street or into Butetown to use the shops but that they would not do it again as they felt uncomfortable. 'Hearing' or 'being aware' that somewhere was unsafe was a common reason for their wariness. The people who had given these warnings were either friends, colleagues, the police, or otherwise unspecified. As Chapter 4 stated, the responses to this question and others in the initial survey informed the sites that the walking interview would later take in. That said, the walks did not go through Butetown itself given how uncomfortable most residents would have felt doing so. As the interviews took place in the day however, we were able to walk through Tyndall Street, along the canal, and along Lloyd George Avenue.

Ways of walking

In Chapter 6 resident accounts suggested the appeal of living somewhere conveniently located for both the city centre and Cardiff Bay. As mentioned in that chapter, this implies a necessary and significant amount of movement. Indeed, as Augoyard (2007: 7) states, the overall sense in which people inhabit city space can be seen to be shaped by 'the fragmented activities that are our lot (work, domicile,

leisure, consumption.)'. Resident accounts suggest that in Atlantic Wharf it is no different. Residents who work either nearby or access work by train or bus report their daily commute as one of the main things that gets them out and about. Similarly, the attractions of the city centre of Cardiff Bay mean that residents might make their way to these sites of leisure and consumption in the evenings or on weekends. They might walk around Atlantic Wharf itself, perhaps to go to the Wharf Pub by the Bute East Dock. They may also and invariably do drive to other places, although that is not the focus here. Driving indicates a rather different way of being in the landscape, and therefore a different kind of knowledge and encounter with it (Dant, 2004; Urry, 2007). As Mayol (1998: 10) asserts, making sense of the neighbourhood is most favourable to someone 'who moves from place to place *on foot, starting from his or her home*' (emphasis in original).

As noted in Chapter 3, Wunderlich (2008) identifies three different kinds of walking: purposive, discursive and conceptual. Purposive walking relates to an 'habitual, recurrent activity that fosters a sense of order and continuity in urban places' (ibid: 133). The daily commutes of Atlantic Wharf residents most readily align with this definition, although as will be seen they do not necessarily connote order. They also hint at discursive and conceptual walking as modes of encounter and discovery. Conceptual walking is a 'reflective mode [...] a creative response to our interpretation of place' (ibid: 132). Discursive walking denotes an embodied experience of the landscape where 'the journey is *more* important than the destination, as are the sites on route' (Wunderlich, 2008: 132, emphasis in original). However, resident reports imply that most of their walking practices have some kind of underlying purpose. Journeys made between home and workplace settle into a regular pattern or routine. Due to this rhythmic inhabitation, it becomes clear that other people have their own routines, place temporalities which overlap and run counter to those of residents. Residents report that in their daily walks to and fro they would recognise the same kinds of faces, as they slip into the flow of the working day. These encounters along with daily contact with other residents are described through a mixture of indifference and perfunctory cordiality. In short, they may smile or nod, but rarely exchange pleasantries or stop and chat; they are on the move, and they keep moving. This, from resident accounts, is the order of things in Atlantic Wharf. On the other hand

routine walking through the neighbourhood landscape reveals the presence of things out of place, signs of disorder:

> Yeah, so almost weekly I'll see evidence of something just on this short stretch of Schooner Way that I walk from work [...] and it's, you know, usually broken glass.
>
> *Bethan*

> I see, I tend to see [the Police] along here quite a lot, when I'm walking to work, and they seem to patrol that, cos Schooner Way is packed during the day full of sort of work people's cars and usually you'll see them at least once a day, they're probably going up and down mostly...when I'm walking backwards and forwards I usually see them at least once, sort of checking the cars more than anything I think.
>
> *Richard*

> By and large the only problem here is car crime, especially around this road, especially by the gate to the park as well, cos you've got four ways of going.
>
> *OC: And is that some broken glass just there?* [by the kerb]
>
> Yes...I think I notice it more because I walk this way [when taking my kids] to school so I always see it.
>
> *Jane*

Chapter 6 noted the way that residents account for commuter parking and concomitant car crime in Atlantic Wharf as inherently rhythmic. Here are two further dimensions to the rhythm of the landscape immanent through everyday practice. This brings Innes' (2004) work on signal disorders from Chapter 2 together with the rhythmanalysis of Lefebvre (2004) in Chapter 3. Bethan here reports that she sees 'evidence', usually broken glass, on her way to or from work; for her a clear sign that car-related crime has taken place (on which see Figure 7.2). Jane similarly encounters such signs of disorder when walking to the school. Wunderlich (2008) notes above that purposive walking fosters a sense of order, and Richard's day is 'ordered' through a police presence. These daily activities have their part to play in what Ingold (1993: 160) describes as the 'taskscape', the temporality of which 'lies not in any particular rhythm, but in the network of interrelationships between the multiple rhythms of which the taskscape is constituted'. Richard perceives the police activity during an ordered part of his day, and also sees the neighbourhood being ordered, through *patrol* as one kind of

Figure 7.1 On the straight and narrow between housing developments

Figure 7.2 Broken glass as a sign of crime

'purposive' walking. Another resident, Vera, uses her time walking her dog to check up on the area, varying which patch she covers each time. She calls this her 'police patrol' and reports that it often leads to sharing of information with the local Neighbourhood Policing Team. Other residents similarly display the kind of responsibilized activity that was introduced in Chapter 2 as one means of fostering community safety (Garland, 2000; Stenson, 2005):

> I still do a bit of lecturing at the university, and I remember a guy that I lectured to back in 1996 and he said to me 'do you still walk around at night because you think it makes the place safer for other people and encourages them to walk?!'...He said 'I always remember you saying that'. And it's true, because if I'm out walking then it might encourage somebody else to, whereas if I stop walking then I'm actually making it less safe for somebody else to walk, so it's my public duty.
>
> *Anne*

Walking Atlantic Wharf, however repetitive and mundane the purpose, is to walk through layers of meaning in relation to crime and disorder, signifying both uniformity and anomaly. For Lefebvre (2004: 6) 'there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitiveness: difference'. In terms of picking up on signals of disorder, in part it is the repetitive nature of a daily commute that reveals when things are out of place. For Bethan, she encounters such signals 'almost weekly' indicating both their eventual degradation and near regular return. Anne's account suggests a kind of 'conceptual' walking, as a response to her interpretation of safety in relation to place; people need to be seen to be walking. Both the patrol of Vera and Anne's activity are reminiscent of former Home Secretary Michael Howard's call for 'walking with a purpose', the active engagement of 'upright' citizens in the control of crime. They are also attempts to create some kind of order, although in political terms their activity might appear rather benign. However, as will be seen in Chapter 8, such proactive or reactive responses to the presence of disorder or threats to community safety take on the 'ordering' qualities that a responsibilization 'strategy' implies (e.g. Garland, 2000).

Finding their way

Resident accounts of walking the neighbourhood suggest a particular specialised knowledge of moving through and beyond the area, which is built up through a

series of ventures into what is at first unknown territory (Ingold, 2000). Accounts of coming to the area and getting to know it include some pedestrian element, getting outside and walking. The use of pedestrian hints at a gradual and slow build up, a linear progression that moves with the landscape:

> People spend ages driving round looking for Ikea. My sister got lost around here when she came to visit me because there's like all the industrial area as well and steelworks if you go all the way round and I think she was lost around there somewhere.
>
> *OC: Is it quite easy to get lost in somewhere like this?*
>
> Well...I think it is if you're driving for the first time, we're quite used to it now...when we first moved in me and my house-mate actually walked around all of these roads over a space of a couple of weeks you know, just checking the routes we could do to get places, really just wanted to know the area because I've never lived around here before, I know the other side of Cardiff like the back of my hand, but this is a Cardiff we've never known, so yeah we just walked, you can walk all the way along the waterfront on the other side of that building actually, past the Holiday Inn and then get to the wharf, so yeah we did that walk a few times
>
> *Phil*

> There are lots of little runs and steps here and there, cut-throughs down by the canal. It takes a while to find them all. I've found them all by taking the dogs different ways.
>
> *Vera*

As these extracts suggest, one way of getting to know somewhere is to walk through it, taking different routes, experimenting with and being drawn along with the landscape. There is still a sense of purpose here – Phil suggesting the need to 'get places' – but these kinds of walks hint at a gradual and repetitive engagement with the neighbourhood in order to figure it out. On a number of occasions during walking interviews drivers would pull up and ask for directions, and residents reported that they were often stopped and asked the way. Indeed, the extract from an interview with Phil above followed one such query. This clearly chimes with Mayol's (1998) argument that this kind of familiarity is the privilege of the pedestrian. Above, Jane reveals that one way in which she becomes aware of car crime is through encounters with broken glass when on the move. She provides a further extract which emphasises the importance of walking to this process:

> That road, Celerity Drive that we went past, I reported a car had been broken into, a window was smashed and everything and I said to my husband I'd found a car, and should I go out there and tape it up, you know put a bin bag over it and leave a note, and he said no, you report it to the police and the police will be there. The police then phoned me up and asked me where it was, what kind of car it was, and I'd given them that information, they couldn't have missed it, but he didn't get out of his car. All he had to do was get out of his car and walk up the road and he would have seen it. But he phoned me up and I was actually on the road I was going home, I flagged him down and said it's that car, and he said, oh I didn't see it, you know. And I said if you actually parked up and got out of your car and seen what I had written down and reported you would have found it.
>
> *Jane*

There are a number of significant features here relating to how residents negotiate crime and disorder through inhabiting the landscape. First Jane hints at various kinds of 'response' to this encounter with disorder, and these will be returned specifically in Chapter 8. Something else that will emerge through this chapter and the next is how Jane implies a difference between her encounter on foot and the perspective of the police, in this case car-bound and unable to find what Jane reported. Chapter 3 introduced the work of Ingold (2000; 2007a) relating to the difference between those who find their way and those who are transported. The conceit is that whereas the latter moves from place to place 'like a chess piece', the wayfarer feels their way through the landscape, their lived practice 'fine-tuned through previous experience' (Ingold, 2000: 220). This extract provides a clear expression of Ingold's argument, and the same basic relationship will be shown to play out in the number of ways in which residents negotiate crime and place. Whereas Ingold is concerned with the way that people 'know where they are', Mayol (1998) writes of how the neighbourhood is appropriated through walking, an unfolding of particular and familiar pathways through everyday use. However, among resident accounts there is not just the sense of appropriation, but that certain routes might be *appropriate*:

> I never walk along this side of the canal because the other side would take me onto Schooner way so that's the way I come back [...] I'll use proper routes and I don't use the spaces for sort of leisure, I suppose...you know, I'll use them to get to and from somewhere.
>
> *Bethan*

> I generally stick to the same route, I don't know whether there is much to explore to be honest with you, it all seems to be it all heads in the same direction and erm...cos of that I just stick to the routes I know really [...] I mean when I'm going towards town I'm going *to town* usually so I know the shortest way for me so I just tend to stick to that.
>
> *Richard*

Richard here asserts that although he doesn't 'know' he perceives his surroundings in such a way that he is not drawn to anywhere in particular other than where he wants to go. That there is little to 'explore' resonates with the impression given by Chapter 6 that there is not much to do in Atlantic Wharf. These extracts thus return to the idea of walking to get somewhere, that once the 'proper route' has been found it is generally the one that is used. This implies that there might also be 'improper routes', or certainly improper ways of being in the neighbourhood and Chapter 8 will explore this further. As stated above, the walking interview did not always tread the same ground as residents' everyday moves. Although this may lose some of the authenticity that Kusenbach (2003) believes is necessary as part of ethnographic 'go-alongs', this research is as interested in the spaces that people do not use, and their reasons why, as it is in those they do.

Our walks converged with, crossed over, and interrogated the spaces that people inhabit in the everyday, but also allowed them to make sense of some of the spaces that they do not. One significant feature of this relationship that will be developed throughout this chapter is how they then perceive order and disorder in those sites. De Certeau (1984: 98) notes that 'the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform, or abandon spatial elements'. In other words, the environment presents a set of possible moves, and an 'ordered' environment implies which ones are appropriate. Through the active choosing of certain ways in which to follow or ignore them, individuals strengthen or weaken respective boundaries and pathways. This does not always mean, however, that residents take responsibility for that which they encounter while using these 'proper routes':

> I think once I hit the canals I'm out of my neighbourhood really...my... that's fascinating now that I'm talking to you that [my area is] actually quite small...yeah...I mean I wouldn't pick up litter around the canals would I, but I would around my patch...cos I'm with it daily.
>
> *Sally*

Chapter 6 similarly alluded to the way that residents conceived of 'their' neighbourhood as contingent upon not just where they walk but the kinds of sites they walk through, and the boundaries between them. Sally here suggests how she only feels a sense of belonging or responsibility for a small part of the overall area. Being retired she does not walk through the same areas on a regular basis, although she suggests that she engages with the spaces around her home. Kusenbach (2008) argues that such (dis)engagement reflects the nested character of place, whereby residents relate to notions of neighbourhood in different ways. The way that Sally speaks of her patch as 'quite small' perhaps relates to the lack for her of local facilities in Atlantic Wharf, things that might provide points of attachment and social interaction (Kusenbach, 2008). As mentioned above, Chapter 8 will explore this further, both in relation to the responsive and responsible activities of residents, and their recognition and interpretation of the activities of others. Sally hints at how her feelings of responsibility change after she moves from being in her 'patch' and 'hits the canals'. The next section will look more closely at how the perception and experience of crime and disorder relate to that which comes between.

2. Encounters with liminal sites

The first section introduced resident accounts relating to how and why they walk in and around Atlantic Wharf. It showed how they gradually find their way through the neighbourhood, and that their primarily purposive walking practices indicate its specific appropriation through daily use. It also showed how these practices might relate to the rhythmic accumulation of knowledge and pointed towards possible responses to certain issues. This section will show that even though they may walk along routes of appropriation they must still confront and work through various kinds of thresholds. The following will therefore look at how examples of spatial, social, cultural and temporal thresholds from Chapter 6 are negotiated by residents while on the move.

Along the canal

As Sally indicates above, the canal is one of the main routes that residents might take when walking to other places. For others it is also somewhere to come to in its own right, and for people like Rodney and Valerie who live alongside they are with it on a daily basis. Chapter 6 suggested that the canal is somewhere that residents appreciate for its greenery and wildlife, something that gives them a certain sense of escapism:

> This sort of makes me feel like being back at home with the weeping willows and stuff, there's loads of weeping willows that go all along the Thames by us [...] You don't feel like you're in the city any more...like walking through these bits here when you're just shaded by the weeping willow I love it...favourite tree.
>
> *Phil*

Other resident reports similarly draw on fragments of the material landscape to create a sense of passing through some kind of 'other place'. Referring back to the literature, this implies how such sites might be understood as 'heterotopias', as they possess 'multiple, fragmented, or even incompatible meanings' (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008: i). Sometimes these meanings play on other affective registers of memory: Vera states that when walking alongside the dock she still 'sees' the gruesome sight of a man who had hung himself from a lamp post. Passing through the canal during a walking interview, and talking about Atlantic Wharf in general terms, Ieuan breaks off to recount a similar episode:

> There is no sense of community and a lack of basic things going on you know? But I quite like the convenience of living close to the city centre...my wife found a dead body in this canal! That was about...7 or 8 years ago. She used to walk up this way to town, in the daytime. It's a lot more overgrown now actually but...well it was there, the body. It was a guy that used to work in the old opera here.[35] It wasn't criminal, it was suicide apparently, but it's still not really nice [...] From a police point of view, obviously she found the body, she was the first person on the scene and it was obviously very traumatic...but there was no follow up from the police, no one came round the house to say 'How are you?' or anything...and she won't walk this way now since it happened.
>
> *Ieuan*

35 The Welsh National Opera was based north of Atlantic Wharf on John Street before it moved to the Wales Millennium Centre.

Chapter 6 introduced the role of memory and biography in representations of Atlantic Wharf. These reflect Amin and Thrift's (2002: 30) assertion that as moments of encounter, cities should not be thought of as 'presents, fixed in space and time'. As Ingold (1993: 159) states, in such instances individuals perceive 'a particular vista of past and future; but it is a vista that is available from this moment and no other'. So walking 'through' memorable sites will always be different, not least depending on the disposition of the individual at that time. For some residents the canal also evokes particular childhood memories, especially among female residents. These relate to parental warnings about walking in such places; Simone states that she still 'hears' her father's warnings as she walks along. Stanko (1996: 58) recognises that as children 'we accumulate this knowledge about danger and carry it into our adult life'. In Ingold's (1993) understanding, such knowledge will be variably cast and recast in relation to the present:

> I tend to stick to this path and onto the main road and around, but when I'm with the kids, especially with the little one, I will go along the canal, but my mother tells me off.
>
> *OC: Really?*
>
> Yeah, she doesn't, well my parents don't live in Cardiff any more, but even now she will say, 'You don't walk along that canal do you?', 'No, no no', you know?
>
> *OC: So it's the perception of the canal as being...*
>
> Yeah, yeah, 'Don't go down there...if anybody tried to mug you'...and I've never heard of anything you see.
>
> *Jane*

Jane qualifies her resistance of such admonishment partly because her parents don't live in Cardiff any more, and as she has never heard of any such muggings taking place there. Chapter 2 introduced the work of Koskela (2001) on 'bold walk and breakings', the way that women counter both direction from others and face up to their fears through spatial practice. In this light, Simone suggested that she got a kind of 'thrill' out of going against her father's guidance. Gendered relations of neighbourhood space run through many accounts of walking in Atlantic Wharf. That said, the perspectives of others – such as friends and family – are not always expressed in relation to female movement:

> I'd normally walk along here [the canal]...wouldn't always recommend it [...] you get some strange faces along here sometimes [walk under bridge] once I had friends staying down from...from wherever, people who aren't from Cardiff, and they said 'you don't walk this way at night time do you?' So they're a bit more sceptical than I am I think because they don't know the area...for them it's a bit sort of er...shady area sort of thing.
>
> *Richard*

Figure 7.3 The canal at night

This indicates how certain sites are interpreted depending on the orientation of the person perceiving them. Coming from 'outside', Richard's friends voiced their anxiety about walking along the canal at night (a temporal threshold covered in more detail below). Chapter 6 suggested that many residents feel a sense of trepidation in relation to the canal, especially after dark, and as Richard states this is because it can appear to be a 'shady area' (see Figure 7.3). They also identify it with specific examples of disorder – graffiti, drug use, anti-social behaviour – and as such Chapter 8 will show how residents might come together to address these issues. Valentine (1990) and Lupton (1999) show how people overcome such fears or anxiety in relation to urban forms through the accumulation of experience and,

as Jane notes above, never having 'heard' of anything happening. Although they may appear threatening, archetypal 'criminogenic situations', for Richard it would seem that familiarity breeds contentment. Again, it is possible to draw on the distinction between navigation and wayfinding: for the individual encountering such a site for the first time it may appear risky or unsafe, but through finding their own way such residents are able to counter such fears.

Façades of security

A further threshold that was inferred by residents to have some ability to counter fear, and control crime and disorder, was that between the paths that they walked along and the houses adjacent to them. The neighbourhood terrain features a range of pathways and steps leading between the canal and surrounding areas, something to which Vera alludes above. For some residents these were confusing and as they did not seem to lead anywhere they would not use them. As will be seen in Chapter 8 the paths and territory around some of the newer developments are more limited in terms of the movement they afford. Rodney describes the interface between these routes, and the open spaces around overlooking buildings:

> One lunchtime there was a car that had been broken into, and the person said they were foolish and left their bag in their car...But what surprises me, and I'll illustrate this is the, you know, the openness of it all...you know, you're overlooked here by maybe going on for 100 windows...and yet someone does that...but of course the thing here, you know, you can just zap through here and away you go.
>
> *Rodney*

Rodney suggests that he is surprised both at the boldness of the theft and that no one saw it happen. The capacity for surveillance Rodney ascribes to the '100 windows' reveals an understanding that windows equal people. Leach (2005: 305-6) draws on Jameson (1996) to describe the way that 'buildings [...] do not have any inherent meaning. They are essentially "inert", and are merely "invested" with meaning'. Rodney's use of 100 windows is therefore a synecdoche of sorts (de Certeau, 1984). The part, or parts, stands for the 'whole' of the buildings, and buildings stand for people. However, just because there are windows, it does not mean that anyone is looking. Given the 'routine activities' (Cohen and Felson,

1979) of ostensibly 'busy' residents, it is possible that most people would be in other places at lunchtime. Jacobs (1961) states that for such activity to take place there must be something to keep 'eyes on the street' transfixed. Furthermore, territorial surveillance is diluted and the divide between public and private space unclear. The 'here' that Rodney refers to is a passageway that leads out of the communal courtyard where he lives (see Figure 7.4). Residents who are familiar with these routes describe them as perfectly configured for would-be criminals to take advantage of opportunities:

> The kids responsible know how to get in and out of these places, they've walked the area. I see kids walking the street checking handles of the doors of cars. Along the canal for example, down by the canal, lots of those places have been broken into there, they've got escape routes which there are, they've got them that they can go to, it is that permeability of the area, say like 'right, we can go there, do what we have to do and escape quickly' you know.
>
> *Ieuan*

Figure 7.4 'Escape route' leading out of housing development

Ieuan suggests that criminals have a specific spatial knowledge of the neighbourhood, recalling the work of Brantingham and Brantingham (1993). As outlined in Chapter 3, this is a knowledge predicated on movement, and here Ieuan specifies this as walking. This is something worth noting, and Chapter 8 will return to the ways in which the movement of various 'others' is perceived and made sense of in resident accounts. The threshold between the canal and the surrounding developments, both in terms of connecting paths and opportunities for surveillance was captured in the account of one resident who was the victim of a mugging. Kay describes herself as an 'unusual female' because she does not mind walking everywhere. She was mugged after work as she returned home along the canal footpath late one January evening. Many residents refer to their trepidation about such a situation, because of their perception that no one would come to their aid. For instance, Graham asserts that people are too scared to get involved for fear of reprisal, whereas Simone suggests that because many properties seem empty there would be no one to 'hear your screams'.

In the case of Kay, she later discovered from the police that people were alerted to some sort of disturbance outside their home, but that they thought it to be a domestic dispute. Eventually somebody did come to help Kay due to the amount of noise she was making, although it took what seemed like a long time, and a long struggle for Kay, before her ordeal was over. Kay noted how surreal the situation was: her assailant did not speak to tell her what he wanted, and for her the event seemed to last forever. That said, for Kay this encounter, surreal as it was, has not disappeared from her consciousness, and hence has impacted on both the way that she walks through and perceives the neighbourhood:

> *OC: Had you been aware that this could be a bit of a dodgy area, had you ever thought that?*
>
> No, not at all, and I know it sounds funny, even though seeing those steps there, never even thought that anybody could be lurking there and I think what it was he was probably sitting at the bottom of those steps [...] and then once I'd walked past he got up and decided to make his move. So I didn't notice him when he, and it's only now it's happened that I suddenly notice, ooh, there are all these little steps here.
>
> *OC: So quite a few nooks and crannies...*
>
> Yeah, yeah, there's a lot yeah, yeah...never bothered me before, I say mostly because I hadn't seen anyone. And part of the reason that I won't

> do this at night now [...] In London I'm a lot happier, I don't think I'll ever be confident here, and it's only because I'm convinced that the person who did it to me is still out there, and I'm convinced he's still wandering around this area.
>
> *Kay*

Prior to her experience Kay was very confident walking in public at any time of the day. She works and stays in Cardiff during the week, but 'lives' in London – somewhere that she is well used to walking around after dark. It was, for her, the fact that there was never really anyone around the area when she walked home from work – usually at a time slightly later than most other commuters – that she felt safe in using the canal space. It could be stated that the event arose due to the gap between her own rhythmic inhabitation of Atlantic Wharf, and the collective commuting rhythms of others – the absence of 'likely guardians' as Cohen and Felson (1979) have it. Instead, there is a 'co-ordination of an offender's rhythms with those of a victim' (ibid: 590). Kay states that she now won't walk along the canal path at night, and that she 'suddenly notices' its physical features in a way she did not before. Both Brown and Harris (1989) and Schepple and Bart (1983) assert that recovery from such an ordeal is slower for those victimized in places where they previously felt safe, and quicker for those in areas perceived to be unsafe. Indeed, Kay continues to be wary about the area as a whole, and as her assailant was never caught, still feels that he is 'out there' somewhere.

Bridging (into the) capital

As with Kay's heightened awareness, resident accounts suggest that fears are often concentrated in the experience of passing through sites that are in one way or another obscure vision – either for the individual walking, or in terms of surveillance by adjacent houses. Many participating residents express concern over inadequate street lighting, improvements to which are typical of an SCP approach to managing fears of using public space after dark (Clarke, 1997). That said, as Koskela and Pain (2000) argue, the impact of such intervention is limited, especially in relation to the more general anxieties and concerns, what Jackson (2004) describes as 'expressive fear'. The experience of walking through Tyndall Street captures the way that such anxiety is brought into focus when 'passing

through' social, temporal and spatial thresholds:

> As you go across here there is a small industrial estate there, and you go across the railway bridge [Pellett Street footbridge], have you ever been that sort of way? Well I would think twice about going across there late at night. It's that sort of...you do see people go there, I've seen drug taking down there, it's just that sort of area, it's covered in graffiti, a dark alley, it's badly lit [...] It's okay in the day, and when there are people walking home from work and what have you...but at night it's a different story.
>
> *Ieuan*

Figure 7.5 Pellett Street footbridge

Chapter 6 suggested that Tyndall Street was somewhere that residents might encounter on their way to and from the city centre. The 'crossing' that Ieuan refers to here (see Figure 7.5) was reported in many resident accounts as somewhere they felt unsafe when walking. Again recalling Innes' (2004) signal crimes perspective, Ieuan refers to certain kinds of physical and social disorder that make him think twice about using it after dark. This also chimes with parts of Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken windows' thesis, suggesting that this is a place where 'no one cares'. Although ostensibly 'outside' Atlantic Wharf it is still a significant site that affects

feelings of safety among residents as they leave and return to the neighbourhood, especially considering the purported 'convenience' of where they live. It therefore has an ambivalent quality; both a situated sense of anxiety and the quickest route to the city centre. For Hetherington (1997) such ambivalent qualities define the thresholds of social order, and the practice of passing through the industrial area, and crossing the footbridge give a sense of what Jackson (2004) terms 'experiential fear'. That said, not all residents interpret it in exactly these terms:

> I work for the police and obviously they know where I live and they warned me about using that bridge at night...I had walked over it a million times without any trouble but since they warned me whenever I walk through there my head plays tricks on me and if there are people about it freaks me out...they said it's not a safe area because there are bushes and big buildings...and once I saw a group of guys hanging out at the bottom of the bridge and so then I thought maybe they were dealing drugs or something...but they could have been totally innocent. So I still walk over it, but I know that if something happens I'll feel stupid.
>
> *Eve*

Here is another example of tension between the area as Eve understands and experiences it in the everyday (as a wayfarer), and the knowledge and opinion of the police (as navigators). Although – and in part *because* – she doesn't avoid walking here, she states that her head 'plays tricks' on her and that she would feel 'stupid' if anything happened. The legitimacy of her knowledge is challenged by what could be considered the 'expert' knowledge of the police (Stenson, 2005). Chapter 8 examines thresholds between 'folk expertise' and professional expertise, and what they reveal about resident experiences of crime and place. It was noted above that Tyndall Street provides an example of a social, temporal and spatial threshold, and it is worth elaborating on this further. Although it is not a particularly pleasant place, most residents felt comfortable walking around Tyndall Street and crossing the footbridge during the day but not at night. This was because the workshops and factories would be closed and there would be 'no one around' – other than real or imagined figures of anxiety. The same commuting rhythms that might create a sense of order in the daytime slip away, and the landscape sits in the threshold between the cyclical rhythms of day and night:

> To get to work I would normally cut over the railway [...] wouldn't do it at night, at night this place sort of transforms a little bit, it's a red light district, so you see the prostitutes waiting for business along here and

> then that way, down towards Splott [nearby area]...I suppose you just sort of think there might be someone, you know, unsavoury characters.
>
> *Diane*

Williams (2008) draws on Lefebvre (1991) in asserting darkness as socially mediated, and 'night spaces' are produced through a combination of government policy, economic structures and social codes of conduct between different individuals and groups. In the everyday this can mean the creation of certain spaces that are subject to specific controls, but also acts of transgression and resistance. This means that spaces become both deterritorialized and reterritorialized as the means to discipline and control them are rendered more or less effective. As a threshold between Atlantic Wharf and the city centre, the experience of walking through Tyndall Street, its status as an 'anxiogenic' space, is described through temporal shifts in social control and order contingent upon linear rhythms of the working day. As such, some residents reveal that they either avoid it at night, or if they do use it they walk more quickly or take more care:

> I just think if you know where the crime and bad things are happening then you can just stay away from it...I know you can't ignore it that it's going on but...um....you know...it's like I don't try and put myself in any unnecessary risk if I can help it...even though we live really close to town and I'm quite tempted to walk back from town sometimes, like if it's 11 o'clock not too late, and my friend's always like no, no, no get a taxi, and I always do although I feel really lazy and it costs quite a lot in taxi fare because you've got to go round the long way.
>
> *Angela*

The fear of crime literature introduced in Chapter 2 describes how such fear and avoidance may be 'functional' when it reduces exposure to harm (Jackson and Gray, 2010). Angela suggests here that knowledge of where and when might be unsafe to walk means that she avoids those sites in one sense, and in doing so appropriates a safe sense of place in the landscape. Lupton (1999) suggests that people have a 'mental map' of places variously defined as 'risky' and 'safe'. Ingold (2000) might argue that as wayfarers, individuals may have mental maps (or some equivalent) of those places they have not been to, but for those that they have and that they do walk through, their knowledge of place – and crime – is based in an alternative mode of encounter.

Walking through transitions

Although an ambiguous and subjective marginal site in its own right, Tyndall Street was also described in Chapter 6 as a bounding device. However, given their orientation towards the city centre residents rarely experience it laterally, but as somewhere their movement is 'channelled' across the footbridge. In other words, thinking back to Chapter 3, it forms a transition between Atlantic Wharf and the city centre. In Ingold's (2000) terms, as residents walk between the two sites, they perceive a series or progression of vistas that gradually open and close as they move between them. Indeed, this process, linked together through 'reversible occlusion', takes place wherever they walk through the built environment. Thinking back to the canal, the footpath features a range of 'vistas', linked together by 'transition spaces', such as the bridges that cross overhead, the bushes and trees that obscure sight-lines, and where the path itself changes direction (see Figure 7.6). What is notable is that often it through these transitions that residents experience both feelings of anxiety and signs of disorder:

> It's the kind of place that you would think maybe people would go down there to use drugs, because its quite out of the way and there's quite a lot of, well there was, I think they've painted it over now, but there was quite a lot of graffiti under there on the bridge as well...so the ideal place to hide away from people to do things like that. It shocked me a bit [...] and so when I walk through there now I'm always wondering whether I will see someone.
>
> *Angela*

Angela describes what Bannister and Fyfe (2001) term the intersection between fear, disorder and the urban form. Here she relates an encounter not with drug users but signs of drug use, discarded needles under one of the canal bridges. In doing so she suggests that it is 'the kind of place' that people might go to use drugs. Dovey and Fitzgerald (2001) echo Angela's interpretation, and suggest that such sites, transitions between vistas in Ingold's (2000) terms, provide the ideal space for such activity:

> An interesting dimension of the spatiality of public injecting is that it shares such liminal zones with practices of graffiti writing. Graffiti is also illegal and is torn between the desire to be visible to the public gaze

and the desire to find a vacant surface and to execute the work unobserved. (Dovey and Fitzgerald, 2001: 149)

Important in relation to resident accounts of Atlantic Wharf is how these spaces of occlusion, the transitions between different vistas, signify concentrations of uncertainty and in some cases fear as they are walking. As Stevens (2007: 75) asserts, such sites are 'between inside and outside, a loose mix of two different environments'.

Figure 7.6 Occluded vistas along the canal footpath

While each vista may be equally familiar to the pedestrian in one sense, there is something about the act of crossing these boundaries which can be troubling and disconcerting. Part of this uncertainty lies in the ceding of responsibility to those around them. The moves through these particular local vistas (the first of which occurs in the passage through the front door) negotiates the boundary between a space where they have control and exert an influence, to one where the control lies with those of others (Sibley, 1995). As such it is necessary to engage with another 'transition', one where there is no small amount of anxiety, although residents describe specific ways in which this is managed. Indeed, as will be seen, here is the

clearest indication of how resident walking appears to 'privilege, transform, or abandon spatial elements' (de Certeau, 1984: 98). As the literature in Chapter 2 and empirical work in Chapter 6 make clear, these spatial elements imply particular social relations.

3. Lloyd George Avenue in transition

Chapter 6 engaged with Lloyd George Avenue as an exemplary spatial threshold in resident accounts of crime and place. This indicated the way it both connects the city centre and Cardiff Bay, and also separates Butetown from Atlantic Wharf. Drawing on Atkinson (2006) it was recognised that Lloyd George Avenue is somewhere that 'insulates' Atlantic Wharf from association with Butetown, but that in doing so it becomes associated with particular instances of crime and disorder. The start of this chapter indicated that for many residents Butetown and Bute Street were places that they would go out of their way to avoid. That said, resident accounts from walking interviews seem to suggest the opposite, that they would have to go out of their way to walk *into* Butetown:

> I don't have a need to go through that area, because it doesn't actually go anywhere, as far as I'm aware. I mean I don't know Cardiff that well but...that [subway] just goes into more housing as far as I'm aware, it's not a route through I don't think...so, the routes I know are that way [towards the city centre] and that way [towards Cardiff Bay] I guess.
>
> *Paul*

> It just seems that that physical divide of the railway keeps the two separate sections very separate, even though, like down the end by the bay, I use the shops there, and you don't get that same sort of atmosphere you do if you wander farther off the beaten track around here [...] There's something just desolate about Bute Street...I find it a really depressing sort of place, there's nothing nice about it.
>
> *Simone*

In the previous chapter Ray described the 'vista' available from Lloyd George Avenue either looking toward the city or the Bay. On the other hand, other residents suggested the 'vista' of Butetown is not something they were overly keen on. This is something that Simone's extract above reiterates, and similarly Paul suggests that there is nothing to draw him across because it is 'just housing'.

Residents report walking along Lloyd George Avenue in a way that emphasises their own orientation towards these sites, and away from Butetown. This was revealed partly in the residents' connection with Cardiff Bay in Chapter 6, and their accounts of walking made no reference to a boundary or difficulties in crossing from Atlantic Wharf to the Bay.

As previously stated, Lloyd George Avenue is somewhat lopsided: on the Atlantic Wharf side there is a wide pavement and cycle path, as well as street furniture and, significantly, housing. On the other side there a narrow pavement, bus stops, and subways that run under the railway line. Residents complain about cyclists not sticking to cycle paths. Similarly there are some roads running into Atlantic Wharf from Lloyd George Avenue which disrupt residents' walking. Something else that on occasion proves disruptive is when cars actually *drive* on pavement:

> *OC:* [encountering a car on Lloyd George Avenue]
> *Does that happen a lot?*
>
> Yes, I get so cross, I told you I was a militant pedestrian! I mean what right do people have, it's a footway [...] and people see it as a wide paved area therefore it's something to drive on. It drives me mad!
>
> *Anne*

Anne's account raises issues relating to more than just crime and disorder, but the safety and usage rights of the pedestrian in relation to transport. That there is space to drive on the pavement highlights the relative emptiness of Lloyd George Avenue as a pedestrian thoroughfare. Although there are demarcated spaces for bicycles and pedestrians on the pavement, and convention that cars should stay on *roads*, there is a clear 'looseness' to this seemingly ordered space (Franck and Stevens, 2007). This, in other words, emphasises negotiation not just in terms of avoiding being run into by someone on two or four wheels, but what Anne implies above, the 'rights' to use these spaces in certain ways. She positions herself in this context as 'militant', recalling the 'conceptual walking' of Wunderlich (2008). In terms of resident responses to the presence of 'others' on Lloyd George Avenue, there is often the implicit assumption that they do not have the 'right' to be there, as Chapter 8 will show. However, even though the pavement on the other side of the road is free from bicycles and uninterrupted by side roads – or cars – most residents express their preference for walking on the Atlantic Wharf side:

> I'm always wary, I've been told not to walk on that side of the street...and I don't actually. I did it once and I just thought hmm...
>
> OC: *It felt different walking over there?*
>
> Yeah, hugely different...because of Butetown over there and so...and there had been a few um robberies, like people getting their iPods and that nicked, we had a bit of a warning going round...it was people walking on that side of the street, probably after work and things like that.
>
> *Stephanie*

In a way it makes sense for residents to walk on 'their side' of Lloyd George Avenue, given that they mostly report it to be a nice, quiet and relaxing space. Stephanie also reports that she has never been into Butetown, because of things she has 'heard' about it. Chapter 6 also mentioned the community houses on Lloyd George Avenue, and residents suggest that they often feel uncomfortable when walking past them. As Simone states, 'it feels more territorial there'. The same is true for accounts of Butetown, as even though most residents state they do not walk there, there are some that have, and do. There are a range of shops in Butetown, as well as a doctor's surgery in Loudon Square. This is not somewhere that residents report they like to go, and many have made alternative arrangements in surgeries further away:

> When I moved I had to register with a doctor, and I went over the Butetown and I remember being horrified because there is a sign saying no spitting, so I quickly called up the NHS to see where else I could register, you know just stuff like that because there is a difference, it's dirtier you know, I think less resources are probably put into that part of the area.
>
> *Valerie*

> Yeah. I mean I would never go to Butetown, I used to have the doctor's there and I changed my doctor's to Grangetown because I couldn't face it. And I actually have a friend who's moved to this area and her doctor's there and she is just horrified by it.
>
> OC: *Are they good doctors though?*
>
> No. I think they're used to treating people with methadone...problems. If you go to the doctor's in Butetown, it was in my time, locks on every door, they don't have, cos I was working I would book a nine o'clock appointment, be there for nine o'clock and three people would be there before me, even though they were supposed to be after me, and they

would be seen before me because they give you a number [...] I mean you try to explain to my boss why I'm not in at ten o'clock because people want more drugs. And you know they just treat you almost inhuman [sic]. So no, I changed doctor...I've got to take the car but I would rather do that than, you know, be around, you know drug users with my children.

Jane

The 'atmosphere' to which Simone alludes above is something that comes up in many resident interviews. In these accounts residents perceive clear social and cultural differences, expressed here through the doctor's surgery. Encounters with drug addicts are inherently unsettling but also frustrating given what Jane regards as preferential treatment. Valerie reports she was 'horrified' by her experience there, and the 'no spitting' sign relates to 'khat', a chewable stimulant popular among Somali people. Whether a feeling of uneasiness, desolation, or disgust, accounts from residents who have spent time in Butetown are largely negative. Some even suggest that they have been the victim of crime or felt intimidated by those around them. In one sense there is an identification here with what Lasch (1995) terms the 'revolt of the elites', a conscious decision to disregard those local public services that provide some sense of connection with people from 'other' groups. The majority of residents report, however, that they have never been into Butetown. Partly this is because, as Paul asserts above, they feel they have no reason to go there. Many other residents reported that they avoid it because of its reputation for crime and disorder:

I never feel too unsafe on this road [Lloyd George Avenue] at all...I wouldn't want to be walking on the other side of the tracks there...which sounds like a cliché, the other side of the tracks but...it sort of is the other side of the tracks you know, it's not a nice part of Cardiff.

OC: Have you ever been over there or heard of anything happening?

It's more that I've driven, I've driven through it and...it could just be a perception thing and what you hear from other people you know, everyone's always like don't go near Butetown it's not nice...but I don't know I've never, I've driven through there and you always have like an unsavoury character like loitering around and it just looks a bit run down and not looked after

[...]

I don't think the image is nice...I wouldn't feel safe over there I would say...I don't know how dangerous the place is, I never walk through it,

> but I know that if I went there I'd be checking over my shoulders and you know keeping an eye around me who's following me and stuff like that...keep my eyes open in case anything happens.
>
> *Phil*

Phil suggests that he has never walked into Butetown because of mediated accounts of its reputation, as well as his own experience driving through it. This provides him with an 'image' of Butetown that he suggests would make him feel unsafe were he to walk there. In Lupton's (1999) terms, Phil has a 'mental map' of Butetown as somewhere to be avoided. As he concedes, this representation is not informed by what Ingold (2000) would recognise as the pedestrian practice of 'mapping'. Having 'heard' about Butetown as being somewhere unsafe, and from perceiving it as socially and physically 'run down' when driving through it, Phil perceived safety of Butetown relies on navigation, rather than wayfaring (Ingold, 2000). Resident accounts reveal the tension between such place-images and first-hand experience:

> When I walk through Bute Street...you really have to stop yourself otherwise you can become trapped in the idea that this is a terrible place...and the population has been there for a long time, they've settled in Cardiff, and to think that would be a threatening space to be when in fact it's not that at all, in fact people here are just as honest as anybody else, they're just pleasant to be around...but it's new to me...and that experience of being a minority in a built environment, it's a bit different.
>
> *Brian*

The anxiety for Brian in walking through Butetown relates not to any immediate threat, but the tendency to overstate Butetown as a threatening place, to literally become 'trapped in the idea'. He contrasts his own relatively recent arrival with people who have been living in the area for a long time, those who have 'settled'. As part of this he introduces the way that walking through Butetown involves negotiation. Not of specific issues of crime and disorder, but between old and new, encounters with different social relations and ways of being in the world that such living arrangements introduce. For Brian, this negotiation is ongoing; it is aligned with Ingold's (1993) dwelling perspective as set out in Chapter 3. Other residents similarly walk through Butetown on a more regular basis. Kay reports that she walks along Bute Street rather than Lloyd George Avenue because she finds it more 'interesting'. Instead, and especially after dark, she thinks of Lloyd George Avenue

as unsafe:

> When I arrived I tried every which route that I could possibly find so I probably tried six or seven different routes [...] cos there are different ways you can get to where I am, and I basically chose the one that I felt the safest in [...] and I originally started walking along Lloyd George Avenue and then cutting up the side streets but I mean Lloyd George Avenue is a very unsafe street, because it's so big and so wide and not that many people use it...it's so long and your mind wanders...and you might be a little more aware of the space and who's around, if you see a car, if you see someone...I feel that if anything were to happen to you on a street like that nobody would have responsibility because it's very anonymous.
>
> *Kay*

In her trial of different routes Kay reiterates the practices of other residents covered in Section 1. She states that she finds Lloyd George Avenue an unsafe place to walk along on her way home from work in Cardiff Bay because of its scale, something that overwhelms and isolates those who walk along it. At the same time she feels that no one would take responsibility if anything were to happen, and hints at the interface between pedestrian movement and those who live in the adjacent buildings. Other residents are aware of muggings and robberies having taken place on Lloyd George Avenue, and thus avoid it at certain times:

> There's a shop down there, and they're always holding the shop up...have you heard about that? [...] Two or three times...and then I've seen them down there, men, they've been mugged, they took their phone off them...that's why I don't go down there now, you just don't know do you? And women have had their bags...quite a few times, I would say several...but I don't go down [Lloyd George Avenue] because it's a bit stupid...and more than likely they're coming from the docks which is pretty rough.
>
> *Carol*

Carol assumes, as most residents do, that the perpetrators come from 'the docks', and given the vulnerability of the road has a related anxiety and aversion to walking there. Chapter 6 presented an impression of 'the docks' as *the* authentic mode of inhabitation in the area – the 'local people' as Ieuan had it – and its conflation with Butetown here reveals the alternative side of this naming. Carol claims in this instance to have 'seen' men being mugged, and many female

residents expressed a concern that if *even* men were being mugged then as women they would feel especially vulnerable. Other accounts speak to this situated anxiety and its related expression through contact with 'others'.

> When we were having that spate of attacks, apparently it was the Soma...big, tall, you know, Somali kids doing the attacks along Lloyd George Avenue and threatening the women walking down there [...] if I was walking down Lloyd George Avenue and there was a gang of Somali boys I, I kept an eye on them and I steered clear of them because you don't know if that's the gang that's been doing it.
>
> *Laura*

Whereas other residents might avoid Lloyd George Avenue altogether, Laura describes how she would 'steer clear' when confronted with groups of young Somali residents, perceived to be residents of Butetown or living in the community houses. Such encounters can also be construed as 'transitions', moments between two different vistas that are 'managed' in this instance by maintaining or increasing distance. Chapter 6 showed evidence of this at the representational level, where resident accounts emphasise the 'distance' of Atlantic Wharf from negative connotations of the inner city. Perhaps more accurately what Laura describes is the active avoidance and monitoring of such a close encounter, or transition, in order to preserve her safety. This spatial distancing is connotative of a similar social distancing, a tactical manoeuvre that reinforces rather than undermines a strategic outlook (cf. de Certeau, 1984). The three accounts above all come from female residents, and on the whole male residents did not report the same sense of situated anxiety when walking along Lloyd George Avenue. There was an overlap in their accounts between concern for their female partner and the belief that their partner would feel anxious walking through such places even though they did not. As such they 'framed' their interpretation of safety in terms of dominant narratives relating to female fear (Kosekela, 2010). Other residents reported that on walking from Lloyd George Avenue into Atlantic Wharf they would feel uneasy if they made their 'transition' through paths overgrown with vegetation, or had to pass through gates and the open green spaces between them:

> That's the only place where I wouldn't feel safe, or where for me there's any kind of trepidation about passing through, you know, down by the um...stone patterns and that little bit of a field there that leads into

Barquentine Place. There's a gate there and on one occasion I did see two lads um...sat there...and they nodded at each other and I thought here we go [...] one of them asked me for a cigarette and I said no I stopped smoking in prison and they left it then.

Graham

The gate of which Graham speaks is a further kind of threshold between different spaces (see Figure 7.7). Crawford (2007) and Sandercock (2000) suggest how the 'hardware' of crime prevention is ambivalent in that it might delineate and restrict entry to territory but it can simultaneously create feelings of uncertainty. The gate in question is not secured with locks, but its configuration does give the impression of 'entering' somewhere. Therefore it can be construed more as a symbolic than physical boundary (e.g. Newman, 1972). Bauman (2007) describes such demarcations as subtly blended into the cityscape, 'normalizing the state of emergency in which urban residents [...] dwell daily'. As the next chapter shows, these thresholds imply control and territoriality but at the same time, especially on occasions such as the one Graham describes above, they are inherently troubling. when they are inhabited or overcome by those not perceived to be residents.

Figure 7.7 Kissing-gate looking through onto Lloyd George Avenue

4. Conclusion

This chapter has considered some of the ways in which Atlantic Wharf residents negotiate issues relating to crime and disorder as part of their everyday inhabitation of the neighbourhood landscape. It has been shown that residents negotiate salient features of the physical environment, and as part of doing this they come into contact with and therefore negotiate their way between real or imagined figures of insecurity. At the same time the places they avoid imply either a distancing from social contact with various 'others' or processes of place that create unsafe spaces through a combination of linear and circular rhythms. The clearest example of this was how certain spaces became unsafe at night, not just due to darkness itself but the specific and socially mediated meanings that were inferred through the (in)activity of such sites.

The chapter worked with Ingold's (2000) notion of navigation and wayfaring to show how some residents interpret crime and disorder in places they are more or less familiar with. It was suggested that there are certain tensions between these ways of knowing, and that some are privileged over others. The experiences of female residents in particular were shown to be impacted upon by the 'direction' from others based on dominant narratives and understanding of where and when certain parts of the neighbourhood are unsafe. This knowledge of crime and place is seen to inform various affective and behavioural responses that are manifest in practices of walking. Similarly, walking is used to attend to and pick up on signs of disorder, and also impose a sense of safety and security in the neighbourhood. As part of this, the chapter has shown a further role that rhythms play in both ingraining order and revealing disorder. This has built on the understanding of rhythms presented in Chapter 6, establishing not just the perception of neighbourhood through rhythms of crime and place, but the ways in which residents' own inhabiting rhythms reveal layers of order and disorder.

The above has also revealed that certain representations of place as introduced in Chapter 6 both inform and are informed by the way that residents move in, around and through Atlantic Wharf as part of their everyday lived practice. They privilege

certain sites while abandoning others, and display a range of affective responses to the perceived risks and threats of crime and disorder in the neighbourhood landscape and beyond. The next chapter looks at how residents both respond to disorder and take responsibility for the maintenance and repair of sites affected by it. This will emphasise their status *as residents*, in terms of their occupation of an abode. The chapter reveals both individual and collective modes of responsibility, and builds on the issues identified here to address how these responses relate to the activities of official agents of social control.

8

RESPONSE AND RESPONSIBILITY TO CRIME AND PLACE

Introduction

Chapter 6 showed how resident accounts make sense of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf in relation to representations of place. Chapter 7 developed an understanding of these in terms of residents' everyday lived practice. This final empirical chapter builds on the previous two to provide examples of both individual and collective responses to crime and disorder. It will show how residents both respond to specific issues and take responsibility for the maintenance and repair of the neighbourhood fabric. While Chapter 7 introduced how residents might negotiate crime and disorder when *on the move*, this chapter shows how they are *moved to respond,* through a range of outlets, to the activity (and inactivity) of others. As such this chapter draws on data from the walking interviews and, as Chapter 4 outlined, different registers of participant observation with members of the AWRA.

The chapter proceeds by first considering how residents perceive disorder in and around their own home. This shows how the home forms the basis for the perception of a range of issues relating to security and safety, and is also a base from which they can attend to disorder themselves. Section 2 reveals some of the ways in which residents respond to issues of crime and disorder both as individuals and in relation to communal structures of neighbourhood participation. Section 3 introduces the role that crime and disorder plays in the activities of the Atlantic Wharf Residents' Association. The fourth section then presents in-depth accounts of how two such activities relate to the maintenance and repair of the neighbourhood fabric.

1. A domestic scene

It may seem a step-change to concentrate on the neighbourhood as perceived from the home, given its somewhat fixed outlook. It should be clear, however, that being at home should not mean that people are not on the move in one way or the other (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 18; Ingold, 2010). Some of the crime and disorder issues raised in Chapters 6 and 7 can be and are brought to bear on the abode – not least *burglary*. Atkinson (2006) specifically addresses issues relating to the home – 'padding the bunker' – as part of a wider disaffiliation from public space evident in middle class neighbourhoods. Furthermore, as Lefebvre (2004) makes clear, it is from a vantage point on a building – a balcony – that one is best placed to observe the rhythms of the city.

Window vistas

Chapter 7 suggested that as residents walk in the neighbourhood they move through a series of 'vistas', and that the transition between these can at times be troubling. The chapter finished by noting that encounters with certain spatial thresholds imply boundaries and emphasise territoriality. In line with Atkinson (2008) resident accounts reveal that they are most territorial in relation to their home and its surrounding environment. The vistas with which they are perhaps most familiar are those around the home, and the transitions in and out of these inform how residents interpret and respond to the activity they encounter. The configuration and layout of buildings and housing developments varies throughout Atlantic Wharf, and as such resident accounts reveal a specific outlook on their immediate environment and the activity that takes place there:

> We're pretty secure here because the gates either side, there's a gate there and a gate there, we keep [them] locked...so there's only one way in and out of this courtyard...so they er...we've only had one, I've been here seven years and we've only had one car broken into...If they come in here they've got to come in and go out the same way, and I think it's more obvious, like out on the road you could be walking through couldn't you, just walking innocently, and on the way just bust a car window but if you, strangers come into our car park it's obvious they're up to no good.
>
> *Frank*

Frank's description of the courtyard in the development where he lives elicits many of Newman's (1972) ideas relating to defensible space: implicit surveillance and a combination of physical boundaries (gates) that create a symbolic boundary at its only entrance. The assumption here is that people who have no clear reason or right to be present in the car park are to be treated with suspicion. Not only does this lead to a feeling of security for Frank, but he also suggests that there have been very few crimes. Frank contrasts this with the road that leads into (and past) where he lives, suggesting that it has little control or capacity for regulation – it is somewhere people can walk 'through'. Not all residents live in such developments however, and as such they are perceived to be more vulnerable. Chapter 7 showed how both Rodney and Ieuan interpreted the permeability of certain courtyards due to passages that afford access and escape. Similarly, physical barriers to movement do not always have the intended effect:

> You can see we've got two gates on two different sides, and they're permanently locked...I don't have my keys on me [...] well I say permanently locked, some people used to try and break the locks so they couldn't be used...but it wasn't criminals, I heard it was other residents doing it so it wouldn't be locked when they wanted to go to town...they didn't want to walk the long way round.
>
> *Martin*

> This used to be a walkway, a lot of people used to go through, wasn't meant to be, but a lot of people used it and it was. So we'd have them passing by the front of our house. There was a wall, a small wall, and then one day, no one talked to us about it, but [the management company] just built this [fence] and to begin with it was fantastic, because immediately it gave people nowhere to go. But what happens now is that they jump the fence. You see them when you're sitting in the lounge and they just jump over...and I've had it out with them but they keep doing it.
>
> *Paul*

From these reports it seems that not everyone pays attention to the various barriers and boundaries that are present throughout the neighbourhood. In the first instance Martin claims that other residents were responsible for sabotaging the gates so that they wouldn't have to walk all the way around the development on the way towards the city centre. In a way this reiterates the sense that many residents are 'purposive' walkers, on their way to other places (Wunderlich, 2008).

Similarly Paul's extract reveals the difficulties caused when established patterns of movement come up against newly installed barriers. Paul claims that this walking 'wasn't meant to be', that it was a deviation from activity he would consider implicitly circumscribed through the presence of the 'small wall'. Paul's affective response to the movement of these people across the vistas of his home are more frustration and annoyance than insecurity. As Thrift (2005: 147) argues, such encounters with 'disorderly' behaviour are part of living in the city; aggravation is therefore a necessary and understandable response to the 'small battles of everyday life'. While the transgression of boundaries in the above is related to movement towards a destination, resident accounts reveal the presence of different kinds of pedestrian activity:

> There's one way in and one way out, unless you're up to no good in which case then you've got to scale a wall or a fence...Sometimes you'll see people wandering around the cars and you'll just think what are you up to? Because it doesn't look like they're going anywhere. I've opened my door before now and they've looked really embarrassed and then turned around and gone [...] and once someone jumped over the wall into that little run that goes behind my garden...and they couldn't get out because the gate was locked...they were a bit red faced when I let them out.
>
> *Bethan*

> I mean I'm not around enough, when I'm here I see them skulking around so of course then I go and eyeball them and they walk off but hey, all you're doing is you're moving it on to somewhere else so you know, I tend to call the police.
>
> *Laura*

Frank noted above that he gets a sense of safety from the fact that no one would walk into his development because it is a dead end. However, as the extracts above reveal, movement takes place both through symbolic boundaries and over physical ones. Previous chapters have alluded to a lack of interaction and knowledge of neighbours among residents, and in that sense it might seem that filtering out 'outsiders' is a difficult task. However, resident accounts of the people they encounter passing into or through their home area suggest otherwise. First, as Laura's extract shows they are identified in terms of their age and attire which as Chapter 6 noted are perhaps different from the majority of residents in the neighbourhood. That said, adults wear hoodies too, and as such residents also

report a particular kind of movement in relation to deviance or 'strange' behaviour: 'skulking' in Laura's case above. In addition it was common for residents to perceive as 'wanderers' those people who seem out of place walking around their home. Simone used the term in Chapter 7 to describe movement outside of her normal lines of walking, 'wandering' off the beaten track into Butetown. Similarly, Kay stated that because her assailant was never caught she still thinks he is 'wandering around' the area. In Laura's realisation that she will likely only displace crime somewhere else (Barr and Pease, 1992) she notes that the individuals stop 'skulking' and 'walk off'.

This kind of walking is described quite differently from the reports of resident walking in Chapter 7, primarily purposive, moving towards a destination. On a related note Carter and Hill (1980) assert that criminal activity unfolds in relation to long term 'strategies' and the 'tactics' required to overcome specific spatial constraints. Drawing this together with de Certeau's (1984) usage of 'strategy and tactics' as introduced in Chapter 3 raises the possibility that 'out of place' pedestrian movement in Atlantic Wharf is drawn along lines that cross between the tactical urban walker (jumping fences, climbing over walls) and a wandering drifter who (thinking in terms of environmental criminology) might also be described as an *opportunist*. Lupton's (1999: 13) assessment that the the stranger is 'disorderly, blurring boundaries' is clear in the way that their presence in these accounts 'plays havoc with such neat divisions' (Bauman, 2007: 79). These themes will be visible below in accounts of maintenance and repair. It can be stated that both of these figures – as primarily perceived from the home – undermine the 'strategic' occupation of housing developments as well the territorial order of the neighbourhood as a whole (de Certeau, 1984). It is not just movement that can be troubling in relation to the home however, but occupation of the spaces visible (and audible) from it:

> If we walk round that way you'll see that we've got the bushes and trees at the back, which are an extra barrier to the wall...however, they do make this little secluded area where people can, do think that they're hiding away from the police which they probably are because it's not somewhere you would walk normally, but we can see them from the back of the house [...] so, I hear them...and they're smoking and drinking and making a mess

OC: *So is it, what sort of people is it?*

Oh it's these youngsters, youths...I don't know where they come from. I...put it this way, I don't think there's many youngsters in most of the developments.

Bethan

Figure 8.1 'Loose space' behind housing developments

Bethan states that the small patch behind her house is not one she would walk through, and as previously stated she normally sticks to 'proper routes' through the neighbourhood. However, in attending to these signs of disorder she must walk into around and back out of spaces she would not normally use. Recalling Ieuan's statement from Chapter 6 that these patches of grass are 'negative space' this reading reiterates instead that such sites are not negative, or empty, but as Mcdonogh (1993: 13) asserts 'sites of intense competition'. This conflicting interest is brought to bear on Bethan's home space not just because she sees it, but because she can *hear* it. Indeed, resident accounts of the home emphasise aural registers in relation to various kinds of disorder

Sounding out disorder

Atkinson (2007) argues that sound is a much neglected element of research which aims to capture the urban experience. He also notes how the home can be understood as an aural haven, 'a site over whose soundscape we have considerable control' and that when this control is compromised then 'there are significant consequences for the ability of our home to allow this protective function' (ibid: 6).[36] In Bethan's case above, it is clear that because she can 'hear' the activity that goes on near her home it makes it more of a concern. Analysis of resident reports reveals descriptions of walking in terms of peaceful or quiet sites (such as the canal) and the margins as loud or noisy (the train running along Lloyd George Avenue, cars on Tyndall Street). Sometimes 'quiet' was unsettling, such as walking alone at night. 'Noise' was rarely referred to negatively in accounts of pedestrian practice, whereas it was in relation to the home. Throughout Chapter 6 resident accounts show how they conceive of Atlantic Wharf as safe, clean and quiet. Ingold (1993) and Lefebvre (2004) both assert that sound indicates activity, and 'quiet' is one way in which residents describe levels of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf.

Chapter 6 also showed how a sense of disorder was produced in relation to commuter parking, with residents noting it was like 'Piccadilly Circus' in the morning. Similarly, the empirical chapters all reveal how the landscape is at certain times and in certain places unsafe or unclean. It follows then that there are times when neither is it quiet. This is of course in part implied by the use of 'rhythm' to describe the temporal activity of places (Edensor, 2010). Residents report attending to sound in ways that identify scales of order and disorder, first as a kind of 'warning system':

> If I hear anything um...I'll....tend to go upstairs and have a little look out the window to be honest with you [...] keep a fairly sharp eye on things... I'm pretty alert .
>
> *Henry*

Sound can both denote disorderly activity and, through its interpretation as 'noise', can be the focus of disorder. While much of what has been covered in this thesis

36 Ingold (2007b: 11), as might be expected, argues against the notion of 'soundscape', arguing that sound is not the object but the medium of our perception. It is what we hear *in*. (emphasis in original).

privileges perception based on a visual register, as Feld (1996) notes, places are perceived through all the senses (see also Edensor, 1998). In this respect sound is able to 'signal' or indicate specific activities in ways that visual senses do not:

> We get lots of people hanging around outside our flat, there was one night actually that this woman drove up, you know our little slip road, and she pulled up outside this house, hooting her horn, screaming at the top of her lungs, going 'you fucking bastard, you' just all this disgusting obscenity and just 'you fucking crack smoker'. He wouldn't let her in and the blinds were drawn and stuff and ever since that we haven't seen her, I think it happened two nights in a row she came down banging um and then she disappeared, but now like, we've noticed recently that cars pull up outside the house and like loads of lads loiter around the car and stuff and...I don't know it could have been an innocent thing and they were picking up a mate or something but this guy like put a bag in the boot and shut the boot down but then I'm sure I didn't see him get in the car, and it just made me think after this woman had been shouting out 'dealer' and stuff it just made me think well maybe, have we got crack dealers living just across the road from us?
>
> *Phil*

> Sometimes I'll hear like the helicopters that come around, and it seems like they hover really low because they're so loud and sometimes they shine their lights...if I hear it too much I think what's going on and I stay up because they're looking for somebody in the area.
>
> *Valerie*

Innes (2004) states that in order for perceived activity or behaviour, in this case attended to through sound, to be interpreted as a signal crime or disorder, individual accounts must feature an expression, connotative content, and an effect. In the above, expressions are the reports of sounds themselves, residents stating they 'heard' disorderly activity outside, or have picked up on the sound of the police helicopter. The connotative content here is that such sounds indicate various registers of both criminal or disorderly activity and its control. In Valerie's case she perceives that individuals are 'on the run' from police, while Phil infers a local presence of criminal or illicit activity . There is then an affective response in each case. Hearing the police helicopter makes Valerie think that people might be moving through Atlantic Wharf, making her feel somewhat unsafe. Phil now regards the people living near him as drug dealers, and as such is somewhat wary of them. Valerie's own concerns draw on the fact that she otherwise rarely encounters police in Atlantic Wharf. Below it will be shown that many residents

report a desire for greater police presence, but as Valerie conceives of Atlantic Wharf as a safe place these 'control signals' (Innes, 2004) are unsettling for her. Of course, a police response is defined through an inherent visibility (flashing blue lights; hi-vis jackets and liveries), but also shrill and persistent sirens.

On the other hand, sound, or noise, is construed in such a way as to construct a sense of 'normative disorder'. For instance, residents stated that they would hear drunk people walking through the neighbourhood on a Friday or Saturday night. Although disruptive, this 'noise' was not perceived as disorderly to the same extent as noise from neighbours or the examples given above. Residents were able to make sense of it in the context of the normal patterns of drinking culture special 'events' in Cardiff Bay and the city centre. This is another example of the socially mediated 'night space' that Williams (2008) describes as introduced in Chapter 7:

> You hear it inevitably on a Saturday night, Friday night you hear the ambulance going because somebody has passed out, funnily enough outside you know you hear the vomiting
>
> *OC: What right in front of you on the canal?*
>
> Yeah because there is rugby or football or something you hear them near the canal, and I just smile and go back to sleep because you know that that is happening.
>
> *OC: So it's not something that really makes you that worried*
>
> No, it's normal you know, that's me, I didn't binge drink but I've been there you know, so...
>
> *Valerie*

Such noise perceived on a weekday, or during the daytime, would be perceived as disorderly. Here it is 'normal', both in its temporal and cultural expression; associated with events, and particular lifestyles. As these accounts suggest, sound is something that can hardly be contained by the same bounding devices as either physical movement or visual perception (Ingold, 2007b). In that regard, there is perhaps little that residents can do to address the sounds of disorder described above. However, an example of noise *as* rather than signifying disorder was something reported through accounts of the activities of neighbours. Chapter 6 indicated how the transient nature of the Atlantic Wharf population can at times bring with it neighbours that are disruptive and disorderly. The next section will show

more clearly how such problems, and others, are responded to. That said, neighbours also provide a further means through which residents might perceive issues relating to crime and disorder. Throughout the empirical chapters resident accounts refer to 'hearing' about certain problems, and contact with neighbours was one way in which they may learn about specific threats. As with Gray *et al.* (2007), participating residents often report an awareness of crime and disorder from having 'heard' about things, and previous chapters have alluded to the influence of friends or colleagues. The remainder of the chapter will show a number of ways in which residents become aware of certain issues outside of direct experience.

2. Keeping themselves occupied

This section will look at how residents report they respond to issues of crime and disorder. Of course, the thesis has already covered some of residents' affective and behavioural responses to crime and disorder: avoidance, anxiety, anger. As Smith (1986) notes, individuals and groups develop overall strategies to manage aspects of crime and disorder they find most troubling. Smith cites Schneider and Schneider (1978) and Conklin (1975) in asserting that these are underpinned by a range of individual and communal *tactics* that can either be reactive, protective of preventive (Smith, 1986: 159). The individual and collective strategies and tactics of residents will emerge through the rest of the chapter.

Doing it for themselves

In Chapter 7, Sally described how she would only really pick up litter from the area around her home because it was what she considered to be 'her' neighbourhood. Similarly, other residents show how they respond to issues of crime and disorder primarily in relation to their home and its immediate surrounds. What constituted a 'sphere of action' was therefore informed by the thresholds that residents pass through or the 'vistas' to which they are most affined, 'not a bounded portion of territory but a nexus of ongoing life activity' (Ingold, 2005: 506). For Sally it was once she 'hit the canals', and Bethan states that she often walks around to the patch of grass behind her house where she sees the young people congregate in

order to clear up the mess they leave behind. Similarly, Anne describes how she responds to signs of physical disorder in a hedge near her house:

> I came out on Sunday and picked up all the rubbish along there because it was driving me so mad, which was mostly Metros, the free newspapers, there were obviously a whole load that had been dumped, they'd blown in the wind and they'd got rained on so they were all scrunched up, and they were just all along that bit, and I had a week of walking to work past all that, so I came out on Sunday looking like a complete bag lady with two bin bags to pick up all this stuff, got harangued by some kids in the park saying 'ooh are you doing community service missus?!'.
>
> *Anne*

While intervention is delimited by thresholds and liminal sites, it can also at times be concentrated in them. As will be seen below, it is often in the ambiguous thresholds between spaces that are the responsibility of public (i.e. council) and private (management company, landowner, household) bodies that communal activity is focused. That said, there are differences between responding to the signs of physical disorder and intervening in perceived incivilities as they take place. For one, resident accounts suggest they feel vulnerable in taking action directly against people, and are concerned over the possible repercussions:

> If I saw somebody dumping stuff [in the canal] and I was up in my window, up in my balcony I would shout at them, I'm protected there aren't I, because I'm brave like that! I would shout at them. And would probably ring the police and say what people were doing...but damn, if I was down here I wouldn't. You just can't risk it.
>
> *Frank*

> From my experience on Lloyd George Avenue once when somebody threw their chip container away and I picked it up and gave it back to them I would never do that again [...] cos he...he was sort of quite aggressive about it and started...it felt as if he was following us home [...] so I sort of made the decision to sort of walk around the block so he didn't know which house we were going into so I think from that, sadly, annoying though I find it when people just chuck things on the floor...I wouldn't do anything like that again.
>
> *Bethan*

So while Smith (1986: 128) suggests that 'fear' of crime is greatest in situations where people feel powerless to intervene in the decline of their local area,

intervention might take place at a later stage, and therefore any fear is limited to situated reprisal. This chimes with Atkinson and Flint (2004b: 347) who assert that those living in more affluent neighbourhoods are less likely to intervene directly as a response to disorder. That said, in Bethan's case she tried to dissociate public intervention from the private space of her home. Other resident accounts suggest that being in the home gives a greater sense of responsibility. Section 1 showed some of the ways in which residents perceived activity that took place in the surrounds of their home. Most of these accounts relate to suspicious or 'strange' behaviour, and other residents report means through which they may intervene directly, what Smith (1986) terms 'reactive prevention':

> I mean I have seen someone, I have stopped someone from bashing the car up from my own home but I just knocked on the window and he legged it, and someone else said to me, you shouldn't have done it, but I was in my house! They said I should have just let them get on with it, but it was my neighbour's car what am I supposed to do?
>
> *Jane*

Here Jane clearly feels that it is her responsibility to act when witnessing crime taking place against the property of her neighbour. This perhaps gives credence to many residents' assumption of trust in their neighbours to look out for them and their home. Atkinson and Flint (2004b) similarly suggest that levels of trust among residents are higher in relatively affluent areas. One more recent means through which residents might intervene in such low-level disorder is the non-emergency 101 number referred to in Chapter 5. A number of residents reported that they had used this in the past and were very positive about its effectiveness in dealing with day to day quality of life issues which would otherwise be their own responsibility. Individual residents also engage in what Smith (1986) terms 'protective prevention', examples of which relate in some way to practices of Situational Crime Prevention (Clarke, 1997). Resident reports suggest that such approaches are as much to do with peace of mind than the protection of property:

> We've got patio doors at home at the back, if I'm upstairs for any period of time then I will lock them, just because I know that the house I lived in previously someone got in and I had my handbag stolen, so, I don't like having to lock things all the time but I know it's a sensible precaution. And in the same way if I do drive anywhere, I get in my car and the first thing I tend to do is lock the doors, that's a hangover from

> Jo'burg [...] it's just habit, and I would just be so cross with myself if I didn't and my handbag got nicked. In the same way when I go to bed at night I will take my handbag upstairs just because I know of other people who have had their houses broken into and they get the handbag and get the keys [...] so I just think it's a sensible precaution, I don't actually think it's likely to happen but I would be cross with myself if it did.
>
> *Anne*

Anne's account suggests that she would be annoyed with herself if she was to not follow her normal habit of keeping things locked. Her account also reveals the influence of living somewhere else – South Africa – and that the habitual rhythms of security find a residual home in her everyday routines. Recalling Bauman's (2007) assertion relating to the 'normalized insecurity' in everyday lives, Jane below reveals dissonance in how she conceives of Atlantic Wharf as a safe place and her own habitual actions. Similarly, Richard's account reveals more recent concerns with new spheres of criminality

> You know if it, if someone persistent definitely wants to burgle you they will, no matter how securitized you are...and you do question, you know, what you're doing. I mean when we moved into our house, if you notice, our front door, there's three locks, we didn't put those locks on [...] three bolts, and a chain...and you think, what? But, I do actually use them!
>
> *Jane*

> We've had an interesting letter put up on the pinboard about um...people stealing...ID or trying to steal your ID from all the stuff in the bins...that sort of went up two weeks ago I think, so now I'm starting to, you know, tear everything up before it goes in the bin.
>
> *Richard*

Jane here refers to what Girling *et al.* (2000) recognise as the 'aesthetics of security', and her account shows how such technologies of crime control are embedded in her routine practices of inhabiting her home. Richard's account emphasises the role that such noticeboards have in alerting residents of apartment blocks to issues relating to crime and disorder. They are to be found in most of the developments that have some kind of communal entry point, and also serve the purpose of reminding residents of their own responsibilities relating to noise and other conduct in and around the building. Indeed, it is in communal developments

that relations between neighbours can be both more problematic – due to proximity – and formalised.

Managing neighbourly relations

There are obviously a number of groups and individuals who, while not residents, have some responsibility to the maintenance and upkeep of the neighbourhood. For instance, there are municipal workers who replace broken lights, cut grass, pick up litter and collect household refuse. The police are involved in another kind of maintenance in the area, that of a safe and secure environment for people to live in. Although their presence may not always be so obvious to residents, as will be seen, they do patrol the area, either on foot or in cars. Other than that there are also people hired by or working for the various management companies that are responsible for the maintenance of various developments. There are a number of ways in which residents might work with others to tackle issues that individuals – be they residents or representatives from the groups outlined above – can or do not. These might exist at the level of individual buildings or developments as residents get together – sometimes informally, sometimes through the formation of an actual association or management company – to deal with certain issues or set certain standards of behaviour:

> We are the directors, so the owners, because I own a flat there, the owners are the directors, so we have meetings, and basically if somebody has a problem in one of the flats, like with music and stuff like that, they will approach one of the directors, because they're too timid to do it themselves, or otherwise they've done it and they're not getting anywhere, and then we basically, you know, we take very formal steps.
>
> *Laura*

Flint and Nixon (2006) note the growing influence and relevance of such organizations as part of managing relations between neighbours through formal tenancy agreements. They recognise an 'evolving universality in the use of contractual mechanisms [...] in private-rented and owner-occupied housing tenures' (ibid: 953). For those residents that live under or are a member of the management company, it provides them with an outlet through which disputes between neighbours can be directed and settled. Being part of the collective

management of a building can also create a sense of togetherness and distinction from the perceived problems of others as Rodney explains:

> I'm sure you have wandered around and had a look at some of the blocks of flats which really, have taken on the look of a shanty town, down that side, but of course, they weren't set up with any proper management structure at all, so if you, we've bought our leasehold now anyway, I mean we've just been fairly lucky having er, people there who've got a grip on it and who can arrange for the outside to be painted.
>
> *Rodney*

So there is variation between different buildings and developments with regard the collective management of internal spaces and surroundings. It might be groups of residents that take control of their building, or a management structure may already be in place. The larger and more recent developments have on-site management and concierge services, whereas some of the other apartment blocks are remotely managed. Arnold, who owns a second flat and is a director of the management company in one of the developments on Lloyd George Avenue, takes it upon himself to regularly clean the communal spaces of the building. He has a number of reasons beyond the cleanliness and maintenance of the site itself for doing this, as it allows him to come to recognise who lives in the building and to familiarise himself with any issues that fellow residents experience. That said, he recognises the vulnerability of the neighbourhood to signs of disorder:

> If you do provide a nice environment you're still getting crime aren't you? You're still getting crime, kids will vandalise, smash, graffiti, rip up trees...it's widespread [...] all it takes is one person with an aerosol and it looks like the whole neighbourhood's er ghetto land doesn't it?
>
> *Arnold*

There is an emphasis in such management company structures on controlling incivilities in relation to both physical and social disorder. The 'formal' means that Laura refers to above imply that such groups have a low level of tolerance for activity that disturbs the development as a whole. They therefore have a key role to play in the maintaining norms of social behaviour and the physical structure of the buildings in order to nurture a safe and clean environment.

Significantly, it is among accounts of such management structures, especially in

relation to more recent 'securitized' developments, that residents refer to specific technological 'aesthetics of security' (Girling *et al.*, 2000); surveillance and control through CCTV. It was only in accounts of inhabiting apartment blocks and controlling communal spaces – especially in relation to car parking – that CCTV was mentioned. Residents of other dwelling types – both smaller and larger houses – suggest there is 'no need' for CCTV. Richard's account reveals the way that CCTV is implicated in the control of crime in relation to his own apartment block:

> There were some cars broken into recently, in the undercroft [parking]. It is strange, because they are gated...but you can get over them, and it turns out there is no CCTV down there [...] and the first I knew about it was when I got a bill saying we've put it in now you lot are paying for it...which was a bit unfortunate because I don't have a space down there.
>
> *Richard*

This highlights the way that the organization of management companies implies a shared responsibility among residents, but one formalised in economic rather than social structures. Outside of these management groups, there are other informal responses available to residents that are more explicitly focused on safety and security. Neighbourhood Watch has something of an elusive presence in Atlantic Wharf, more evident through faded stickers on windows than any overt activity or organisations, as Frank highlights:

> We've also tried to start a neighbourhood watch in areas...really and truly there's only my little area that is...what you would call 'working'.
>
> *OC: And how does it work?*
>
> Sharing information, what information I get from the police I pass on, that's all it is. Nothing else. It's too big to run...I run about...well my stretch is 16 houses and what I do I've got about twenty six people who've put neighbourhood watch stickers up, but there isn't anyone, I don't want to go round the streets knocking on doors, so I just type things out and leave them in the letterbox, or email them. You get fed up of knocking on the doors.
>
> *Frank*

Frank is concerned about apathy in relation to the neighbourhood, and feels people should be more involved as any issues will affect them. He understands certain residents are not inclined to get involved and blames the proportion of tenanted properties for this, filled as they are with a footloose and transient

population. While this makes it hard to establish groups such as Neighbourhood Watch, most residents do, as Chapter 6 showed, have some inclination to watch over their neighbours, and believe that the feeling is mutual (Atkinson and Flint, 2004b, Girling *et al.*, 2000). Skogan (1988a) suggests that it is hard to keep people involved in such practices when there is 'nothing to watch', and given the representation of Atlantic Wharf as 'quiet' this might indicate why Frank struggles. As Shapland and Vagg (1988: 68) assert in relation to 'watching', the propensity for residents to keep an eye on things is determined by the 'their ability to watch, according to their lifestyle and the amount of time they spend in that place'. It is also influenced by whether such surveillance is socially desirable, and whether the configuration of buildings allows such activity. That said, the above has indicated that on a number of levels there are activities to which residents attend. In this light, one of their own activities in relation to crime and disorder might be to attend neighbourhood Partnerships and Communities Together (PACT) meetings.

Making an impact

As noted in Chapter 2, there is currently little published research on the dynamics of PACT meetings in England and Wales, although Brunger (2011) provides a recent overview for Northern Ireland. For the Butetown ward, PACT meetings are held in a building on Lower Bute Street, which although not in the part of Butetown residents find troubling, is certainly somewhere 'away' from Atlantic Wharf. The door that grants access to the building is controlled by an irregular receptionist. While there is a buzzer, sometimes calls go unheard meaning participation in the 'governance of safety' (Crawford, 2002) can be refused as a result of running a few minutes late. The meetings start at 7pm, a time that perhaps is not best suited to those who might want to attend. Significantly, this is one of the few times when residents from Atlantic Wharf and Butetown might engage with one anther. That said, during most meetings attended for this research people sat with those they knew. Some residents suggested that having a meeting that caters for both sides does not help anybody, because each has their own specific issues, reiterating the cultural thresholds explored in Chapter 6:

> The PACT meeting you see is Butetown and Atlantic Wharf, again you see that's another example of how it's meant to be all in one, um...but

the residents over there who always call us yuppies and moan about us, this, that and the other, they're always, there's a Somali drug called khat or something, which...

OC: Is that the one that's chewed?

...Yeah, it's a litter problem over there [...] and I've got a lot of sympathy for that because I don't like litter, um, and they raise that at every single PACT meeting and there's always problems. We raise our fairly low crime, but it's still an issue for us, and that then makes them think and often sometimes say 'oh that's nothing compared to us' and 'we really have it bad' and 'you yuppies have just been put there and moved here' and there's a lot of resentment...but of course the lifestyle and culture of the people over here is markedly different from the people over there

OC: and the culture here [Atlantic Wharf] *typically would be...?*

British middle class...rather than Muslim...I'm a very tolerant person, it sounds like I'm making bad statements but I think that's just generally the case, I really do, um.

Henry

Henry mentions the distinctions between the two groups, not just in their concerns but in where they are from on a number of levels. The way that he describes interaction between different people in the meeting reveals perceived cultural differences that are held by both groups. He identifies the chewing of khat as a litter problem, implying other thresholds of social control – khat has been illegal in Somalia since 2006 yet remains an uncontrolled substance in the UK. It is not khat's behavioural effects Henry is worried about, neither does he mention any concerns over khat being implicated in committing other crimes. Instead, he, and it would seem the residents of the Butetown estate, are most worried by the 'litter problem'. It might be that he has picked up on other people's accounts of secondary impacts its use has. Nevertheless it is striking that this should be relayed as the main problem in relation to this drug, as it emphasises the abiding concern of many Atlantic Wharf residents: cleanliness.

Although differences in priorities were evident from attending these meetings, there was never any evidence of direct animosity during PACT meetings between different 'sides'. The meetings are led by members of the Neighbourhood Policing Team, typically comprising a Police Officer or Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), the local councillor, and a civilian aide from County Hall. This reveals the limited breadth of 'partnership' as based on the triad of public, local authority, and

police. PACT meetings are not just places for residents to raise issues, they also provide knowledge into how the police and other agencies operate, such as specific operations to reduce car crime, or the way in which intelligence information is used. At one meeting a Butetown resident voiced frustration at why local drug dealers had not been targeted, and was told that it was because a case was being built. This hints at the way in which many problems are resolved through PACT meetings. With a gap of 6 weeks between meetings the collective administration of community safety has its own 'linear rhythms' (Lefebvre, 2004).

There are usually reports from the various official members on the priorities from the last meeting, as well as how many crimes have been recorded since. The floor is opened to residents to suggest whether these same issues still need resolving, or whether there are any new problems. During this research a number of different problems arose that were raised at PACT meetings: parking on pavements, stoning of the Bay Car bus service on Lloyd George Avenue, street robberies, vandalised bus shelters, spillover/mess from building works, prostitution, the closure of the 101 non-emergency number, and litter. These are what Stenson (2005) recognises as the typically 'visible' types of disorder that the community safety approaches address, ignoring other 'local' harms such as domestic violence and speeding (see also Croall, 2009). Some of these are more common than others, and an email around the AWRA members reporting on one PACT meeting suggests that 'as normal the priorities were drugs, cars, litter: drugs in the Butetown estate, car crime and litter problems all over'. Although it may seem as if each side has their own distinct problems, the meetings do not just provide residents with a way of raising issues that they have experienced:

> Well this is why I go to the PACTs [sic], to know what's going on, because it does spill over, and we've had drugs on the canal and when we had the last canal clean out with the divers they pulled a tent out of the canal, well you were there, and you could see all the needles there [...] that's why we go to PACT meetings, basically to say they're their problems not our problems, but there's a spin-off because they are, we need to know what's going on over there, because if the police get on top of their problems they're going to look for other places to go and as we know they have been over here, and over on the other side of the canal.
>
> *Frank*

The boundaries between 'Atlantic Wharf problems' and 'Butetown problems' can be, as Frank suggests, blurred, broken down, and disrupted. The issues that residents take to the PACT meetings give them their 'in', not that they need to have a reason to attend. What they take away however is a more detailed knowledge of what is going on around them, and what potential problems this may cause in the future. Chapter 2 noted issues related to 'displacement' and this reiterates the general effect noted in Chapter 6 in relation to prostitution. It is not just that crimes are displaced from one area to another, but that 'Butetown problems' *take place* in Atlantic Wharf. Frank's claim that he can 'know what is going on' by attending PACT meetings is also worth noting. By their nature PACT meetings deal with negative aspects of living somewhere meaning 'knowledge' is restricted to a specific set of 'usual' problems. Here, he receives a version of place both situated in and told through 'events' rather than everyday life.

Brunger (2011) further suggests that PACT meetings provide a narrow representation of problems that places have, due to the type of people who usually attend them (older males) and their low numbers. Butetown PACT meetings were normally attended by between 15 and 20, mostly older residents, but balanced in terms of gender. Innes *et al.* (2009) suggest similar concerns with PACT meetings in general, proposing alternative models that capture the issues of residents through direct engagement in their homes by specially trained officers. This fosters a more collaborative approach between the public and the police compared to the hierarchical nature of PACT meetings in general. However, it does not allow for the collective participation of different groups from the 'same' place.

That said, 'knowing what is going on' is at the heart of residents' concerns over both crime and disorder and its formal policing as will be seen. In general, those residents that took part in this research assert that while they do not perceive any significant crime problems in Atlantic Wharf they would feel more at ease if there was a greater police presence. Crawford (2006a) notes that such demands for increased visibility of policing are poorly understood, especially in relation to 'safe' places. The empirical data presented in this and the previous two chapters would suggest that the majority of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf is relatively low-level. However, Atkinson and Flint (2004b) note that the lack of a discernible

police presence is an abiding concern for residents of both deprived and affluent neighbourhood.

Chapter 2 highlighted the way that increases in police presence are a central strand of reassurance policing and the Neighbourhood Policing Programme, and that these are directed towards not just reducing crime, but increasing feelings of safety (Quinton and Morris, 2008). Therefore, residents wishes for a more visible police force do not necessarily relate to the levels or types of crime, but how they are subjectively interpreted in relation to the neighbourhood as a whole. Previous chapters have described the 'presence' of certain people in Atlantic Wharf as inherently troubling, and as such a desire for the increased visibility of police speaks to more general concerns over vulnerability and the *potential* for disorder. Chapter 7 hinted at the different 'perspectives' on the neighbourhood that police and residents have, and the next section will address concerns in relation to policing as part of a wider discussion of the activities of the AWRA.

3. The Atlantic Wharf Residents' Association

So far this chapter has worked through a range of the issues that 'move' individual residents towards some kind of activity, whether it is the proactive, reactive or preventive (Smith, 1986). The AWRA provides one outlet through which members might engage in all three. This section will establish both the membership and activities of the AWRA, before going on to show how they express concern and hold the police accountable through formal meetings. This will lead to a detailed description in Section 4 of two 'events' through which the AWRA organises ameliorative responses to signs of disorder.

Associating with one another

This chapter opened discussing problems perceived from the home, and the AWRA is an explicit example of how crime and disorder issues are attended to as a *resident*. Membership is therefore a further example of how residents collectively engage with what goes on in their neighbourhood. Residents that took part in this research were either (a) unaware of the AWRA (b) aware but not a member (c) a

member, but not actively involved, or (d) fully involved. The AWRA aims *'to be a non-political voice for the residents of the area, and to help to maintain a safe and pleasant environment in which to live'* (AWRA website). It is worth noting the use of 'non-political' because although they are not affiliated to any specific political party, residents' associations are by their very nature political, not least in relation to place (Harvey, 1993).

The AWRA engages with the local authority and policing team, and also elected members of the Welsh Assembly. This might involve anything from writing letters and making phone calls to relevant council departments, to attending regular meetings with the police. As such their activities are typical of the involvement of responsibilized citizens as part of a multi-agency approach to community safety (Hughes and Rowe, 2007). As mentioned, however, not everyone is even aware of their presence, and some residents were surprised to discover that they even exist:

> *OC: Are you aware of the Residents' Association?*
> Uh....no, I wasn't aware of that at all [...] I had no idea there was such a thing.
>
> *Diane*

> *OC: Do you ever get any letters or messages from people in the Residents Association?*
> The what...is there one? [...] No, never seen anyone from them, didn't know there was one to be honest with you...what is that for, the whole of Atlantic Wharf or?
>
> *Richard*

Among the residents that are involved with running the AWRA (some of whom also took part in walking interviews) there is the assertion and frustration that it is hard to reach people in the neighbourhood, partly due to the number of flats that are either inaccessible behind varying degrees of security or inhabited by a transient and busy population. As Chapter 6 showed, the typical impression that many longer term residents share of their neighbours are that they are either too busy working or going out to engage in communal activity. While the above shows a lack of awareness of the AWRA, others are aware but choose not to get involved, often for the reasons that the AWRA members suggest:

> We have had a card posted through the door, I've been on the website, and to be honest if I was more looking to live here long term, because I'm not from here originally and at some point in the future I do want to move back to the South West [...] I think it would make a big difference if I was planning on staying here for the duration.
>
> *Angela*

Most of the core members of the AWRA (represented by 'd' above) are towards the older end of the age spectrum, and home owners rather than tenants. Sagar (2005) suggests that it is often only small groups of typically older residents that participate in such activities, and that '*who* represents the community determines *whom* the community is made safer for' (ibid: 101, emphasis in original). Even so, it is not just short term residents that are unable to engage with the AWRA, and there are some seeking but unable to find such an outlet. Although the AWRA was established early in the development of Atlantic Wharf, there was a short period where it ceased operating due to turnover of key members. Sally and Anthony were originally part of the AWRA but unaware it had been reactivated, even though they live less than 2 minutes walk from some of its committee members. They put this down to having been omitted from the email list, something relatively simple yet crucial to both membership and participation.

While active membership of the AWRA does involve attending a number of different meetings – something which is considered more fully in the next section – these typically only include a handful of people, and on the whole, they are the same people each time. This means that much sharing of information and news relating to the neighbourhood goes on over an email distribution list and the AWRA website. Emails are regularly sent out by core members as a way of publicising meetings and other activities, but also as an ad-hoc tool for alerting members to potential problems relating to or actual instances of safety and security. In some instances these might be an organization such as the South Wales Police who typically send general messages to representatives of neighbourhood associations and similar bodies in their area. Ironically, these often take the form of warnings against bogus callers that ostensibly offer some sort of maintenance – window cleaners, rubbish clearance, painting or decorating – those activities that normally provide reassurance to residents and improve the aesthetic of the neighbourhood (e.g. Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Residents might also alert each other via email to experienced or mediated encounters with individuals or groups of 'other' people that are active in the neighbourhood. One such message reported that a neighbour had been broken into, providing a description of the suspects. There followed a flurry of messages all mentioning having seen people matching that description either on this occasion or previously. Other selected messages seek information regarding thefts, or report stones being thrown at windows and having a door kicked in. While the sharing of such information is seen by participating residents as important, for the most part the messages that circulate around are mundane and somewhat superfluous:

> *OC: So is that a good way of getting info about what's going on?*
> It is, but sometimes you, you get stuff about Riverside Market and an hour later you'll get something more important, well not more important but perhaps more serious, more heavyweight about police or security [...] So sometimes it's a bit difficult to, to be fair they're just sending us everything, sometimes you think oh, I don't really need that, but other stuff is actually quite important.
>
> *Bethan*

It is clear here that for members of the AWRA there is an urge to know, or be notified, about issues relating to safety and security. As much as residents represent Atlantic Wharf as a safe place, it seems that this safety is somewhat predicated on the reassurance of knowing what might happen. This section therefore turns to an example of how knowledge of what is going on is balanced against both members' own subjective experiences, and their perception of the police response.

Taking exception to disorder

Monthly AWRA Committee meetings are held at the County Club, part of County Hall. As mentioned above, these are typically attended by a similar core group of members each time, even though they are open to all. More heavily attended are the AGMs with a greater number of residents as well as representatives from the local authority and neighbourhood police in attendance. At each of these types of

meeting the activity of AWRA is decided, from lobbying council departments to addressing various immediate concerns and issues. The police normally have a presence at such meetings, and as there are only residents of Atlantic Wharf present they speak about Butetown quite differently. For instance, when one resident expressed concern over the presence of what they perceive to be teenagers from Butetown 'hanging about' on Lloyd George Avenue, the Police Officer present said that in future residents should call 101 to get them moved on because 'they shouldn't be there'. This type of response has clear consequences for just who has the rights to be present in what are ostensibly public spaces (Merrifield, 2000).

Other meetings might also be organized from time to time, and in these residents express both their concerns over specific and immediate issues, and their 'rights' to a safe living environment. For instance when there was a spate of break-ins and knife-point robberies, the AWRA Committee members organized a meeting with a Chief Inspector (CI) from South Wales Police in order to discuss the concerns and worries that these events caused among residents. This reflects what Crawford calls 'linking capital' the capacity for residents of relatively affluent neighbourhoods to gain access to such individuals, which in part overcomes claims that the lack of 'strong social bonds' result in chaos and disorder (Crawford, 2006a).

While the residents were concerned with the 'spike' in crimes, the CI responded that such crime was down year-on-year for the city as a whole. The AWRA residents responded that their concern was not Cardiff, but Atlantic Wharf, emphasising the contrast between the 'bigger picture' that concerns the police, and the local issues that residents worry about (Girling *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, the CI suggested that if residents wanted to feel safer and more reassured in their area then they should try and establish a stronger and more developed sense of community. This reiterates what Walklate (2001) identifies as the 'top-down' perspective on community as part of government policy. Here, it is 'presumed that communities need to be empowered, enlisted and harnessed, rather than viewing them as having well-established and perhaps not so well-established mechanisms of sociability and social solidarity' (ibid: 932).

At this meeting, Frank also mentioned that Atlantic Wharf should not have to put up with crime and disorder, that it should not be an issue in a safe and pleasant neighbourhood such as Atlantic Wharf. The Chief Inspector replied that the problem with 'having nice areas like the canal and the parks is that people will target them'. It is a specific crime in relation to the canal that provides a lens through which to view the relationship between the police and the AWRA as responsibilized 'active citizens' (Raco, 2007). Frank had previously discussed this issue when walking along the canal during his walking interview:

> We had reported in our newsletter that muggings were taking place and the police in Butetown took exception to the fact that we'd said this, they said we didn't know of any muggings and we said well, the people who were mugged, Vera met one lady and I knew the other one, well I don't know her she's on my email list, but one of my contacts [...] and she had actually told me that she'd been mugged and the police were very good, so we had a meeting with the police and the PC and PCSO, and it turns out that they don't know what's going on basically, their systems are so complex that you can't put in and say 'Atlantic Wharf: what's happened' [...] you have to ask it things like crime against cars, crime against the person, crime against something or the other...
>
> *OC: So instead of something being laid out geographically...*
>
> Yeah, instead of saying 'list me everything in Atlantic Wharf' and then the police can look it up...So when we saw them they said oh no there's nothing and we said well there is, we know the people, we know the names, and er they had to apologise and say it was their systems and they couldn't find it because it would have been logged at Central and then put on the systems in different manners, and so we said well that's stupid because when your local police don't know and have to be told by the residents what's bloody happening then what's the point?!
>
> *Frank*

This extract provides a striking and in-depth example of some of the complexities inherent in understanding responsibilization strategies, different layers of knowledge, and the contingent sensibilities relating to the efficacy of policing. Broadly speaking there is a contrast here between crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf as 'known' by residents, and by the police. Looking a little deeper this reveals implicit relations between residents whereby information about crime is communicated – through social contact ('Vera met one lady') and through the virtually networked familiarity of an email list. Such networked dependency has been shown above to have a real use for the way residents both share information (often when something has happened to them) as well as provide reassurance.

There is then the capacity of the police to interpret this information, and they do so first in terms of the raw numbers that imply no crime had taken place. When challenged on this, they reveal the complexities of how crimes are recorded. In this case not in the 'local' police station (Butetown), but in 'central' – Cardiff Central Police Station. At the same time, their 'system' does not allow them to locate these crimes, which significantly, took place along the canal. 'The canal' has no *official* name and is not attached to any particular development or road, meanings crimes taking place on it would be recorded in an arbitrary location (Bichler and Balchak, 2007).

Stenson (2005) sets out the binary of preventive partnership as between the 'folk expertise' of groups such as the AWRA, and the professional expertise or knowledge of groups such as the police. Here in 'taking exception' to the claims of the AWRA, the police show a 'top-down' understanding of crime and disorder, as opposed to the local knowledge of the AWRA members. In Crawford's (1999: 298) terms, the members of the AWRA are not 'cultural dupes', but contest and contradict a version of community safety being imposed upon them. This exposes the tensions and ambiguities inherent in 'community' responses to crime and disorder. It is in part this tension that might explain the desire for a greater police activity in and around the neighbourhood. Such concerns are at the heart of the work by Innes *et al.* (2009) on capturing community intelligence in order for the police to 'see like a citizen'. As Girling *et al.* (2000) assert, calls for a familiar and regular police presence speak to the dislocation of a rooted public life that has been undermined by the reorganisation of social life in late modernity (e.g. Garland, 2000). The AWRA residents, in line with the majority of other residents reports, therefore imply a desire for a police force that 'knows' the area in the same way that they do. That said, the next section shows one way in which some police officers 'experience' the canal in a more tactile and immediate way than residents do themselves, perceiving it very much 'through the feet' as Ingold (2004) has it.

4. Responsibilization in motion

Much of what the AWRA does rests upon getting people active, getting them

moving, in one way or another. Although there are nearly 100 members on the email list, if they really want to get involved people have to go to meetings, to travel from their home to some specified site either in or around the neighbourhood. Meetings such as PACT, as well as the AWRA Committee meetings and AGM, produce specific ways of engaging in the maintenance and repair of the neighbourhood fabric. Two examples of these continue the concern of previous chapters with physical and conceptual thresholds and related movement in and between them. These show how this movement – and these sites – relates to landscape as a way of seeing and as lived practice.

Wading through a marginal space: The canal clean-up

The canal clean-up is a coordinated annual event whereby members of AWRA join with officers from the Neighbourhood Policing Team, a specialist diving unit, the supervisors of and those subject to community payback schemes, someone from the local press, and representatives from the nearby Holiday Inn (who help to fund the operation). They are here to either practice or observe cleaning of 'the canal', which takes in both the water itself and the adjacent footpaths and greenery. This involves the identification and removal of various kinds of waste: overgrown and out of control algae, on, in, and under which can be found all manner of dumped objects and litter. It also means the sweeping of footpaths, trimming back vegetation, the cleaning and removal of graffiti, and any other objects that seem 'out of place' from the surrounding surfaces. The previous two chapters showed some of the ambivalence towards the canal in resident accounts. Everyday moves along the footpaths through the canal area suggest that such clean-up operations are necessary:

> It's always been pleasant, you see quite a lot of wildlife, but I noticed yesterday that there's quite a lot of rubbish in there as well...it looks like it needs dredging, there's all like plastic cartons and things, um...spoils the atmosphere of the place a bit doesn't it, makes it look a bit less cared for.
>
> *Simone*

Taking place on a weekday morning, these canal clean up operations are less of an opportunity for people to get their own hands dirty, but more of a means by which

they can chat to police informally, as well as to each other. They are also not very heavily attended by residents, even among the core members of the AWRA. Those that do attend might offer a few words to the reporters and pose for a photograph for the local newspaper. Resident accounts in general rarely stated that the local press played a part in their local knowledge of crime and disorder, although there were some instances of this. As such the presence of the press is perhaps intended more to show the police at work in the community, but also to illustrate to anyone who reads the article that there are people in Atlantic Wharf who take notice and take care. The police diving team (though they do not need to dive as the water is only thigh high) walk along a specific part of the canal, gradually make their way along it, feeling for items in the water *with their feet,* not in gum-shoes, but waders (see Figure 8.2). In these situations, it would seem, it is the foot that is the tool best suited to the detection of items out of place, the hands only come into play when they need to be (carefully) removed.

Figure 8.2 Police divers sweep the canal

At the same time as the police team gradually make their way up the canal, residents walk between different sites, from where items pulled from the canal have been placed on the footpath (*'what is that, a car battery?'*), up to where young people are contributing to the clean up as part of community payback. Under supervision they sweep pathways, cut back branches, and use pressurised hoses to remove graffiti. Graffiti is something that comes up often in interviews when they reach the canal. While the majority think it messy and a sign of urban blight, some residents appreciate that the presence of graffiti alone does equate to malicious intent or character, and some can even find an appreciation for it, if done 'properly' (*If it's good, you don't mind do you if it's got some sense of style?* – Paul). Following the assertion of Jackson (2004; see also Franzini *et al.*, 2008), this emphasises the very subjective nature of environmental interpretation and therefore what might constitute disorder or 'incivility'; it is not as clear cut as proponents of order maintenance policing and the 'broken windows' thesis might suggest (e.g. Wilson and Kelling, 1982). As stated above, Innes (2004; Innes and Fielding, 2002) assert that for a sign or disorder to become a problem it must both be perceived as such and result in a negative emotional, behavioural or cognitive reaction. Franzini *et al.* (2008) assert that such perception may relate to whether such activity seems 'out of place' and if it does then it might indicate the presence of outsiders.

For others who do not tend to walk through any of the passages created by the road crossings above, our walk represents the first time they have even noticed graffiti in the area. Other areas of note were on the subways between Lloyd George Avenue and Bute Street, and the Pellet Street footbridge. In that sense, these passages become links to sites of anxiety, although such feelings are not quite so heightened. Much effort goes into returning the walls to a neutral state, although such interventions may neither be the most effective or productive:

> I see they've cleaned this up [indicating canal wall] And what have they done here? They've painted it white but no one has ever approached me and said what could we do as a community? I'd be more than happy to give up my weekends and come down here with some kids and paint some murals or something, anything to get that community spirit going. But it's all very well, paint it white but how long will it be like that?
>
> *Ieuan*

Figure 8.3 'Graffiti busting' along the canal footpath

Ieuan, a graphic artist by occupation, suggests that while attempts to remove graffiti may be understandable (and he is a supporter of the activity of the AWRA in general, although not a member himself), they represent a missed opportunity. By returning the wall to a neutral and empty state (though some traces of graffiti still show through the white paint) the chance to turn it into something vital and imaginative is lost. As Ieuan hints, instead of producing something that brings the neighbourhood together, painting it white merely returns it to a blank canvas, a palimpsest upon which more signs of disorder will surely find their place.

Returning to the clean up operation, just along from where the walls are jet-washed, to be repainted one day soon, the police divers pull a tent from the water. It transpires that the tent is full of used syringes, and it seems that the residents and police that are gathered there are well aware of this area underneath Schooner Way as somewhere that drug taking occurs. Chapter 7 showed how Angela

encountered drugs paraphernalia, and asserted it to be just the kind of place such activity might occur. It is a site that seemingly exists outside of the control of individual residents and the clean-ups instigated by the AWRA with the local policing team work towards negating the ambiguity of ownership that many users perceive:

> I don't know how far you go, I mean you can't expect the people who live here to be responsible for cleaning the canal I suppose so...
>
> *OC: you're still not sure who is responsible?*
>
> No...there was some discussion at some point that it was Tarmac who originally developed the area and then it was no, no, it's not Tarmac it's um the Environment Agency or British Waterways or whatever they were called I mean, I don't suppose I would expect a householder to go and pull that pushchair out for example but...who I don't know. And I know the, you know the Residents' Association sometimes get together and have a litter-pick but they shouldn't have to [...] But I suppose they do it because they don't know who else is going to. So that's a bit rubbish isn't it?
>
> *Bethan*

This firmly places activity of the AWRA in marginal sites, not just spatially, but between the regular rhythms of local authority maintenance, and in the administrative boundaries between private and public space, which are often unclear. In this instance the police have taken on the clearing of the water, but it is not their 'official' responsibility. Similarly although many residents make their way along the canal on a regular basis they do not always take it upon themselves to clear up rubbish. This establishes one of the key problems in Atlantic Wharf when it comes to maintenance. The private-public partnership that underpinned the development of Atlantic Wharf (see Chapter 5) means there are various parts of the neighbourhood (both large and small) where ambiguous ownership (and thus responsibility) creates the need for the responsibilized activity of local residents. As Taylor and Hale (1986) suggest, the presence of incivilities such as litter thus have the potential to cause concern due to the fact that 'their continued presence points to the inability of officials to cope with these problems' (ibid: 154). This speaks directly to the tension between the limits of the 'sovereign state', and the increased responsibilization of 'active citizens' (Garland, 2000).

Figure 8.4 Items removed during the canal clean-up

In the case of Atlantic Wharf, the 'symbolic gesture' which is the regeneration of the neighbourhood is undermined by the fragmented nature both in its construction and terrain of responsibility. Wakefield (2003) has shown how the legal responsibilities, informal obligations and contested rights to controlling such sites relate to the emergence of increasingly complex spatial forms in urban areas described through uncertain divisions between private and public space.

Pincer movement: out in force at the litter-pick.

As Bethan states above, 'it's a bit rubbish', and rubbish is indeed an issue for the members of AWRA to gather around. Resident accounts from previous chapters show the importance ascribed to signs of physical disorder for somewhere considered a 'safe and clean' neighbourhood. Litter-picks are a further example of how the AWRA members work with outside agencies and each other in a way that inhabits and appropriates particular sections of neighbourhood space. Whereas the water of the canal is seen as beyond the call of duty for even the most active

participant in neighbourhood life, anyone can have a hand in this activity. Litter was shown above to be one of issues through which residents engage with the areas outside their own home. However, there is a regular and continual build-up of discarded and dumped items. The litter-pick is a spring clean in a literal sense, usually taking place on a weekend morning near to Easter. The residents gather at a spot identified as problematic and each participant is kitted out with a hi-vis jacket, litter-picker and refuse sack. There then follows a specific and comprehensive engagement with spaces off the beaten path; walking a few paces at a time, into bushes, between hedges, up and down hidden paths that would normally be ignored, seeking out litter and other rubbish.

How such items get there is anyone's guess, and some of the items that are encountered certainly beg questions from the residents as they reach between thorny branches and pluck out (empty) alcohol bottles, computer monitors, boxes of books, light bulbs – '*Who put this here?...Why would anyone leave that?*'. Every item that is recovered hints at a passage made or presence felt, of activity that results in their being found. In this way, these litter-picks uncover and reveal a differential inhabitation as people on the move leaving traces that are disorderly in themselves, and potential signs of social disorder (e.g. Innes, 2004). The litter-pick attended during this research was focused around one of the gates that separates the grassed area from the side road by the local shop. This was somewhere that came up in the last chapter as a place that some people find intimidating to walk through at night (Graham's encounter with two 'lads' sat on a nearby bench). At other times residents report they see people sat around this area drinking, and it is somewhere that becomes tainted by association. Although the bushes and grassed areas are unremarkable in themselves, and the ground around the gate is patchy earth and weeds, acts such as the litter pick look to remove traces, either of undesirable activity such as public drinking, or other acts that contravene the sensibilities of participating residents.

Figure 8.5 Computer monitor and books found in the bushes

This activity recalls the themes raised in the opening section of this chapter, and as such relates to both the literature on walking and modes of inhabiting (Ingold, 2010). It is not just the removal of litter and rubbish that is important but what the litter pick reveals about the landscape as a way of seeing, and as lived practice. First it is an occupation of sorts; a number of people following a strategy to clear up and return order to somewhere that has lapsed. In that sense they are very visibly taking an area under their control. Related to this, however, is the practice of conducting the litter pick itself. The residents have identified and occupied problem areas, but in order to seek out and remove litter and other waste they must follow some of the same lines of movement as those left them there. In their own wandering behaviour they shadow the movements of those people that do not move through the area in such an ordered manner; those described throughout resident accounts as the abstract and inherently troubling 'wanderers'.

It could be stated that the 'strategy' of maintenance (to return the area to a clean and tidy state) is contingent upon tactics that differ from the ways in which

residents move through these sites in the everyday. As Chapter 3 noted, Anderson (2010) argues that 'traces' of place lead to both a cultural ordering and a geographical bordering. In this respect, the activities of the AWRA set out to create a clear sense of order and ownership. Removing traces of disorder allows the AWRA members to repair their dominant representations of place: safe, clean, quiet. However, as Ieuan notes above, these acts of repair are only ever temporary, and given this the question must be asked as to what exactly they achieve.

Although litter is not as harmful as some of the issues residents report to affect Butetown, it provides a reason to interact with people in ways they generally do not in the everyday. As Crow (2007: 618) states that the 'ordinariness of community relationships in people's everyday lives needs to be reinforced periodically by extraordinary gatherings'. Thrift (2005) has recently emphasised the role of 'gatherings' in the maintenance of and care for the city. Chapter 2 noted Thrift's (2005) observation that while the city is often subject to considerable degradation, damage and disaster, it is remarkably resolute in its recovery. It is not self-regenerating however, and Thrift identifies the largely unnoticed and everyday maintenance of the urban fabric as fundamental to its very existence.

The balance in AWRA activities is reversed: rather than everyday acts that respond to or hold off disorder, they are repair events that respond to the accumulation of everyday disorder. Crow (2007) describes such events as 'rituals', and this recalls the work of Sibley (1995) on rituals of purification. Hetherington (1997) draws on the ideas of Bauman in describing such processes as the eradication of ambivalence, where 'such spaces of Otherness become passages through which agents move and through which ordering strategies are engaged' (Hetherington, 1997: 68). Their purpose is the restoration of the symbolic and moral neighbourhood landscape; although this restoration is only every temporary. While the canal clean-up and litter-pick are certainly not everyday activities, they follow Thrift's (2005) assertion that such activity is, must be, ongoing. This implies, therefore not a social order, but social ordering – there is transgression and resistance visible in the inhabitation and occupation of both insiders and outsiders, residents and non-residents, neighbour and stranger.

As introduced in Chapter 2, Fyfe (2010) states that 'symbolic gestures' are used by government in order to give the impression that crime is under control. In a similar vein, then, these events of repair are an indication to those who see them – either directly or in the newspaper – that people are getting involved with and taking care of their neighbourhood. This, by extension represents Atlantic Wharf as somewhere safe and pleasant to be. Those that pass by during the course of the litter-pick can't help but notice the hi-vis jackets, and might stop for a chat and ask what is going on. In some cases, as with some residents above, they might not have been aware of the AWRA before. While the litter pick therefore provides what Lefebvre (1991) would recognise as a representation of space – community as conceived – it also recalls Amin and Thrift's (2002) differential registers of community in the contemporary city. There is 'light sociality' here, a group of people who get together every so often to engage in tasks that address collective concerns. It is also a community of activity, 'the community of taking place, not place' (ibid: 47). Recalling Sennett's (1970) arguments relating to the uses of disorder, if such issues did not arise from the neglect of the neighbourhood landscape by public and private bodies alike, then there would be little reason for the AWRA members to get together.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced a wide range of material in emphasising the role of participants in this research as first and foremost *residents*. It has done this by showing how they perceive crime and disorder in relation to their residence, and as such provided a contrast with their own pedestrian practice. As stated in the introduction, however, the motif of the in-between, and related movement, is much in evidence. Resident accounts recognise various capacities for control in relation to the spatial configuration of their home and its surrounds. For those living in developments where access is more restricted, there is an implicit understanding that physical and symbolic boundaries combine in order to create a safe and secure home territory. However, other accounts recognise that physical boundaries are far from impassable, and symbolic boundaries are subject to the discursive wandering of various 'outsiders'. The chapter also showed some of the ways in which residents respond to crime and disorder, and the concerns that

prevent them from doing so. It was suggested above that the home might provide one key site through which to intervene in crime and disorder, both directly and indirectly. However, residents report the widespread recognition that there are risks in doing so, and other approaches are adopted that allow residents to preserve their anonymity.

Perhaps the clearest contribution of this chapter has been to engage with the way that residents respond to issues relating to crime and disorder, and this has traced a line from individual engagement with the spaces around the home, through significant sites of communication and communal participation in neighbourhood meetings and events of repair. As noted above, Sagar (2005) expresses the concern that the skewed nature of participation in community groups tends toward a self-interested and restricted version of community safety. That said, this chapter has also revealed some of the tensions inherent between these groups of 'folk experts' and the professional expertise of the police. The chapter ended by considering two related processes of repair that take place as part of the activities of the AWRA. These activities, and their interpretation by other residents, reiterates that such practices are ongoing and narrow in their focus, responding to the constant 'wear and tear' that necessitates regular maintenance in the spaces between sites of private and public governance. These themes, as well as those presented in the other two empirical chapters, provide focus for further discussion in Chapter 9.

9

FINDING A WAY THROUGH CRIME AND PLACE IN THE ATLANTIC WHARF LANDSCAPE

Introduction

This chapter provides a further discussion of the empirical analyses presented across Chapters 6,7 and 8. While each of those chapters had their own focus there are particular threads that can be traced through and between them. This discussion will first draw on some of these in order to identify how crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf are understood in terms of processes of movement across and in place. This will provide a consolidation of themes and issues raised above and situate this thesis in relation to a broader theoretical context. The remainder of this chapter develops previous discussion of three recurring themes: boundaries; thresholds; and landscape. This will advance and recapitulate a mutability and mutuality to the relationship between crime and place in Atlantic Wharf as a regenerated neighbourhood.

1. Crime and place on the move

The previous three chapters broadly reflect the guiding research themes in addressing representations, experiences and individual and communal responses to crime and disorder. Here it makes sense to discuss them together in order to provide an overall interpretation of what Garland (2000) terms the 'experience of crime' as it relates to Atlantic Wharf. Garland (2000: 355) asserts that this experience is indicative of 'socially situated individuals who inhabit [a] complex of practices, knowledges, norms and subjectivities'. Atlantic Wharf is the place in which residents are 'socially situated', and the following will provide insight into how their 'collective experience' gives an understanding of crime and disorder in

Atlantic Wharf as a regenerated neighbourhood.

The experience of crime in Atlantic Wharf

Analysis of empirical data shows that participating residents relate certain kinds of crime and disorder to Atlantic Wharf, and that their experience and perception of these contributes to their overall sense of place. A sense of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf necessitates comparison to other places both in the neighbourhood and the wider city. It is evident from much of the opinion and experience presented above that car crime is something that most residents associate with Atlantic Wharf. In part this is because of the traces it leaves; broken glass at the side of the pavement has the capacity to act as a 'signal' to those who see it (Innes, 2004). Indeed, much of what residents describe in terms of crime or disorder is situated on a visual register. From discarded litter and dumped household items, to graffiti, overgrown vegetation and run-down buildings, there is an aesthetic of disorder, or incivility, among resident accounts. Exceptions to this rule both reiterate it and, significantly, mean that residents must then interpret and make sense of them in relation to an overall conception.

They also emphasise not just prevailing representations of crime as it relates to Atlantic Wharf, but the kinds of people who live there. For instance, in Chapter 6 Rodney's 'surprise' at finding his neighbours were involved in drugs related both to a contrast with 'visible' signs of disorder, and that people who appeared similar to him were involved in illegal activity. In no small part this relates to the majority of resident accounts interpreting Atlantic Wharf as a 'middle class' area, reflecting the demographic data introduced in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the appearance of crimes perceived to be more serious (robbery, burglary and drug-related crime) imply the 'other crimes' that residents associate with 'other places'. It was shown in Chapter 6 that resident accounts make sense of Atlantic Wharf as in but not of the city, especially in relation to pervading representations of the 'inner city' (e.g. Baeten, 2002). Whether it is construed as a positive or negative feature, many resident representations perceive Atlantic Wharf to be both 'clean and quiet'. This feeds into a common assumption that the neighbourhood is therefore also a safe place. However, such associations with dirt, danger and disorder were made in relation to

other places near and far. At one level, resident accounts interpret crime in both Atlantic Wharf and Cardiff as a whole as less serious than places such as Peckham in London, or other 'big cities' like Glasgow or Birmingham. This 'crime-consciousness' (Gray *et al.*, 2007) suggests that to them Cardiff is somewhere that does not experience the same level or seriousness of crime.

'Place-myths' (Shields, 1991; Girling *et al.*, 2000) featured among resident accounts of Butetown, somewhere far closer to home. Here, words such as 'ghetto' or 'the projects' conceive of Butetown in terms of a place at once territorial, threatening and deprived. Cooper (1999) describes how such spatial discourses construct both symbolic and moral landscapes, appropriating salient imagery in order to describe both how places are and how they should be. Whereas the city centre was largely associated with alcohol-related crime and disorder, Butetown was seen as somewhere affected by serious drugs problems, as well as crimes to both property and the person. This was something reflected in resident accounts of walking into Butetown, where they experienced intimidation or an 'atmosphere', that they felt uncomfortable or that they knew of someone who had been a victim of crime there. De Certeau (1984) argues that pedestrian practice can transform, privilege and abandon spatial elements, and residents' own ways of walking show how representations of place are reiterated. This is perhaps most visible in how they move along, but usually not across, Lloyd George Avenue, and in doing so emphasise its role as a 'natural boundary'. Indeed, it is in representations and experiences of such marginal sites that many accounts of crime and disorder are placed. Significantly these relate not only to actual instances of crime (whether directly experienced or from mediated accounts), but affective registers of fear or anxiety.

Atkinson (2006) identifies a tendency for residents of middle class neighbourhoods to become 'disaffiliated' from the surrounding urban environment. Accounts of marginal sites reveal some of the reasons for the growing 'insulation', 'incubation' or 'incarceration' of residents at the level of the home or neighbourhood. Analysis suggests a certain ambivalence towards Lloyd George Avenue in relation to crime and disorder, something largely identifiable among accounts of other troubling sites. Lloyd George Avenue is somewhere that

connects the city centre with Cardiff Bay, and as such provides a route along which residents might regularly walk. It also provides a sense of 'distance' from Butetown, not least because of its width. However, as a bounding device it both separates and connects at a number of levels (i.e. Simmel, 1997). In order to provide 'insulation' a connection, or the 'possibility' of a connection, must be made between Atlantic Wharf and Butetown. This is something Tonkiss (2005: 31) recognises as the inherent 'fantasy or danger' of such bounding devices. Just as prominent is an assumption that individuals 'cross over' from Butetown into Atlantic Wharf, moving through the neighbourhood in order to commit crime.

Lloyd George Avenue is also somewhere that – recalling Garland's (2000) assertion above – the 'norms' and 'subjectivities' of Atlantic Wharf residents are in tension with various 'others'. Graham recognized the difference between the 'norms and values' of Cardiff Bay and those of the 'warzone', brought to bear on Lloyd George Avenue through the presence of Somali immigrants. Residents' walking practices introduced in Chapter 7 thus relate to a negotiation, not just of the physical features of the urban terrain, but with difference. Here, it was noted that 'steering clear' of those perceived to be intimidating – young, male, Somali – illustrates 'negotiation' as comprising not interaction and mediation but avoidance and a spatial and social 'distancing'.

Indeed, there was a further ambivalence in the way that youth was represented in Atlantic Wharf. In terms of 'children' it was generally agreed that the neighbourhood is worse off for their absence, a result of the spatial and financial constraints of the types of housing available. However, in line with Hancock (2006), experiences with young people in and around Atlantic Wharf were largely drawn along lines of disorder, whether in contravention to the norms of 'adult' behaviour (through running around or making noise), or in association with specific illegal activities (car crime; graffiti). Although some residents suggested they would intervene in such instances, the uncertainty and avoidance of intimidating and disorderly youth recalls arguments made in Chapter 2 in relation to social geographies of fear. It also reiterates a sometimes (but certainly not always) subtly expressed intolerance or distrust of other marginalized groups based on their ethnicity. To live in Atlantic Wharf as a 'safe, clean and quiet' place

is to negotiate difference that undermines this sense of it being a 'nice' place. Fear, as one affective response, is something that was also discernible in the Atlantic Wharf 'experience', finely implicated in and differentiated between resident accounts.

Expressing concern in Atlantic Wharf

In recognition of the limitations and (mis)representations of 'fear' in relation to crime and disorder, Jackson (2004) draws a contrast between that which is 'experiential' and 'expressive'. The former relates to immediate and acute emotional reactions to a specific situation, whereas the latter implies broader anxieties that can overlap and extend concerns over crime into realms of uncertainty associated with living in 'late-modernity' (Garland, 2000). Various iterations of 'expressive fear' have become part of much recent work aware of the limitations of 'experiential fear' in both its observation and explanation for what are varied responses to crime (e.g. Girling *et al.*, 2000; Innes, 2004). Situated instances of fear are perhaps most discernible from resident accounts of walking through spatial thresholds such as the Pellett Street bridge, the underpasses along the canal footpath, or channelled transitions between open areas. Such places were either actively avoided (especially after dark) or if they were walked through then residents reported heightened awareness and sensitivity to the presence of others.

Considering Williams' (2008) argument that 'night spaces' are socially mediated, this introduces the possibility that experiential and expressive fear are not distinct categories, but are themselves connected. For instance, Koskela (2010) states that certain times or places are deemed 'off limits' to female inhabitants of the city because of dominant (i.e. masculine) cultural conceptions of public space. This was reflected in the tension reported by Eve in Chapter 7 related to her own use of the Pellett Street bridge and the advice and judgement of her employers. Similarly, expressive concerns over Atlantic Wharf as a transient community play into the experiential fear of walking along the canal. The belief that the neighbourhood is 'anonymous' means that residents report feeling unsafe when walking at certain times, even though there is an implicit assumption of trust in relation to criminal activity targeted on the home.

Innes (2004) asserts that 'fear' is just one kind of emotional response to the presence or interpretation of disorder. For instance, people may also be angry or annoyed, and become melancholy over the perceived 'decline' of where they live. Responses are neither simply emotional, as people may also think about places differently when exposed to evidence of crime. Then, as a result of either emotional or cognitive responses they may then change their behaviour to limit exposure to risk. Behavioural responses are also visible in the way that residents are reactive, proactive or preventive as part of activities that attend to the presence or potential for crime and disorder (Smith, 1986). Chapter 8 showed how residents are perhaps most active in this sense in relation to the spaces around their home. Here they might perceive and interpret the presence of 'others' as implicitly threatening or disorderly, and take various countermeasures. They also draw on the capacity of the built environment to provide either symbolic or physical boundaries that emphasise control and surveillance over a given territory (Newman, 1972).

Resident accounts are also alert to the role that walking plays in building up knowledge of place. This relates to both their own experience of where they live, and the way that opportunities for crime are recognised and taken advantage of through pedestrian movement. Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) similarly assert that through their own routine activities of place criminals become more or less familiar with possibilities for crime in given locations. These, they assert, relate to salient features of the landscape: nodes, paths, and edges. However, given that Atlantic Wharf is 'separate' from the city, and that residents perceive 'people like them' to live there, it is unlikely that journeys made into the neighbourhood by criminals are part of mundane, everyday activities. They are instead part of what residents perceive to be their 'routine' offending – the same types of people committing the same types of crime. It is worth pointing out at that although residents do not necessarily think of Atlantic Wharf as 'of the city', there are times when the city comes to them.

Related to this, many instances of crime and disorder are recognised through movement that crosses nominal boundaries, expressed through what are more-or-less urban rhythms. The example of car-crime draws these threads together. First,

resident accounts make sense of Atlantic Wharf as subject to the linear rhythms of commuting, whereby people drive in and out of the neighbourhood on a daily basis, leaving their cars parked in the interim. These are then exposed to a range of criminal activities that are themselves recognised as 'going in phases', and therein residents trace rhythms of control, whether related to displacement from other areas (Hakim and Rengert, 1981), or the 'temporary' incarceration of those responsible. Resident accounts reveal that in their own routine, or 'rhythmic' inhabitation they are able to pick up on things 'out of place' (i.e. broken glass) while at the same time ascribing order and control over certain sites (Wunderlich, 2008) through the 'routine' presence of police patrols. However, it was also noted above that many residents are unaware of such a presence and regardless of their perception of Atlantic Wharf as a safe place would like to see the police more often.

Chapter 8 brings together many different aspects of crime and disorder for those living in Atlantic Wharf. It shows that there is an overlap between individual and collective responses to crime and disorder, and that as responsibilized 'active citizens' the rights of residents to 'take control' of where they live is in tension with concerns (usually from the police) for their own safety and the knowledge claims they make. Crawford (1999) expresses concern over the tendency for 'community' to be organized in relation to crime and disorder, given that it emphasises difference and tends towards intolerance. There is certainly some evidence for this in relation to the AWRA. That said, drawing on Putnam's (2000) notion of 'bridging capital', Crawford (2006a) also identifies the capacity of 'light touch' communities to address problems in a manner that is more tolerant and inclusive.

Although resident representations of 'community' in Atlantic Wharf are often disparaging, various formal and informal gatherings show how smaller groups of individuals can effectively respond to and address issues that affect the area as a whole (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Such activity often relates to a blurring of public and private space, as 'communal' living in apartment blocks leads to the creation of private domains that are governed in relation to the shared responsibility for common areas. Similarly, the activities of the AWRA are concentrated in the margins between individual households and the fragmented responsibility of private landowners and the local authority. Recognition of public and private space

in Atlantic Wharf is limited both by uncertainty over who owns what, and the sense that 'negative spaces' are under-utilised or that their use (especially by children) is rarely appreciated. Living somewhere 'quiet' means that any activity that disrupts the territorial order either at the margins or around houses is picked up on, and negatively interpreted in relation to their overall sense of place.

Processes of crime and place

The above has drawn together some of the recurrent themes and issues in relation to crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf. The second part of the chapter will re-configure and advance these issues in relation to three motifs that draw together social and spatial elements of crime and disorder. Before proceeding it is instructive to first consider how representations of place and its lived practice situate this thesis in terms of wider theoretical concerns. As stated above this research is concerned with a place – Atlantic Wharf – and how its residents perceive and experience crime and disorder. What is clear from both the discussion above and the findings from the previous three chapters is that interpretation of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf is based on various registers of movement. Here, the work of Girling *et al.* (2000) provides both a starting point for the position that will be advanced, and indicates the kind of theoretical openings that this thesis has been working towards.

In making sense of how localities can contribute to making sense of crime and disorder in relation to wider and far reaching structural shifts (i.e. late modernity; globalization) and the flux and instability left in their wake (i.e. global *flows*, the 'network society'), Girling *et al.* (2000) argue that place is of continuing importance. Eschewing notions of 'fear of crime', they concentrate instead on the way people talk about both the places in which they live, and how this is often enmeshed in sensibilities towards crime and disorder. They therefore argue that 'people's crime-talk intersects with their sense, both of *the place* in which they live, and of *their place* within a wider world of prospects and insecurities' (ibid: 160, emphasis in original). They assert that grand narratives of crime and social change – similar to those of Garland (1996; 2000) and others presented in Chapter 2 – display an 'insensitivity to place', as well as insufficient (and somewhat

patronising) regard to the way that 'lay' persons experience and respond to interpreted risks of potentials for crime and disorder. They recognise the ways that 'people continue to live *somewhere* [and] go about much of their routine daily lives *somewhere*' (Girling *et al.*, 2000: 162, emphasis in original).

So far then, this is a position that is recognisable in the accounts of crime and disorder presented above. Interpretation of empirical data has shown a number of ways in which place is important in how people make sense of crime and disorder. As such, this importance is reflected in how residents conceive of where they live; sensibilities toward crime play a significant part in making sense of place. For Atlantic Wharf residents, that the neighbourhood is on the whole 'clean, safe and quiet' is what makes it a nice place in which to live. However, where this thesis seeks to extend this position is in relation to not just a sense of crime and place, but rather its sensing. 'Crime-talk' and contingent 'sensibilities' may provide more insight into understanding crime and place than limited readings of 'fear' or ideological 'broken windows', but they also emphasise representation rather than lived practice.

This thesis has introduced ways in which crime and place can be understood as (part of) processes rather than simply the product of social relations or 'events' that denote the 'culmination' of routine activities. It is clear from resident accounts that they make sense of place in relation to both crime events and their usual locations. Residents report finding signs or disorder in certain places: around the gates near the park; along Schooner Way. However, what is also clear is that these locations, and the events that take place in them, are both perceived and experienced in relation to movement 'across' the landscape. Places are similarly conceived in terms of imagined or experienced biographies and memory, as well as the ways in which they may change in the future. Crime and disorder always happens *somewhere*, but that location is always, for inhabitants, *on the way* somewhere else.

The traces of disorder that are perceived in the landscape are brought about by movements that cross boundaries; rhythms of place are ongoing and what seem to be one-off crime events are given added resonance because there is always the

'fantasy or danger' that they will return. Residents who experience or perceive specific parts of the physical terrain as unsafe or disorderly have always come from somewhere, and are usually on their way somewhere else. For residents, it is in the crossing or passing through sites – or their avoidance – that they are given meaning as 'unsafe' or dangerous. As Beckett (2001: 900) observes, both Girling *et al.* (2000) and Garland (2000; 2001) are focused on 'cultural sensibilities concerning crime, *order*, and security; that is the *structures* of feeling and ways of thinking and talking about these subjects' (emphasis added). Everyday 'crime-talk' is important, but does not capture the understanding of crime and place that develops through lived practices of inhabiting. As Hetherington (1997) observes in the work of Law (1994), the social sciences are too often concerned with 'nouns rather than verbs, with things rather than processes, hence the concern with social order as a thing rather than social ordering as a process'.

There is, then, a great deal to be understood by attending to movement, and processes of ordering rather than order (or disorder) as products or *eventual* structures of crime and place. That this thesis has emphasised the importance of everyday lived practice therefore gives it its own (developing) place as part of a wider and more recent turn to mobilities in the social sciences. As introduced in Chapters 3 and 4, the 'new mobilities paradigm' aims to situate sociological understanding not of mobilities as one expression of social lives, but as fundamental to the organization of contemporary society. Hall (2009) observes that this focus specifically seeks to undermine sedentarist notions of movement as 'neutral' in relation to meaningful bounded and rooted places. Similarly, global flows outlined above might seem to render an interest in specific places – such as Atlantic Wharf – obsolete. As Cresswell (2010: 18) states, 'any study of mobility runs the risk of suggesting that the (allegedly) immobile – notions such as boundaries and borders, place, territory, and landscape – is of the past and no longer relevant to the dynamic world of the 21st century'.

Although life (biological and social) is and has always been based on movement (Ingold, 2000), a renewed focus on mobilities turns on technologies that permit (and encourage) movement that is ever faster and further; not only embodied but virtual, and suggestive of a greater portability to that which was once cumbersome.

However, the above shows that inquiry based on movement need not go so far or so fast. In this respect, the work of Amin and Thrift (2002: 30) was highlighted in Chapter 3 as particularly instructive, developing an approach to cities and places in general as 'moments of encounter'. Rather than a fixed spatial and temporal landscape they identify the everyday and repetitive practices of inhabitation as 'variable events; twists and fluxes of interrelation' (ibid.). Local, pedestrian practice lends itself to an understanding of how places are construed *through* not in opposition *to* iterations of mobility. As Urry (2007: 63) concedes, 'all movement involves intermittent walking [...] pedestrianism is everywhere'. Both in its theoretical focus and empirical practice this thesis has made use of modes of mobility. Here, then, is a further sense of the 'in-between', tracing footsteps through a threshold between place as a fixed and bounded tract of urban terrain, and social worlds described through mobile flows that go ever faster and further. In this light, having established the possibility for crime and place understood as processes rather than events, the remainder of the chapter will engage in further discussion of landscape in relation to themes traced across the empirical analysis. This will advance an understanding of crime and place as not just related to how residents *make sense* of each, but as constitutive of their *sensing practices*, ongoing processes of inhabitation.

2. Moving with crime and place

Throughout the empirical analysis, as well as in the discussion of literature provided in Chapters 2 and 3, there has been an intentional (yet no less significant for that) recognition and identification of boundaries, thresholds and landscape. These have by turn provided the implicit and explicit focus for much discussion relating to crime and place in Atlantic Wharf. As such these will be addressed in the context of the overall analysis of empirical data in order to explore and open out the understanding of crime and place proposed above.

Boundaries

Boundaries are complicated assemblages of spatial form and social relations (Tonkiss, 2005). Although they might be recognised as identifying binaries of

inside/outside, public/private and order/disorder, the above has highlighted a more subtle and complicated role in understanding crime and place in Atlantic Wharf. Atkinson *et al.* (2005) emphasise the need to understand boundaries as 'transitional and ambiguous states [...] spaces of uncertainty that resist binary classification' (ibid: 153). Such issues are visible in representations of Atlantic Wharf as a place in but not of the city. Here, resident accounts identify the convenience of living close to the city centre and Cardiff Bay yet distinguish themselves from these sites through the aesthetics of place: clean and quiet; spaces of nature that are by turn intimate and open. However, the separation of nature and culture has been shown to be one boundary in which anxiety takes hold, whether in relation to it undermining an aesthetic of order, or providing spaces for criminals to lurk. Similarly, all manner of movement crosses and undermines boundaries, moments of encounter that as Bauman (2007) suggests 'play havoc' with ostensible divisions in the urban terrain.

Outside of residents' own representations of Atlantic Wharf, Chapter 5 introduced some of the ways in which Atlantic Wharf is recognised (or not) through various administrative boundaries. Among some the presence of Atlantic Wharf was unclear, instead identified through its location in 'Butetown'. The above has shown that such associations are not ones that participating residents willingly abide by. Instead through playing up certain boundaries (e.g. Lloyd George Avenue) and playing down others (Hemingway Road) residents' sense of place makes associations with Cardiff Bay and disassociates them from Butetown. Resident accounts of inhabiting Atlantic Wharf reveal the way that boundaries are encountered and appropriated as routine features of the neighbourhood. The meaning that they ascribe to certain boundaries such as Lloyd George Avenue shows how they can interpret as 'natural' those boundaries that create the strongest sense of division. It is clear that boundaries are identified in many resident accounts as means of insulating (e.g. Atkinson, 2006) their sense of place from the threats of nearby sites conceived as disorderly or disquieting. In relation to the control of crime and disorder, boundaries are perhaps most overtly recognisable in concepts relating to the order and re-ordering of public and private spaces of the city. Chapter 2 introduced some of the implicit and explicit roles that boundaries have in giving or denoting order and control. For instance, while

Newman (1972) and Jacobs (1961) have a concern with the social control of urban neighbourhoods, they ascribe different roles and relevance to the boundaries between private and public space. Resident accounts often imply that 'areas' are under control when delimited through either symbolic or physical boundaries. However, in such instances the separation from 'the city' alluded to above is undermined through the presence and activities of others that transgress or unsettle a seemingly fixed order.

The assertion of Simmel (1997) that boundaries both separate and connect applies to the interpretation of resident accounts that make sense of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf. Much of the empirical data discussed in Chapters 6-8 develops an understanding of boundaries as 'active' in both their interpretation and that which takes place in, across and through them. Resident accounts recognise boundaries between Atlantic Wharf as a 'suburban enclave' and the adjacent sites of the city centre, Butetown, and Cardiff Bay. However, these boundaries are not just limits, they emphasise things on either side, sites held in complex relation with one another. Similarly, boundaries do not just delineate Atlantic Wharf as an area, but have a role in describing its internal differentiation and fragmentation. People, and certainly not just residents, move through Atlantic Wharf, experiencing boundaries not in terms of how they delineate *areas*, but whether or not they impede, channel and direct movement along a way of life.

Tonkiss (2005) notes how spatial forms are understood through social relations, and in this case boundaries are exemplary. On one level, boundaries are things that have been created by human action, whether in connecting two places through a road, or in separating places through dividing walls. Rather than being products of social relations, however, it make more sense to think of boundaries as processes. A wall or road as boundary is therefore neither a social or spatial fact, but 'can only become a boundary, or the indicator of a boundary, in relation to the activities of the people [...] for whom it is recognised as such' (Ingold, 1993: 156). In this respect it makes sense to consider not just boundaries, but thresholds that speak of passage through marginal sites, and the active transitions between different 'vistas'.

Thresholds

A conceptual understanding of thresholds was applied to the analysis of resident representations of crime and place in Chapter 6. However, these 'openings' into crime and place indicate a variety of transitions between and within place(s) as experienced through everyday life. Following on from an understanding of boundaries that denote division, thresholds emphasise the ways in which residents encounter and negotiate their way through difference. Ingold (2000) asserts that people both move and know through 'vistas' that are separated through a series of reversible 'transitions'. Walking practices of participating residents are replete with encounters with such transitional spaces. One thing that reinforces an understanding of crime and place known through thresholds rather than impervious boundaries is the way that disorder is recognised through sound. Chapter 8 showed how sound denotes activity, and that such 'noise' can permeate seemingly 'fixed' boundaries of buildings. Furthermore, a focus on thresholds, margins, or 'the in-between' emphasises the ambivalence of place:

> To be close to someone socially does not necessarily require physical proximity and, in a world of disembedded mechanisms and distanciated relations [...] the immediate copresence of subjects is no longer considered to be the necessary basis of community relations. On this view, the boundaries – social as well as physical – which once marked the limits of local relations are now more akin to thresholds across which communication and other forms of distanciated interaction take place. (Allen, 2000: 58)

Thresholds of community in Atlantic Wharf reveal that although understood as 'transient', there are many similarities between residents living their lives in parallel. Chapter 8 showed a number of ways in which residents might engage with one another, albeit in irregular intervals of both space and time. Similarly there are connections to be made between residents based on 'bridging capital', and the 'linking capital' that enables access to those responsible for governance 'from above' (Crawford, 2006a). That said, there was little evidence for the 'bridging' between distanciated communities in other respects. One such threshold – between child and adult – reveals how youth is both experienced and represented through resident accounts as inherently troubling. Similarly, it has been shown

that both fears and signs of crime and disorder materialise through encounters with spatial thresholds. Those transgressing the symbolic boundaries of housing developments were thus also creating thresholds out of boundaries, 'loosening' the territorial order with which such sites are associated.

As Stevens (2007: 73) asserts, 'a threshold is a point where the boundary between inside and outside can be opened; space loosens up, and a wide range of perceptions, movements and social encounters become possible'. There is potential here both for increased participation and tolerance, but also the focus of a bounded place politics that seeks to purify and exclude difference. Although the boundaries between 'public' and 'private' space are sometimes unclear in Atlantic Wharf, it is perhaps in the threshold between them (identified in part through the presence of disorder) that a 'parochial' form of the neighbourhood takes place. Where a lack of maintenance and the removal of litter and waste produces disorderly sites, residents either act on their own or come together in a way that appropriates 'empty space' as part of their, or the, neighbourhood.

Garland (2001) suggests that in 'late-modernity' citizens have an emotional preoccupation with the uncertainty of a globalized world. Herbert and Brown (2006: 769) suggest that as such, 'the economic transformations of neoliberalism translate into cultural anxieties that fuel the popularity of the exclusionary tendencies inherent in popular criminology'. Cultural thresholds of place capture the interface between the symbolic landscape of 'Cardiff Bay' as one possible future, and the presence of alternative cultures of crime and disorder imported from the 'war-zone' of Somalia. The tendency to exclusion that Herbert and Brown (2006) identify is implied by resident accounts that express a desire for somewhere 'safe, clean and quiet'. Doing so means they implicitly disengage from and exclude difference from their neighbourhood. Boundaries and thresholds are therefore both useful ways of understanding the experience of crime and disorder for residents of Atlantic Wharf. That said, many of these issues can be made visible (and experienced) through notions of landscape. The final part of this discussion will advance a particular understanding of landscape that emphasises ongoing processes of crime and place in relation to Atlantic Wharf as a regenerated neighbourhood.

Landscape

Following Gold and Revill (2003), landscape is presented throughout this thesis as both a way of seeing and as lived practice. However, this binary in itself excludes a wider understanding and appropriation of landscape in order to denote the many ways in which social relations and spatial forms combine in the (meaningful) practice of inhabiting an environment. First, it is worth attending to visual registers of landscape and what they might denote. Mitchell (2005) has identified a range of uses and applications of landscape in both everyday parlance and technical knowledge or academic inquiry. As such, landscape can stand for the way concrete structures are ordered upon a visible terrain, an arrangement of objects that can be given social or cultural significance, a 'look' or 'style'. Furthermore landscape can stand for the 'shape and structure of a place' and, perhaps most germane to this discussion, 'a form of *representation*, both as an art and as a complex system of meanings' (ibid: 49, emphasis in original).

So, if landscape is a 'way of seeing' then just what is visible is subject to differentiation in terms of meaning, significance and ownership. The visual sense of the landscape was something referred to in Chapter 3 as concomitant of attempts to take control, or establish an order, over a specific place. This indicated the role of landscape as a means of 'framing' the world that enables those viewing (or presenting a particular perspective) to constitute places in particular ways (Gold and Revill, 2003; Urry, 2007: 257). Such representations of place have been visible throughout this thesis, taking 'things on the land' (Mitchell, 2005: 49) such as buildings, bridges and bushes and attaching to them certain meanings. So the 'ghetto' landscape of Butetown is described through run-down buildings and signs of physical disorder that relate to moral landscapes of incivility, affective thresholds of anxiety and aesthetics of repulsion. On the other hand, a 'quiet and clean' sense of Atlantic Wharf elicits a landscape of safety and order.

The visual nature of the landscape is partly that which Lynch (1960) describes in his recognition of place legibility. Various spatial elements, such as paths and landmarks, combine to give a sense of what a place is like. Accounts of Atlantic

Wharf introduced above present particular examples of the landscape as constitutive of an aesthetic appeal. This does not necessarily denote an affective attachment or appreciation, but shows how residents can identify somewhere even if they do not identify with it. So far there is little sense here of how movement provides a foil to such static and stable landscapes of representation or images of place. Something that Lynch (1960) recognises is that the legibility of landscapes relies on movement through them, and resident accounts certainly reveal movement across a terrain. Attending to the way that residents make their way through the neighbourhood (as well as to or away from other places) reveals how landscapes of representation both inform and are informed by lived practice.

This relationship can be usefully addressed through drawing on Ingold's (2000) interpretation of navigation and wayfaring: that knowing *where you are* is based upon knowing *where to go*. Various examples of navigation and wayfaring have been revealed in the analysis of empirical data presented above. Here, navigation has first been presented as a means of being directed, where resident accounts reveal others telling them where, when, and how they should (and should not) walk. Related to this is the way that individuals make claims to knowing certain places as based on either their own pedestrian practice or, alternatively, that which has been transmitted to them from other sources. They may have 'heard' what somewhere is like, or have perceived somewhere from the outside, walked around but not in or through it. The 'avoidance' strategies introduced above therefore relate to Lupton's (1999) 'mental maps' of unsafe places as based on navigation.

However, resident accounts show how in many ways both their own pedestrian practice, and the perceived movement of others, resists such landscapes of representation. This operates in relation to 'navigation' of the individual from friends or colleagues, as well as the direction 'from above' of the AWRA by the 'professional expertise' (Stenson, 2005) of the police. This indicates that participating residents are neither wholly attached and immanent in place, 'dwellers' as understood from Ingold's (1993) perspective, nor completely detached, making sense of place in terms of representation alone. Indeed, it is unrealistic to think anyone could inhabit place through just one of these ways of being in the world. Resident reports indicate the importance of walking to a 'local

knowledge' but this does not preclude the appropriation and reception of other kinds of mediated information. There is a desire to 'know' where they live as others inhabit it (the police, criminals), but this knowledge is always interpreted in relation to the lived practice of inhabitation. As Ingold (1993: 154) asserts, 'the forms people build, whether in the imagination or on the ground, arise within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings'.

The landscape, then, is understood not just as something that individuals move through, although they certainly move through a terrain as part of everyday inhabitation. As Ingold (1993) understands it, they instead move *with* the landscape. Being on the move and being in place are therefore to be understood as co-constitutive rather than corresponding, but separate, states of life. Recalling work presented in Chapters 7 and 8, the way that residents accumulate experience of walking a particular route thus reshapes and redraws their understanding of that terrain. This familiarity in 'getting to know' somewhere means not only that they can find their way, but rather they *feel* their way in a tactile sense through somewhere that is 'built' in relation to their own movement. Similarly, negative experiences of crime and disorder – such as Kay being mugged – mean ways of walking and a sense of place are subject to ongoing processes of negotiation. The 'criminogenic situations' that Garland (2000) identifies, along with the 'anxiogenic' transitions between different vistas are therefore not isolated or abstracted 'objects' of the landscape, but subjective 'moments' experienced during processes of inhabitation. Moving with the landscape draws together its representational and lived aspects, a landscape that is constantly shaped in relation to the activity of those who inhabit it. If inhabitants of a landscape move *with* a lived and material terrain (Hall, 2009), then this opens out possibilities for making sense of processes of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf. In addition, it hints at ways in which crime and disorder might be understood in relation to urban regeneration.

Crime and disorder in a regenerated landscape

This thesis shows shown that Atlantic Wharf can be made sense of in many different ways. One such representation, and one certainly relevant to this discussion of 'shaping' the landscape, relates to it having been 'developed' or 'built' through a wider process of urban regeneration. Much of the literature presented in Chapter 2 was regarding the redevelopment of post-industrial urban space resulting in fragmentation and segregation. Here, it was shown that academic fears regarding the exclusion and 'revanchist secession' of the city are mirrored by the (somewhat assumed) fear expressed by the residents of such sites. Although it has not been claimed that Atlantic Wharf sits as an extreme example of the 'urban glamour zone', it is nevertheless representative of post-industrial landscape re-orientation as part of Cardiff's wider move toward a 'European city' of leisure, culture and consumption (Bristow and Morgan, 2006).

While places such as Atlantic Wharf are created from plans they are never complete realisations of attempts to order and dominate territory. This is true in a prosaic sense, as both resident representation and academic interpretation identify ambitions – Lloyd George Avenue as 'continental' boulevard – that have not been met. However, attending to processes of inhabitation reveal that there is much 'room for manoeuvre' (Hughes, 2007: 187) in the regenerated landscape, partly expressed through the presence of crime and disorder. Various kinds of movement and the lived practice of residents and non-residents alike undermine the notion of Atlantic Wharf as somewhere simply built for subsequent inhabitation. Indeed, that which relates to crime and disorder is one way in which people move with the landscape, wherever it is they are headed. The empirical analysis also shows that processes of crime and place never stop, they are as with life always *going on* (Ingold, 2000) in one way or another. The graffiti under the bridge will come back no matter how many times it is repainted, the litter and waste will build up, and 'spikes' of crime that 'goes in phases' will continue to be sensed through the linear and circular rhythms of place.

Crime and disorder therefore reveal how people – not always residents – move and are moved as part of inhabiting the landscape. Activity that leaves traces of crime

and disorder therefore shapes it as much as the maintenance and repair of those who attend to such signs. Indeed, as Chapter 8 implied, in attending to crime and disorder residents move with the landscape in specific ways – shadowing the movements of others, and in doing so engaging in ordering processes that (temporarily) realign lived experience with representations of place. Although it is possible to conceive of places as 'safe' or 'unsafe', the experience of inhabitation never occupies a discrete bounded space but crosses and moves through (and with) a landscape where anything is possible. There is always the immanent potential of encounter with crime, no matter how stark the boundaries (conceptual and physical) that are drawn between places of safety and danger. Although residents might conceive of Atlantic Wharf through separation from 'urban' issues of crime and disorder, 'the tension between nearness and distance is something that may be *lived* rather than necessarily resolved' (Allen, 2000: 58, emphasis in original).

In terms of residents' abiding concern with incivility, it can therefore be regarded 'as a routine feature of city life [...] an embodied and intersubjective problem to be experienced and managed rather than as a stigmatised and localised phenomenon to be feared and avoided' (Phillips and Smith, 2006: 880). If, as Girling *et al.* (2000) assert, a sense of crime and place are co-constitutive, then it follows that pedestrian practice that either leads or attends to signs of crime and disorder does not just take place but rather has a hand in making it. Although regeneration is often presented as an ameliorative treatment for ailing urban areas (Imrie and Raco, 2003; Atkinson and Helms, 2007), it is clear that in Atlantic Wharf at least, it is necessary to undertake both everyday and more eventful practices of maintenance. In part this transforms somewhere ostensibly 'placeless' (recall residents' indifference over the 'new builds' in Chapter 6) into the urban fabric, through ongoing processes of wear and tear and repair (Savage and Warde, 1993; Thrift, 2005). In a recent volume, Hancock (2007) asks whether urban regeneration is criminogenic; in Atlantic Wharf, as the very thing that is attended to – through litter-picks, PACT meetings and informal 'policing' – crime and disorder has a central role in making urban regeneration. In moving with the landscape, residents of Atlantic Wharf are able to find their way between the representational and the lived, ongoing and co-constitutive processes of crime and place.

3. Conclusion

This chapter has advanced both an overall position for this thesis and a related opening out of crime and place as mutual and mutable processes. It has drawn on the empirical analysis conducted in the previous three chapters as part of a further discussion of the main themes and issues identified therein. Fittingly, in applying the anthropology of Tim Ingold to the built environment of urban regeneration this discussion, and the thesis as a whole, finds a further sense of the 'in-between'. Many of Ingold's arguments (2000; 2007a; 2010) are based on an environment that is the antithesis of the city; pastoral terrains of indigenous tribes and nomadic hunter-gatherers. Although this thesis has not been intended to position the residents of Atlantic Wharf in these terms, it is clear that ideas of dwelling and inhabitation, as the antithesis of a purely representational landscape – need not be removed from the city. The threads that run through this discussion, and the thesis as a whole, can be traced by the movement in, across, through and with place. It has been argued here that this movement both informs and is informed by the landscape as a way of seeing and as lived practice. This has shown how representations of crime and place are negotiated, both in the ways that residents move through and with the landscape, and when they attend to crime and disorder in activities of maintenance and repair.

10

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The above has provided a detailed investigation into crime and place, and in doing so introduced a number of ways in which crime and disorder are implicated in the regenerated landscape. Living in a neighbourhood such as Atlantic Wharf means participating residents inhabit a place they interpret as separate from the inner-city and its associated problems. However, given the location of where they live and the fundamental role of movement in the inhabitation of the landscape, connection with issues relating to crime and disorder is never far away. The discussion of these issues presented in Chapter 9 provides the culmination and consolidation of the empirical and theoretical work undertaken throughout this thesis. This chapter will provide a summary of the thesis as a whole, and point towards openings for further research. As part of this it will address some of the limitations of the thesis, although as will be seen these are similarly presented as possibilities for further research focused on these specific issues. Overall it can be stated that this thesis provides a compelling case for engaging with extended theoretical perspectives on crime and place.

Crime and place in the regenerated landscape

Chapter 2 introduced a range of literature relating to contemporary perspectives on crime and disorder and the city. It identified literature that suggests ways in which crime and its control are experienced and perceived in contemporary society. It also detailed a range of affective and ameliorative responses to problems of crime and disorder at the level of individual, community and state. This showed how processes of urban change are related to modes of social control and ambivalent thresholds between order and disorder.

After highlighting the limitations of prevailing criminological inquiry into place, Chapter 3 advanced a variety of approaches to place through an understanding of landscape as a way of seeing and as lived practice. This introduced both representational and experiential perspectives on place, and showed how the 'in-between' is visible in its respective boundaries and thresholds. The chapter drew to a close by considering how a focus on pedestrian modes of inhabitation might reveal ways in which representations of place inform and are informed through walking in the city.

This focus on walking was carried through into Chapter 4 in an account of walking interviews as the central technique of empirical engagement for this thesis. This chapter also showed how a mixed-method approach was used to recruit participants for the walking interviews, and to access communal aspects of life in Atlantic Wharf. Procedural accounts of data collection illustrated the ways in which each method – survey, interview, participant observation – provide different kinds of data on the experience and perception of crime and disorder. This chapter identified the period of data collection and dissemination of research findings as an ongoing process of finding my way through the research landscape.

Chapter 5 provided a range of contextual information relating to Atlantic Wharf as a neighbourhood. This showed that as a relatively recent city, Cardiff has already undergone significant transformation and development. Atlantic Wharf was identified as a precursor to the wider regeneration of Cardiff Bay, and as such some of the ways in which it is implicated in tensions and conflicts with the antecedent residential community of Butetown. This chapter also provided a range of demographic and crime data that would serve as background to the analysis of resident accounts in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

These chapters broadly followed the guiding research themes set out in the introduction. These themes related to the ways in which residents make sense of, negotiate, and respond to issues of crime and place. In the first instance it has been shown above that crime and disorder plays a significant role in how people account for where they live. Even though the majority of participating residents would

consider Atlantic Wharf to be 'clean, safe and quiet', Chapter 6 introduced two inherent paradoxes in this conception. First, to 'separate' Atlantic Wharf from problems of crime and the city, residents must 'connect' (whether conceptually or through experience) with other places that are thought of as inherently urban or disorderly. Second, a representation of place based on aesthetics of order and cleanliness mean that sensibilities are subject to disruption when crime and disorder makes its presence known.

Chapter 7 considered the ways in which residents inhabit the neighbourhood as pedestrians. This introduced arguments relating to the perception of crime and disorder through inhabiting rhythms. It also showed the ways in which residents consider walking as a fundamental part of 'knowing' where they live. However, it also showed that residents draw on 'navigation' from above when considering crime and disorder in places with which they are less familiar. Such directive knowledge was also shown to sometimes conflict with the ways in which residents negotiate through issues relating to crime and place. This was particularly visible in the way that female residents responded to dominant narratives of danger in relation to specific features of the urban terrain.

The final analytical chapter presented a variety of ways in which residents respond to issues of crime and disorder in relation to both their home and the wider neighbourhood. Individual responses showed ways in which physical and symbolic boundaries were understood to provide both surveillance and an implicit territorial control over the space around the home. However, it was also shown that these boundaries can either be overcome or as 'loose spaces' or 'thresholds' provide openings for behaviour that undermines representations of Atlantic Wharf as safe, clean and quiet. The chapter also revealed inherent tensions in the geographies of responsibility relating to community safety. Individual accounts and data drawn from participant observation of the AWRA showed how both 'folk knowledge' and 'lay perceptions' of neighbourhood crime and disorder came into conflict with accounts of crime and disorder 'from above' by the Neighbourhood Policing Team. It was also shown that thresholds of responsibility between private and public bodies are both the focus for both crime and disorder and activities which attend to, maintain and repair the neighbourhood fabric. These activities

were shown to be representative of a 'light touch' community based on small gatherings of active citizens.

After summarising and working through many of the key themes and findings from the empirical analysis, the discussion chapter identified a key contribution of this research to be its understanding of crime and place as ongoing processes. This implies that binaries of order and disorder, as well as notions of places as either safe or unsafe are both limited and restrictive. The focus on movement that underpinned this position was subsequently used to situate the thesis as a whole in relation to a wider mobility turn. A focus on pedestrian practice therefore locates this research 'in-between' the rapid expansion of mobile worlds and the embedded character of the neighbourhood as a local site for inquiry. The second half of this discussion re-configured and advanced an understanding of crime and place in Atlantic Wharf through the central themes of boundaries, thresholds and landscape. In its culmination the chapter proposed that as inhabitants of the landscape move with it, they draw on its salient features and representations in relation to their own lived practice. This suggested that the regenerated landscape in particular should be considered as somewhere subject to mutual and mutable processes of crime and place.

Limitations, lessons and openings for further inquiry

As stated from the outset, the approach to crime and place that has been developed during this thesis was intended as an opening out of both theoretical and empirical approaches. A focus on walking as both constitutive of a sense of crime and place and as the central research method has provided a complex and nuanced account of crime and disorder in Atlantic Wharf. As part of this it is acknowledged that there are many aspects of the research that were not fully developed. Indeed, given the intention to explore issues of crime and place, it would be somewhat misguided to attempt to provide a comprehensive and satisfactory account of important issues of ethnicity, gender and class. That is not to say that these aspects of social life have not featured throughout much of the above. Indeed, empirical analysis has shown ways in which each of these abiding tropes of difference and inequality are embedded in processes of ordering and place-making in relation to crime and

disorder. For instance the connection between gender and embodied spaces of fear, anxiety and transgression of social norms is a clear theme of much existing social inquiry. As such, the identification of gender differences in how residents report being 'directed' or finding their own way suggests a fruitful route for further inquiry.

Similarly, 'cultural thresholds' of crime and place imply a loose (and tense) mix of ethnic, class and age differences in accounting for crime and disorder. This hints at the ways in which (conceptual and physical) thresholds of place might be the focus for negotiation in terms of dialogue and tolerance, rather than avoidance and exclusion. In relation to such politics of crime and place it has never been an explicit aim of this thesis to address the ways that crime and urban policy are interpreted through the regenerated landscape. Nevertheless, the above has introduced a number of ways in which inhabitants experience the interrelation of crime and disorder with various kinds of urban governance. Given that the arenas for communal responses introduced here – PACT meetings, the AWRA – privilege community as a fixed and bound entity, this shows that current policy does not take full advantage of the various ways in which communal activity and responsibility can be understood and configured.

Although the research did engage with some of the more marginalized members of the resident population, this proved a difficult, partial and hence unsatisfactory undertaking. The survey data and field-notes gathered in relation to those living in social housing hinted at somewhat different experiences of living in an area of urban regeneration. Similarly, although Butetown was an important aspect of the representation and lived experience of crime and place, the empirical emphasis on Atlantic Wharf did not capture the experiences and perceptions of people living there. Although the conceptual understanding of crime and place implied a focus on the middle class residents of Atlantic Wharf, it would be a worthwhile exercise to engage with residents of Butetown in a similar way. Indeed, given that Butetown is now experiencing its own regeneration this presents a compelling reason for gathering accounts of this process for the people who live there.

Given the empirical focus of the above has been on residents as one kind of

inhabitant it follows that the thesis has not accounted for other people who move inhabit the regenerated landscape of Atlantic Wharf. By focusing on the resident population I took the conscious decision to provide insight into those who inhabit place through their residence. Although it would have perhaps proved difficult to engage with those committing crime around Atlantic Wharf, the above implies ways in which to account for formal policing through pedestrian, vehicular and virtual geographies of crime and place. Resident accounts suggest a desire for visible police that 'know' the neighbourhood in the same way that they do, and as such a focus on the 'navigation' and 'wayfaring' practices of policing place would be an interesting extension of this research. Indeed, given the recent deployment of and interest in online crime maps, it is clear that different ways of knowing and accounting for crime and place remain central to public and political concerns with crime and its control. However, this thesis has emphasised that such representations do not account for the lived experience of crime and place, and it is therefore necessary to recognise subjective interpretation of the crime and disorder landscape as an ongoing inhabitation of the 'in-between'.

Something that was touched upon in the methods chapter was the difficulty in recruiting people for walking interviews who did not want to be seen with myself. This poses significant challenges in the deployment of the walking interview for social research in other contexts. Looking beyond these logistical constraints, walking interviews were an effective method for eliciting place-specific data, and in doing so providing insights that might not have arisen from interviews conducted in a closed space. That said, whereas the walking interviews were a natural 'fit' for research on how people 'negotiate' place as pedestrians, before advocating their use in other settings it is important to consider the caveats identified by Housley and Smith (2010).

There are perhaps other contexts where walking would do little to inform the interrogation of people and place, and as noted in Chapter 3, Thrift (2004) highlights the importance of automobility to the experience of the contemporary city. There are of course other far more static sites of social interaction – and research – where it is harder to identify the worth of walking interviews as they have been deployed here. The willingness or ability of participants to partake in

walking interviews is another broader issue. As noted in Chapter 4, this was a significant challenge for capturing the experience of more vulnerable or hard to reach groups. The indication from this experience is that where there are groups or individuals for whom public displays of interaction with 'official' people would be problematic or deemed suspicious by their peers, walking interviews are unlikely to be beneficial.

Finding a way through crime and place

One of the most important messages from this research is the need for the local governance of crime and disorder to take greater account of the inhabitant perspective, rather than trying to impose top-down views of community, and how the crime 'problem' is understood. For the police, who are necessarily involved in responding to crime across the city, their macro-level perspective will always contradict the more micro-level experience of inhabitants in particular places. In terms of local accountability, one thing worth noting is that 'walk and talks' have recently been used by the Chief Executive of Cardiff Council as a way of 'getting to know' the local residents, the places they inhabit, and their problems (Waldram, 2010). However, these 'walking tours' surely emphasise a top-down procession, which is something that all too readily frustrates at the local level when it comes to recognising everyday problems and getting things done. It is clearly a difficult task for the police to satisfy everybody in the deployment of their resources, and even for a relatively low-crime neighbourhood participating residents expressed their desire for a greater police presence in Atlantic Wharf. Perhaps more important, however, is that those responsible for governance of crime and disorder at a local level need to move *with* the inhabitants of place, rather than moving across, over or above them.

Although neighbourhoods can be regenerated, or built, it is important that the nature of place as an ongoing process rather than finished product is recognised. It is evident that although Atlantic Wharf and other parts of the wider Cardiff Bay regeneration are 'complete' in one sense, the complex process of assimilation and negotiation with antecedent proximal entities (people and places) is not, and will always be under construction. The boundaries, both physical and symbolic, that

exist should therefore be seen as opportunities rather than sites of exclusion. The conflict between different ages and ethnicities was perhaps one of the clearest issues to arise from this thesis, as was the dissonance in both wanting a more balanced 'community' while expressing the desire for control and exclusion of troubling youth. Of course, something worth mentioning here is that at one of the main sites in which local governance 'gets done' – PACT meetings – young people were conspicuous by their absence. In the summer of 2011, the urban riots in many English cities highlighted among other things the dissatisfaction and detachment of young people from the processes of urban governance. Without wishing to pre-empt the findings of research into their motivations, the importance of including rather than excluding the already marginalized should be seen as a pressing policy concern. The AWRA gives certain inhabitants of Atlantic Wharf a voice, and in doing so has the propensity to speak for or against others without the same means of expression. Therefore this thesis would suggest that Jacobs' (1961) 'curse' of border vacuums – here a political rather than physical void – is something that needs to be addressed, and what are now boundaries between groups need to be recognised as points for interaction and negotiation.

A final sense of the 'in-between', in no small part developed through this thesis, is the expertise of myself as the researcher in comparison to the 'folk' expertise of the residents and the professional expertise of the police and local authority. Of course, as with the discussion of different ways of inhabiting place outlined above, each of these fields of expertise must be considered in relation to what they contribute, and none has precedence over the other. In this thesis I have largely presented the perspectives on place gleaned from residents of place, and it follows that it is their own status as 'place experts' that I have relied on to inform my own argument. Therefore, to summarise the thesis as a whole, it has provided an insightful and nuanced account of the way that different paths and patterns of inhabitation intersect in the ongoing production of place. It is clear that in the context of urban regeneration, crime – and the responses to it – continue to play an important and in some ways central role. This process of place-making will be ongoing, and it remains to be seen just what part professional, folk and researcher expertise has to play in determining which direction it takes.

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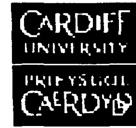
APPENDIX 1



1. ABOUT YOU

1.1 Age: .... **1.2 Gender**: Male ☐ Female ☐

1.3 Occupation: .... **1.4 Ethnicity:** ....

2. YOUR HOME

2.1 How long have you lived at your current address? ....

2.2 How many people live in your home? ....

2.3 Are you a: Tenant ☐ Homeowner ☐

2.4 How safe do you feel from crime and disorder in your home?

2.4.1 In the daytime: Very safe ☐ Safe ☐ Neutral ☐ Unsafe ☐ Very Unsafe ☐
2.4.2 At night: Very safe ☐ Safe ☐ Neutral ☐ Unsafe ☐ Very Unsafe ☐

2.5 Have you been affected by crime and disorder in your home in the last 12 months?

Yes ☐ No ☐ If yes please give details

....

....

3. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

3.1 Other than when travelling by car, how often might you spend a prolonged time in the neighbourhood (e.g. recreation, exercise, commuting, visiting neighbours etc.)?

Every day ☐ 3-5 times per week ☐ Weekly ☐ Fortnightly ☐ Monthly ☐

3.2 How safe do you feel in the neighbourhood from crime and disorder –

3.2.1 In the daytime: Very safe ☐ Safe ☐ Neutral ☐ Unsafe ☐ Very Unsafe ☐
3.2.2 At night: Very safe ☐ Safe ☐ Neutral ☐ Unsafe ☐ Very Unsafe ☐

3.3 Are there any areas of the neighbourhood that you go out of your way to avoid? Please give details..

....

....

3.4 Have you been affected by crime and disorder in the neighbourhood in the past 12 months?

Yes ☐ No ☐ If yes please give details......................

....

3.5 What would you say is the biggest issue relating to crime and disorder in the neighbourhood?

....

....

4. FURTHER RESEARCH

If you would like to take part in further research please provide your contact details below:

Name .... Telephone Number ....

Email ....

APPENDIX 2

Tenants

Stephanie (33) is a mature student in psychology and lives in a large house in one of the courts off of Schooner Way. She is originally from Australia and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 3 years.

Richard (29) is a quantity surveyor. He lives in a recently developed apartment block off of Schooner Way, and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 2 years. He is originally from North Wales.

Diane (33) has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 6 months. She lives in the Spiller and Bakers building. She teaches English to overseas students at university, and is moved to Cardiff from Glasgow.

Phil (24) is a post-graduate science student. He lives in one of the apartment blocks along Lloyd George Avenue. He has lived in Atlantic Wharf for one year, and moved to Cardiff from the Thames valley.

Will (21) is a student studying engineering, and is living in Cardiff while on an industrial placement. He lives in an apartment block on Lloyd George Avenue and has been in Atlantic Wharf for 1 month. He moved to Cardiff from Bath.

Angela (24) is a Police Community Support Officer who lives in a small house in a court near to Craiglee Park. She has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 2 years, and is originally from Devon.

Eve (24) is a part-time student who works in a support role for South Wales Police. She has lived in Atlantic Wharf for six months and moved to Cardiff from London. She rents a shared flat in an apartment block on Schooner Way.

Valerie (44) is a writer and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 3 years. She lives in a small house overlooking the canal, that was built in the early 1990s. She is originally from London and prior to moving to Atlantic Wharf lived in Penarth, the other side of the Cardiff Bay barrage.

Home owners

Simone (42) is a mature art student, and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 2 years. She lives in an apartment block in a court off of Schooner Way. She is originally from South West England.

Paul (41) works as an IT Consultant and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 7 years. He lives with his wife, Jane (46), in a three-storey townhouse adjacent to the canal, which was built in the mid-90s. Jane was not working at the time of my research as she was looking after their two small children. However, she also works in IT. Paul moved to Cardiff from Bristol, whereas Jane is from Cardiff and lived in Butetown as a child.

Frank (68) is a retired engineer. He has lived with his wife in Atlantic Wharf for 6 years. He lives in a three-storey townhouse overlooking the canal. He has lived all over the UK but is originally from Surrey.

Rodney (61) works for the Welsh Assembly. He has lived off and on in Atlantic Wharf since it was first developed. He currently lives in an apartment block, overlooking the canal. He is originally from Aberdare in South Wales.

Theresa (62) is a Minister of Religion. She has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 2 and a half years. She lives in a three-storey town-house situated in the southern end of Atlantic Wharf. She is originally from Hampshire.

Lucy (30) is a Solicitor. She lives with her husband and small child in a first floor flat in one of the courts opposite Craiglee Park. She has lived in Atlantic Wharf for ten years. She has lived in Cardiff all her life, and moved to Atlantic Wharf from the Heath area of the city.

Carol (52) is self-employed. She lives in a town-house on Schooner Way, a property she has lived in for 12 years. She is from Cardiff and has always lived there.

Ray (55) is a journalist who has been lived in Atlantic Wharf for 15 years. He lives in a small semi-detached property along Celerity Drive. He moved to Cardiff from Tredegar in the South Wales valleys.

Ieuan (41) is a university lecturer. He has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 6 years, and lives in a small semi-detached house on Celerity Drive. He is from Cardiff and used to live in Cathays.

Henry (31) teaches at a Cardiff secondary school. He lives in a small house in one of the courts opposite Craiglee Drive. He has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 7 years, although is originally from South West England.

Anne (42) works as a city planner in Cardiff Bay. She moved to Atlantic Wharf 7 years ago after a period living in South Africa, and is originally from South East England.

Graham (39) is a landscape gardener from Wolverhampton. He has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 3 years, and lives with his partner, Laura (48) in a large house off of Schooner Way. Laura is from Cardiff and as a child lived near to the docks, and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 7 years.

Sally (60) is retired and lives in a town-house off of Schooner Way, with her husband Anthony (62), who is also retired. They have lived in Atlantic Wharf for 12 years and moved there from Bridgend in South Wales.

Bethan (46) works at County Hall, and lives in a town-house off of Schooner Way. She is originally from Cardiff and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 12 years.

Martin (31) works in IT, and lives in a town-house overlooking the canal. He has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 8 years and is originally from Birmingham.

Kay (47) is an arts administrator. She has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 11 years, although she only lives here when she is working. She is originally from London, where she lives on the weekends and when not working. She lives in a first floor flat in a court close to the canal.

Arnold (48) is a property developer, and lives in one of the apartment blocks on Lloyd George Avenue. He is from Cardiff, and prior to living in Atlantic Wharf has lived in

Grangetown, Fairwater and Penarth.

Vera (61) is retired and lives in a large house overlooking the canal. She is originally from Cowbridge in South Wales, and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 10 years.

Brian (62) is a retired management consultant and has lived in Atlantic Wharf for 2 years. He lives in a secure apartment block on Lloyd George Avenue and is originally from South East England. He moved to Atlantic Wharf from Rhiwbina, a suburb to the north of Cardiff.