

2015-11-02

# Geography of crime

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<http://hdl.handle.net/10026.1/4337>

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Oxford University Press

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## **CRIME AND POLICING**

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**Published in Oxford Bibliographies in Geography ed B Wharf 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov 2015**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Crime and the fear of crime are significant aspects of daily life and as such have been studied closely by human geographers who have examined the interactions between crime, space and society. The occurrence of crime shows strong spatial variations and, perhaps unsurprisingly, work by geographers was initially concerned with mapping and explaining patterns of crime (Fyfe 2000), largely in urban centres of the West. The distribution of crime has been explained with reference to theories of human ecology, the built environment, housing markets and forms of urban management, including policing. While the mapping of crime remains important, especially with the growing sophistication of GIS, the sub-discipline has burgeoned to encompass a wider range of theoretical and empirical concerns. Critical theories have been used to question the nature of crime and the extent to which it reflects wider inequalities in society. Feminist geographers, for example, have examined crimes against women and the ways in which it contributes to their exclusion from society, drawing attention to the often hidden crimes committed in private and domestic spaces (Valentine 1989). Others have examined how crime is policed and, increasingly how policing contributes towards the fragmentation and reshaping of public space, often with exclusionary results (Herbert 2011). Related to this, some crimes have also been considered a form of resistance and examined in the context of wider social and political changes. Research into the geography of crime occupies something of a niche position; few geographers, for example, would describe themselves as 'crime' geographers and might instead identify with the broader strands urban, social or feminist geographies that inform their studies. Criminology, sociology and spatial statistics overlap with the geographies of crime and these disciplines inform, and have been informed by, geographical study. Research into the geography of crime remains diverse and vibrant, cutting across many areas of social and cultural geography as well drawing upon and contributing to debates in criminology and other related disciplines.

### **GENERAL OVERVIEWS**

The 1980s and early 1990s were a rich period for the geography of crime, with several important books emerging that included Evans and David Herbert's (1989) 'The Geography of Crime, Herbert's (1982) 'The Geography of Urban Crime' and Evans, Fyfe and Herbert's (1992) 'Crime, Policing and Place' that set the agenda for research into the geographies of crime in this period. Perhaps surprisingly, no books have been published recently that provide a general overview on geographies of crime, although research monographs have focused on particular aspects of the sub-discipline. Equally, there is no journal that deals specifically with the geography of crime. This may reflect that research into the geographies of crime has rarely occupied the centre stage of geographical research (Herbert 1977, Fyfe 1991). Nevertheless, good introductions to the geographies of crime can be found in

generic human geography reference books (Fyfe 2000, Koskela 2009, Fyfe 2009); these chart how different paradigmatic approaches have impacted on the way that the geographies of crime have been studied. Accessible introductions can also be found within key textbooks on social and cultural geography (Cater and Jones 1989, Pain 2000) that provide stimulating and well-supported arguments for studying crime within human geography. A contemporary book providing an overview of the geography of crime is long overdue and would be a timely addition to any bibliography on this topic.

**Cater, John and Trevor Jones "Crime and disorder." In *Social Geography*. Edited by J. Cater and T. Jones, 79-113. London: Edward Arnold, 1989**

This is a classic introduction to the sub-discipline written at time when research into crime was a significant part of social geography. It provides a critical overview of the geographies of crime, moving beyond its mapping towards critical interpretations using managerialist and Marxist perspectives. The latter provides great insight into what is meant by a crime and the social implications of these contests.

**Evans, David, Nicholas Fyfe and David Herbert (eds). *Crime, Policing and Place: Essays in Environmental Criminology*. London: Routledge, 1992**

A series of essays that charts the contribution of geography to criminology. It reflects a time when research into the geographies of crime was vibrant but largely dominated by environmental approaches.

**Evans, David and David Herbert (eds) *The Geography of Crime*, London: Routledge, 1989**

A collection of essays mainly from UK and North America provides a broad overview of research in the geography of crime in the 1980s and 1990s, largely drawing upon behavioural and environmental approaches to examine the spatial distribution of crime and its policing.

**Fyfe, Nicholas "Crime, geography of." In *Dictionary of Human Geography, fourth edition*. Edited by R. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt and M. Watts, 120-123. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000**

This entry provides an excellent overview of the sub-area. It traces the history of the sub-discipline and charts how different schools of thought have influenced the study of crime and its spatial distribution.

**Herbert, David. *The Geography of Urban Crime*. London: Longman, 1982**

David Herbert's work on the spatial distribution of urban crime was influential and insightful. This volume draws together this research and highlights the significance of space to the study of crime patterns.

**Herbert, Steve "Crime." In *The Dictionary of Human Geography, fifth edition*. Edited by D. Gregory, R. Johnston, G. Pratt, M. Watts and S. Whatmore, 120. Oxford: Blackwell, 2009**

The most recent entry to the longstanding dictionary of Human Geography is much reduced in length from the previous edition. It provides a concise introduction to the sub-discipline and charts current directions of travel.

**Koskela, Hille "Crime/Fear of Crime." In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Edited by R. Kitchen and N. Thrift, 334-339. London: Sage, 2009**

This introduction outlines some of the spatial manifestations of crime before examining the fear of crime in more depth. It charts how the fear of crime impacts at a number of scales and has influenced different forms of policing. The significance of gender is highlighted.

**Pain, Rachel "Crime, space and inequality." In *Introducing Social Geographies*. Edited by R. Pain, M. Barke, D. Fuller, J. Gough, R. MacFarlane and M. Graham, 231-253. London: Arnold, 2001**

This is a thoughtful and accessible chapter that introduces the geographies of crime by considering its spatial distributions and its impact on different social groups. It is punctuated with vignettes from key case studies.

## **MAPPING CRIME**

There is a strong geographical tradition that has focused on mapping crime and explaining its spatial distribution. Work has examined the location of crime as well as 'journey to crime' and where offenders live. Early studies associated with the Chicago School drew upon theories human ecology to explain crime with reference to the social and environmental criteria that underpinned Burgess's concentric ring model (Shaw and McKay 1942). Crime was explained with reference to urban location and type of tenure (Herbert 1977) leading geographers to draw upon social disorganisation theory to explain the prevalence of crime in particular places. Some geographers focused on the influence of high population turnover on crime while others argued that high rates of crime reflected the workings of local housing markets and managers (Baldwin, Bottoms and Walker 1976). Geographer also drew on sub-cultural theories to examine how crime is 'culturally transmitted' between social groups. All of these approaches require caution for, as Cater and Jones (1989) comment, 'it is likely that those factors identified as predominant in their relationship to crime and deviancy ... are less a social reality than a statistical construct, an arbitrary mathematical caprice.' (p.88). Richard Peet (1975) wrote a savage critique of crime pattern analysis, arguing that it colluded with powerful elites that use crime to marginalise other groups (see section on Crime and Radical Geography). Despite these critiques, research into the geography of crimes has continued and been aided by the advent of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and the wider publication of crime data, both which mean that crime can be plotted with greater accuracy and modelled with more sophistication at micro-levels. Academics and practitioners have engaged with the identification of crime 'hotspots' with the aim of directing police resources where they are most needed and predicting where crimes will occur. While

advocates argue this has led to significant reductions in crime, critical geographers suggest that crime analysis represents a form of surveillance that contributes to the labelling of areas and social polarisation (Graham 1998). Indeed, many geographers have moved away from the mapping of crime leaving it largely the preserve of data analysts and spatial statisticians. The validity of crime mapping also depends on the accuracy of crime data. It is widely recognised that crime is under-reported and under-recorded. Indeed, some police forces have been criticised for manipulating crime data to enhance performance figures. In an effort to overcome these issues, geographers and government agencies have sought to conduct surveys that reveal the 'dark shadow' of unreported crime as well as its impact on people's lives. The England and Wales Crime Survey, for example, is conducted regularly and draws upon face-to-face interviews to estimate levels of unreported crime. Equally, some geographers have argued that 'tick box' surveys fail to record the emotional geographies of crime (Pain 2000), prompting research to move away from the analysis of quantitative data towards more qualitative investigations that provide more nuanced accounts of the fear of crime (see section on the fear of crime).

**Baldwin, John, Anthony Bottoms and Monica Walker. *The Urban Criminal*. London: Tavistock, 1976**

This study of Sheffield, UK criticises those who have associated high crime with social instability, instead concluding that some of the highest crime rates were found in pre-war, relatively stable municipal estates. It points to a need for caution when attempting to equate crime rates with particular social environments.

**Frank, Richard, Martin A. Andresen and Marcus Felson. "The geodiversity of crime: Evidence from British Columbia" *Applied Geography* 34 (2012): 180-188**

This paper exemplifies work to map 'journeys to crime' or the routes and distances travelled by criminals to commit crimes.

**Goldsmith, Victor, Philip McGuire, John Mollenkopf and Timothy Ross. *Analyzing Crime Patterns: Frontiers of Practice*. New York: Sage, 2000**

This edited collection draws on micro-level crime pattern analysis across New York to demonstrate the growing importance of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in the mapping and prediction of crime. It exemplifies the spatial mapping approach to geographies of crimes.

**Herbert, David. "Study of delinquency areas - social geographical approach" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 1 (1976): 472-492**

In this paper Herbert examines the social and environmental attributes of offenders – including family, neighbourhood, school, work and culture – and how these are mapped across different neighbourhoods in Cardiff, Wales. He notes that so-called delinquency areas shared 'particular elements of lifestyle and commonly held values which distinguished their populations from those in other parts of the city' (p490)

**Herbert, David. *The Geography of Urban Crime*. London: Longman, 1982**

David Herbert conducted a number of influential studies on crime patterns and his department at Swansea became strongly associated with environmental criminology. This book provides an overview of his work and centres on studies of Swansea, Wales, and Oklahoma City, USA. In both cases, physical aspects of design, land use, location, and social dynamics are examined and mapped in relation to the spatial distribution of crime.

**LeBeau, James and Michael Leitner. "Introduction: Progress in Research on the Geography of Crime" *Professional Geographer* 63 (2011): 161-173**

This article critiques radical stances on crime and claims that they marginalised research into the geographies of crime. The authors counter by arguing for the significance of crime pattern analysis to geographical research and practice.

**Nelson, Amanda, Rosemary Bromley and Colin Thomas. "Identifying micro-spatial and temporal patterns of violent crime and disorder in the British city centre" *Applied Geography* 21 (2001): 249-274**

The paper from the 'Swansea School' uses micro-level data to map violent crime and disorder in two British cities. At night, it identifies hot-spots associated with the night-time economy and, by day, with retailing in the city centre. It is one of the few contemporary papers written by geographers on the spatial mapping of crime.

**Professional Geographer 63:2, Focus: Spatial Methodologies for Studying Crime.**

This special issue presents five multi-disciplinary papers that focus on the use of spatial methodologies to understand the geography of crime in American cities. The editors draw attention to the applied value of such research.

**Shaw, Clifford and Henry McKay. *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942**

A classic study from the 'Chicago School' that mapped juvenile offences in five American cities and used Burgess's concentric ring model to model the occurrence of crime across different urban zones

## **FEAR OF CRIME**

It has become widely recognised that the fear of crime is often more debilitating than crime itself. Many governments and scholars have conducted surveys that attempt to measure fear of crime and consider how this impacts on daily lifestyles. A common question, for example, is to ask whether a person feels safe walking alone at night and the extent to which this limits their behaviour. Geographers have explored these issues in more detail by, first, examining how the fear of crime is differentiated according to different social characteristics such as age, gender (see section on Gender and Crime), sexuality and race (Pain 2001). Second, and more significantly, geographers have drawn upon critical theories to consider how fear of crime reflects

and impacts upon socio-spatial inequalities in society. This has led geographers to consider how issues such as racism, sexism and homophobia impact on crime, society and its policing. Susan Smith and Rachel Pain have made a sustained contribution to this work and have highlighted the importance of place in contextualising how fear is experienced by different social groups at a range of scales.

**Pain, Rachel. "Place, social relations and the fear of crime: a review" *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (2000): 365-387**

This is an important review article that considers how understandings of fear should be grounded in an understanding of the ways that historic and contemporary changes interplay with social identities and relations. In this way it emphasises that fear of crime is contingent upon local understandings of place and the way that change is differentially experienced across different spaces.

**Pain, Rachel. "Gender, race, age and fear in the city" *Urban Studies* 38 (2001): 899-913**

This paper moves analysis of fear beyond conventional binaries of 'victims–offenders' and 'feared–fearful' and examines some of the complex ways in which groups labelled as 'feared', such as young men, may also be 'fearful'. The importance of place as a context for these identities and fears is highlighted.

**Pain, Rachel, Sue Grundy, Sally Gill, Elizabeth Towner, Geoff Sparks and Kate Hughes. "'So long as I take my mobile': Mobile phones, urban life and Geographies of young people's safety" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29 (2005): 814-830**

This article provides insights into the way that fear, space and daily lives are negotiated by young people and the use of technologies, this time mobile phones, to mitigate these concerns.

**Smith, Susan. "Crime and the structure of social-relations" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 9 (1984): 427-442**

Smith draws on a study of Birmingham in the UK to examine how crime and the fear of crime reflect and affect the social, economic and political structures of an inner-city community. She examines how these are played out on a daily basis.

**Smith, Susan. *Crime, Space and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986**

This agenda-setting book was one of the first geographical accounts that analysed the relationship between crime and social trends in Britain. It draws on ethnographic analysis to chart how fear of crime impacts on individual and institutional responses to crime. It demonstrates how the incidence, impact and social significance of crime reflect the differential distribution of power across space.

**Valentine, Gill "'Sticks and stones may break my bones": A personal geography of harassment" *Antipode* 30 (1998): 305-332**

Gill Valentine provides a moving and personal account of her experiences of a lengthy campaign of homophobic harassment against her. It provides a first-hand account of the ways that it impacted on her use and understanding of place and, in doing so, crosses the boundary between academic understanding and personal experience. Given that crime is often studied as a (distant) subject by geographers, this first-person account provides a powerful testimony to its emotional and affective impacts.

**Yarwood, Richard. "An exclusive countryside? Crime concern, social exclusion and community policing in two English villages" *Policing & Society* 20 (2010): 61-78**

Work on the fear of crime has mainly focused on urban environments. This paper extends analysis to rural areas uses a case study in rural England to consider how rural places and social constructions of rurality provide a context for fear and social exclusion.

## **GENDER AND CRIME**

Crime and fear of crime are experienced differently by men and women. While this has been noted in various crime surveys, geographical research has taken a more critical stance, drawing on feminist approaches to examine how crime has been used to oppress women and strengthen patriarchal society. While some geographers have contributed to the mapping of crimes against women in public space, others have drawn attention to crimes in private spaces such as domestic violence or sexual assault that are often hidden from view and crime statistics. Recently work has examined the paradox that, although men are less fearful of crime in public space, they have a greater likelihood of becoming victims.

**Brownlow, Alec. "A geography of men's fear" *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 581-592**

Brownlow explores the paradox that while men are at greater risk from violent crime in public space, they appear to show less fear of it. He argues that masculine expectations of fearlessness mask a chronic fear of violent crime that shape men's experiences of public spaces. Racism and economic marginalization further contribute to these fears.

**Pain, Rachel "Social geographies of women's fear of crime" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (1997): 231-244**

This is a significant study that highlights the complex geographies of women's fear. It emphasise four areas of geographical analysis - constraints on the use of urban space, the significance of public and private space in perceptions of danger, the social construction of space into 'safe' and 'dangerous' places, and the social control of women's spaces – and how these can vary according to a woman's social class, age, disability and motherhood.



**Pain, Rachel. "Seismologies of emotion: fear and activism during domestic violence" *Social & Cultural Geography* 15 (2014): 127-150**

This paper examines responses to domestic violence and regards it as a form of activism. It focuses on the fear generated by assaults in domestic spaces and examines how this emotion shifts over time. It reveals how fear simultaneously constrains action but also contributes to the way it is managed and contested. Pain traces how small-scale forms of resistance can engender collective change at larger scales.

**Panelli, Ruth, Anna Kraack and Jo Little. "Claiming space and community: rural women's strategies for living with, and beyond, fear" *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 495-508**

Work in this paper contextualises ideas of boldness, fearlessness and empowerment to examine critically how women live with, and beyond, experiences of fear, including crime, domestic violence and sexual assault. Moving away from a sense of victims and passivity, the authors demonstrate how fear and fearlessness are simultaneously negotiated in women's lives in complex ways.

**Pawson, Eric and Glenn Banks. "Rape and fear in a New-Zealand city" *Area* 25 (1993): 55-63**

This early study into crime against women, specifically rape, draws on reported crime statistics and survey data to chart where women feel most at threatened in a New Zealand city (Christchurch). It notes that many younger people also feel insecure in private, domestic spaces.

**Valentine, Gill. "The geography of women's fear" *Area* 21 (1989): 385-390**

In this significant and widely cited paper, Valentine uses feminist theories to critique women's fear of crime. She highlights that although the majority of sexual assaults occur in domestic spaces, crimes against women are widely viewed as occurring in public space, limiting women's lives and necessitating male chaperones. These practices reflect patriarchal society's use of crime and the fear of crime to suppress women.

**Warrington, Molly. "'I must get out': the geographies of domestic violence" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26 (2001): 365-382**

This paper examines the aftermath of domestic violence, focusing on women who are able to break free of violent homes and seek safety in refuges or new homes. Warrington reveals the many of these women live in fear that they will be traced by violent partners, resulting in spatially restricted lives.

## **RURAL CRIME**

Research on the geographies of crime has tended to focus on urban areas, largely because crime rates are higher in cities (Yarwood 2001). A body of research has

drawn attention to crime in rural areas and its impacts on rural society. It has demonstrated that, although crime rates are lower in rural areas, crime and the fear of crime can be problematic in rural places. Some work has focused on crimes that are unique to rural places, such as wildlife crimes (Fyfe and Reeves 2011), while other studies have examined how social constructions and performances of rurality have impacted on the fear of crime. Crime, for example, can contribute to a sense of isolation, especially when residents feel beyond the reach of the police. Others have examined how rurality and distance from support services can hide domestic abuse and crimes against women. Critical work has examined how discourses of rurality, criminality and cultural difference combine to 'other' particular groups in the countryside. Travellers, for example, are often branded as criminal because they challenge hegemonic, sedentary visions of rurality.

**Cunneen, Chris. *Conflict, politics and crime: Aboriginal communities and the police*. New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 2001**

This account highlights how racism rather than rurality accounts for many of the issues associated with crime in isolated areas of Australia. It analyses the nature of crime in the Outback and why there are tensions between indigenous Australians and the police.

**Fyfe, Nicholas and Reeves, Alison "The Thin Green Line? Police Perceptions of the Challenges of Policing Wildlife Crime in Scotland." In *Rural Policing and Policing the Rural: A Constable Countryside?* Edited by Mawby, Robert I and Richard Yarwood, 169-182. Farnham: Ashgate.**

An interesting chapter that examines the role of police officers tasked to police environmental and wildlife crimes in Scotland. It reveals how ideas of environmental crime is contested and enforces

**Journal of Rural Studies, forthcoming, Special Issue on Rural Crime and Community Safety**

This special issue draws together a series of papers by geographers and criminologists. Drawing on empirical evidence from a range of countries, the papers in this edition provide eclectic perspectives on rural policing in more economically developed countries.

**Little, Jo, Ruth Panelli and Anna. Kraack. "Women's fear of crime: A rural perspective" *Journal of Rural Studies* 21 (2005): 151-163**

This paper draws on work in New Zealand and the UK to provide important feminist perspectives on women's fear of crime in rural areas. It shows that popular and largely masculine constructions of rurality as friendly, safe and largely crime-free mask concerns held by women about their personal safety.

**Mawby, Robert I and Richard Yarwood (eds) *Rural Policing and Policing the Rural: A Constable Countryside?*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011**

This edited collection draws upon work by geographers and criminologists to provide international perspectives on rural crime and policing. The book provides wide ranging perspectives on the nature of rural crime and the ways that is policing as well as advancing different theoretical ideas to improve its understanding.

**Vanderbeck, Robert "Youth, racism, and place in the Tony Martin affair" *Antipode* 35 (2003): 363-384**

This draws upon a notorious incident in the British countryside to analyse how the media constructed Travellers in stereotypical ways that associated them with anxieties about "dangerous youth", the "underclass", and "social exclusion". As such, the paper demonstrates how fear of crime and 'the other' contributes to exclusion from the countryside.

**Yarwood, Richard. "Crime and policing in the British countryside: Some agendas for contemporary geographical research" *Sociologia Ruralis* 41 (2001): 201-219**

This is one of the first papers to argue that there is a need for the geographical study of crime in rural areas. It suggests more knowledge is needed about the nature and pattern of rural crime; the way criminal threat is blurred with cultural threats and the way the countryside is policed.

**Yarwood, Richard. and Graham Gardner. "Fear of crime, cultural threat and the countryside" *Area* 32 (2000): 403-411**

Based on a study of a village in England, this paper examines how of fear of crime is experienced by its residents. It distinguishes between criminal activities and those, such as trespassing or 'hanging around' village locations, that are culturally threatening.

## **GEOGRAPHIES OF THE POLICE AND POLICING**

Linked to the study of crime is a literature on the ways that it is policed. Preliminary work focused on the way that state forces organised space and time to police different spaces (Fyfe 1991). Steve Herbert's ethnographic study of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) revealed the ways in which policing was guided by a normative ordering of structures and rules (Herbert 1996). More recently, Herbert's work has questioned the often taken-for-granted idea that community should provide foundations for local policing (Herbert 2006). Other geographers have highlighted the significance of other agencies, especially those from the private and voluntary sector, to the way that specific places are policed and how these contribute to differentiated experiences of policing (Yarwood 2007). Much attention has been given to exclusionary forms of policing, especially by private agencies tasked to secure private spaces, and how these contribute to defining and reshaping urban space (see also section on Crime, Power and Exclusion). Other geographers have examined formal and informal forms community policing and questioned the extent to which it is representative of wider society or whether it contributes further to social inequalities.

**Fyfe, Nicholas. "The police, space and society - the geography of policing" *Progress in Human Geography* 15 (1991): 249-267**

This is one of the first papers to review the significance of policing to geography. It outlined the development of modern police forces, their spatial organisation and the impact of their actions of different places. It notes that policing rarely occupies the centre ground of geographical research.

**Fyfe, Nicholas. "Space, time and policing - towards a contextual understanding of police work" *Environment and Planning D-Society & Space* 10 (1992): 469-481**

Drawing on ethnographic data, Fyfe uses Hagerstrand's time geography to evaluate the impacts of capability, coupling, and steering 'constraints' on policing particular spaces. The organisation of police work, the role of the community and the impact of the law are examined on the practice of policing.

**Herbert, Steve. *Policing Space: territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997**

This is a significant book that marked a more critical approach to understanding the geographies of policing. It examines how the normative ordering of structures and rules govern police actions. These included formal structures, such as the law and police bureaucracy, as well personal morality and behaviour of individual officers.

**Herbert, Steve. "Citizens, cops, and power: recognizing the limits of community" Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006**

This research monograph centres on a critique of the idea of community and how it is applied to policing. He argues that communities cannot bear the responsibility that community-policing programmes place on them and that they lack the political power to voice concerns and implement meaningful change.

**Hubbard, Phil. "Community action and the displacement of street prostitution: Evidence from British cities" *Geoforum* 29 (1998): 269-286**

Hubbard's focus is on informal policing carried out by groups of citizens in Birmingham's red-light district. He traces how persistent curb crawling led to the formation of residents' patrols that were initially informal but later enrolled into formal police strategies. Hubbard takes a critical eye on these activities and raises questions about the policing and regulation of sex-working that lay the foundations his future work on these topics.

**Paasche, Till and James Sidaway. "Transecting security and space in Maputo" *Environment and Planning A* 42 (2010): 1555-1576**

This fascinating paper follows various transects through Maputo and, in doing so, traces how various state and private agencies divide and secure space. It provides a rare insight into crime and policing in the majority world.

**Paasche, Till, Richard Yarwood and James Sidaway. "Territorial Tactics: The Socio-spatial Significance of Private Policing Strategies in Cape Town" *Urban Studies* (2013): 1559-1575**

Paasche et al provide insights into the way that territories are created and controlled by private security agencies to exclude marginalized people from spaces of consumption in downtown Cape Town. The fear of crime, and the way it is policed contributes to new forms of urban space.

**Yarwood, Richard "The Geographies of Policing" *Progress in Human Geography* 31 (2007b): 447-466**

This review paper argues for a need to study *policing* rather than just the police. It questions what is meant by policing and whose values it represents. The paper draws attention to the growing significance of the private and voluntary sector and the spaces they police.

## **CRIME AND SURVEILLANCE**

Surveillance is an important feature of situational crime-prevention measures that seek to reduce opportunities for offending through 'eyes on the street', target hardening and environmental management. Authors such as Oscar Newman and Alice Coleman advocated designing the urban environment to improve natural surveillance. Coleman's work was controversial as it implied a link between building design and crime, rather than the social conditions that underpinned a neighbourhood. Other authors, such as Jane Jacobs, advocated closer community co-operation to facilitate what she referred to as natural webs of surveillance formed of people living and working in neighbourhoods. In part these ideas have been formalised by community schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch. New technologies have also contributed to the development of a surveillance culture. Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) is a particular visual form of surveillance that operates in both public and private spaces and was the subject of much investment. Overt forms of surveillance also serve as a disciplinary mechanism, coercing people to conduct their own conduct and police their own behaviour in ways that are deemed appropriate to that space. Other forms of surveillance are more subtle and rely on electronic measures to watch for potential crimes.

**Coleman, Alice. *Utopia on trial: Vision and reality in planned housing*. London: Hilary Shipman, 1985**

This highly controversial yet influential study contended that poorly designed built environments were the biggest contributor to crime and, consequently, crime could be designed out of buildings by improving surveillance. Her work has been criticised for its social ecological approach that failed to consider fully social exclusion and poverty.

**Fyfe, Nicholas and Jonathan Bannister. "City watching: Closed circuit television surveillance in public spaces" *Area* 28 (1996): 37-46**

Written at a time when CCTV was being widely introduced to public space, Fyfe and Banister take stock of this technology and discuss its effectiveness with reference to study in central Glasgow. They discuss resistance to its installation as well as the extent to which it represents a modern panopticon.

**Graham, Stephen. "Spaces of surveillant simulation: new technologies, digital representations, and material geographies" *Environment and Planning D-Society & Space* 16 (1998): 483-504**

This paper charts the use of various technologies that are enrolled in surveillance networks. Attention is given to the way that various electronic surveillance systems, including those aimed at crime control, are providing data and images to produce electronic simulations of city. The paper raises questions about social control and the spatial exclusion of some groups on the basis of electronic information.

**Koskela, Hille. "The gaze without eyes': video-surveillance and the changing nature of urban space" *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (2000): 243-265**

This paper builds on existing work on CCTV and argues that video surveillance has the power to transform space. In considering whether such measures make space safer, the author argues it contributes to the production of urban space through modification of emotional experiences.

**Marakami Wood, David "Risk/fear/surveillance." In *Introducing Human Geographies, third edition*. Edited by P. Cloke, P. Crang and M. Goodwin, 838-851. London: Routledge, 2014**

This is a thought-provoking introductory chapter that aligns fear and risk with emerging forms of surveillance at a range of spatial scales. Crime and terror are discussed along with the social implications for adopting surveillance technologies.

**Middleton, Jennie and Richard Yarwood. "'Christians, out here?' Encountering Street-Pastors in the post-secular spaces of the UK's night-time economy" *Urban Studies* 52 (2015): 501-516**

This paper discusses a new form of surveillance: the patrolling of night-time spaces by Christian volunteers. Although ostensibly concerned with providing welfare to those on a night out, the paper questions whether this is a form of moral policing.

**Newman, Oscar. *Defensible Space; Crime Prevention Through Urban Design*. New York: Macmillan, 1973**

This classic study is based around public housing in New York. It argues for the use of building design to aid the development of 'defensible space', which referred to natural forms of surveillance that would allow residents to look out for themselves and each other.

**Paasche, Till. "Coded police territories: 'detective software' investigates" *Area* 45 (2013), 314-320**

This paper reveals how the police use data on mobile phone usage to identify and isolate groups of protesters that can in turn be detained in public space using 'kettling' tactics.

## **CRIME AND RADICAL GEOGRAPHY**

In 1975 Richard Peet (1975) published a powerful paper in which he argued for the importance of radical perspectives in geography. He used crime to exemplify his case, contesting that it was a surface expression of deeper problems in society and that 'a study which starts and continues and ends at the surface cannot possibly deal with the cause' (p.277). He went on to note that geographers have mainly been concerned with 'lower-class' crime and street-crime rather than white collar crimes including crimes of economic domination, crimes of government or crimes of control. Geographers, he suggests, should focus their attention on the cause of crime, which is political oppression, rather than trying to control it through statistical analysis. At the time, Peet received critical responses to his paper. LeBeau and Leitner (2011) argue that this argument drove spatial crime analysis away from geography and towards other disciplinary fields (see Overview and Mapping Crime Sections). Others, though, suggest that Peet's call has rarely been heeded by crime geographers. Lowman (1986) agrees that its study has largely remained positivist and points towards the use of labelling theory to better understand crime. It is possible to trace a radical tradition in the geography of crime: certainly many of the texts discussed in the 'Crime and Exclusion' section seek to understand how the criminal justice system seeks to criminalise and exclude certain groups of people while, at the same time, supporting powerful elites and the restructuring of neo-liberal capitalism. Others have also focused on crimes of resistance, including civil disobedience, trespass and law-breaking to further political goals. Yet, at the same time, geographers have tended to focus on 'street crimes' rather than crimes of domination and repression. The geography of crime has also tended to focus on minority world with little research being conducted into crime and policing in developing countries. Given recent events in the world economy, there is scope for geographers to analyse financial crimes through using political economic and other radical lens.

**Howell, Philip. "Crime and the city solution: Crime fiction, urban knowledge, and radical geography" *Antipode* 30 (1998): 357-378**

Howell argues that crime fiction has value in providing a radical critique of urban crime. Stories by John Harvey are used to argue that police fiction offers critical, realistic, and reflexive approaches to understanding the city and its problems.

**Herbert, Steve. "The "Battle of Seattle" revisited: Or, seven views of a protest-zoning state" *Political Geography* 26 (2007): 601-619**

Herbert analyses the 1999 protests against the World Trade Organisation and their policing. He considers the introduction of 'no protest zones' and considers the implications for the state of controlling dissent in this way.

**McIlwaine, Cathy. "Geography and development: violence and crime as development issues" *Progress in Human Geography* 23 (1999), 453-463**

This paper critically unpacks what is meant by violence. It outlines how violence has been categorised by geographers and these offer radical and structural perspectives on societal and political inequalities in the global South.

**Mitchell, Don and Lynn Staeheli. "Permitting protest: Parsing the fine geography of dissent in America" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29 (2005): 796-813**

This paper examines the balancing act between allowable dissent and political control that occurs in public protests. It evaluates various bureaucratic measures that are used to shape and control public dissent, concluding that geography is important to understanding how these are mapped out in public space.

**Lowman, John "Conceptual issues in the geography of crime - toward a geography of social-control" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 76 (1986): 81-94**

This paper argues that geographers have separated crime from the control of crime. Using labelling theory he argues that law-breaking is a response to forms of social control. In this way he contends that deviance applies attempts to try and control it.

**Peet, Richard "Geography of crime - political critique" *Professional Geographer* 27 (1975): 277-280**

This paper makes a case for the radical study of crime for geographers to move away from the mapping crime patterns (see introduction to this section).

**Samara, Tony "Policing Development: Urban Renewal as Neo-liberal Security Strategy" *Urban Studies* 47 (2010): 197-214**

Focuses on crime in the townships of Cape Town, this paper argues that crime is framed as a security threat because of the danger it is thought to pose to market-led growth. The paper examines the development of policing aimed at containing this threat and how it affects millions of poor residents, undermining the developmental goals used to justify its expansion.

**Tyner, James and Joshua Inwood, Joshua "Violence as fetish: Geography, Marxism, and dialectics" *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (2014), 771-784**

This paper builds on the radical tradition in geography to argue that violence is socially and politically produced.

## **CRIME, POWER AND EXCLUSION**

'Crime' is a cultural construct and what is defined as criminal shifts according to historical and political contingencies at both local and national scales. As a consequence, the boundary between what is considered 'legitimate' and 'criminal' behaviour in different spaces is often blurred, contested and open to redefinition. Crime and its policing tend to reflect political and social hegemonies. Increasingly crime and policing have been used to exclude groups of people from particular



spaces (Young 1999). Most obviously, Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken window' thesis has been used to promote zero-tolerance policing aimed at excluding 'undesirables' from city centres on the basis of behaviour that is deemed to be criminal, anti-social or simply out of place. Geographers have been highly critical of this work and its assumptions, examining how exclusionary tactics have been used to sanitise urban space and police public areas as if they were private. This has been viewed as a form of revanchism that is designed to retake certain spaces in the city from the poor in the name of neo-liberal investment and gentrification (Smith 2002).

**Atkinson, Rowland. "Domestication by cappuccino or a revenge on urban space? Control and empowerment in the management of public spaces" *Urban Studies* 40 (2003): 1829-1843**

A case study of Central Scotland is used to examine and question 'revanchist' urban management policies. They note that while such policies lead to the displacement rather than resolution of social problems, they also question whether a degree of exclusion is a necessary price for policies which seek to secure public space and maintain a wider quality of life.

**Herbert, Steve. "Contemporary geographies of exclusion I: traversing Skid Road" *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (2008): 659-666**

This is the first of three review pieces published on the geographies of exclusion. In this one, Herbert focuses on the processes that lead to social exclusion and, in particular, how it is regulated and policed, often in ways that further enforce 'othering' and further spatial segregation of those who do not conform to hegemonic visions of space.

**Herbert, Steve and Elizabeth Brown. "Conceptions of space and crime in the punitive neoliberal city" *Antipode* 38 (2006): 755-777**

This paper provides an important critique of the 'broken windows' thesis and situational crime prevention, arguing that they contribute to social and spatial division through an overly-simplistic understanding of urban space. Instead, these approaches are viewed as reflecting the social and political project of neo-liberalism and the inequalities it produces.

**Halfacree, Keith. "Out of place in the country: Travellers and the "rural idyll" " *Antipode* 28 (1996):**

This article provides critical insights into the way that legislation was developed to outlaw a lifestyle, in this case mobile lifestyles in the English countryside. It demonstrates that what is deemed criminal reflects power relations and hegemonic ideals of rural space.

**Mitchell, Don. "The annihilation of space by law: The roots and implications of anti-homeless laws in the United States" *Antipode* 29 (1997): 303-&**

This classic paper examines how changing legislation has led to the criminalization of homelessness in public space. Mitchell demonstrates that these forms of criminalisation have profound impacts on citizenship, the right to be homeless and the rights to access public space.

**Smith, Neil "New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy" *Antipode* 34 (2002): 427-450**

This is a very significant paper that analyses neo-liberal revanchism. It provides an important context to understand many of the exclusionary policing and security policies employed by urban managers.

**Stuart, Forrest. "From 'Rabble Management' to 'Recovery Management': Policing Homelessness in Marginal Urban Space" *Urban Studies* (2013): 1909–1925**

Stuart draws attention to forms of policing that attempt to work with excluded people in order to coerce/encourage them to use rehabilitation programmes and support services. It provides an important counterpoint to studies that have focused on exclusionary forms of policing, reminding us of the breadth of policing methods. Nevertheless it stresses the disciplinary nature of these interventions.

**Wilson, James and George Kelling. "Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety" *Atlantic Quarterly* (1982): 29-38**

An influential and controversial article that supposes physical disorder contributes crime. It led to the development of zero-tolerance policing that targeted what or who is deemed to cause fear, including 'undesirables' that include addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed and strangers.

## **CRIME AND GLOBALISATION**

Geography has mainly examined crime at the local level yet there is growing awareness that some crimes such as people trafficking, smuggling, terrorism, environmental crime and organised crimes are global in their nature and impact. Geographers have perhaps been a little slow to engage with these issues, with criminology contributing more insights into these crimes (Aas 2013). However, an emerging body of literature is starting to examine the nature of these crimes and their geographies. Hall (2013) argues for greater attention to be paid to the spatiality, regulation, flow and organisation of global crimes. Pain (2009) has examined how fear of global crime maps onto local spaces.

**Aas, Katja. *Globalization and Crime*. London: Sage, 2013**

This provides an overview into the scope and scale of globalized and transnational crimes. It draws connections between crimes at local, national and international scales including terrorism, cybercrime and people trafficking. It also studies discourses of crime that centre on the 'deviant immigrant'

**Hall, Tim. "Economic geography and organized crime: A critical review" *Geoforum* 41 (2010): 841-845**

This positional paper that makes connections between economic geography and organised crime, arguing that the latter makes significant but spatially distinct contributions to the economies of many places.

**Hall, Tim. "Geographies of the illicit: Globalization and organized crime" *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (2013): 366-385**

A further positional paper makes a convincing case for studying crime at the global level and uses the example of organised crime to illustrate this. Hall draws attention to the often hidden significance of organised crime and maps out its connections with wider literature on the geographies of crime.

**Pain, Rachel. "Globalized fear? Towards an emotional geopolitics" *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (2009): 466-486**

This paper broadens the scale and scope of research on fear. Pain uses feminist theories to examine how global fears are played out in everyday lives and places. It questions how fear is cast according to global geo-political narratives and how these can be mediated at the local level.

**Pain, Rachel. "Everyday terrorism: Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism" *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (2014): 531-550**

Pain argues that domestic violence is a form of terrorism and, as such, has parallels with global forms of terrorism. Both, she contends, seek to assert political control through fear. The paper expands this argument and in doing so draws attention to the multi-scalar nature of crime.

**Pain, Rachel and Susan Smith. *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2008**

This edited collection examines how globalised fears are manipulated for political purposes. The book includes, but is not limited to, fear of global crimes and their impact on particular people and places. The book's key argument is that fear relates to political, economic and social marginalization at different scales.

**Penna, Sue and Stuart Kirby. "Bridge Over the River Crime: Mobility and the Policing of Organised Crime" *Mobilities* 8 (2013): 487-505**

Penna and Kirkby discuss the policing of globalised crime and argue that there is a disparity between the mobility of organised crime and the mobility of law enforcement. It concludes that institutional structures shape and limit the opportunities to be mobile, which is particularly significant in limiting policing agencies.