

# Policing, Gentrification and Securitisation: The Pendleton Riot Deconstructed

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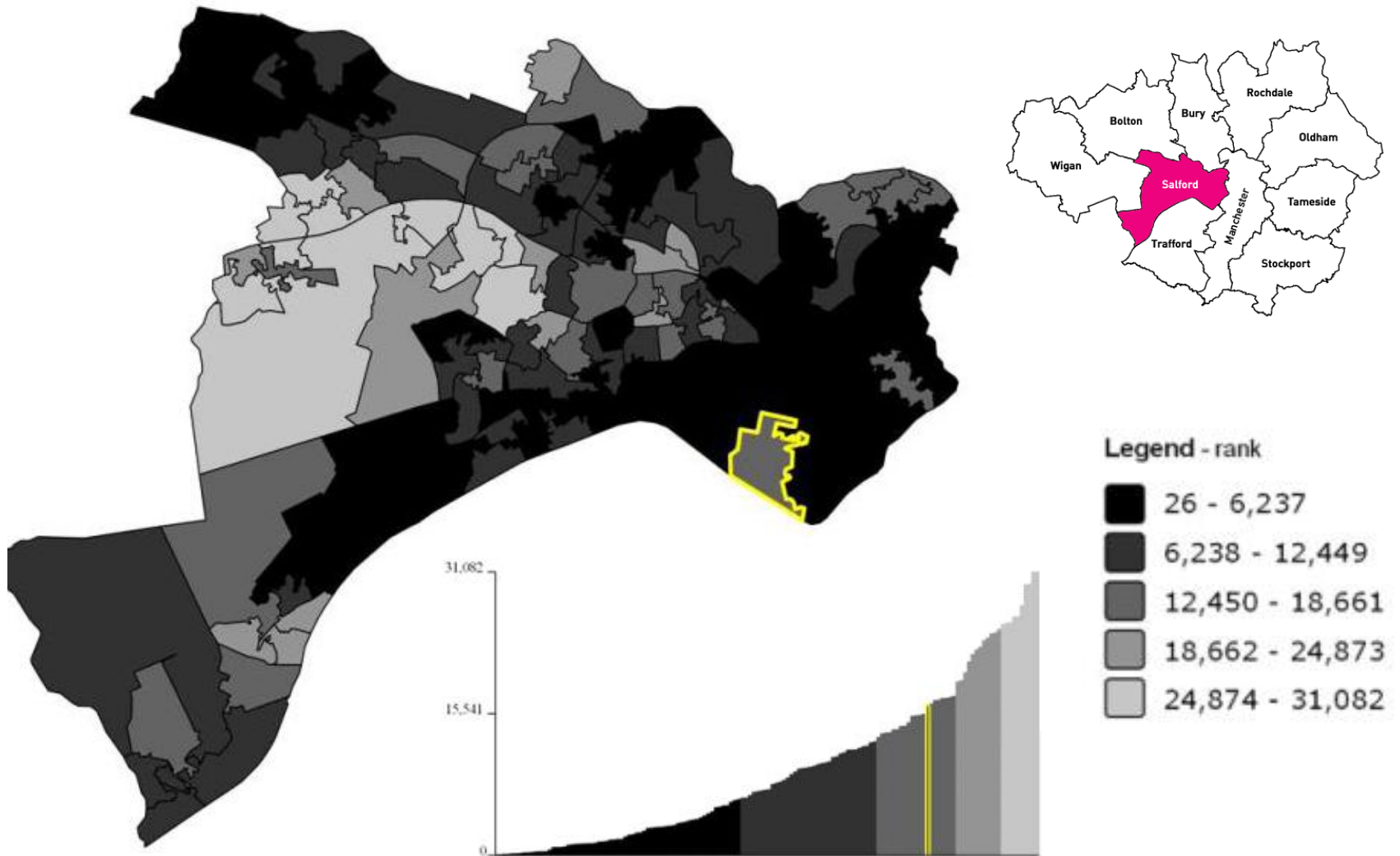
# Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> August 2011

- 2pm – Shops close at Salford Precinct amidst social-media reports that a riot was going to occur within the city
- 2.30pm – Police pursue group of young males into Brydon Close, more youths begin arriving in the area
- 4pm – Police reinforcements arrive and come under sustained attack from a group of 500-1000 mostly male youths
- 7pm – Shops around the Precinct are looted

# Salford in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: From Classic Slum to Post-Industrial City

- **Temporary stability**/the creation of the welfare state
- **Suburbanisation** and slum clearance
- **De-industrialisation**/collapse of employment
- **Residualisation** – higher incomer households hived off
- **Descent into ‘high crime’ neighbourhoods** (see Walklate and Evans, 1999)
- **Response to the ‘urban crisis’**: state-led regeneration by capital and the entrepreneurial city (Henderson et al, 2007)

# Fragmented Salford today



# Processes of Gentrification (1): displacement and broken promises

- The scale of destruction (round after round) – the Haussmann solution (Engels, 1887)
- The promise of jobs (Christophers, 2008; Henderson et al 2007)
- The promise of housing (Kingston 2007, 2012a):
  - *Kev*: See them new houses? Look at these estates now, round [here], there all fucking top houses, but try and get me one!
  - *Luke*: Yeah, check the houses what were living in, do you understand what I'm saying? [...] Look how clean their areas are compared to ours! [...] (*late 20s and late teens respectively, central Salford*)



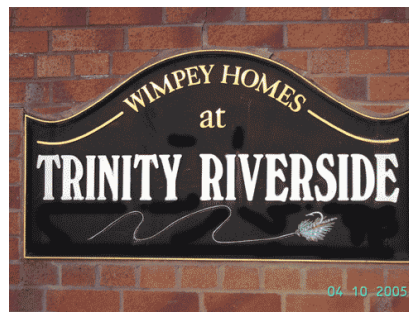
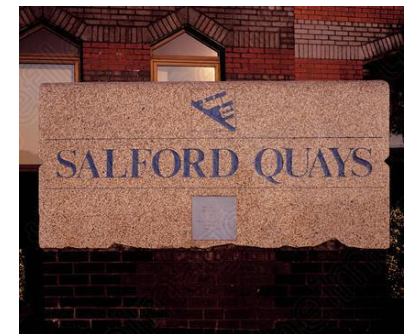
Ordsall Redevelopment Area, 1960s



Middlewood Locks Development Site, 2000s

# Processes of Gentrification (2): 'new' geographies and dislocation

- *Steve*: Nobody knows where they are! Developers suddenly come in and want an upmarket name. But it's funny, so nobody quite knows where they are at all, some people who lived there all their lives, they don't know where they live!  
(Unemployed, mid-50s)  
(see also Allen, 2008)



# Processes of Gentrification (3): Distance in social and physical space

- **Working class habitus, dislocation, antagonistic masculinity (physical capital), no 'grassing' (Evans et al, 1996):**

B: What do you think of the area as a place to live?

*Luke*: As normal as anywhere else really, just shit, nothing for us to do.

*(Early 20s, born in central Salford)*

B: What looks bad around *Oldsville*?

*Amelia*: Most places I think, everywhere's shit! [laughs] Honestly! It is, everywhere looks dull.

*(Mid-20s, part-time cleaner, income = £5-10k p.a., raised in central Salford)*

- **Middle class habitus, city-centre tourists, elective believers**

*Sara*: To me, I think my local area feels bigger than [*central Salford estate*], feel probably like [*Manchester city-centre*] as well [...], just because I do spend so much time in city-centre as well, like music, restaurants and clubbing, [...] quirky bars and erm, quirky sort of people.

*(Human resources professional, early 20s, income = £25-30k p.a.)*



# Processes of Gentrification (4): Tectonic communities

- Tectonic communities: the way in which ‘**different social groups move past each other in separate worlds and have almost no interaction on any systematic basis**’ (Butler and Watt, 2007: 98)

- **Attitudes of locals to incomers:**

B: With the new people moving into the flats, do you think they participate in the community?

*Chris:* No! They don't. They don't mix or anything [...] I mean if you look at [south *Oldsville*] the weekend parties that are going on there, and the noise!

*(Retired former soldier and community worker, late 60s, born in Oldsville)*

*Luke:* [...] them students are going to be the one in ten years with big houses and nice cars! I mean I get on with a few students, but some are almost looking down on you, and then they're the people that you want to rob.

*(Unemployed, late teens, Mereside)*

- **Attitudes of incomers to locals:**

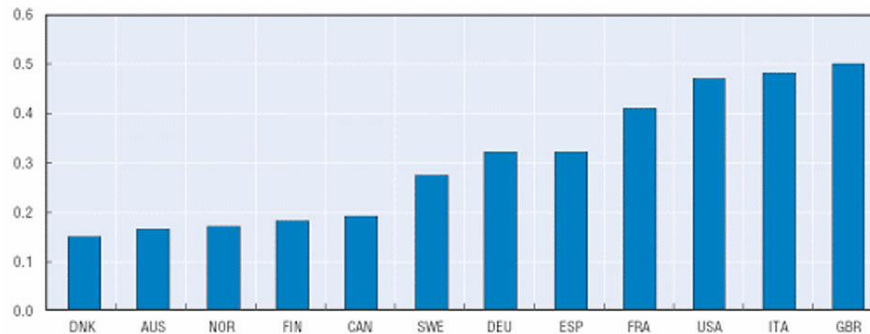
‘I don't think the wider community realises what we pay for. I don't think residents realise to a certain extent what we're paying for, it's very frustrating’.

‘...they're all arrogant and feel it's justified to come and steal from us. We've worked hard to get what we've got...’ *(Early 30's, ex-chairperson of residents association, business owner)*



# Widening social distance at the societal scale

- **Collapse of social mobility**



**Social mobility in selected OECD countries 2010**

Source: OECD 'Going for Growth', 2010

- **The increasing denigration of the working-class at the societal scale** (Hayward and Yar, 2006; Tyler, 2008; Jones, 2011)
- 'The reason these f\*\*k-wits are so aggressive is because they all feel they are owed something, they are all angry at the world. What they should realise is that it's their own fault they are the way they are; they can make something of themselves, [...] Parts of Salford are nice, but you can't get away from the chavs with their staffys. I've never seen so many smack heads in my life, it's like so many of the chavs don't ever want to better their lives, but wallow in their own self pity, even though they are getting given money and a house on a plate'  
(<http://www.chavtowns.co.uk/2008/08/salford-its-beyond-a-joke-now/#more-2460>)

# Securitisation (1)

- Increased punitiveness in gentrifying neighbourhoods:

‘In localities where regeneration or gentrification is promoted a more punitive response may emerge because of the nature of social solidarity, definitions of out-groups, and local theories about the causes of crime, which flow from and, in turn, are influenced by the local socio-cultural context, are reconfigured’ (Hancock, 2007: 61)

- Forms of securitisation: CCTV, gated communities, off-road carparking facilities, ‘secure-by-design’, private policing (‘QuayWatch’)
- **Operation Marne** – Dispersal Orders
- **Operation Harwood** – Travel Strategy  
(see also Jeffery and Jackson, 2012)



# Securitisation (2)

- **Attitudes to the police amongst locals**

J: [What else do you think the authorities could do to improve things around here]?

Mikey: [...] tell the police to stop being fucking violent. They start at a young age. They've got no regard for the law so why should we? *(early 40s, central Salford)*

B: So how do the police treat you?

*Luke*: They humiliate you!

*Kev*: I've been strip searched in the street while mi' son 'as been kicking the side of the van, "get off my dad, y' bastards!" and then they'll get out the van and say "cheeky little cunt him, we're getting in touch with the social workers over you and your kids" *(late teens and late 20s respectively, central Salford)*

- **Attitudes to the police amongst incomers**

- 'Yeah, I would say it was good. I mean in our development I would say it's good. \*\* we deal with a lot. Yeah, they always had a really good relationship with our Home Watch representatives'.

- 'I mean when all the riots happened, they came and knocked on the doors to see how we were doing and how it made us feel'. *(Early 30's, ex-chairperson of residents association, business owner)*

# The View From the Police: two discourses of community

- 'The perception of 90% of the community is that they thought the riots were disgusting and the people that were rioting, we should lock them up and throw away the key'. (*PSCO, mid 30's*)
- 'Certainly for our area you have got pockets of people that are very anti-police, their parents were anti-police, their grandparents were anti-police and that's just the way it is, that's the way it goes. That's just the relationship with them [...] I can only speak for my area, it was just people wanting to loot and destroy, that's all it was' (*PCSO, early 20's*)
- 'The general public were absolutely disgusted which I thought was a fantastic response. It could have gone the opposite way. The police response, everyone said the police response has been fantastic. I've not had one person say to me the police were rubbish. We've had quite a few letters in and emails saying: 'Can you just thank them all?'. I think it was a really really good response in the aftermath'. (*PSCO, early 20's*)



Photos courtesy of  
Stephen Broadhurst

# Alienation from authority: who counts as the 'community' in Central Salford

- Conversation regarding new plans to regenerate the Chapel Street area (senior council official, early 40's)
- Who would benefit from this scheme? 'It's the community that decided it'.
- Pressed further – decisions made at the Chapel Street Regeneration Forum.
- Who attends this Forum? It is 'mainly made up of businesses'.

# Exacerbating factors

- Subsidies to private developers amidst savage cuts.
- Local connection to the Duggan killing (Noonan).
- Increased policing around SQ due to opening of MediaCity – dispersal orders, MediaCity neighbourhood policing team, surveillance partnership.
- A history of riots in Central Salford, a history of anti-police sentiment and action.
- Regeneration – a legacy of broken promises.