

Chapter 3

Urban ‘Disorders’, ‘Problem Places’ and Criminal Justice in Scotland

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Introduction

As Chapter 1 demonstrates, the city has become something of a geographical cliché in narratives of crime and disorder in Scotland. An ever-growing mountain of books, articles, films, TV documentaries, dramas and soap operas (together a vast array of websites), presents urban life as the staple location for tales of criminality, disorder and danger. Typically these are the streets, pubs and public spaces - the ‘problem places’ – of urban Scotland. Here gangs, violence and disorderly behaviour lie in wait round every corner. This is the familiar fare from Rankin or Welsh’s Edinburgh, MacBride’s Aberdeen, Denise Mina or Taggart’s Glasgow, to Chris Longmuir’s debut crime novel *Dead Wood* set against ‘grim Dundee’, as well as the ‘true crime’ genre, insider accounts of street gangs and football hooligans, and biographies of urban Scotland’s most notorious criminals. Dangerous neighbourhoods are also prominently represented by a burgeoning website culture dedicated to condemning or celebrating certain neighbourhoods as pathologically gang-ridden and disorderly. While some non- or semi-urban areas again feature, ‘problem places’ are overwhelmingly pictured

as distinctively urban, typically council or social housing estates, and inner urban areas, such as the East End of Glasgow.

Beyond such narratives, the Scottish city figures prominently in concerns about policing and its effectiveness. Urban conditions also form the often implicit and unacknowledged backdrop for more substantive areas of criminal justice covered by other chapters in the present volume. It is precisely this ‘taken for granted’ aspect of the city in routine assumptions about a supposedly criminogenic urban (dis)order that this chapter seeks to dispel through a closer understanding of the relationship between the Scottish city and criminal justice. The hidden side of a criminogenic urban ecology is the relative absence of narratives of ‘rural crime and disorder’ (see Walters, Chapter 11). A spatial binary operates to reinforce the idea of urban criminality and disorder in an implicit opposition to rural lawfulness and tranquillity. Crime seems to inhere in the very ecology of ‘the urban’ in contrast to rural areas, as if produced by something lurking deep in the nature of the dense physical habitat and concentrated populations. A similarly ideological approach to urban ecology has underscored decades of town planning in Scotland. Planners anticipated that crime, deviance and delinquency of Scotland’s old inner city slums could be controlled through ‘thinning out’ and dispersing urban populations through urban clearances and the building of peripheral sub-urban housing schemes. That such planning policies displaced rather than resolved social phenomena like gang culture, violence, vandalism and substance misuse quickly became apparent. This rather mixed planning legacy in Scotland is a cause for pause in the constant chase after environmental remedies for social problems resulting from economic upheaval and social dislocation.

An ecology of urban delinquency also shifts the scale of analysis away from crimes of the powerful, financial crimes, tax evasion, high level corruption, criminal warfare, and corporate crime (see Croall and Ross, Chapter 10). The relationship between crime or anti-social behaviour and the city takes on a rather different hue if the focus is on the role of ‘the City’, rather than ‘the city’, as evident in the anti-social consequences of financial scandals and economic crisis. In this context disadvantaged neighbourhoods are further impoverished by the diffuse impacts of tax evasion, corruption and through government support for those who are already privileged (Croall, 2009). Urban elites are able to shape the discourse of community safety in city regeneration strategies through the prism of commercial priorities (Coleman, 2004; Coleman, et al, 2005). Also neatly glossed over is the relationship between leisure and consumer-driven city centre regeneration, especially the spatial concentration of pubs and clubs servicing the nightlife economy, and alcohol-related social problems in public spaces (Crawford and Flint, 2009; Talbot, 2007). Alcohol retail in Glasgow correlates weakly with areas of deprivation, suggesting societal-wide use (and misuse) of alcohol consumption (Ellaway, et al, 2010). An alcohol-crime paradox emerges here: as one part of urban governance promotes consumer-led economic regeneration another part manages its socially destructive consequences. For example, Dundee City Council’s Antisocial Behaviour Team is collaborating with NHS Tayside to protect health workers in the Accident and Emergency department at Ninewells Hospital in Dundee from being abused, assaulted or disrupted by alcohol-fuelled patients and visitors, some of whom have been drinking heavily elsewhere in the city (Kerr, 2009).

Because of the relative neglect of socio-spatial dynamics criminology in Scotland often seems ‘space-less’. Its almost constant urban referent to the Central Belt appears inexplicable. In this chapter we attempt to redress this omission by re-placing Scotland’s cities in ideological narratives of crime and disorder, in policy responses, and in the governance of crime more generally. Almost two out of three people in Scotland live in an ‘urban’ environment, around 68%, with another 12% in small towns (Scottish Government, 2003). We should not be surprised, then, that crime is strongly correlated with where most people live. However, ideological representations of urban disorder, crime and violence do not apply uniformly across urban Scotland. Particular places are singled out as symbolic locales of disorder. Historically, Glasgow has been labelled as particularly dangerous and brutal, notwithstanding three decades of public relations exercises to lose its ‘no mean city’ image. At spatial scales lower than the Glasgow conurbation, a range of smaller, ex-industrial towns also figure prominently in popular and media narratives of crime and disorder. On 13 September 2009, for example, a full page article ‘Crime Scene’ in *The Sunday Times* (Scotland) pinpointed the ‘hot spots’ of crime in Scotland between April 2007 and March 2009 (Macaskill and Belgutay, 2009). As might be expected, Scotland’s larger cities figure prominently, as do ex-manufacturing towns such as Paisley, Kilmarnock and Hamilton and the main towns of Inverclyde (see Chapter on the latter). However, smaller towns in remote areas also feature, including Dumfries, Elgin, Stranraer and Peterhead. Similarly, when BBC’s Panorama website invited viewers to identify ‘no go’ areas across Britain by answering the fully loaded question: ‘*Do you feel terrorised by yobs, abandoned by the authorities and trapped in your home?*’ (BBC, 2006), the areas identified as ‘no go’ zones included small Scottish towns like

Aberfeldy, Inverkeithing, Largs, Linlithgow and Musselburgh, as well as in smaller towns and villages elsewhere across Scotland.

In terms of recorded data, the geography of crime and victimisation mirrors the geography of multiple deprivation. Neighbourhoods suffering from economic disadvantage also suffer from disproportionate levels of crime (Scottish Government, 2009). They also produce the greater part of Scotland's prison population, one of the highest in Europe with 230 male prisoners for every 100,000 men in the population. A 'near absolute correlation' exists between the rate of imprisonment and urban deprivation (Houchin, 2005). Every year, around one in nine 23 year old men from Scotland's most deprived communities will spend time in jail. A grotesquely disproportionate rate of imprisonment is simply one of the life-cycle risks for men living in deprived areas, alongside poverty, unemployment, low educational attainment, and reduced life expectancy. While many prisoners come from impoverished areas across Scotland, Glasgow has the most pronounced relationship between deprivation and imprisonment. Half of all Scottish prisoners in 2003 had home addresses in Glasgow, typically concentrated in the most deprived postcodes (see Table 1). This relationship between imprisonment and housing slackens off in cities like Aberdeen. While deprivation remains spatially concentrated in Aberdeen it affects a smaller proportion of the population, hence fewer prisoners are from the most deprived areas. The correlation in Edinburgh and Dundee stands somewhere between that of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Table 1: Urban deprivation and prisoners

Where prisoners are from	% of prisoners from deprived areas
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Glasgow	59
West Dumbartonshire	44
Renfrewshire	38
Edinburgh	34
Dundee	32
Inverclyde	30
Aberdeen	20

Adapted from Houchin, 2005: 37.

Given the multiple connections between crime and the city, this chapter is necessarily restricted to a few key aspects. First, we situate more recent concerns within a much longer ideological tradition of seeing the urban and criminality as virtually synonymous. This has been given a fresh impetus with the perceived role of neoliberal urban governance in economic recovery and city regeneration strategies. Alongside processes of gentrification and the growing privatisation of urban space, insistent claims are made that urban disorders have to be tackled to make Scotland a safer place, especially to attract highly mobile inward investment. There is a strong emphasis in this chapter, therefore, on the linkages between crime and space/place in neoliberal urban governance. Second, these themes are illuminated by the semi-official policing of public spaces by ‘city centre representatives’ to highlight some of the implicit, but sometimes explicit, strategies for securing potentially ‘problem places’ by containing suspect subjects. Third, we then examine media and policy representations of the ‘problem council scheme’ (largely located though not everywhere in semi-urban/urban areas), populated by disorderly and unruly people,

above all, the Scottish folk devil figure of ‘the ned’, to which we return later in the chapter. This ideological mobilisation, we argue, is merely the obverse side of neoliberal forms of gentrification and controlled consumption. In sum, the chapter points towards a wider neoliberal punitivism in Scotland signified by the deeply entangled nature of criminal justice, welfare reform and urban policy.

3.1 An Ecology of Urban ‘Disorder’?

The criminological interest in the relationship between crime and the city is hardly new (see Macek, 2006; Mooney and Talbot, 2010; Pile, Brook and Mooney, 1999). In the late nineteenth century, successive attempts were made to relate patterns of crime to a range of typical social indicators, from poverty through to slum housing and degraded physical environment. The idea that criminally and politically dangerous lower classes festered in the bowels of the nineteenth century city was a particular source of anxiety for the Victorian middle and upper classes in Scotland. A long line of social scientists have regarded the Scottish city as a social, political and moral problem of the first order. Such concerns stretch back to Frederick Engels, who reported the findings of Poor Law research in the 1840s on the foetid state of working class districts in Glasgow and Edinburgh. These represented some of the very worst slums in urban Europe, making it impossible to maintain ‘health, morals and common decency’ according to an 1842 Parliamentary Report. Sixty years later, Patrick Geddes tried to redress urban squalor and its effect on morality in Scotland by the use of civic surveys and practical conservation projects in Edinburgh’s old town. In the 1920s and 1930s, Geddes’s urban ecology was given a scientific gloss by the Chicago School of Sociology, which was to profoundly influence twentieth century town planning movements. In various ways, they established a spatial pattern to urban

delinquency, arguing that particular areas of the city – what Burgess (1967) called ‘zones in transition’ – were so fast changing and transient, that crime and deviancy could take hold in such fertile soil and become dominant social norms.

While we can identify important shifts in the assumed relationship between crime and the city, there are also important continuities in the identification of particular places, populations and behaviours as contributing to a generalised feeling of urban disorder. Since the mid-1990s the punitive regulation of urban space in the UK has been made a major policy priority (see Imrie and Raco, 2003).

The interlinking of ‘crime’ and the ‘city’ is not a new concern, yet a renewed emphasis on the connections between these fields of public administration and governance has developed to the point where commonsense understandings of how to deal with the renewal of deprived areas, the security of iconic spaces, and broader city economies have become almost synonymous with an agenda of law and order, anti-social behaviour, and incivility. (Atkinson and Helms, 2007: 2)

These concerns often revolve around ideas of community safety, involving official efforts to reverse a perceived decline in urban civility (Wilson, 2007), promote respect and where required, impose order. The enemy of community safety became known under the catch-all term ‘anti-social behaviour’ (ASB). Tackling ASB was elevated to the summit of policy-making across the UK, not only criminal justice but also urban policy, housing policies and related areas of social welfare policy. Here again the city has a special role to play as the principal locale which nurtures and induces ASB.

Addressing fears of crime and ASB is now regarded as essential to remake the city by securing new developments in housing, retail and leisure. Relatedly, middle class colonisation of former working class areas has become established feature of the urban landscape in Scotland. Gentrification of an area through mixed tenancy social engineering is seen by local elites as an effective way to regulate and civilise populations defined as particularly problematic (Uitermark et al, 2007). In this sense, then, urban policy not only gentrifies space, but also attempts to gentrify 'problem' subjects. Crime is to be 'designed out' and 'undesirables' forced out or tightly regulated in public spaces like shopping centres and pedestrianised streets. In this way, inward investment and consumers may be enticed to occupy ordered spaces as preferred subjects. Public space becomes de facto privatised space for city retail, leisure and business centres, a process further enabled by new techniques of surveillance, including the proliferation of CCTV, new forms of policing and a wider securitisation of urban spaces (see Minton, 2009).

While the notion of urban 'disorder' is itself highly ambiguous and contested (see Cochrane, 2007; Mooney, 1999), definitions of urban 'disorder' have moved from physical signs of neglect to include a variety of 'problem populations' (Mooney, 2008). Other discourses, for example around ASB, are replete with ecological narratives that equate physical decay with 'problem' behaviour. But the limits to physical solutions to endemic urban alienation was illustrated graphically by the demolition of the award-winning Avonpark Street development in Springburn, Glasgow due to destructive behaviour of local youth (Cumming, 1999: 14). This naturalisation of the urban poor situates them as inherently suspect on an extensive scale. Degraded urban ecology reinforces the criminalisation of welfare recipients. An

austere and invasive regulation of unemployment and sickness/disability-related benefits deepens neoliberal policy practices, reinforces social inequalities, and entrenches disciplinary mechanisms. Social welfare and criminal justice are increasingly mixed up together in a stale brew of mutually reinforcing practices that construct the urban poor as suspect subjects. Suspect populations are required to actively demonstrate compliance with a new array of responsibilities. A wide range of training and welfare-to-work disciplines take on precisely those kind of tasks deemed essential to creating 'greener, safer, cleaner' urban spaces: notably, environmental maintenance, cleansing, recycling and wardening initiatives.

A further instance of the regulation of the urban suspect subject is in the governance of social housing. Social housing management has become an instrument for tackling ASB, what has been termed 'policing through social housing' (see Flint and Pawson, 2009). Since the early 2000s, much of Scotland's council housing has been transferred to a range of other 'social landlords' (Daly et al, 2005; Kintrea, 2006). There is increasing concern with ASB and other problematic behaviours in a revival of the loaded terminology popular in the 1960s and 1970s that spoke of problem tenants, families and communities (Damer, 1989; Flint, 2006a). The residualisation of council housing during much of the past three decades has led to the spatial concentration of some of the most disadvantaged and economically marginalised sections of Scotland's population.

As city spaces are restructured to enable neoliberal forms of production and consumption in the service of competitive capital accumulation, punitivism pervades contemporary urbanism. Growing segmentation, fragmentation, polarisation and

heightened inequalities increase fears about ‘other’ people and ‘other’ places regarded as a threat to urban prosperity (Young, 2007). ‘Pro-social’ behaviour, modelled after the productive consuming subject, therefore, needs to be enforced and reinforced against a seemingly constant threat of anti-social behaviour from suspect subjects.

3.2 Welfare Reform Meets Policing in the Scottish City

In a number of Scottish cities, tackling ASB is increasingly part of ‘the extended policing family’ (Crawford, 2003, see also Fyfe, Chapter 7 this volume). A wide range of agencies regulate city centres and other spaces of consumption (see Hayward, 2004; Minton, 2009). Security-conscious street and neighbourhood wardens, private security guards, city centre and shopping centre ‘representatives’ are supported by surveillance technologies like CCTV. Different kinds of suspect subjects are targeted: young people dressed in ‘hoodies’, ‘aggressive beggars’, homeless people, sex workers, drug takers and alcoholics. Efforts to promote city centres as safe places for consumers and passers-by are constantly placed in danger by ‘undesirables’. This extends to youth cults such as Goths, whose highly visible presence in city centres has come to be regarded as a particular ‘nuisance’. As city centres become increasingly ‘managed’ by a variety of public and private agencies, tackling retail crime and securing the ‘night time economy’, ‘problem’ groups are monitored and moved. Under Orwellian labels such as ‘Shopwatch’, ‘Pubwatch’, or ‘CarPark Watch’ everyone is invited to ‘watch’ for suspect subjects (Cummings, 1997).

In a general context of employment insecurity and work intensification, promoting city centres as private islands of economic growth and vitality is a potent symbol of

urban regeneration. Glasgow markets itself as the UK's second largest shopping 'destination', an older industrial city that has undergone profound post-industrial change, re-branded as a modernised centre of consumption and leisure. Public safety in highly visible spaces of the city centre is therefore an important tool in the fragile business of place marketing. Glasgow pioneered the presence of highly visible – thanks to their bright red uniforms - 'city centre representatives' (CCRs). Other Scottish cities and not a few towns have followed suit with similar CCR schemes. Of course such wardens play a role in helping those who become ill, disoriented or are just plain 'lost', they deal with litter and other issues that surface on busy streets – so we should not ignore their 'welfare' role. However, in work by one of us (see Helms, 2007), it is evident that wardens act as informal street managers to enforce 'civilised behaviours'. They are supported by local by-laws and other criminal justice legislation, ranging from the controls on drinking alcohol in unregulated public spaces, that is outside city centre street cafes, to moving on vagrants and illegal vendors, and dispersing groups of young people.

Helms further notes that such schemes are often part of an intermediate labour market training programme. Unskilled, long-term unemployed are helped into paid employment through job opportunities and training offered by wardens' programmes alongside other low paid work in the security industries as car park attendants, bouncers, and security guards. Street level security helps support other social policy goals like welfare to work and labour market activation strategies. A zero tolerance approach to suspect subjects allows some to escape from its gaze to become its street-level enforcer.

3.3 'Broken' Places and 'Problem Populations' in the Scottish City

Large scale post-industrial restructuring and the impact of changes to the built environment have led to competing claims about the nature of such shifts. In Dundee, Glasgow, Greenock and elsewhere, such changes are heralded by local planners and politicians to proclaim the 'success' of urban renewal. We do not wish to get involved in the very long and ongoing debate around the validity of such claims. The important point here is a wider neo-liberalisation of the urban landscape. By this we mean that the city is secured for entrepreneurial activities, leisure, retail and other forms of consumption, and also supplies a stream of well-adapted labour power. Punitive workfare schemes pave the way for low paid, flexible employment. Degraded work conditions are closely related to processes of territorial stigmatisation in what Löic Wacquant's has termed 'advanced marginality' (Wacquant, 2008, 2009). The advanced marginality of particular locales and populations is constructed as impeding economic growth and prosperity. Such marginalised localities are found across urban Scotland in narratives that speak only of disorder, delinquency, deprivation and decline (see Allen, 2008; Musterd, 2007; Wacquant, 2008).

Of course, people in marginalised localities actually experience severe personal, economic and social hardships. It is, however, but a short step from understanding problems *in* an area to presenting them as problems *of* an area or its population. Throughout Scotland, areas of multiple deprivation are firmly in the sights of an increasingly punitive welfarism. The overwhelming emphasis of the latest welfare reforms is on increasing conditionality and on the responsibilities of individuals to take-up any work offered (DWP, 2008a; 2008b). With a disproportionate incidence of unemployment and sickness benefit, Glasgow has been selected as one of five UK

cities for a three year pilot plan starting in March 2011 to force those on sickness benefits into work (Peev, 2008).

'Shettleston Man' and the 'Broken Society' of Glasgow East!

Advanced marginality is reiteratively asserted as somehow inhering in the suspect subjects themselves. This trope resurfaced with particular venom in hyperbolic representations of poverty during the UK media frenzy over the Glasgow East by-election in July 2008 (Mooney, 2009). Glasgow East was portrayed by the national media as symptomatic of a 'broken society' and served as a convenient backdrop for UK-wide narratives about poverty and welfare reform. In no small part this was prompted by the publication of the *'Breakthrough Glasgow'* report by Conservative Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) policy unit in 2008. In this report Glasgow East is where a 'dependency culture' has spawned a wide range of social problems, including disorder, family and community dysfunction.

You only need to look at the social housing system that successive governments have pursued to realise why, on so many of these estates, lone parenting, worklessness, failed education and addiction are an acceptable way of life. Over the years we have put all the most broken families, with myriad problems, on the same estates. Too few of the children ever see a good role model: for the dysfunctional family life is the norm.

(Smith, 2008a; see also Smith, 2008b; Centre for Social Justice, 2007, p. 21; 2008, p. 7)

The key message here is that state welfare is the familiar right-wing refrain that state welfare is *the* problem because it creates ‘perverse incentives’ to languish in welfare dependency rather than pursue individual autonomy. Ill-health, unemployment and poverty are conceived as failures of individual responsibility. ‘Worklessness’ and welfare ‘dependency’ are pinpointed as *the* principal reasons for the multitude of social problems being experienced by the population of Glasgow East (Smith, 2008a).

Simon Heffer (2008b) in the *Daily Telegraph* similarly comments that, ‘In Glasgow, the weapon of mass destruction has been welfarism’. He describes Glasgow East as a ‘hell-hole’, serviced by ‘epic amounts of public money’. Elsewhere the *Times* headlined an article ‘Glasgow’s Guantanamo’:

...Shettleston, Barlanark, Garthamlock, Easterhouse, Parkhead...communities that figure with monotonous regularity both on the charge sheet at Glasgow Sheriff Court and at the top of the lists of the most socially deprived wards in Britain. They might as well be called Guantanamo. For many thousands of welfare prisoners on sink estates, marooned by bad housing, violence, addiction, unemployment, ill health and shattered relationships, there is little chance of escape.

(Reid, 2008)

A new problematic welfare subject was identified, *Shettleston Man*, the personification of the urban deprivation-crime nexus. With the discovery of Shettleston Man, the discredited ‘underclass’ narrative took on a renewed salience to once again pathologise structural deprivation as amoral ‘self-exclusion’. Inferior

social housing in Glasgow East became a synonym for individual failure (see Johnstone and Mooney, 2007; Watt, 2008). Stigmatised as ‘welfare ghettos’ (Nelson, 2009) or ‘a ghetto ringed by some of the saddest statistics in Britain’ (Macintyre, 2008), Glasgow East is overwhelmingly constructed as a homogenised site of misery, apathy and despair, a place redolent of the dangers of welfare ‘failure’, where the ‘meta-humiliation’ of poverty is physically inscribed (Young, 2007: 76-77).

3.4 Council Schemes as Scotland’s internal-exotic other

Historically Glasgow has played the part of UK ‘problem city’, rivalled only perhaps in recent decades by Liverpool. Constituencies like Glasgow East epitomize an unreconstructed Glasgow; a national internal-exotic that needs to be forced to embrace successful urban regeneration and economic prosperity for Scotland more generally. Large post-war housing schemes are envisaged as both a problematic form of housing tenure and a breeding ground of social problems (see Card, 2006; Flint, 2006; Flint and Pawson, 2009; Hanley, 2007; Johnstone and Mooney, 2007). Council housing had a long history of negative associations. It became a residualised form of tenure of last resort due to the combined effects of right to buy policies, credit excess and an over-inflated property bubble. Urban renaissance narratives see in social housing the survival of an archaic, maladjusted internal-exotic ‘other’ in Scottish society today.

Council and social housing cater for the most vulnerable social groups, often defined in some way as ‘problematic’, characterised by difficult behaviours, assorted forms of social disorganisation and, of course, ‘worklessness’. Recently, sweeping claims about social housing accompanied well publicised episodes such as the murder of

Baby P in a council flat in London in 2007 and the Shannon Matthews kidnapping in 2008 (see also Chapter 2). In Dundee the death of the 23-month baby Brandon Muir in 2008 led to severe criticism of the city's child protection services amidst media preoccupations with drug addiction, single parenting, and social housing. More routinely, reports of families or neighbours 'from hell' and ASB are the staple of many national and local media reporting. As Scott and Parkey (1998) observe, ASB is principally underscored as a social housing issue. However, there is no evidence that social housing functions as a one-way causal mechanism in the production of ASB.

Together with other forms of intervention, social housing, long a tightly regulated space, is becoming the strategic nub of ASB policies (Cummings, 1999). Under New Labour social housing providers and even their tenants are increasingly expected to manage ASBs. As Flint and Pawson (2009: 430) note, 'social rented housing has always been a key vehicle for the imagining and delivery of government rationales'. Social landlords in Scotland now play a greater role in regulating urban spaces, with a range of powers to obtain and use ASBOs and other means at their disposal to discipline troublesome tenants. In the 1990s Glasgow's Good Neighbour Charter led to legal writs being issued to 'families from hell' who didn't take turns to clean the close stairs (Cummings, 1999). Many social landlords are pro-active in design of urban spaces, using CCTV and other forms of surveillance to ensure and enforce community safety. However, the activities of social landlords are not the only forms of regulation in deprived housing schemes.

As further action against ASB following a visit to Dundee Family Intervention Project (FIP), Prime Minister Gordon Brown in October 2009 promised to introduce FIPs

across the UK to retrain 50,000 ‘chaotic families’ at behaviour training centres: ‘Family Intervention projects work’, he claimed. ‘They change lives, they make our communities safer and they crack down on those who’re going off the rails’ (see Gentleman, 2009). This followed a speech at the 2009 Labour Party Conference where he drew a distinction between the ‘hard working’ majority and others:

The decent hard working majority feel the odds are stacked in favour of a minority, who will talk about their rights, but never accept their responsibilities ... I stand with the people who are sick and tired of others playing by different rules or no rules at all. Most mums and dads do a great job – but there are those who let their kids run riot and I'm not prepared to accept it as simply part of life. Because there is also a way of intervening earlier to stop anti-social behaviour, slash welfare dependency and cut crime. Family intervention projects are a tough love, no nonsense approach with help for those who want to change and proper penalties for those who don't or won't.

Devised in 1996 by Dundee City Council’s Social Work and Housing departments and NCH Action for Children, FIP originally represented a multi-agency support programme for vulnerable families alongside a concern to address dysfunctional and problem behavior. Unlike the Dundee model, however, wider use of FIPs in the national roll-out forefronts the use of sanctions, regulation and surveillance such as parenting orders, ASBOs or tenancy repossession (Garrett, 2007; Nixon, 2007).

Material dilapidation and employment decline has led to the socio-spatial pathologisation of supposedly distinctive housing scheme cultures around criminality, transgression and welfare dependency (see Cook, 2006: 43-46; Haylett, 2003: 61-3). Now, after decades of neglect, 'remaking' social housing is a key focus for Scottish government intervention, from housing stock transfer to non local authority housing landlords, community regeneration, community safety initiatives, and local economic development schemes. Importantly, however, remaking council schemes is also about remaking council scheme subjects, above all, through combating ASB, crime and 'dependency cultures'.

The place of 'Neds' in the scheme of things

Working class youth are seen as virtually indistinguishable from 'problem places' in Scottish cities. As such the 'problem youth/problem places' couplet resonates with many of the key organising principles of the New Urbanism, with its focus on regulated spaces of economic growth, consumption and leisure. In the context of urban Scotland, disorderly youth are epitomised by 'ned culture' (see also Chapter 4 by McAra and McVie). The figure of 'the ned' has been around a long time in Scottish popular culture, policy making and policing. In recent decades the figure of 'the ned' has been placed at the epicentre of ASB in Scotland, as well as a contributing to a mini-publishing industry of books and websites devoted to 'neds', 'nedworld' and youth gangs.

Concern about neds is almost synonymous with recurring disquiet about 'masculinity out of control', gangs and 'knife culture' in Scotland's towns and cities. In January 2008, for example, the Channel 4's *Dispatches* documentary *Why Kids Kill* compared

public fears over youth gangs in London to Glasgow, a city with a long history of territorially-based youth gangs. In 2006 it was claimed that there were 170 teenage gangs in Glasgow, the same number as in London, a city six times the size (Kelbie, 2006). Ned subcultures are discursively constructed as inherently anti-social and a threat to new urban spaces of consumption and leisure. Symbolic of council scheme culture – the presumed location of ‘ned behaviour/culture’ - neds and social housing excite and disgust in equal measure as the exotic other to Scotland’s new urban consumerism.

At the second Scottish Parliament Elections in May 2003, the Labour Party signalled its desire to combat crime and ‘disorder’ in urban Scotland. In signing the subsequent Partnership Agreement, the government coalition partners, Scottish New Labour and the Scottish Liberal Democrats, wanted to be seen to be responding to ‘the problem of crime’, especially ‘anti-social behaviour’ among urban and semi-urban youth. As the Communities Minister Margaret Curran put it:

We’ve been shaken by the scale of what we’ve seen in our own constituencies. I didn’t think it was as severe and persistent as it is. We’ve changed the debate into saying that this is an issue, it’s happening in certain communities and we’ve ignored it for 20 to 30 years.

(Margaret Curran, quoted in Fraser, 2004)

Such sentiments herald a much tougher approach to problematic urban youth. In 1993 Operation Blade involved a nightclub curfew in Glasgow city centre and the stop and search of thousands of young people. 2003 Although a failure, and opposed by the

city licensing board and disco operators association, it paved the way for CityWatch, now with support from city centre business (Cummings, 1997). Pilot Fast Track hearings for youth offenders and a Pilot Youth Court scheme was launched at Hamilton and Airdrie Sheriff Courts (Piacentini and Walters, 2006). In 2004 the AntiSocial Behaviour etc (Scotland) Act included the extension of ASBOs to include 12-16 year olds, police powers to disperse groups, the provision of electronic tagging to under 16s, Community Reparation Orders (for those aged 12+) and Parental Orders. Arguably the ASB Scotland Act is the ‘flagship’ policy of the Scottish Executive’s second term. Promising ‘safer communities and safer streets’ then First Minister Jack McConnell talked of the need to ‘*stop the rot*’, of ‘*gangs of youth running riot*’, of ‘*neighbours from hell*’ (Source: www.scottishlabour.org.uk/manifestolaunch, accessed May 10, 2006). Attacking critics of the 2004 ASB Act and the Executive’s general approach to Criminal and Youth Justice, McConnell commented that:

I remember the arguments that said that poverty, deprivation and unemployment caused crime. But today, in a Scotland of low unemployment and even lower youth unemployment, in a country where significant steps have been taken to reduce poverty and increase opportunity, I am increasingly convinced that the person who offends, and then offends repeatedly, chooses to do so.

(McConnell, 2003)

In a speech in 2006 Minister for Justice Cathy Jamieson reinforced this attack on ‘woolly liberal intellectuals’:

We need to challenge anyone who tells us that antisocial behaviour is not a big concern in communities. And to those who still don't believe we need to go further, or want to only continue a woolly liberal intellectual debate on this, let me start with a very message. Look through the eyes of the people who see the graffiti and vandalism on their streets and in their closes.

(Jamieson, 2006)

Amidst the political rhetoric about '*plagues of group disorder*', to quote Minister Curran in *The Scotsman* (June 18, 2004), we can clearly identify links with Wilson and Kelling's 'broken windows' thesis (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). In this argument controlling crime and tackling antisocial behaviour are seen as pivotal elements in area regeneration strategies and 'social inclusion' policies – policies which are overwhelmingly constructed around paid employment. For both the SNP-led Scottish Government now, as for Wilson and Kelling in the USA, low level 'disorder', typified by urban youth crime and disorder, inevitably leads to more serious crimes and to wider community breakdown and decay.

While not exclusively an 'urban phenomenon', dominant representation of ned subcultures calls upon images of a disorderedly urban landscape. Ned culture is associated with the practices of disaffected and alienated working class youth in 'the schemes'. Indeed, in Dundee dispossessed youth are fashioned as 'schemies'. This imaging of ned culture feeds the symbolic, cultural and policy construction of council schemes as criminogenic environments, inscribed with worklessness, confidence and aspirational deficits, and other difficult socio-behavioural traits. This pathologisation

of dispossessed youth is only the sharpest expression of urban cultures of dependency. It assumes a moralising view of 'normality' in which suspect subjects have no place and exist only as an 'abnormal' problem to be controlled or 'fixed'. In this regard new culture is made to bear the trauma (and fascination) of middle class revanchism in the new entrepreneurial, professional and creative classes in 'renaissance cities' such as Glasgow and Dundee.

3.5 Conclusion:

In this chapter we highlighted some of the overlapping ways in which criminal control, urban and welfare policies combine to promote punitive urban renewal. These are further entwined with narratives that portray certain practices, places and groups as 'other' to the story of successful urban prosperity and modernisation. In turn, this is linked with wider processes of economic restructuring and welfare reform. Under a harsher welfare regime, a willingness to blame and to punish Scotland's dispossessed is explicit. We have argued that this is over-determined by a context of class polarisation in neoliberal cities across Scotland.

Here the regulation and containment of 'problematic' lifestyles and people are made central to a range of spatial policies, from housing management through to urban renewal programmes. Under such regulation, discipline and geography come to be interlinked. The impoverished working class is counterposed to an otherwise modern and prosperous Scottish city as suspect subjects. Ideologies of irresponsibility, dysfunctionality and worklessness depict the poor as culturally impoverished, aspirationally deficient, and individually defective: a pathological, amoral urbanism in contrast to the 'normal', moral urbanism of regulated consumption and production.

These manifestations of urban pathology are only extreme versions of a supposedly generalised crisis of confidence in Scotland (see Craig, 2003).

'Risky' working class lifestyles are frequently identified not only with particular people but also through criminogenic thinking about particular places (Hancock, 2007). Long a fixation of urban governance, a degraded urban ecology instructs criminal justice and policing in the contemporary Scottish city. This is thoroughly imbued with a moral geography of stigmatisation produced through elite ambitions to remoralise and reorder populations and places. Key here is to fix and identify those internal others in the city who are *the problem*, entrenching the binary division between 'us' and 'them'. This othering of suspect subjects, their symbolic misrecognition, is the axis upon which the regulation of urban space turns in Scotland today.

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