

Urban Studies

<http://usj.sagepub.com>

Remaking Place and Securitising Space: Urban Regeneration and the Strategies, Tactics and Practices of Policing in the UK

Mike Raco

Urban Stud 2003; 40; 1869

DOI: 10.1080/0042098032000106645

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://usj.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/40/9/1869>

Published by:

 SAGE Publications

<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:

Urban Studies Journal Limited

Additional services and information for *Urban Studies* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://usj.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://usj.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations (this article cites 13 articles hosted on the SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
<http://usj.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/40/9/1869>

Remaking Place and Securitising Space: Urban Regeneration and the Strategies, Tactics and Practices of Policing in the UK

Mike Raco

[Paper first received, July 2001; in final form, October 2002]

Summary. Urban regeneration programmes in the UK over the past 20 years have increasingly focused on attracting investors, middle-class shoppers and visitors by transforming places and creating new consumption spaces. Ensuring that places are safe and are seen to be safe has taken on greater salience as these flows of income are easily disrupted by changing perceptions of fear and the threat of crime. At the same time, new technologies and policing strategies and tactics have been adopted in a number of regeneration areas which seek to establish control over these new urban spaces. Policing space is increasingly about controlling human actions through design, surveillance technologies and codes of conduct and enforcement. Regeneration agencies and the police now work in partnerships to develop their strategies. At its most extreme, this can lead to the creation of zero-tolerance, or what Smith terms ‘revanchist’, measures aimed at particular social groups in an effort to sanitise space in the interests of capital accumulation. This paper, drawing on an examination of regeneration practices and processes in one of the UK’s fastest-growing urban areas, Reading in Berkshire, assesses policing strategies and tactics in the wake of a major regeneration programme. It documents and discusses the discourses of regeneration that have developed in the town and the ways in which new urban spaces have been secured. It argues that, whilst security concerns have become embedded in institutional discourses and practices, the implementation of security measures has been mediated, in part, by the local socio-political relations in and through which they have been developed.

Introduction

Producing new spaces of spectacle to which investors and visitors will be attracted has been at the forefront of urban regeneration policies and programmes during the 1980s and 1990s. With the onset of severe deindustrialisation and the loss of manufacturing employment in many urban areas, new consumption-based, property-led forms of economic regeneration have become a panacea

for urban problems. Towns and cities increasingly vie for what Zukin (1995) terms, ‘trophy investments’ or high-quality service-based developments which provide a focus for economic regeneration and the construction of new place attachments for local people. Town centres, dockland areas and old industrial sites have been transformed so that new spaces are created, in and through which

Mike Raco is in the Department of Geography, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, RG6 6AB, UK. Fax: 0118 975 5865. E-mail: M.Raco@Reading.ac.uk. The research for this paper was funded by the University of Reading’s Endowment Trust Fund (project number R104203). The author would like to thank colleagues in the Department of Geography, The University of Reading, for their contributions to the ideas in this paper and Gordon MacLeod, Kevin Ward and three anonymous referees for their insightful and constructive comments on an earlier draft. Responsibility for this final draft is, of course, the author’s alone.

particular forms of market-driven regeneration can take place (see Smith, 2001). Competition between places has become the norm, with regeneration agencies focused on identifying and satisfying the 'needs' of potential investors, rather than those of local communities (Harvey, 2000).

A key element in ensuring the success of such developments is that of perceived and actual levels of security. Regeneration programmes often take place in areas previously characterised by dereliction, petty crime and negative perceptions, something that is critically important given that perceptions of crime are closely linked to particular places (Heal, 1999). Ensuring that new urban spaces are safe and *are seen to be safe* are, consequently, among the main priorities for regeneration agencies. Regeneration programmes are therefore as concerned with creating new discourses and meanings of place as they are with changing their physical form. For some, this process leads inevitably to the exclusion of particular groups as places become consumed and sanitised in the interests of market-led development. In Urry's (1995) terms, creating safe, aesthetically pleasing spaces requires the removal of 'social pollutants'—those individuals and groups whose (co)presence may threaten the perceived and aesthetic quality of an urban space. Assessing the strategies and tactics of policing these new urban spaces is therefore a key element in understanding broader regeneration discourses and practices.

This study examines policing strategies, tactics and practices in one of England's fastest-growing towns, Reading in Berkshire. It focuses on the ways in which major regeneration projects in the town centre have raised new concerns over the control of public space and how these have led to the development of a combination of direct, high-visibility security tactics and more subtle measures aimed at controlling the conduct of subjects. It examines the rationale for developing a 'safer' urban environment and the governance of policing that has emerged in response to the new security objectives. It also explores the relatively sophisticated situ-

ational and governmental policing programmes that local policing agencies have developed and the particular challenges that they have faced when operating in broader contexts of public-sector (welfare) budgetary constraints and rapid economic growth and the effects these have had on the policing strategies adopted. The paper begins with an examination of the issues and debates that have surrounded the policing of spaces and places in modern cities before turning to its empirical case study. Collectively, the study argues that, whilst there are clear trends in policing strategies towards the securitisation of space, the ways in which these processes are governed and implemented are modified by existing local socio-political relations. Policing programmes can only be understood in and through the local contexts in which they are developed, highlighting the significance of geography in documenting and conceptualising trends in the UK and elsewhere.

Policing Spaces and Places

Public Space, Access and Control in Urban Regeneration

Over the past 20 years, the building and design of new consumption spaces have become the basis of many urban regeneration programmes in the UK. As urban areas increasingly lose their status as centres of production, regeneration programmes that offer opportunities for new forms of consumption-based economic activity are perceived to be a relatively simple, quick and uncomplicated solution to emerging problems (see Zukin, 1995). Regeneration of this kind entails a rebranding and reconstruction of place, for as Crewe and Lowe (1995, p. 1881) argue, "in many localities there has been a remaking of the character of the place in which services and consumption differences have become primary". Places have increasingly been recreated and reshaped to form new landscapes of consumption, often on derelict sites that had previously been spaces of pro-

duction (Ellin, 1996). Place marketing and rebranding have become central elements of most regeneration programmes as places compete for investors and visitors (see Hall and Hubbard, 1998). The character and form of public spaces have been critical to the effectiveness of programmes.

However, public spaces also represent sites of diversity and difference and act as “an important means of framing a vision of social life in the city” (Zukin, 1995, p. 299; Merrifield, 2000). They reflect broader social and cultural relations, some of which may be perceived to be detrimental to the new images of place espoused by regeneration agencies. In particular, they may pose a threat to the perceived *security* of new public spaces. Regeneration projects and new developments, such as shopping and leisure centres, have therefore, in Jackson’s (1998, p. 180) terms, tried to “domesticate” public space by “managing diversity, reducing the risks of social difference and promoting the virtues of familiarity”. Within such a context, particular social groups and individuals, such as the homeless, beggars, groups of young people and ethnic minorities, are characterised as threatening and disorderly. Consumption spaces tend to be geared up to the needs of (wealthy) visitors, not to local groups or communities, who are often culturally and even physically excluded. Specific urban designs are often “made for their users’ safety and practical comfort and are simultaneously aimed at keeping the other on the outside” (Franzén, 2001, p. 202). The (co)presence of these others may act, to use Urry’s (1995, p. 188) metaphor, as a form of “social pollution” which makes “certain places seem contaminated and unfit for visual consumption”.

Another element of contestation in these new urban spaces concerns the division of responsibilities between public- and private-sector agents. Public-sector organisations increasingly play a facilitative, rather than managerial, role in urban regeneration in establishing the practical and policy frameworks in and through which private developers invest. The character of urban

spaces in regeneration areas is therefore changing with private developers increasingly owning and controlling access to public spaces (Auge, 1998; Zukin, 1991). In many places, this has meant that developers have been able to enforce their own security measures (sometimes with their own security personnel) and have been able to restrict access to those considered threatening. For Rose (1999, p. 253), this “securitisation of consumption [habitats] may actually succeed in producing enclaves of contentment, encouraging the pursuit of pleasure”, something of great appeal to profit-seeking developers. Whereas urban spaces have traditionally had clearly defined boundaries between public and private areas, new developments are increasingly blurring the boundaries and creating hybrid spaces—places where ownership and access are increasingly contested and open to interpretation.

In the British context, the shift towards private spaces in regeneration areas is far less comprehensive than in the US. Local authorities and other public (welfare) institutions tend to be more sensitive to the needs of local communities and the variety of meanings that exist in a given place (see Atkinson and Wilks-Heeg, 2000). Moreover, some commentators suggest that some of the critical characterisations of new urban spaces make too many nostalgic assumptions about their role and function in the past. Brill (1989), for example, criticises interpretations which romanticise cities and argues that many of the same debates over the control and meaning of public space were evident before the emergence of contemporary urban regeneration discourses and practices. Nevertheless, trends similar to those in the US have emerged in the UK during the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, the focus on security and the creation of new, clean and spectacular urban spaces, have become key elements of regeneration. The next section examines the specific ways in which urban spaces are policed and the strategies, tactics and practices of policing that are used by agents involved in regeneration projects.

Policing Space: The Strategies, Tactics and Practices of Policing

In regeneration areas, ensuring that appropriate populations inhabit designated spaces at appropriate times is critical to place rebranding and the success of regeneration schemes. There are two interrelated dimensions to the policing strategies and tactics that have been adopted (see Heal, 1999). On the one hand, there is a growing focus on *situational* approaches in which the focus is on reducing the opportunities for criminal behaviour through design measures.¹ On the other hand, policing also involves the creation of orderly subjectivities—or *governmental* strategies which seek to make subjects conduct themselves in an appropriate manner. In practice, emerging policing tactics often represent a *hybridity* of approaches which seek to modify the design of urban spaces and behaviour at the same time (Davis, 1991; Herbert, 1997). In the creation of new urban spaces, the opportunities (in the construction process) and the rationale and motivation for developing such schemes are relatively high, enabling programmes to be developed which combine the two.

At the forefront of these changes has been the development of new forms of architecture, the power of which “is hidden and unnoticeable as authority is represented not through its visibility but rather through its invisibility” (Koskela, 2000, p. 249). As Rose (1999, p. 251) suggests, “control becomes designed-in, embedded in the very structure of time, space and environment”. The purpose of such strategies is to create responsible, self-policing citizens whose actions “involve them in taking some responsibility for the security of public and private spaces” (Fyfe, 1995, p. 186). Design plays a key role in these processes as it “includes the way places work ... as well as how they look” (DETR, 2000, p. 8). It concerns “the connections between people and places, movement and urban form, nature and the built fabric, and the processes for ensuring successful villages, towns and cities” (DETR, 2000, p. 8). Shaping and controlling

this movement and the socioeconomic character of place, it is argued, become central to shaping behaviour. A range of measures, such as the installation of CCTV systems, are called upon to implement such strategies of action.² Such programmes effectively change the role of the police from that of managers of legal enforcement to, in Rose’s (1999, p. 252) terms, “knowledge workers and advisers on risk management in public and private spaces, intersecting with a whole range of other professions involved in this task”. The focus becomes one of ‘knowledge-risk-security’, in which the police no longer have a monopoly on crime control but work in and through partnerships with local actors (Franzén, 2001, p. 209).

Controlling places has long been a central element of the broader responsibilities of the (welfare) state. Policing in the UK has always had a definable local dimension with county police forces funded, in part, from local taxation and possessing discretion over policing policy. Yet, as with other elements of the welfare state, the governance of policing has undergone significant changes over the past 20 or so years. Police forces are increasingly expected to work with a range of policy actors and communities through policing partnerships (Coleman and Sim, 2000). This is driven by central government, top-down agendas such as the Crime and Disorder Act (Home Office, 1998) which impose a statutory requirement on local authorities, local police forces, health authorities and other agencies to formulate strategies for their areas through partnerships. The Act states that

It shall be the duty of each authority ... to exercise its various functions with due regard to the likely effects of the exercise of those functions on, and the need to do all that it reasonably can to prevent, crime and disorder in its area (Home Office, 1998, section 17).

As with other elements of welfare restructuring, local authorities are required to set targets, monitor performance, develop effec-

tive partnerships, consult communities and develop policy management strategies.³

The meaning and significance of 'localness' in policing strategies in particular places have, therefore, undergone significant change. As law-and-order issues take on increased national significance, so the powers and responsibilities of local actors have been gradually diminished, with local strategies and governance arrangements developed through central government directives, funding and initiatives (see Coleman and Sim, 2000). In this sense, policing reflects other areas of state action where the local state has, to a growing extent, become a vehicle for the articulation of national state agendas (see Jones, 1999; MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999).

However, despite this growing centralisation, local social relations and practices still have an impact in shaping the character of 'local' policing strategies. In regeneration areas, for example, where the design and character of urban spaces have been transformed, security issues often take on a new prominence. Local priorities and objectives may change the focus of strategies and, in so doing, their form and character. Similarly, the relationships between local state agencies, private-sector interests (such as developers), the police and local community interests will differ from place to place reflecting local political histories, political relations and economic circumstances. Whilst there has been a growing centralisation of policing policies, local strategies cannot simply be 'read-off' from national objectives and trends.

Overall, whilst there may be a broad shift towards the stronger policing of urban spaces, it is through empirical examples that the particular rationales, strategies, tactics and techniques of policing can be examined and assessed. The rest of the paper, therefore, examines the politics and practices of policing new urban spaces in one of England's fastest-growing urban areas, Reading in Berkshire. It begins by exploring the rationale and programmes of regeneration that have taken place in the town during the 1990s. This is followed by a section which

examines policing strategies and partnerships in the regeneration area, before a third section details some of the tactics and policing measures that have been adopted. Collectively, the study argues that policing strategies in the town reflect broader trends in the policing of urban space. It also indicates the ways in which these are influenced by local social relations which are critical to the decisions of actors and the strategies that are pursued. The findings are based on a research project that was undertaken from October 2000 to May 2001 in which 27 policymakers, developers, local community groups, police officers and others involved in the regeneration were interviewed. These interviews were backed up by the analysis of a range of policy documents, architectural records, correspondence and letters and council minutes to build up a detailed picture of the discourses and practices of regeneration in the town.

Building a Safer Reading: Regeneration, Place and Policing

Regeneration Discourses and Practices in Reading

Originally a small, agricultural town, Reading owed much of its expansion and growth in the 19th century to its location as a central node on the Kennett and Avon Canal (and its connections with the River Thames and London) and the Great Western Railway. Unlike many other towns in the Home Counties, Reading became a centre for blue-collar manufacturing trades (see Phillips, 1999).⁴ However, during the 1980s and 1990s, it has experienced rapid economic growth based on the service sector which now accounts for 86 per cent of employment, employing approximately 74 000 people, with manufacturing employment continuing to shrink, falling by 41 per cent over the period 1991–96 to only 7.5 per cent of the labour force (RBC, 2000a).⁵

During the late 1990s, Reading embarked on a series of major urban regeneration schemes which significantly altered the fabric and size of the town centre. The main

instigator and lead agency in the process has been the local authority, Reading Borough Council (RBC) which was keen to reconstruct Reading's image, wider reputation and urban form. RBC's Leader summarised the underlying rationale for change in interview

In the 1970s Reading sold itself as 'England's average town'. ... RBC wanted to bring about new developments which reflected different ways in which Reading was thinking about itself and was perceived by others.

From the early 1990s, RBC initiated a series of proposals designed to take advantage of Reading's vacant land development opportunities and its wider location. A development rationale was established in which specific attempts were made to recast the town's external image, generate new property-led forms of development to recapitalise the area and at the same time tap into wider networks and markets.⁶

The regeneration of Reading's town centre spaces subsequently became a priority for politicians and local planners over the 1980s and 1990s. In the words of RBC's Leader, that Reading was consistently "punching below its weight" in economic terms—unable to attract levels of investment and visitor numbers that reflected its status as the largest town in the region. In the words of the former head of RBC's planning committee

It was clear that ... the whole image of the town needed an uplift. ... You can do that through marketing and we have taken that seriously but the best way is to make the place look attractive and provide the kinds of public spaces people want to be in. ...

Or, as a development brief noted, it had "to be a case of re-branding Reading—moving it up in people's estimation and elevating its position as a shopping and visitor destination" (RBC, 1997, p. 4). This competitive discourse parallels growth agendas and rationales taking place in other urban contexts (see Kearns and Philo, 1993; Harvey, 2000). Investments are sought through which particular types of regeneration take place, pri-

marily by service-sector industries and geared up to middle- and higher-income groups.

Central to this rebranding has been the emergence of a major retail, leisure and shopping complex named The Oracle, located immediately south of the existing urban centre on a formerly derelict site. In many ways, The Oracle development reflects wider trends in urban regeneration schemes across the UK. Built by the developer Hammersons Plc. at a cost of £250 million, the centre comprises 700 000 square feet of retail space (primarily located in a major shopping mall), a waterside public space, a cinema complex and other outlets for retailing and leisure activities. In keeping with other projects in the UK, the regeneration sought to redefine and make use of existing historical social relations. Particular imaginations of the town's history have been drawn upon to link the development to particular meanings and understandings of place.⁷ This is also reflected in the focus on waterside regeneration which encourages new associations between urban spaces and what are (re)defined as 'their' natural waterfronts. Regeneration areas such as London Docklands and Cardiff Bay have been amongst the highest-profile examples of this in the UK (see Imrie and Thomas, 1999; Brownhill, 1999).

This focus on building a new place has brought issues of security and policing to the fore. There are two principal dimensions to the policing strategies that have been adopted. On the one hand, measures have been developed to shape the actions and behaviour of potential 'troublemakers'. These include design-led approaches, which seek to 'design-out' crime, and more governmental programmes which create law-abiding subjectivities, thereby making the new urban spaces less threatening. On the other hand, measures have also been formulated to protect incoming investors and their properties. Within an area such as the Thames Valley, approximately 25 per cent of reported crime involves theft from business premises (Thames Valley Police, 2000).

Ensuring that an environment will be safe for businesses to locate in is a key dimension of any regeneration programme. As Thames Valley Police's (TVP) Architectural Liaison Officer noted in interview

The owners of the regeneration areas and RBC have always been aware of how the management of space relates to business success. If there are perceived to be problems with The Oracle then this will have a serious effect on trade and it is this that has encouraged them to try and control the trading space.

Town centre policing, therefore, focuses on particular forms of crime, which are seen to have a detrimental effect on the success of the regeneration (Thames Valley Police Authority, 2001). A town centre TVP Inspector commented frankly in interview that

Our main drive is to keep the streets safe to attract people. That is our first priority. Our focus is to keep the fear of crime down, that means dealing with *graffiti*, displacing beggars and so on. ... RBC are trying to attract businesses to invest in Reading. It obviously doesn't look good if they [the businesses] see a ghetto outside the window which might dissuade them.

The remainder of the paper examines, in turn, the partnerships and governance of policing policy in Reading and the tactics, strategies and programmes of control that have been adopted in the wake of the regeneration. The study argues that security issues have become embedded in local institutional discourses and practices and that the form they take reflects and reproduces wider policy trends which are mediated in and through local socio-political relations.

Partnerships, Policing and Place: The Governance of Policing in Reading

As with regeneration areas elsewhere, partnerships have come to dominate the decision-making processes and practices of policing in Reading. In response to the Crime and Disorder Act and broader shifts in the

management and structures of the public sector, the responsibility for crime prevention has moved beyond the formal police force to become a 'responsibility for all' (Lovelock and Morrison, 1999). The focus across the town has been to "reduce crime through partnership" (Thames Valley Police, 2000, p. 3), involving a range of agencies but primarily driven by the TVP and RBC and refined in the light of the new challenges posed by changing urban spaces and uses. The regeneration in the town centre has had a major impact on local policing. As a TVP Inspector commented in interview

The Oracle development was the catalyst to new partnerships around here. RBC and town centre shops started to take on board new issues. They wanted to make sure that their prize development was not spoilt.

TVP argue that economic growth in Reading and surrounding areas has generated new security problems with "all the economic and social indicators pointing to substantial growth until the year 2016" (TVP, 2000, p. 2). Visitor numbers have consistently expanded, placing new demands on security agencies, the burden of which has been met largely by the local state and local policing agencies. This has led to changing social relations in the town and heightened concerns over the securitisation of space in both absolute and relative terms.

Establishing a broader set of partnership relations has been a complex and partial process in Reading, reflecting the specific networks that operate in the town and the significance of security issues within the broader agendas of local regeneration. In practice, strategic development has become dominated by the Reading Crime and Disorder Partnership which primarily involves three sets of actors: RBC, TVP and local developers. The roles and responsibilities of the former, as public-sector agencies, have in large part been defined by central government directives, albeit with limited room for local translation and implementation of key agendas. Similarly, most of the development companies involved in the regeneration are

national or multinational organisations for whom local (partnership) politics is primarily a vehicle for developing local agendas on policy issues, such as planning, training and security, which underpin their investments and help to maintain their longer-term sustainability (see Raco, 2003, for a fuller discussion). In this context, local policy-making is generated through an interactive set of relationships between co-present organisations working through non-locally prescribed structures. Thus, the security agendas that have been established echo those of other British urban areas such as Glasgow (Fyfe and Bannister, 1996), Birmingham and London (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997).

Yet, there are significant local factors that shape policing practices in places such as Reading. Due to the existence of relatively strong local economic growth, public-sector planning agencies have been able to play a proactive role in shaping the form and nature of development that takes place. Much of the literature on new urban spaces draws on examples, such as Baltimore and Los Angeles, in which local agencies are seeking to develop new marketable urban centres often in a context of severe deindustrialisation and strong interurban competition (see Zukin, 1995; Harvey, 2000). In Reading, whilst there are elements of these trends in policy-making, the broader regional context of rapid and ever-expanding economic development has had a significant impact on the relationships between the planning agency, RBC and local developers, with the former able to influence strongly the character and practices of regeneration. For example, RBC's Chief Executive, recalled in interview that

When RBC started in this process it didn't appreciate the power it had. Once the development proceeded apace, we quickly realised that, in Reading, we had an asset, ... We gained the confidence to be proactive with our partners rather than reactive.

A central element in being proactive, it was suggested was "setting out a clear set of proposals that developers should follow". The requirement for developers to obtain

RBC's planning permission, created room for RBC to act in a 'creatively autonomous' manner in that it was able to exert its influence over other parties in a way that it felt was beneficial to local residents (see Atkinson and Wilks-Heeg, 2000). In this way, local security strategies cannot simply be 'read-off' as a response to broader government agendas but must be seen as a part of the strategic planning of RBC and its agendas for reconstructing public spaces.

For example, RBC has consistently argued that the regeneration of the town centre should reflect both enhanced security measures *and* a high degree of public access to urban space. Access was one of the key conditions that RBC set down in its development briefs, yet increasing it provides new opportunities for 'undesirables' to enter the development area. Moreover, for the developers, local businesses and TVP, access is tantamount to relinquishing control over public space and a number of political battles have characterised the planning process. During the planning phase, there were strong exchanges between the developers and the police on the one side and RBC on the other, with the former arguing that access to the regeneration areas should be tightly controlled and restricted out of peak hours. For example, one police officer strongly "support[ed] the contention that it is unwise to have free public access throughout the shopping malls during the evening when the shops are closed and access is only needed between the riverside area and the town centre" (Stubbs, 1996, p. 1). Such concerns were shared by investors, particularly the major anchor stores, who even took the step of challenging proposals for new, accessible public spaces through the formal planning system (see McCauley, 1992).⁸ RBC's Chief Executive, in interview, felt that these disagreements reflected the different perspectives of public and private agencies as too often developers "acted as though the outside was the inside" and that "they needed to be reminded that this had to be a public right of way". The developers were often backed up by TVP who were concerned that reducing

their control of the new public spaces would generate more crime for them to cope with.

Yet RBC, as the local authority, was still able to ensure that the new spaces developed included an accessible riverside area; that a range of activities and developments took place; that cycling and walking access to most of the regeneration areas was unhindered; and that new bridges and connections would be made to existing public spaces in an attempt to encourage broader ownership and use of the area, thereby avoiding the creation of dead spaces. Perhaps most importantly, RBC wanted to avoid the creation of large 'dead spaces' in the town centre where, alongside its shopping malls, it has also promoted (evening time) leisure and recreational activities. Initially, it argued for 24-hour access to the shopping malls which, after a series of negotiations, came down to 18 hours. RBC's chief negotiating officer felt that

In general we always come to some agreement. Eighteen-hour access was a compromise but we still felt that that was a significant improvement on what takes place with shopping malls elsewhere, where they close at six.

Despite the growth of partnerships and the strong role played by RBC and developers, it is the police, as knowledge-risk-experts, who have seen their role and influence on local policy expand. This expansion has not been a one-way process of growing domination but has instead represented a gradual, negotiated and contested process in which a range of, often contrasting, central government agendas have been translated and implemented by local actors. On the one hand, designing urban spaces has now become a part of TVP's broader remit for preventing, as well as detecting, criminal activity. Their expertise has been given new platforms from which to shape wider policy-making processes and projects. Planning permission over the regeneration is now, in part, dependent on the recommendations of TVP's Architectural Liaison Officer (ALO). A failure to take 'due account' of their views

exposes the local (planning) authority to the threat of subsequent litigation from victims if criminal activity then takes place. TVP's ALO commented on the significance of this in interview by arguing that

With the government into Best Value, Secure by Design and other measures, my leverage on planning processes has significantly gone up. ... We are seen by RBC as a professional, independent voice that can advise them on crime reduction by ensuring that places are well designed. Obviously having the Home Office's backing for this helps me a great deal.

Yet, TVP have had to marry these new responsibilities with a range of other central government measures which require the matching of quantitative targets and qualitative engagement with the needs and priorities of local actors and communities. TVP are expected to maintain 'public order' in expanding urban spaces, whilst at the same time ensuring that regional and national policing targets and frameworks are adhered to. Local policing priorities have to be agreed in consultation with local RBC councillors, which means that issues such as public drunkenness and *graffiti* often become the focus of projects when, in terms of government crime statistics, such acts have not been a top priority. TVP officers have had to develop Area Objectives, in which five or six problems are identified annually that it is felt that TVP officers can 'do something about'.⁹ Thus, on the one hand, they have a responsibility for maintaining 'law and order' and keeping crime rates as low as possible whilst, on the other, they have had to respond to increasing demands from RBC and other agencies to guarantee the accessibility and openness of Reading town centre as a place. This local negotiation of policing objectives takes place in a broader context where central government directives on law and order are prone to rapid and on-going change.

These processes are still evolving. In contrast to some accounts that stress the coherent and ruthless nature of policing strategies in new urban spaces (see, for example, Smith,

2001), much of the progress made by local agents is still piecemeal, fragmented and contingent. As one TVP Inspector suggested in interview

More often than not these partnerships are very frail. Joined-up thinking is lacking. ... People still look to the police to come up with solutions and it will take a long time before community groups, RBC and others accept this. ... If things go wrong they still blame us as though it is our fault.

Partnerships with the local health authority were cited as an example of where efforts to link policing programmes with the activities of others had met with limited success as responsibility for policing was still thought of as the police's role. Another point of contention has been RBC's opposition to private security guards. As the Leader of the council made clear in interview

We were strongly opposed to private security guards patrolling any parts of Reading town centre. We wanted the police. But given their constraints, they said that they would be unable to do it, so we had to go along with that, although we'd rather that it was still in the public sector.

Co-operating with private-sector agents is also erratic, with many still unwilling to share their own security arrangements with others. A TVP town centre Sergeant noted in interview that

A lot of shops still think that their security is up to us. Increasingly we are saying no it's up to you, if you can't take appropriate measures, why should we have to pick up the pieces?

The role and involvement of local communities in the development and implementation of Reading's security strategies have also been limited, even with the existence of central government measures which promote local community influence. The identification, definition and mobilisation of local perspectives have been additions to local partnerships rather than an integral element. The

focus of policy has been on the reduction of opportunities for criminal activity, rather than on changing the motivations and underlying causes of anti-social behaviour (see Evans *et al.*, 1998). Policing partnerships have, therefore, been driven by the expertise of planners and the police, rather than the more bottom-up agendas and perspectives of residential communities. Interviews with local community representatives highlighted the perception that, in one representative's words, policy was being made which "ignores social values in the pursuit of commercial profit", with security arrangements showing "little or no thought to the community". In particular, the emphasis on middle-class (primarily White), high-spending young adults had, according to some, succeeded in marginalising the elderly and teenagers. An Afro-Caribbean community leader typified these concerns by claiming in interview that

The development is all about money and about us [*sic*]. They don't want us there and they target teenagers and 'trouble-makers'. They have not taken them into account anywhere in their plans, except in measures to keep them out.

These feelings of socio-cultural exclusion from the changes taking place in Reading have been re-enforced by both the structure of local partnerships in which community representation has been marginal and the shift towards more visible and exclusionary forms of policing.

In summary, what is taking place in Reading is indicative of wider changes in urban governance and the growing significance of security issues in regeneration policy and programmes. Regeneration creates new contexts of action as urban spaces become more commercially oriented in nature and new governance arrangements are established to facilitate new security policies. The partnerships operating in Reading have, however, been relatively piecemeal and fragmented in nature. Although security issues are now a key feature in debates over redevelopment, when in the past they took less priority in the

town, the agendas of regeneration agencies, the police and developers have not been coherent or without tensions. Security issues are deeply *politicised* and *contested* in ways that some of the more critical literatures on policing strategies underplay (see Smith, 2001). Indeed, differences over security policies have been amongst the most divisive elements in the otherwise highly co-operative local politics of regeneration. The discursive terrains of local security debates have not been a one-way process of promoting and securing the needs of developers and investors (although their requirements have been a critical element). The local state has played a key part in broadening local agendas and ensuring that a range of perspectives are promoted. What have been excluded, however, are the perspectives of local communities and local groups with local needs being defined and articulated through the representative structures of the local authority. The requirement to make the regeneration successful has also required RBC to develop and support a range of security initiatives in the town and it is to these that the paper now turns.

Designing Spaces and (Re)Making Places: Strategies and Tactics of Policing a Regenerated Area

Urban regeneration programmes open up new opportunities for designers and planners to reorganise space for their own ends. It is simpler to design-in anti-crime measures in newly constructed urban spaces than it is to modify existing ones. In Reading, despite the limitations of, and negotiations over, policing strategies and tasks, security issues have been a critical element underpinning the regeneration efforts. Changes have been made to the town centre which have boosted socioeconomic activity but, at the same time, have generated new problems which threaten to undermine the sustainability and security of the investments made. In response, a number of tactics have been adopted to suppress criminal activity; these draw on a hybridity of governmental and situational measures.

Policies aim to impact upon the actions of subject populations through techniques of surveillance and the design of new urban spaces.

Many of the strategies and tactics adopted have been shaped by the availability of resources. As Foucault argued, one of the main benefits of surveillance technologies and techniques is that they maximise the effectiveness of available resources by using the actions of subjects in their own governance. In an expanding town such as Reading, pressures on the formal policing services have grown consistently as economic growth generates new visitor levels, whilst at the same time pushing up the costs of living so that the recruitment and retention of police officers become increasingly difficult. Town centre regeneration has encouraged new waves of visitors (approximately 10 million per annum), many of whom take advantage of the rapidly expanding evening economy where the number of licensed premises has increased in number from 48 in 1998 to 130 in 2001. However, the promotion of alcohol-based recreation has created new problems over the control of public space.¹⁰ Alcohol-related (public) crime levels over the first year of The Oracle (1999–2000), for example, indicated a 20 per cent increase (TVP, 2001).

Most importantly of all, RBC, TVP and local businesses have developed between them one of the most thorough and comprehensive CCTV systems in any urban space in the UK. There are currently 160 CCTV cameras, operated by a range of public- and private-sector players. It is increasingly seen, by local interviewees, as a prerequisite for economic vitality. The Chair of the local Chamber of Commerce, for example, noted in interview that “businesses were worried that Reading was falling behind ... CCTV was essential in placating those fears”. TVP’s ALO also described the system as “essential in order to help make The Oracle as safe and pleasant an addition to the life of Reading as possible” (Stubbs, 1997, p. 1). CCTV schemes were established in the run-up to The Oracle development, but became a

central feature of security measures during the regeneration programme. A CCTV Steering Group was established in 1999 to co-ordinate public- and private-sector resources to develop an effective network. It has been strongly supported by local players owing to its high visibility and symbolic value as a means of demonstrating that security is 'being taken seriously'. This has been supplemented by a privately funded radio link between retailers, investors and TVP.¹¹ The link enables rapid communication to take place, enhancing technological support for policing agencies. Technology is characterised as a key element in solving the town's security problems, acting as a mechanism of social control (see Bloomfield, 2001, for a wider discussion).

CCTV is operated by TVP which has a control centre at Reading police station. As with CCTV schemes elsewhere, the effects on crime rates have been ambivalent (see Bannister and Fyfe, 2001). Crime levels have risen in the town centre, although the numbers of visitors have also increased dramatically.¹² TVP's CCTV co-ordinator, noted in interview that

CCTV doesn't stop every crime, it just helps us to catch more people for certain types of crime. It doesn't stop shoplifting or violence associated with the evening economy. It may stop some robberies, although to be honest it only has a knock-on effect as most are committed by drug users who take no notice of the cameras and will go ahead anyway. It also does not impact on quality of life crimes or those that take place within the home.

Recent evidence suggests that, as in cities such as Glasgow, crime has been significantly displaced, rather than reduced, across the town. One local crime prevention officer, for example, accepts that

Since we introduced those CCTV cameras in the centre, crime has shifted away to other parts of the town to the east and the west where there is drug dealing and prostitution (quoted in *Reading Central*, 2002, p. 3).

New measures to expand CCTV are, at the time of writing, still being introduced to tackle these areas of displacement.

CCTV has also acted as a nucleus around which local partnerships have been able to develop, from which other security schemes have been established. From the outset, the police in Reading stressed the "importance of compatibility and communication between the town centre and Oracle CCTV" (Stubbs, 1997, p. 1). As a TVP Inspector commented in interview

CCTV has shown local players, particularly local retailers and publicans, that co-operation with the police is possible and desirable. ... I'd say that it has shown the way that policing has to go in Reading and that's a good thing for us because we still get blamed for crime but others need to take more responsibility of their own.

CCTV has provided a framework around which developers and private-sector players have been drawn into a wider strategy for ensuring security across the whole town. For TVP, such partnerships enable resource enlargement in a context of budgetary limitations and multiple priorities (see Mackintosh, 1992). It, for example, has facilitated new agreements between TVP and The Oracle's developers who employ 50 security guards to maintain order in The Oracle area. Similarly, CCTV has brought together private investors in the town and highlighted the issue of security and co-operation to firms that previously had failed to work together (interview respondent). Policing has, therefore, become a public-private activity in which some of the objectives of the Crime and Disorder Act are being fulfilled.

Another key element of security policy has been the devolution of responsibilities to other actors. The role of the police and the local authority has shifted away from the direct provision of security to the facilitation of policing measures through the actions of others. For example a 'Doorsafe' scheme has been established in which TVP and local employers work to "train door staff, as sensitive handling of violent situations can defuse

them and prevent an escalation into violence” (RBC, 1999, p. 6). Responsibility has been transferred to licensed premises which increasingly face the removal (or non-renewal) of their trading licences if TVP believe that they represent a “significant security risk and have failed to take appropriate measures to deal with it. ... This is very much about involving others in the policing of the town” (interview respondent). Similarly, a ‘Code of Conduct’ is being developed, which will establish appropriate rules of behaviour and responsibilities for visitors to the town centre (*Reading Chronicle*, 2001). An effort is, therefore, being made to encourage subjects to conduct themselves in particular, non-deviant, ways. As a town centre Sergeant noted in interview

The code will not be a law but will use peer pressure to try and change the way that people think and conduct themselves ... It will try to get them to tow the line without us being directly involved.

This strategy is reinforced by TVP’s designation and management of defined ‘hot spots’ within the town centre where criminal activity is perceived to be a particular problem. These places are not fixed but change over time, as and when problems are seen to emerge. Again, limits on resources mean that policing has to be a process of developing strategies which maximise effectiveness despite limitations. Hot spot policing involves high-visibility police personnel, implementing low-tolerance policing policies. However, local policing is not (and with available resources cannot be) ‘zero tolerance’ in nature, as is the case in urban spaces elsewhere. In Reading, there is neither the political will nor the capacity to implement such measures. RBC’s desire to build new meanings and associations with place limit the extent to which such strategies would be appropriate in the local socio-political context. Instead, policing is about negotiating priorities and making the best use of what is available through particular strategies, tactics and programmes.

Designing-out problems is seen as one of

the most effective ways of reducing crime. In Reading, there has been a relatively high degree of sophistication in the discourses of crime prevention, through design, that have been developed. TVP have a dedicated team of crime prevention officers, headed by an experienced Architectural Liaison Officer. Their job is to provide developers and other organisations with advice on the ways in which crime can be “designed out, so that it does not feature as a problem” (to use an officer’s phrase, given in interview). Local agents, working in and through local networks have been able to shape some local spaces that have been constructed with designed-in features that create a safer, more secure environment for visitors and investors. Analysis of planning documents and correspondence reveals a vigorous set of discussions over a broad range of design issues. Much of the approach is summed up by one police officer’s belief that “instinct dictates against use, human nature is to make alternative arrangements which suit the individual better” (Stubbs, 1998, p. 1). Consequently, design should be concerned with shaping the conduct of individuals and restricting their opportunities to make ‘alternative’ (i.e. deviant) actions.

Specific types of crime have been targeted by the developers, architects and TVP. Initial plans were amended on police advice to ‘eliminate such things as climbable drain-pipes, unnecessary access ladders to roof areas, vulnerable skylights, etc.’. Echoing concerns with the ‘broken-window syndrome’ and highlighting the close relationships between power, space and contexts of action, measures were also taken to avoid the construction of long expanses of blank wall and dead spaces of ‘no man’s land’ to prevent vandalism and public disorder. Measures should be taken, according to one TVP consultant, to avoid spaces which appear to have ‘no ownership’. Ownership is equated with control so that an inability to mark a particular territory as ‘owned’ or belonging to an organisation is seen as an opportunity for deviant behaviour. Broader measures are called for to enhance the ownership of the

regenerated space. As the guidelines make clear

unsupervised areas should have some sense of ownership created through connection with nearby premises, involvement of local people or schools in their design or any other strategy that avoids the feeling that no one cares about what happens here (Stubbs, 1995, p. 2).

At other points, they call for 'anti-graffiti walls and paint' to prevent graffiti artists from upsetting the aesthetic quality of the development site and providing a focus for similar acts. The rationale behind the strategy was summed up by one TVP inspector in interview

There are a number of known factors that the police and designers work with. We need defensible space where there are clearly defined public areas which are well patrolled and with good natural surveillance.... If there are public areas where people feel they have no stake in them then people stop caring about them and law and order problems build up, making them less attractive, encouraging fewer people to use them and so the cycle goes on.

Moreover, design can be used to 'reduce cover for potential attackers', thereby exposing potential deviants to CCTV and 'natural' (i.e. public) surveillance. The rationale for such policies reflects Koskela's (2000) contention that modern policing methods are based on the premise that individuals and groups have to come under closer surveillance *themselves*, in order to be safer from criminal activity. This is backed up by other measures at The Oracle in which 'access points should be carefully monitored by CCTV'. At the same time, 'tunnels and underpasses should be straight, wide and well lit' and 'unsupervised areas should be well covered with CCTV surveillance and have good natural surveillance from the surrounding premises'. Being seen, it is suggested, represents the most effective form of security for 'law-abiding people' by exposing devi-

ants to the gaze of security agents and ensuring that any individuals can then be caught. Elaborate measures have been taken to ensure this. For example, the development has followed the directive that 'landscaping ... should be kept below one metre in height and the crowns of trees not allowed to hang down below 2.5 metres, to avoid areas where potential attackers can hide'. Other measures which ensure 'no hiding places' are also called for, such as making sure that the water from the River Kennett flows right up to the banks underneath the town centre's bridges so that nobody can hide under them.

There is also evidence here of the types of individuals and groups that the developers and policing agencies wish to exclude. The homeless and groups of young people are identified as potential troublemakers, or social pollutants, and design measures are called upon to prevent them building up. For example, it is pointed out that 'the potential problems of youths gathering is a matter that will be either aggravated or allayed by the success of the CCTV'. Consequently, public seating has only been placed 'in locations where it is easy to supervise i.e. in good view of CCTV and in places where it will provide genuine respite for the elderly/infirm but not act as a magnet for encouraging youths to gather'. One local police Inspector even suggested in interview that, as in some cities in the US, new, uncomfortable, round benches would soon be introduced with the specific intention of limiting the time people could stay on the benches—a measure specifically designed to exclude groups of youths and the homeless, many of whom use public benches as meeting and sleeping places (see Davis, 1991). There is even a proposal that 'automatic ventilators and hot air vents should be ducted up to roof level to prevent warm areas being created where vagrants may gather'. Such examples reflect some of Smith's (1992) concerns that policies increasingly focus on making sure that control of space does not slip away. Groups are seen as more difficult to control than individuals and design is used to try to prevent them forming. For example, the design of a footbridge con-

necting two parts of The Oracle shopping centre is criticised as being 'a fear generator for persons passing underneath ... a likely place where groups will gather out of the rain and will have an overpowering effect on the street below'. CCTV cameras have also focused on potential 'gathering areas' acting 'as a management tool for the 'watcher' and as a source of evidence to be used at a later date' (A. Townsend, letter to Reading Borough Council, 23 March 1997).

The securitisation of public spaces is, therefore, a central element in the regeneration of Reading. There is a growing concern with making environments safe and secure, and a range of tactics and strategies have been adopted locally to try to ensure that criminal activity and those seen as being most likely to commit crimes are excluded from the new spaces developed. Strategies have been based on the notion that "while crime cannot be designed out, environments can be made safer by reducing the opportunities for crime to occur" (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997, p. xii). Less has been targeted at reducing the motivations of criminals to commit crimes, although TVP and RBC have initiated a stronger community and schools focus in recent strategy plans. Despite having a relatively low (public) crime rate when compared with similar towns and cities in the rest of the UK, security issues have still become embedded in the practices and programmes of regeneration. In many ways, the implementation of such measures represents a failure to balance economic development with social objectives. Although Reading has one of the most vigorous economic growth rates of any town in the UK, it still possesses large excluded communities and is beginning to face major challenges in maintaining its public and welfare services, including the police. It is these factors that have influenced policing strategies as much as other ideological and political objectives.

Conclusions

The creation of more secure, and aesthetically attractive, urban spaces is increasingly

a prerequisite for the design and development of urban regeneration programmes. In a context of increasing interurban competition, the creation of attractive or 'trophy' developments, which encourage inward investors and visitors, is of growing significance for many development agencies. Places are therefore reconstructed, so that their visual and symbolic meanings are transformed in the interests of market-led development. The strategies, tactics and practices of securing these new urban spaces are essential elements in their marketability. Such issues have, therefore, taken on greater significance with the perceived safety of places acting as a stimulant or a deterrent to new forms of investment. At the same time, broader agendas, which seek to spread the responsibility for crime prevention across society, have been institutionalised in policing practices so that the policing of space is increasingly conducted by an assemblage of public, private and social institutions working in and through partnerships and specific programmes.

This study has focused on regeneration agendas in Reading and on the ways in which the securitisation of new urban spaces has been negotiated and implemented. It has shown the ways in which security concerns have become embedded in the discourses and practices of regeneration and has documented and analysed the strategies and tactics that have emerged. In seeking to rebrand Reading as a place, RBC has been increasingly concerned with making sure that new developments are as secure, and are seen to be as secure, as possible. At the same time, TVP has been set new local policing challenges, without commensurate increases in resource provision. Partnerships which broaden policing responsibilities to a range of public- and private-sector players have, therefore, been promoted as the only effective way in which effective securitisation of space can take place. Strategies have focused on a hybridity of situational and governmental tactics which seek both to reduce the opportunities for crimes and to change the mentalities of those who have the potential to

commit them. Criminal behaviour is defined through a combination of local perceptions of inappropriate behaviour and wider social, political and legal classifications. The study has indicated that these policing and security strategies vary in accordance with local socio-political relations. In changing these local relations, regeneration raises new and varied security issues which require new policing strategies.

What the Reading example also demonstrates is the key interaction between local politics and broader national and international contexts of action. Many of the relationships in the town have been forged through central government initiatives and agendas which have required local actors to develop local partnerships and security strategies. In particular, the requirement for local authorities and the police to work on joint programmes of action has been central to the formation of policing partnerships. Similarly, the growing role of CCTV and other security measures draws on the experiences of policy programmes in Britain and elsewhere. In this sense, the discourses and practices of development in the town can only be understood as a part of broader national agendas and ideologies of state action (MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999). Yet, it is this dynamic interaction between processes operating at different scales that creates the particular local character of policing in the town. The requirement, for example, to involve communities in the development of policy takes on particular forms in different places as do the relative agendas and negotiating positions of public-, private- and voluntary-sector bodies. Similarly, the relationships between local authorities and developers vary significantly in different economic and political contexts (see Atkinson and Wilks-Heeg, 2000; Brownhill, 1999). Perhaps most importantly, national agendas and directives are far from coherent and unidimensional. Police forces simultaneously have to justify and explain their actions and decisions to local (and even national) communities, while, at the same time, they are leading agents in the government's

anti-crime proposals. This paper has shown that, whilst it is possible to talk about broad trends in policy, the practices of policing are dependent on the ways in which local actors translate and implement agendas at the local level.

Notes

1. Kelling and Coles's (1996) 'broken window syndrome' is the most widely cited of such perspectives. Their study of criminality in US inner-city neighbourhoods explicitly links environmental conditions with the propensity of criminals to commit offences. They suggest that "if a window in a building is left unrepaired all the rest of the windows will soon be broken ... One unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares and so breaking more windows costs nothing" (Kelling and Coles, 1996, p. 19). Once petty crime rates exceed a 'critical mass', then the potential develops for much more serious crime and urban decay to occur. Policing policies should therefore focus on "taking back the streets and allowing citizens to reclaim their rightful role in society". Zero-tolerance methods are encouraged which seek to prevent *all* offences from occurring, or arresting those that break the law in any way. In the US, particularly in cities such as New York, aggressive zero-tolerance strategies have been developed in which strong, para-military policing methods have been used against identified social groups to re-establish control over space (Smith, 2001; Parenti, 2000). There are growing echoes of similar discourses from UK central government (see Blunkett, 2001).
2. There are approximately 500 000 surveillance cameras operating in Britain, mostly in British towns and cities (Freeman, 1999; cited in Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). CCTV surveillance can be understood as a "form of power with a number of dimensions ... both constructing and circumscribing the meaning of urban governance, order and regeneration" (Coleman and Sims, 2000, p. 624). It provides forms of disembodied surveillance—an all-seeing eye which plays a dual role in watching and ensuring the safe conduct of 'law-abiding' individuals and discouraging criminals from committing crimes and thus to regulate their own behaviour as a consequence of being seen (Koskela, 2000).
3. Alongside these changes to the governance of policing, policy measures also explicitly link the design of space and crime. The

- government's Crime Reduction Strategy (Home Office, 2001b, p. 1) for example, states that "where there is more physical disorder in the form of litter and vandalism, crime risks are higher". Moreover, such circumstances are "distressing in their own right but also important because they can lead to more serious crime" (p. 1). Other measures within the strategy include the setting-up of inspections of local authorities to "identify where opportunities to reduce crime and improve community safety are being fully exploited and where further improvements are needed to make partnership-working effective in tackling crime and disorder" (Home Office, 2001a, p. 3). Such measures are underpinned by other government programmes such as the 'Secured by Design' award certificates which are awarded to developments where discussions have been held with local police Architectural Liaison Officers and "are built in a way which conforms to the crime prevention guidelines and so reduces the opportunity for crime ... [and ensuring that] the development layout makes good use of natural surveillance and defensible space" (Home Office, 2001c, p. 2). In so doing, the prospect of an award "is intended to achieve a better quality of life by addressing crime prevention at the earliest opportunity in the design, layout and construction of homes and commercial premises" (Home Office, 2001c, p. 1).
4. Reading's industrial past famously relied on three industries: biscuit-making, through companies such as Huntley and Palmer; bulb production, through Sutton's Seeds; and brewing by companies such as Courage.
 5. The concentration of service employment has also been in areas of strong growth. Thus, producer business services employ 17.6 per cent of employees (13 per cent is the British average), financial services 9.4 per cent (4.3 per cent), wholesaling/retail 19.6 per cent (16.9 per cent) and transport and communications 10 per cent (5.9 per cent). Recent estimates expect employment in Reading to grow strongly (16 per cent) over the period 1996–2006, increasing employment numbers by 15 000 mainly in the banking and financial sectors. Unemployment in Reading is generally low, with an unemployment rate of only 1.2 per cent in April 2000, although the town has experienced the negative externalities of rapid growth such as house-price inflation, traffic congestion and skills shortages (RBC, 2000a, 2000b).
 6. It also possesses a catchment area for retailing (i.e. those within a 25-mile radius) of approximately 1.7 million people. The purchasing power of these residents is considerable—indeed, it is the fourth-most prosperous catchment area of any retailing district in the UK (see Quin, 2000).
 7. The name of the regeneration project, The Oracle, for example, is taken from the original cloth-makers' warehouse that was established on the site in 1628, although it had not existed on the site since the mid 19th century. The naming of footbridges and other structures after former councillors and historical places has also sought to provide a sense of place to the modern architecture—with local residents even encouraged to vote for some of the names. Other initiatives have included the setting-up of a local heritage trail for tourists, the upgrading and reopening of the symbolically significant old Town Hall in the town centre and the opening of local museums, such as the Museum of Reading. This use of historical artefacts is a recurring feature of regeneration projects which by their very nature transform the material and discursive bases of places, whilst at the same time seeking to create new attachments to them that will make them more marketable and legitimate.
 8. Anchor stores are a key element in determining the success of urban regeneration projects based on leisure and shopping activities. Reading has been able to attract two of the UK's largest retailers, Debenhams and the Fraser Group, to anchor its Oracle project. These organisations, however, have been assertive in promoting their own interests, with security issues being high on their agendas. They launched objections to some of RBC's planning proposals, in part due to the perceived security risks that they would have had.
 9. In line with the Police Act 1996, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Local Government Act 1999, TVP has developed an Annual Policing Plan and a Best Value Performance Plan which requires them "to make arrangements to secure continuous improvements in their performance, having regard to a combination of economy, efficiency and effectiveness" (Thames Valley Police Authority, 2001, p. 4). This plan outlines 7 long-term objectives for all of its divisions to follow. The Thames Valley region is subdivided into 10 units (one of which is Reading and Wokingham), each of which produces an Annual Policing Plan of its own, which is intended to reflect both the force-wide plans and local issues which require local policing solutions.

10. One key element of the regeneration of the town centre has been the establishment of a 'pub quarter' in which Reading is promoted as a centre for public alcohol consumption. The 'pub quarter' contains approximately 50 pubs.
11. Businesses pay £400 per year to have a two-way radio link to TVP's local headquarters.
12. Reported crime rates in the town centre have risen from an average of 250–300 offences per month to 360–460 per month.

References

- ATKINSON, H. and WILKS-HEEG, S. (2000) *Local Government from Thatcher to Blair: The Politics of Creative Autonomy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- AUGE, M. (1998) *Non-places: An Introduction to the Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso.
- BANNISTER, J. and FYFE, N. (2001) Introduction, Special Issue on 'Fear and the City', *Urban Studies*, 38(5/6), pp. 807–813.
- BLOOMFIELD, B. (2001) In the right place at the right time: electronic tagging and the problems of social order/disorder, *The Sociological Review*, 49, pp. 174–201.
- BLUNKETT, D. (2001) Interview on BBC Television's *Breakfast With Frost* programme, 24 June.
- BRILL, M. (1989) Transformation, nostalgia and illusion in public life and public place, in: I. ALTMAN and E. ZUBE (Eds) *Public Places and Spaces*, pp. 7–29. New York: Plenum Press.
- BROWNHILL, S. (1999) Turning the East End into the West End: the lessons and legacies of the London Docklands Development Corporation, in: R. IMRIE and H. THOMAS (Eds) *British Urban Policy: An Evaluation of the Urban Development Corporations*, pp. 43–63. London: Sage.
- COLEMAN, R. and SIM, J. (2000) You'll never walk alone: CCTC surveillance, order and neo-liberal rule in Liverpool city centre, *British Journal of Sociology*, 51, pp. 623–639.
- CREWE, L. and LOWE, M. (1995) Gap on the map? Towards a geography of consumption and identity, *Environment and Planning A*, 27, pp. 1877–1898.
- DAVIS, M. (1991) *City of Quartz*. London: Verso.
- DETR (DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND THE REGIONS) (2000) *By Design—Urban Design in the Planning System: Towards a Better Place*. London: HMSO.
- ELLIN, N. (1996) *Postmodern Urbanism*, rev. edn. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- EVANS, D., FYFE, N. and HERBERT, D. (Eds) (1998) *Crime, Policing and Place*. London: Routledge.
- FRANZÉN, M. (2001) Urban order and the preventive restructuring of space: the operation of border controls in micro space, *The Sociological Review*, 49, pp. 202–218.
- FYFE, N. (1995) Law and order policy and the spaces of citizenship in contemporary Britain, *Political Geography*, 14, pp. 177–189.
- FYFE, N. and BANNISTER, J. (1996) City watching: CCTV surveillance in public spaces, *Area*, 28, pp. 37–46.
- The Guardian* (2000a) Prosperity crisis as more jobs force up home prices, 27 December.
- The Guardian* (2000b) Minister urges action to combat winners' circle in South East, 15 November.
- The Guardian* (2001) Blunkett to tackle old police practices, 18 June.
- HAGGERTY, K. and ERICSON, R. (2000) The surveillant assemblage, *British Journal of Sociology*, 51, pp. 605–622.
- HALL, T. and HUBBARD, P. (1998) *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Politics, Regime and Representation*. Chichester: John Wiley.
- HARVEY, D. (2000) *Spaces of Hope*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- HEAL, K. (1999) Crime, regeneration and place, in: D. EVANS, N. FYFE and D. HERBERT (Eds) *Crime, Policing and Place*, pp. 257–271. London: Routledge.
- HERBERT, S. (1997) *Policing Space—Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- HOME OFFICE (1998) *The Crime and Disorder Act*. Home Office. London: HMSO.
- HOME OFFICE (2000) *CCTV Initiative: Application Prospectus*. London: HMSO.
- HOME OFFICE (2001a) *Crime Reduction—Crime Reduction Strategy*. London: HMSO.
- Home Office (2001b) *Crime Reduction—The Government's Crime Reduction Strategy*. London: HMSO.
- HOME OFFICE (2001c) *Crime Reduction—Secure Design*. London: HMSO.
- IMRIE, R. and THOMAS, H. (1999) Assessing urban policy and the urban development corporations, in: R. IMRIE and H. THOMAS (Eds) *British Urban Policy: An Evaluation of the Urban Development Corporations*, pp. 3–43. London: Sage.
- JACKSON, P. (1998) Domesticating the street: the contested spaces of the high street and the mall, in: N. FYFE (Ed.) *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, pp. 176–191. London: Routledge.
- JONES, M. (1999) *New Institutional Spaces: TECs and the Remaking of Economic Governance*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

- KEARNS, G. and PHILO, C. (1993) *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. London: Pergamon Press.
- KELLING, G. and COLES, M. (1996) *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities*. London: Martin Kessler Books.
- KOSKELA, H. (2000) The gaze without eyes: video-surveillance and the changing nature of urban space, *Progress in Human Geography*, 24, pp. 243–265.
- LOVELOCK, J. and MORRISON, T. (1999) Introduction, in: *Reading's Crime Reduction Strategy*, p. 1. Reading: Reading Borough Council.
- MACKINTOSH, M. (1992) Partnerships: issues of policy and negotiation, *Local Economy*, 7, pp. 210–225.
- MACLEOD, G. and GOODWIN, M. (1999) Space, scale and state strategy: rethinking urban and regional governance, *Progress in Human Geography*, 23, pp. 503–527.
- MCCAULEY, I. (1992) Proof of evidence to public inquiry on Compulsory Purchase Orders for The Oracle Development. Unpublished manuscript.
- MERRIFIELD, A. (2000) The dialectics of dystopia: disorder and zero tolerance in the city, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24, pp. 473–489.
- OC, T. and TIESDELL, S. (1997) *Safer City Centres: Reviving the Public Realm*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
- PARENTI, C. (2000) *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*. London: Verso.
- PHILLIPS, N. (1999) *The Story of Reading*. Newbury: Countryside Books.
- QUINN, S. (2000) *Reading Town Centre Monitor 2000*. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- RACO, M. (2003) Assessing the discourses and practices of regeneration in a growing region, *Geoforum*, 34, pp. 37–55.
- RBC (READING BOROUGH COUNCIL) (1997) *Economic Development Strategy, 1996/1997*. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- RBC (1999) *Economic Development Strategy, 1999/2000*. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- RBC (2000a) *Economic Development Strategy, 2000/2001*. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- RBC (2000b) *Reading City 2020: A Vision of the Future*. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- Reading Central (2002) CCTV camera cash boost to combat crime, 30 May, p. 3.
- Reading Chronicle (2001) code of conduct for town centre thugs, 28 June, p. 1.
- Reading Evening Post (1999) Poppy seller dispute, 26 November, p. 5.
- ROSE, N. (1999) *Powers to Freedom: Reshaping Political Thought*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- SMITH, N. (1992) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London: Routledge.
- SMITH, N. (2001) Re-scaling politics: geography, globalism and the new urbanism, in: C. MINCA (Ed.) *Postmodern Geography: Theory and Praxis*, pp. 147–168. Oxford: Blackwell.
- SORKIN, M. (1992) *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- STUBBS, D. (1995) Comments on development proposals, 14 November. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- STUBBS, D. (1996) Comments on development proposals, 18 April. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- STUBBS, D. (1997) Comments on development proposals, 4 May. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- STUBBS, D. (1998) Comments on development proposals, 11 January. Reading Borough Council, Reading.
- THAMES VALLEY POLICE (2000) *Crime Reduction Strategy 2000/2005*. Thames Valley Police, Abingdon.
- THAMES VALLEY POLICE AUTHORITY (2001) *Thames Valley Police Authority: Annual Policing Plan Incorporating Best Value Performance Plan, 2000–2001*. Kidlington, Oxfordshire.
- URRY, J. (1995) *Consuming Spaces*. London: Routledge.
- ZUKIN, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power*. Berkeley, CA: California University Press.
- ZUKIN, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.