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DISSERTATION

Marcia Rae England

The Graduate School
University of Kentucky

2006

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COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE TERRITORIALIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE
IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Marcia Rae England
Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Anna J. Secor, Associate Professor of Geography
Lexington, Kentucky

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CITIZENS ON PATROL: COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE TERRITORIALIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

This dissertation shows how organizations, including local government and police, and residents within Seattle, Washington's East Precinct define and police the contours of community, neighborhoods and public space. Under the rubric of public safety, these players create territorial geographies that seek to include only those who fit the narrowly conceived idea of a "neighbor." Territoriality is exercised against the social Other in an attempt to build a cohesive community while at the same time excluding those who are seen as different or as non-conformant to acceptable behaviors in the neighborhood.

This research provides a framework through which to examine how community policing produces an urban citizen subject and an idea of who belongs in public space. This work also combines discourses of abjection and public space showing how the two are linked together to form a contingent citizenship. "Contingent citizenship" describes a particular relationship between geography and citizenship. As I frame it, contingent citizenship is a public citizenship where one must conform to a social norm and act in a prescribed, appropriate way in the public sphere or fear repercussions such as incarceration, public humiliation or barring from public parks.

This dissertation, through a synthesis of the literatures on abjection, public space and social control, provides an empirical example of how community policing controls, regulates and/or expels those socially constructed as the Other in public space. This dissertation also brings a geographic lens to questions of abjection, public space and social control. This dissertation is a comprehensive survey and analysis of how discourses surrounding public space produce a space that is exclusionary of those who are not conceived as citizens by structures intact within the city. This research shows how not all citizens (in the legal sense) fit the socio-cultural model of citizenship. Such “contingent citizens” are subject to more surveillance and policing in public space. Additionally, this research contributes to growing literature regarding how abjection plays into representations and understandings of public space.

KEYWORDS: Community policing, public space, territoriality, social control, citizenship

Marcia Rae England
January 30, 2006

CITIZENS ON PATROL:
COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE TERRITORIALIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE
IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

By

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Dr. Anna J. Secor
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January 30, 2006

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

PREFACE

This dissertation arose out of two experiences I had while living in Seattle, Washington—the World Trade Organization (WTO) meetings that Seattle hosted in 1999 and long-term residence within a crime “hot spot.” The infamous “Battle of Seattle” spurred discourses surrounding public space and citizenship in the local media and in my own life, while my experience of living in an area of high crime forced me to confront issues of prostitution, drug use, and chronic public inebriation on a daily basis and often, within my own yard. It is from these experiences that I generated an initial research framework.

Preliminary fieldwork for this dissertation was conducted during the summer of 2002. This research was carried out in order to formulate questions and theories regarding who has access to, and is considered entitled to be within, public space in Seattle. I conducted interviews with streetwalking prostitutes and other sex workers, including exotic and burlesque dancers, to understand how what I termed “public space” was policed by both local law enforcement and by unwritten codes of conduct within the sex worker profession.

During this time, I volunteered with a publicly funded harm reduction agency, Street Outreach Services (SOS), which provided services to drug users and streetwalking prostitutes in both downtown and central Seattle. Most of the SOS’s staff have had personal experience with substance use, including crack and heroin, and prostitution. SOS offers daily support groups that provide participants with food and necessities (in

the form of hygiene and needle kits). They provide a variety of services including access to health care, detoxification programs and clinics, and parenting classes.

The neighborhoods in which SOS does outreach have the highest annual HIV/AIDS rates in Washington State (two to four percent of the local drug injecting population, according to a King County Public Health estimate) and some of the highest Hepatitis B and C infection rates in the United States. Low HIV-infection rates (among injection-drug users) since 1993 have been attributed to the needle exchange program. Other major cities, including Miami and New York, have infection rates of forty percent to sixty percent (Talvi 2000).

Adjacent businesses, tourists and residents have long complained about SOS, stating that they were threatened by the presence of the people who congregate in the area (meaning the drug users and prostitutes who use SOS services). According to the director of SOS, Kris Nyrop, these complaints are a “classic” example of Seattle-style liberalism: “Yeah, we support it, but can’t you do it somewhere else?” (Talvi 2000). The most common complaints of businesses and residents within hot spots of crime activity are that prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates lower property values and decrease profits, are a disruptive presence when they solicit cars and pedestrians, and leave behind hazardous litter including used condoms and syringes (Chapkis 2000, Chisholm 1995, Weitzer 1999). Many residents of areas that have high rates of prostitution and drug use also state a fear that neighborhood children are at a higher risk for corruption and danger (Jenniges 2002a, Weitzer 2000).

After working with SOS and interviewing sex workers, I found that the only solutions proposed time after time to prostitution, drug use and chronic public inebriation by

policymakers, residents or businesses were those of exclusion. After preliminary fieldwork research was completed, I felt that further investigation was required to understand the mechanisms and implications of productions of abjection and public space. By abjection, I mean that the word in its literal sense, to be cast out. Those who are considered abject are often considered unworthy of being in public space because they evoke feelings of unease or even dis-ease. Mobilizations of abjection involve the discourses, effects and problems associated with this casting out and stigmatizing of social groups as Others.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing in the East Precinct of Seattle's Police Department. This area was chosen because it is one of the most diverse areas in Seattle in regards to class, race, and ethnicity (U.S. Census 2000). In addition to its diversity, the East Precinct is one of the most rapidly gentrifying areas of Seattle, but still has some of the highest crime rates.¹ Located directly east of the downtown area, the East Precinct encompasses such neighborhoods as the Central Area, Capitol Hill and Leschi communities (see Figure 1.1).

Within the East Precinct, small zones have been designated by residents as "hot spots." Hot spots describe areas of repeated crime. I first heard the phrase used at an East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition (EPCPC) meeting during the community reports section of the meeting. After my initial acquaintance with the term, I heard it often and from a variety of people involved in community policing in Seattle.

¹ From Crime Data available from the Seattle Police Department, available at <http://www.cityofseattle.net/Police/crime/stats.htm>

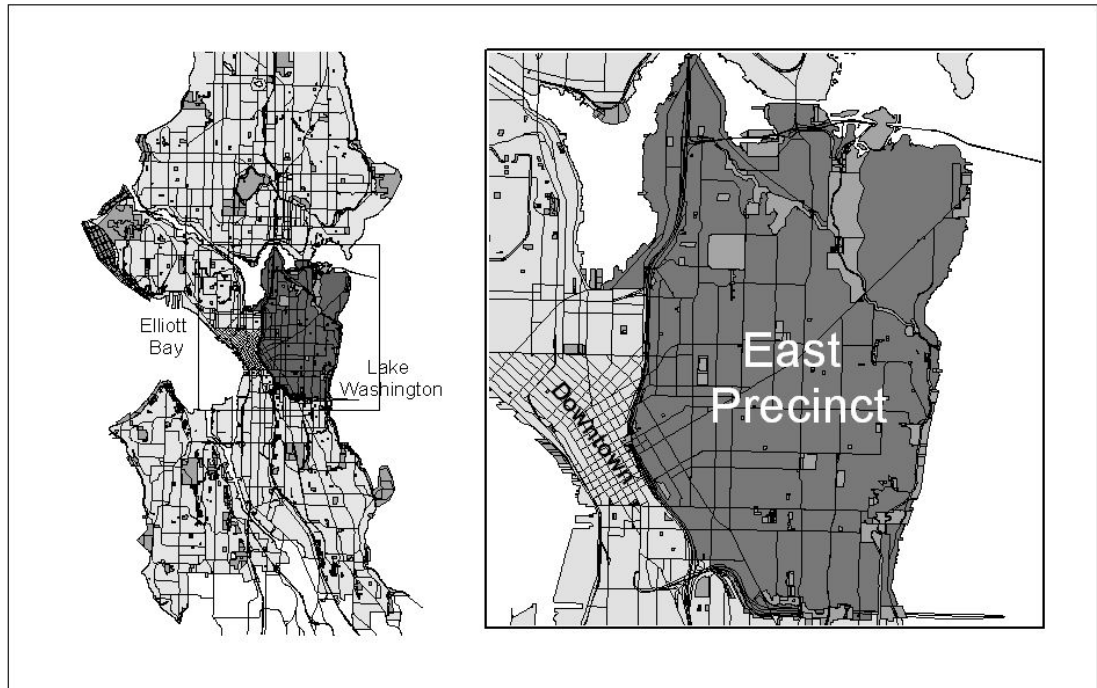


Figure 1.1. Map of Seattle's East Precinct.

The term “hot spot” originated at crime prevention council meetings and was used to describe areas of community concerns. Hot spots are small zones, which range from areas as small as an address to as large as a park (see Figure 1.2). Most hot spots fall into the intersection or block scale. Hot spots are defined by neighborhoods, not by the police or by local government. These areas can change from month to month, but many remain the same. Table 1 details the most prominent hot spots in the East Precinct for the year 2004 as generated by those attending a meeting of the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition.

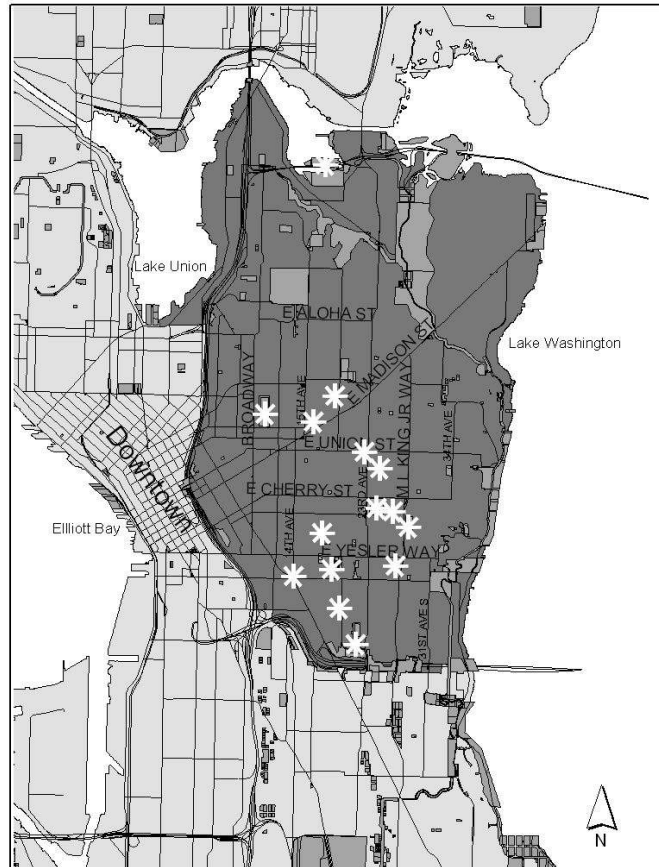


Figure 1.2 Map of top 2004 East Precinct hot spots.

This dissertation shows how organizations, including local government and police, and residents within the East Precinct define and police the contours of community, neighborhoods and public space. Under the rubric of public safety, these players create territorial geographies that seek to include only those who fit the narrowly conceived idea of a “neighbor.” Territoriality is exercised against the social Other in an attempt to build a cohesive community while at the same time excluding those who are seen as different or as non-conformant to acceptable behaviors in the neighborhood.

Table 1.1. Top hot spots for the East Precinct, 2004.

LOCATION	ISSUES	RESPONSE
23-28th & Cherry Neighborhood/Garfield	Shootings, drug loitering/sales, assaults, burglaries	CPTED review, successful neighborhood grant application, Community Safety Campaign, Good Neighbor Agreements, Landlord Training, Corridor Emphasis Project. City Attorney, Park Dept, CPT, School Emphasis officer involvement.
Madison & 20th/ 21st & Denny	Shootings, drug dealing, prostitution, violent activity, assaults. habitual hang out. Gunfire activities are increasing.	CPTED review, Nuisance Workshop Training, ongoing crime reporting, POCAAN street outreach, DOC/SPD ride-along, meeting w/ Deano's Manager.
19th & Spruce & Alder	Drug loitering, suspected drug dealing, intimidation, trash, prostitution.	Blockwatch group formed, CPTED review, Crime Prevention involvement, SPD patrol & CPT. Traffic circles cleaned out. Meeting with Property owner and storeowner.
23rd & Union	Drug loitering.	COPC initiatives, Community Safety Campaign, outreach, USBG Business group.
Broadway	Drug dealing, loitering, increasing #'s of homeless youth, homeless adults, violence, and chronic inebriates.	NATS/Roundtable project, Street Outreach project, PSKS, Capitol Hill Chronic Public Inebriacy Workgroup, Weed & Seed support, foot patrol, pay phones reprogrammed, Metro bus stops re-paneled, CPTED
26th & Lane	Vandalism, car prowls	Reporting, emphasis
1100 block of 30th Ave. S.	Gun Shots fired, drug activity, stolen cars, abandoned vehicles, burglaries.	911 calls, documentation
14th and Main/Jackson	Transients	Main Street Business Association, Operation Night watch. Reporting
20th & Olive	Shooting, drug dealing, car prowls, panhandling	Reporting, emphasis
26th and Columbia	Prostitution, drug activity, violence.	Nuisance workshop, Blockwatch, neighbors logging crime, CPTED review.
28th & Dearborn	Nuisance rental properties, drug loitering, drug sales, fires shot, and auto vandalism.	CPT involvement, Blockwatch involvement, neighborhood clean up, Corridor Emphasis Project.
28th and Alder/Yesler	Auto issues, dogs, possible drug loitering near Powell Barnett Park.	Blockwatch, lighting improved.
31st & 32nd & Yakima	Problem rental properties, gun shots, possible drug sales	Community meetings organized by residents-attended by SPD command Staff.
Cal Anderson Park	Drug use, drug loitering, homeless. Inebriates, vandalism.	Crime Prevention, Parks, CPT involvement, Park Watch formed, neighbors reporting, Active community groups Friends of Cal Anderson Park.
Judkins Park	Concerns about prostitution in the park, car prowls, burglaries, auto thefts, shootings	Night Out event, Reporting problems, active community council.
Lake Union Floating Houses	Occupied burglaries, car theft, car prowls	Crime Prevention involvement-Blockwatch formed.
MLK/Irving-28th & King	July 4 th week- "like a war zone"	Reporting
Seattle University	Car prowls, auto theft, violent muggings	Reporting, working w/SPD, involvement w/ EPCPC
Yesler Terrace	Assaults, muggings of elderly females, burglaries, drive by shoot out, rapes. Youth who are trespassed are not staying off of the property	Active Community Council, Yesler Terrace Safety Fair, Juneteenth, community reporting, Crime Prevention & CPT. Involvement of Crime Prevention, SPD.

Courtesy of Seattle Neighborhood Group

By combining literatures on the abject body, socio-spatial control and public space, this research provides a framework through which to examine how community policing produces an urban citizen subject and an idea of who belongs in public space. This work also combines discourses of abjection and public space showing how the two are linked together to form a contingent citizenship. “Contingent citizenship” describes a particular relationship between geography and citizenship. As I frame it, contingent citizenship is a public citizenship where one must conform to a social norm and act in a prescribed, appropriate way in the public sphere or fear repercussions such as incarceration, public humiliation or barring from public parks.

Discourses on community inform conceptions of public space and who has access to that public space. Fear of the Other leads to exclusion from public space of those who are seen as threatening. Fischer and Poland (1998: 193) argue that community “has become a critical resource as well as a product of effective self-selection of norms, stakeholders and resources” which often results in the “exclusion of the ones disrupting the order striven for.” Marshall ([1950] 1997: 92) argues that citizenship is “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (quoted in Holston 1999: 168). But those who are seen as transgressive in public space and who contradict notions of order are not constructed as part of the “community.” Their actions threaten, as Mitchell (2003: 183) posits, “the very ideals upon which we have constructed our rather fragile notions of legitimate citizenship.”

This research is based on fieldwork conducted in the city of Seattle in the summers of 2002 and 2004. This largely qualitative ethnography analyzes data in the form of:

interviews with East Precinct residents, neighborhood watch groups, public officials, and police, participant observation focused on the activities of community policing and discourse analysis of materials distributed by those involved in that community policing, including the Mayor's Office, the Seattle City Council, the Seattle Police Department, neighborhood watch groups and non-profit organizations. Ethnographic techniques were used to allow participants to describe and interpret their own experience of an event. Ethnography allows the researcher to investigate data through "multiple reading of a single case" (Burawoy 1995: 15).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research examines the links between communities and police using their combined crime prevention efforts as the primary focus. I am interested in the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing, or how communities employ the resources available to them by the police department and use them to effect their own type of spatial policing. The discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing are drawn through the themes of neighborliness, public safety and community. In this dissertation, I produce a comprehensive document that examines the relationship between community, public safety and territoriality and how these discourses are mobilized by a variety of players, including the state and public and private organizations under the rubric of community policing. My research asks:

- How does the relationship between discourses of community, public safety and territoriality affect notions of citizenship?
- How is territoriality enacted and used as both a cohesive, community-building stepping stone and also as a divisive marker for social Othering?
- How are discourses of community mobilized by a variety of players, including state, public and private organizations?

- What are the practices and negotiations of community policing, or how communities employ the resources available to them by the police department and use them to effect their own type of spatial policing?
- How is public space defined and policed by communities/neighborhoods?

These questions are particularly important to geography and urban studies with the contraction of the welfare state in the United States. As social benefits are being cut due to budgetary constraints, urban governments are asking their constituents to provide more social services or even do without them. This has led to even greater inequality between social groups and has increased socioeconomic divisions. The idea of providing social services for the “public” has fallen by the wayside. Instead, privatization of formerly public services is now the norm.

In the study of the research archive, I use established methods of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1999, Hall 1997, Mills 1997, Rose 2001), paying careful attention to the development of discourses on citizenship through the following tropes identified in fieldwork: (a) neighborliness, (b) public safety, (c) community, (d) territoriality and (e) governmentality. Archival documents were reviewed and content-coded to draw out mobilizations of these discourses. The use of coding themes allows for the identification of narratives that incorporate historical, cultural and political aspects. Once coded, the documents were used in the historical and geographical contextualization of community policing in the East Precinct.

In my analysis, I highlight the spatial strategies involved in the community policings of local neighborhoods. The analysis is three-part. First, I examine spatial strategies for controlling or eliminating “nuisance” crimes and those seen as detrimental to the community. Second, I analyze the exclusionary actions and discourses of both those

involved in community policing within certain crime “hot spots”. Third, I analyze the interrelationships of the organizations involved in community policing in the East Precinct, paying specific attention to the role that coalitions or divisions play in the exercise of territoriality.

The following is drawn out through the chapters of this dissertation:

- I provide an overview of the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing,
- I demonstrate that the use of community resources often does not benefit all in the community,
- I discuss how the tropes of community and neighborhood are used as social markers in order to exclude,
- I analyze community policing as a process of generating difference.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This dissertation investigates the links between communities and police using their combined crime prevention efforts as the primary focus. I am primarily interested in the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing, or how Seattle communities employ the resources available to them by the local police department and use them to effect their own type of spatial policing. This dissertation studies the practices of territoriality, governmentality, and abjection, uniting them into a discussion of the mobilization of community discourses by a variety of players, including state, public and private organizations.

Before community policing became a popular crime fighting and crime prevention tool, Seattle policymakers and local officials were reluctant to acknowledge the city’s crime problems for fear of possible political and economic repercussions until the emergence of community policing as the new model of policing. As federal funds were

available for hiring community policing officers, community policing became accepted among Seattle's political leaders. Community policing began as a bottom-up endeavor by a community group in the ethnically diverse southeast section of the city (see Bass 2000). Gordon *et al.* (1991) explains the bottom-up approach worked in Seattle as a result of the city's history of neighborhood-based activism.

The Seattle Police Department (SPD) has five police precincts throughout the city: North, West, East, South and Southwest. Originally, precincts were local access points where members of the community could voice their concerns. This was not enough for many communities hit hard by crime. Initially, three groups were involved in southeast Seattle crime prevention activities. As two of the groups began to engage in activities, the police found them either unpalatable or questionable (Bass 2000). The third, the Southeast Seattle Crime Prevention Council (SSCPC), became the "community" to local police in southeast Seattle for a number of reasons. For one, the police were willing to work with the SSCPC because they were not just a bunch of "complainers," and the police felt that they could "trust" them (Fleissner 1991).

Although community policing technically began under Mayor Royer in 1988, community policing became a Seattle-wide phenomenon with the election of Mayor Norm Rice in 1989. Rice understood crime as a political issue, recognizing both its potential and its pitfalls, stating in Bass (2000: 165):

Crime is always a major issue. It's the one thing people fear. Everybody fears violent crime. The problem is crime is often mishandled as a political issue. When it's handled properly, you recognize that crime is a political, social, and public issue and handle the issue carefully.

Community policing became a hot topic in Seattle under Mayor Rice and his successors, Paul Schell and Greg Nickels have realized the political power behind community-police

alliances. The success of the SSCPC spawned two other major community policing/crime prevention councils in Seattle: the West Seattle Community Safety Partnership (1989) and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition (1989).

CASE STUDY

The focus of this dissertation centers on several players in Seattle's community policing scene. This includes urban government officials, including the Mayor of Seattle, Greg Nickels, and the Seattle City Council, the Seattle Police Department, the Seattle Neighborhood Group, a local non-profit, and the neighborhood associations and residents of Seattle's East Precinct. Mayor Nickels and the Seattle City Council affect community policing in Seattle through the construction of city budgets, the allocation of city resources and the passing of legislation. Constituents (neighborhood associations and residents) testify in front of and complain to local officials regarding issues in their neighborhood (such as crime levels) in order to solicit some reaction on the part of their government. In 2004 and 2005, over five public meetings were held with Seattle residents on the part of the Mayor and Seattle City Council on the issue of public safety. The majority of these meetings dealt with crime levels and policings of communities, including whether or not sufficient resources were allocated to "keeping neighborhoods safe."

One very important player in the community policing of Seattle is the Seattle Neighborhood Group (SNG), a private non-profit established in 1988. Kay Godefroy founded SNG to work with communities to "make neighborhoods safer" (interview, 2004). According to its mission statement, SNG "partners with residents, businesses, government agencies and other service providers to advocate for safe neighborhoods and

to develop strategies that create strong communities.”² Although located in the East Precinct, the Seattle Neighborhood Group works with community organizations and community members anywhere in Seattle to help them with public safety issues and concerns in order to “help build safer neighborhoods.”³

The Seattle Neighborhood Group, in tandem with police and neighborhood associations, works to rid communities of “nuisance” crimes (graffiti, littering and loitering) through community policing. SNG works in conjunction with local government agencies to provide crime prevention and public safety services through several programs including Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), a program that teaches principles of landscape design which are used to improve community safety, a Landlord Training Program which offers training for rental property owners and managers on developing crime-free properties, and a Nuisance Property Program consisting of workshops for residents on navigating small claims court to eliminate civil nuisances in neighborhoods. SNG also runs the local Weed & Seed programs, which help communities mobilize and create partnerships to address violent crime, gang activity, and drug trafficking in neighborhoods. Additionally, SNG spearheads three of the five local crime prevention councils: the West Seattle Community Safety Partnership, the Southeast Seattle Crime Prevention Council, and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition.

There are five other major community programs in the East Precinct concerned with public safety: the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition, National Night Out, Alcohol Impact Areas, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design and the Central site of

² SNG information booklet.

³ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group website at <http://www.sngi.org/>

the federal Weed & Seed program. These programs inform the empirical bulk of this dissertation as they involve different forms of community policing. Each of them shows examples of the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing (especially as seen through governmentality and territoriality) exercised through the socio-spatial regulation of Others in public space. Below they are outlined and given context.

East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition (EPCPC)

The EPCPC is an organization that provides an opportunity for community members to dialogue with police officers in Seattle’s East Precinct. It “strives to promote partnerships among residents, schools, businesses/merchants, the Seattle Police Department, social service and government agencies to effectively address public safety issues.”⁴ Participants can voice concerns and detail hot spots while obtaining information on the action of the SPD to reduce crime in their neighborhoods. The EPCPC works with communities to “keep areas litter, crime, drug and graffiti-free, ...reduce crime through enhanced Block Watch and Business Watch efforts, [and] work with communities to resolve nuisance and neighborhood livability issues.”⁵

The EPCPC was founded in response to rising crime rates in the East Precinct. Residents felt that they were not getting what they needed from the police and decided to take action (interview, 2004). Godefroy was contacted by two concerned East Precinct residents, Steve Schulman and Connie Harning, to start a crime prevention council in the East Precinct. According to Godefroy, community policing was initially about “holding police accountable for their priorities” (interview, 2004). She stated that at first, the police were uncooperative and unresponsive—they were “reluctant” to have civilian

⁴ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group website at <http://www.sngi.org/epcpc/epcpc.html>.

⁵ EPCPC information pamphlet.

interaction. Although it was a big change for police to work with communities to establish new priorities, crime began to decrease.

The East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition runs the East Yesler Crime Prevention Center at 1806 East Yesler (the same building as SNG). According to the EPCPC pamphlet, the Center “provides the community of Central Seattle with the benefits of a strong and consistent police presence” through a police drop-in center (although the Center is not a Seattle Police Department Facility).⁶ This space is a twenty-four hour operation that allows police officers to write reports, make follow-up calls or take a break. The Center is also a public resource and referral center.

The EPCPC holds meetings, usually once a month on the fourth Thursday, that are open to the community and which are designed to help attendees “promote understanding of Community, law enforcement and criminal justice issues.”⁷ The Coalition also supports increased community-police interactions on the streets, the reduction of graffiti through neighborhood efforts, and the reduction of crime through Block and Business Watch endeavors. The EPCPC also watches and lobbies for city and state-wide policies regarding “quality-of-life” issues.

During each meeting, time is set aside for community members to speak with the police about neighborhood concerns and for the police officers present (usually the East Precinct Captain (formerly Mike Meehan, now Landy Black) and Lieutenant John Hayes with other beat officers present) to respond. Often times, guests from the local government are invited to speak on topics. They have included Seattle City Council members, Washington State Liquor Control Board members, mayoral aides and the City

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group website at <http://www.sngi.org/epcpc/epcpc.html>.

Attorney. At the end of the meeting, Weed & Seed coordinators and recipients are asked to speak about their projects and impacts they've had on the community (more on Weed & Seed will follow in a following section).

During my fieldwork, I was part of a committee that organized the First Annual East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition community gathering, themed "Supporting Safe Activities in Public Spaces". This was the first activity in a proposed year-long schedule that focused on the reclamation of public space, although at times it was referred to as "positive displacement of hardheads and prostitutes". This picnic, organized by EPCPC volunteers, was supported by the Seattle Police Department, the Seattle Fire Department, the Mayor's Office and the Seattle Parks and Recreation Department. The community gathering was the pet project of the EPCPC in July/August 2004, garnering much support in the East Precinct neighborhoods as well as other parts of the city.

National Night Out (NNO)

National Night Out, an annual event held the first Tuesday in August, was introduced by Matt A. Peskin of the National Association of Town Watch in 1984. The National Association of Town Watch is a non-profit crime prevention organization which works with thousands of neighborhood block watch groups and police departments throughout the United States. NNO was created as an effort to "heighten awareness and strengthen participation in local anticrime effort."⁸

Peskin noted that in a typical block watch area only five to seven percent of the area's residents were participating actively.⁹ Feeling that this percentage was too low, he proposed a national program that would involve the "whole" of the community, if only for one night. On the first National Night Out, 400 communities in twenty-three states

⁸ From the National Night Out website, available <http://www.nationalnightout.org/nno/history.html>.

⁹ Ibid.

participated in events.¹⁰ In 2005, NNO expected approximately 34 million people in over 10,000 communities from all 50 states to hold a community activity. Activities range in scale from ‘lights on’ porch vigils to block parties to community safety fairs. Peskin calls it:

a wonderful opportunity for communities nationwide to promote police-community partnerships, crime prevention, and neighborhood camaraderie. While the one night is certainly not an answer to crime, drugs and violence, National Night Out does represent the kind of spirit, energy and determination that is helping to make many neighborhoods safer places throughout the year. It is a night to celebrate crime prevention successes - and to expand and strengthen programs for the next 364 days.¹¹

National Night Out also encourages participants to start “Project 365” in addition to NNO activities. Between Night Outs, block watch groups or NNO registered groups are asked to designate a problem area in their neighborhood. The problem area can be a “park overtaken by drug dealers, a gang problem, a graffiti problem...[or] a particular block or neighborhood plagued by crime, drugs or violence.”¹² The goal is to correct that problem within 365 days.

Alcohol Impact Areas (AIA)

The other overwhelmingly supported, yet much more debated, SNG-affiliated project for the summer of 2004 was the expansion of existing Alcohol Impact Areas and the continued implementation of the “Good Neighbor Agreements.” Seattle City Council (SCC) member Tom Rasmussen describes Alcohol Impact Areas as “a response to neighborhood concerns about problems associated with chronic public inebriation.”¹³ Alcohol Impact Areas are designed to address the problem of chronic public inebriation

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² From the National Night Out website, available at <http://www.nationalnightout.org/nno/project365.html>.

¹³ Seattle City Council New Advisory dated April 28, 2004.

through limitations on certain types of alcohol sales. The usual impetus for such zones include drug sales, prostitution or public sexual activity, chronic public inebriation, fights, excessive noise or increased demands on police services in the area.

Seattle has two AIAs. The original AIA was located the Pioneer Square area (part of downtown), but now has expanded to incorporate a larger area of central Seattle (Figure 1.3). The other is part of the University District. Communities within the boundaries of the expanded AIAs work with businesses that sell, but do not serve alcohol, such as grocery stores, drug stores, and gas stations, to develop Good Neighbor Agreements.

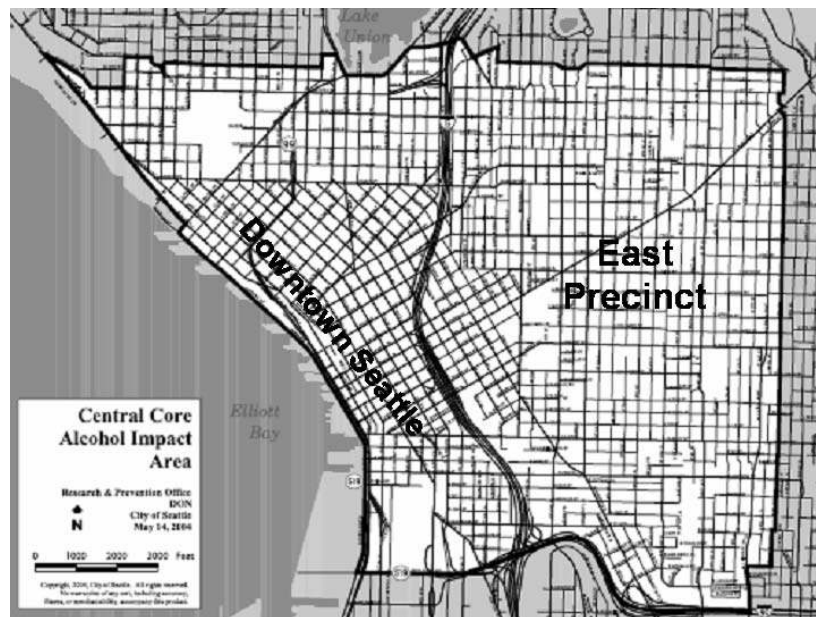


Figure 1.3 Map of the Alcohol Impact Area affecting East Precinct.

Courtesy of City of Seattle Department of Neighborhoods

Good Neighbor Agreements are voluntary agreements which outline business practices and enact restrictions and the sales of alcohol to “improve neighborhood livability.” They may include restricting the hours of alcohol sales, removing high alcohol content/low cost beverages, and not selling single cans or bottles of alcoholic beverages. If voluntary compliance begins to wane, the Mayor and City Council could

ask that the Washington State Liquor Control Board to make the restrictions mandatory. At this time (October 2005), the restrictions were still on a voluntary basis in the expanded areas.

AIAs are designed as a “comprehensive strategy to reduce chronic public inebriation.”¹⁴ On June 1, 2004, the Seattle City Council voted 7-1 (McIver) to add two new areas to the city’s existing Alcohol Impact Area in Pioneer Square. The new AIAs affect the Central Area of Seattle and the University District. The impetus for the Council’s action was the continued requests by neighborhoods that something more be done to alleviate the problems of chronic public inebriation. “Alcoholism is destructive not just to the alcoholic and to his family, but to the community,” said Councilmember Tom Rasmussen, a proponent of the legislation. He went on to say that, “Putting these restrictions in these areas improves the quality of life...”¹⁵ Councilmember Jean Godden notes that improved treatment, housing and counseling services for alcohol and substance abuse are not included as part of the AIA legislation, stating: “We seem to be treating the symptoms and not the root causes here. In the meantime, we’re giving some help to the neighborhoods that have asked for it.”¹⁶

The crux of the AIAs seems to be livability and quality of life issues. For example, the bill detailing the conditions of the expanded AIAs states that,

Residents and businesses in other neighborhoods of the City, including the International District, Capitol Hill, Judkins Park, Belltown, the University District and other residents, business owners and community organizations have appealed to the City for *relief from the adverse effects* of chronic public inebriation and illegal activity associated with alcohol sales and consumption in their neighborhoods.

¹⁴ Seattle City Council News Release dated June 1, 2004.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Chronic public inebriation and illegal activity associated with alcohol sales and consumption within the neighborhoods described in this ordinance have contributed to the *deterioration of the general quality of life* within those neighborhoods and *threaten the welfare, health, peace and safety of visitors and occupants*, as demonstrated by relevant crime statistics, police reports, emergency response data, citizen complaints and other information (emphasis added).¹⁷

Councilmember Richard McIver, the only nay vote, argued that the legislation “might impose additional anti-social behaviors on already fragile and historically disadvantaged neighborhoods outside the AIA designations.”¹⁸ Lisa Herbold, aide to Councilmember Nick Licata feels that the problems associated with chronic public inebriation won’t be cured, they’ll just be displaced. “Basically, you’re just moving groups of drunks from one neighborhood to another neighborhood” (Holly-Gottlieb 2000: para. 5). Her main concern is that chronic public inebriates (CPIs) will be pushed from where social services are abundant to areas that do not have any. Other concerns include the unfair targeting of poor people by outlawing cheaper and thus, affordable, beer and wine while others can still purchase alcohol and drink it in the privacy of their own homes.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

As defined by the National Institute of Crime Prevention, Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)¹⁹ is proper design and use of the built environment in such a way that leads to a reduction in both the fear and incidence of crime, and an improvement of the quality of life.²⁰ The general premise behind CPTED is Kelling and Coles’ (1982) “Broken Windows” Theory, where a quick response to smaller problems such as broken windows, graffiti and litter can stop larger crime problems from taking

¹⁷ City of Seattle Ordinance Number 121487

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Pronounced sep-ted.

²⁰ From the National Institute of Crime Prevention, available at <http://www.nicp.net>.

root. According the Seattle Police Department website, “CPTED looks at the entire neighborhood to identify areas or elements that may have the potential to attract crime. Knowing simple CPTED design principles can lead to solutions that can be undertaken to reduce fear and prevent crime in these areas.”²¹ CPTED encourages basic strategies for both public and private property, such as natural surveillance and the exercise of territoriality.

CPTED emerged in the 1970s, when the idea of designing environments to create safer urban places became part of popular discourse. C. Ray Jeffrey coined the phrase in his 1971 book *Crime Prevention through Environmental Design*. CPTED is intended to produce behavioral effects (reduced crime and fear of crime) through the design and effective use of the physical environment. CPTED advocates the use of community or ‘natural’ surveillance to make spaces less prone to crime. The core objective of CPTED is to put more eyes on the street.

The Seattle Neighborhood Group regularly provides CPTED evaluations for both home and business owners free of charge, looking at property layout, the buildings themselves and maintenance. Seattle Neighborhood Group staff that perform these evaluations have gone through CPTED training provided by the Seattle Police Department. SNG promotes the four basic CPTED principles, stating that “these areas are interconnected, acting like spokes in a wheel...if one is weak or missing, the wheel doesn’t work well at all!”²² The areas are: natural surveillance, natural access control, territoriality/defensible space, and activity support.

²¹ From the Seattle Police Department website, available at <http://www.cityofseattle.net/police/prevention/Tips/CPTED.htm>

²² From the Seattle Neighborhood Group brochure “Making Safe Places for Everyone!”

Natural Surveillance

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design promotes visibility of properties, rather than “fortressing.” Under CPTED principles, the ability to see what is going on, both in and around a property should be one’s first priority as criminals are attracted to areas and residences with low visibility. The Seattle Police Department details the following ways to counteract low visibility:

- Street lights should be well spaced and in working order. Alleys and parking areas should also be lit. Lighting should also reflect the intended hours of operation, i.e. lighting of playfields or structures in local parks may actually encourage after hour criminal activities. Motion-sensing lights perform the double duty of providing light when needed and letting trespasser know that “they have been seen.”
- Generally uniformly shaped sites are safer than irregularly shaped sites because there are fewer hiding places. Plants should follow the 3-8 rule of thumb, hedges no higher than 3 feet, and tree canopies starting no lower than 8 feet. This is especially important around entryways and windows.
- Fences should allow people to see in. Even if the fences are built for privacy, they should be of a design that is not too tall and has some visibility.
- Windows that look out on streets and alleys are good natural surveillance, especially bay windows. These should not be blocked. Retirees, stay at home parents, and people working from home offices can provide good surveillance for the neighborhood during the day.²³

Natural access control

Natural access control refers to distinct and legitimate points for entry and exits in homes, businesses, parks and other public areas. However, this must be balanced with openness in order to avoid an area which does not allow for easy exit or efficient police response. Natural access control is a crime deterrent since criminals will generally avoid areas that only afford them with one way to enter and exit, have high visibility, and have a high volume of traffic (preferably pedestrian). For example, a “good” park has see-through fencing around its perimeter and one large opening nearby vendors and/or shared

²³ Ibid.

public facilities, such restrooms, picnic tables or a playground. Public facilities and vendors helps to creates more foot traffic and hence, more surveillance.

Territoriality/Defensible space

Similar to the principles of the “Broken Window” theory, CPTED advocates the exercise of territoriality to show that a community “owns” the neighborhood. This includes removing graffiti, yard/building maintenance, and other activities such as creating gardens or flower boxes and decorating according to the season. CPTED ideology argues that this kind of “personal touch” sends a clear message that people in the neighborhood care and will not put up with crime in their community. CPTED principles state that a strong sense of territoriality encourages one to take control of one’s environment and defend it against attack.

A sense of territoriality is promoted by buildings and landscapes that easily identify certain areas as the domain of an individual or group. Proponents of CPTED argues that the central component of territoriality is pride in ownership for as Gardner (1981) argues, “It is not enough for a person simply to be *able* to defend his environment, he must also *want* to defend it. That “*want*” results from territorial feelings of pride and ownership” (para. 15). Gardner is careful to note that the term *ownership* does not necessarily mean actual, or legal, ownership. For example, office workers may feel a sense of ownership for the office in which they work or bus riders for that stop at which they wait.

Activity Support

According to CPTED principles, “legitimate” activity in public spaces helps discourage crime. Activities in which people work together and in public help prevent crime, states the National Crime Prevention Council. These could be neighborhood

clean-up days, block parties or Neighborhood Watch meetings. The Seattle Neighborhood Group posits that community activity is the strongest CPTED strategy as,

an active and aware neighborhood will prevent crime by watching each other's properties, and calling 911 immediately when anything is out of place. If everyone helps to keep the neighborhood looking great, our neighborhood message is: We value a clean, crime-free place, and we will work to keep it like that!²⁴

Weed & Seed (W&S)

Weed & Seed originated as one of the principal domestic programs under the first President Bush designed to address the deterioration, both economic and social, of America's cities. Seattle was one of the first sixteen cities given Weed & Seed funding by the federal government in 1992. The mission of the Weed & Seed program is to "reduce the impact of violent crime on communities, provide prevention, intervention, and treatment services for substance abuse and other social problems, and revitalize communities through housing and economic development."²⁵

The four basic elements of the Weed & Seed plan are: law enforcement, community policing, prevention, intervention and treatment, and neighborhood restoration. Law enforcement "weeds" out the crime through suppression activities, such as enforcement, prosecution and surveillance of criminals. Some suppression activities involve such special enforcement operations such as repeat or violent offender removal programs, increased narcotics investigations, targeted prosecutions, victim-witness protection and the elimination of drug trafficking.²⁶ Community policing both "weeds" and "seeds," as it supports law enforcement strategies, but also provides solutions to crime through

²⁴ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group brochure "Making Places Safe for Everyone!"

²⁵ From "Seattle Weed & Seed" pamphlet distributed by the Seattle Neighborhood Group.

²⁶ From the Department of Justice Publications website, "The Weed & Seed Strategy," available at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ccdo/publications.htm>

neighborhood reclamation. Programs involved in community policing and community mobilization included neighborhood watches, marches or rallies, drug-free zones and graffiti clean-up. Prevention, intervention and treatment occurs when “weeding” is almost complete and involves the cooperative and combined effort of law enforcement, social service agencies and the community to prevent crime from recurring in the area. Neighborhood restoration revitalizes depressed neighborhoods and improves the quality of life through programs which better the economic situation, provide more social and public services, renovate public spaces such as parks and improve housing conditions in the area.

Seattle’s Weed & Seed Program is a collaboration between the City of Seattle Human Services Department and the Seattle Police Department and is administered by the Seattle Neighborhood Group. SNG, under contract with the Seattle Police Department, provides support for program management, leadership, community outreach and works with each site’s advisory council, Weed & Seed Coordinators and the Weed & Seed Steering Committee. Many members of SNG’s staff work solely on the two local Weed & Seed sites. The Weed & Seed strategy “recognizes the importance of linking and integrating Federal, State and local law enforcement and criminal justice efforts with Federal, State and local social services, the private sector and community efforts to maximize the impact of programs and resources.”²⁷

Seattle currently has two Weed & Seed sites. The Southeast site is located in south Seattle and the Central site, which has existed since 1993, is located within the East Precinct boundaries. Soon after its creation, the Central Weed & Seed merged with the

²⁷ From the Seattle Police Department website, available at <http://www.cityofseattle.net/Police/Programs/WeedSeed.htm>

East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition to provide guidance and direction for implementing policing initiatives that fit with the Weed & Seed Strategy. The main objectives for the Central site are as follows: 1) officers will engage in activities that get police out of cars (i.e. bike and foot patrol), 2) officers will engage in activities that build relationships with youth and address truancy, 3) officers will actively participate in community meetings and problem solving efforts to address long-term crime and nuisance issues, and 4) officers will focus community-policing activities on hot spots and mini-marts.²⁸ Since the introduction of the Weed & Seed program to Seattle, crime in those designated areas has decreased.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

This dissertation, through a synthesis of the literatures on abjection, public space and social control, provides an empirical example of how community policing controls, regulates and/or expels those socially constructed as the Other in public space. This dissertation also brings a geographic lens to questions of abjection, public space and social control. The contributions of this research are four-fold. First, the examination of discourses of abjection directed against the social Other elucidates how processes of exclusion work on the ground and are a part of everyday life. Second, an analysis of discourses surrounding public space shows how citizens are produced by their relationship to space. Third, the discussion of socio-spatial control of space analyzes the effects of policing, both standard and community-oriented. Finally, an examination of the discursive construction of criminality highlights the social Othering that occurs in policings of space.

²⁸ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group website at <http://www.sngi.org/centralws1.html>

While there is a significant body of literature discussing abjection theory (see see Grosz 1994, 1990, Kirby 1997, Kristeva 1982, Longhurst 2000, McClintock 1995, Pile 1996, Price and Shildrick 1999, Sibley 1995, 1981), there is little on the ways in which abjection has been mobilized as an exclusionary strategy. This research is a study of how abjection discourses are implemented in the control of space. Additionally, my conception of abjection differs from the psychoanalytical conceptions in that it is a socially constructed notion of abjection, positing disgust and the social as mutually constitutive.

This dissertation is a comprehensive survey and analysis of how discourses surrounding public space produce a space that is exclusionary of those who are not conceived as citizens by structures intact within the city. This research shows how not all citizens (in the legal sense) fit the socio-cultural model of citizenship (see Cresswell 2001, 1997, 1996, Douglas 1984, Foucault 1995, Miller 1997, Mitchell 1995, Moran 1996, Painter and Philo 1995, Sibley 1995, 1981, Wilson 1990). Such “contingent citizens” are subject to more surveillance and policing in public space. Additionally, this research contributes to growing literature regarding how abjection plays into representations and understandings of public space (Domosh and Seager 2001, Doyle 1994, Marston 1995, Massey 1994, McDowell 1999, Rose 1993, Staeheli 1996, Warner 2002, Wilson 1998).

This dissertation looks at how control of space is exerted by other social groups, and not just the police. Only one comprehensive ethnography of policing strategies has been published in geography, that being Herbert’s *Policing Space* (1996a). Herbert’s book, a significant contribution to the literature, has been criticized for its silences and omissions,

mainly those of alternative forms of policing (Fyfe 1997, Marston 1997). In his critique of Herbert, Mitchell (1997b: 395) calls for an “analysis of power, centered around contending tactical and strategic control of use of space by different agents.” While Herbert is criticized for lacking an analysis of other types of policing, this dissertation incorporates them. This dissertation explicitly examines the community-police link, thus making it one of the few geographical works that focuses on community policing.

Finally, this research is significantly different than work done on crime through spatial-analytic approaches found in both geography and sociology. In particular, it highlights the discursive construction of criminality and the intense micro-politics of policing space that the designation of criminality invokes. While geographic literature on prostitution and the prostitute in the city is expanding (see Buck-Morss 1986, Duncan 1996, Howell 2000a, 2000b, Hubbard 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, Pile 1996, Symanski 1974, 1981), there is a dearth of work written on the drug user or chronic public inebriate in public space. Lastly, this dissertation shows how those who transgress the dictates of public space are disciplined by crossing the borders between self/other, public/private, citizen/non-citizen, licit/illicit, and order/disorder, contributing new theoretical and empirical material to literatures in urban, social and cultural geography.

DISSERTATION OUTLINE

This dissertation is a comprehensive study of the discourses, practices and spatialities enacted by a variety of players involved in community policing in Seattle, Washington. Through an examination of community policing in the East Precinct, this dissertation provides an example of how the social processes of cohesion and exclusion work

throughout communities and neighborhoods. It is framed theoretically and methodologically in the initial chapters and empirical examples are provided in the latter.

In Chapter 2, I place this dissertation in the context of current and historical literatures regarding abjection, socio-spatial regulation and public space. This literature review argues that actions which do not conform to social norms in public space are subject to policing and sanctions. This has the possibility of undermining the potential of public space by inhibiting diversity and encounter. Literatures regarding community, governmentality, and territoriality are also explored in this chapter to further elucidate the rationales, processes and effects of community policing.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the methods and methodology used in the research undertaken in this dissertation. An overview of the qualitative methods of interviewing, participant observation and discourse analysis is provided as well as a detailed discussion of the archive for this dissertation. This chapter details how the data is triangulated, leading to richer, deeper picture of the empirical material.

Chapter 4 begins the empirical section of this dissertation. Looking at the discourses, practices and spatialities of neighbors and neighborhoods, I show how the contours of neighbors are defined. This chapter analyzes the exclusion of those that are seen as threatening to the neighborhood and to the idyllic (though false) image of good neighbors. Using Good Neighbor Agreements, the National Night Out against Crime and Weed & Seed as empirical examples, I examine how those programs shape neighborhoods through exclusionary processes. They also create a sense of unity as well since bonding takes place in the exercising of territoriality and exclusion.

Chapter 5 continues with the discussion of exclusionary processes, but it examines them through the lens of public safety. Questioning just who the “public” in public safety is, I examine the relationship between the local government and residents of the East Precinct through two events: the Mayoral Town Hall on Public Safety series and the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing. These two government events gave Seattle residents a chance to voice their opinions and needs concerning public safety to government officials. Particularly key to this chapter is fear of the infiltration of the social Other.

Chapter 6 discusses the inclusionary and exclusionary workings of communities as seen by multiple players in Seattle’s East Precinct. It shows how particular groups mobilize the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing to effect change in their communities. In this chapter, a detailed history of community policing is provided and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design programs are explored as empirical examples. These programs show how territoriality is used as both a cohesive community building act and a divisive act of social Othering.

In the conclusion, I discuss the implications of the empirical chapters, discussing them in the framework of contingent citizenship. Contingent citizenship is at the nexus of abjection, socio-cultural citizenship and public space, where contingent citizens are not recognized as part of the public because they act counter to dominant socio-cultural norms. I end the dissertation with a call for an ethics of community. As the welfare state becomes obsolete, NIMBY practices can no longer be acceptable. There must be a care,

a concern for, the Other that is created through the processes of exclusion and marginalization in order to secure “rights to the city.”

CHAPTER 2

Production of the urban citizen: A geographical review of literatures

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation draws on, and contributes to, literatures regarding abjection, socio-spatial regulation, and public space, uniting them into a framework through which to understand the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing enacted by a variety of players, including state, public and private organizations. Community policing effects a socio-spatial regulation of the Other in urban public space and produces the urban-citizen subject by mobilizing discourses of the Other and limiting access to public space for those who are Othered. This limited access problematizes definitions of citizenship by questioning who has rights to public space.

This chapter points to key literatures which focus on the socio-spatial regulation of those constructed as Others and how that sanctioning affects access to, and actions in, public space. Within this literature review, I examine how the intertwined relationship between abjection, social control and public informs and affects policies, practices and discourses of community policing (see Figure 2.1). The socio-spatial regulation of those constructed as abject undermines the potential of public space. When space becomes sanitized, the possibility of encounter with difference is erased. The meaning of the word “public” becomes narrowed to a very specific definition that often fits only those who hold the power to define it. Policings of public space by communities can often leave a geography of nowhere for those who are considered outsiders, meaning literally that there is no place socially acceptable for those who are Othered to be. By investigating literatures that touch upon the themes of community, governmentality, citizen-subject and

territoriality, this chapter provides an overview of the theoretical and practical implications of community policing through the lenses of abjection, socio-spatial control and public space.

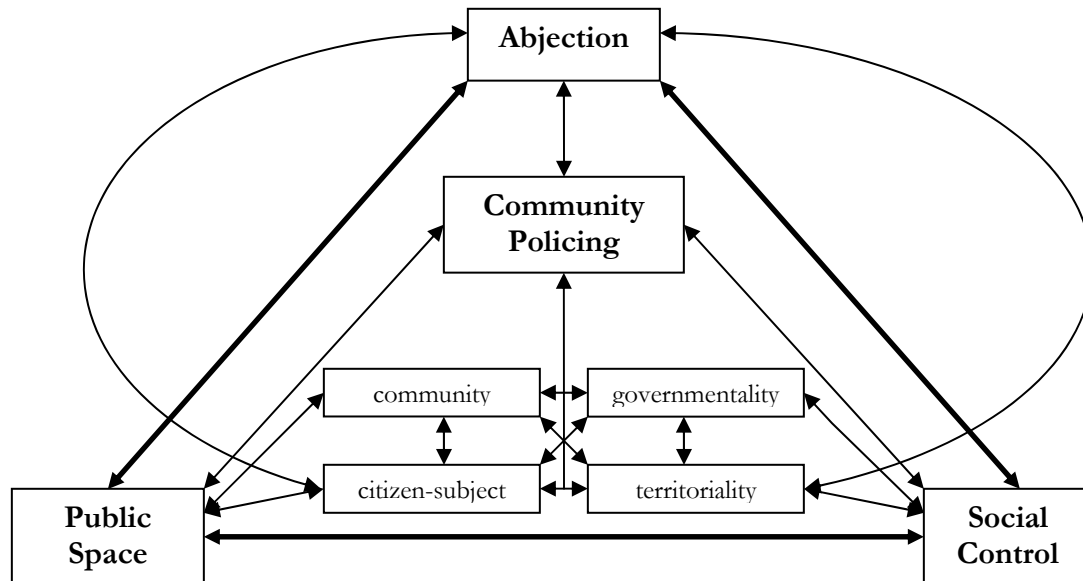


Figure 2.1 Diagram of the relationship between literatures.

This research utilizes and furthers literatures on abjection, specifically abject bodies (see Grosz 1994, 1990, Kirby 1997, Kristeva 1982, Longhurst 2000, McClintock 1995, Pile 1996, Price and Shildrick 1999, Sibley 1995, 1981). Abjection is a discourse, an effect and a process of casting out. Bodily abjection or abject bodies occur when bodily norms are breached. While all bodies can be abject during certain states (including voiding of bodily waste, for instance), some are considered more abject than others because they are seen as acting outside the norms of society (e.g., chronic public inebriates, prostitutes, drug users). Kristeva (1982) describes abjection as an unsettling, or even horrific, response to threatened boundaries between subject and object or between self and Other. The abject “disturbs identity, system, order [and] does not respect borders, positions, rules” (p. 4). Abjection encompasses the paradoxes of

transgression, which is crucial to the critical examination of social relations and constructions (Cresswell 1996, Rose 1993, Sibley 1995). Transgression can form spaces of abjection. Grosz (1994: 192) states that the abject is “what of the body falls away from it while remaining irreducible to the subject/object and inside/outside oppositions. The abject necessarily partakes of both polarized terms but cannot clearly be identified with either. Historically, the abject body is socially constructed as an outsider, one who is not welcome in the public sphere and is not considered a citizen (see Cresswell 2000, 1997, 1996, Douglas 1984, Foucault 1995, Miller 1997, Mitchell 1995, Moran 1996, Painter and Philo 1995, Sibley 1995, 1981, Wilson 1990). Abjection changes, with its meaning shifting according to context. Although it is socially contingent, abjection is more likely to occur when spatial boundaries are transgressed (Cresswell, 1996, 1997, Douglas, 1984, Grosz, 1994, Hubbard, 2002, Kristeva, 1982, Sibley, 1995, 1981).

When spatial boundaries are threatened order is jeopardized, resulting often in a response of socio-spatial control. Forms of socio-spatial control often take place through what Foucault identifies as discourses and practices of governmentality and territoriality (see Brown 2000, Dean 1999, Foucault 1995, 1991, Hannah 2000, 1993, Herbert 1998, 1996a, 1996b, Isin 2000b, Ogborn 1993, Schofield 2002, Sharpe *et al.* 2000). Governmentality, or “the conduct of conduct,” differentiates citizens from non-citizens by regulating through technologies of discipline who should be in public space and what is defined as public space (Gordon 1991: 3). These practices define and redefine what and who should be included within the public and what should not (Foucault 1991). Territoriality, a type of spatial policing, is another method of socio-spatial control used to delineate public space and limit access to public space for those who are not considered

citizens. Both of these forms of regulation, governmentality and territoriality, mark the boundaries of the public through technologies of discipline, creating a geography of citizenship where those who do not act in the socially constructed way a citizen should act are subject to socio-spatial control.

While those who are constructed as abject may be citizens in a legal sense, meaning they are allowed to vote or hold United States passports, they are not citizens in the socio-cultural sense. That is, they are not seen as having the same “moral” fortitude as those who are not seen as engaged in some form of illicit behavior. This dissertation argues that when action is perceived to be disorderly, both the activity and the person performing the deed are seen as abject. It is their transgression of morality and lack of orderly actions in public space that instigates their production as the Other of the citizen and calls for the circumscription of their use of public space. Marshall ([1950] 1997: 92) argues that citizenship is “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (quoted in Holston 1999: 168). But those who are seen as transgressive in public space and who contradict notions of order are not constructed as part of the “community.” Their actions threaten, as Mitchell (2003: 183) writes, “the very ideals upon which we have constructed our rather fragile notions of legitimate citizenship.”

ABJECTION

Breaching of boundaries

Within this section, I explore the relationship between transgression and abjection, setting abjection in relation to socio-spatial control and public space. Transgression of social norms creates a sense of unease, which is disruptive to society. Ultimately, that

disruption must be dealt with. By examining literatures on abject bodies and abject actions, I show how the presence of abjection in public space often leads to a socio-spatial policing. When boundaries are breached, abjection is likely to occur, making abjection a relevant geographical topic.

Academics, especially feminist geographers, have recently begun to focus on abject bodies in space and abject bodies as space (Bell *et al.* 2001, Grosz 1998, 1995, 1994, Knox and Pinch 2000, Longhurst 2000, 1997, 1995, Nast and Pile 1998, Pile 1996). Abject spaces are considered dangerous and frightening because they are places of uncertainty. Boundaries dissolve in abject spaces, resulting in confusion of categories and apprehension as comfort levels are breached.

Transgression of public space and appropriating space for other than intended uses have become a focus in geography (see Bell 1995, Buck-Morss 1986, Chauncey 1996, Cresswell 2000, Mitchell 2003, Pile and Keith 1997, Valentine 1996, Warner and Berlant 2002). This focus is important in that it provides a moment to explore alternatives to the dominant norm. Cresswell (1996: 2) defines transgression as “crossing a boundary” and notes “transgression, and the reaction to it, underlines those values that are considered correct and appropriate.”

The mobilization of abjection through social and spatial separation can be viewed as a purification attempt. The process of separation serves two functions: one, it maintains an idea of social purity and two, it compartmentalizes society into categories of pure and defiled (Sibley 1995). Hubbard (2004) states that abjection marks the boundary between pure and polluted and drawing on Sibley (2001) suggests that desires to prevent boundary violation thrive on stereotypical images of repulsion which become mapped

onto particular social groups. Moral panics are reflective of fears about belonging and not belonging, about the purity of territory and the fear of transgression. Sibley (1995: 69) states,

Feelings of insecurity about territory, status and power where material rewards are unevenly distributed and continually shifting over space encourage boundary erection and the rejection of threatening difference.

A threatening difference is often used as justification for social control and the construction of social Others. Those Others then become targets of social control. This process of Othering can lead to, or can be based in, abjection. Identity is formed by difference, which can be theorized through alterity. One asserts an identity through the process of negation of that which one is not. This process denies an essential identity, since identification takes place only through a relation to another that is different. The outside of the category is therefore already embedded within the category. Boundaries between categories are not stable and need each side to exist. This relationship marks a “trace” of the Other onto the Self, onto one’s identity for the Self cannot be formed without the Other (Derrida 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, Dwyer and Jones 2000, Isin 2000a, Laclau and Mouffe 1985, Natter and Jones 1997).

The constitutive process that forms the unmarked categories is often ignored and the unsignified category becomes naturalized. The dialectical relationship that exists between the marked and unmarked categories is dismissed and the marked category becomes deviant. Certain categories such as white, male, heterosexual or abled pass as unmarked (Brown 2000, del Casino and Hannah 2000, Dwyer and Jones 2000, Hall 1991, Hubbard 2002, Kobayashi and Peake 2000, Nast 2000, Roediger 1994, Valentine 1996,

1993). Those that deviate from the norm are likely to be subject to social policing when in public space.

Deviance is often reinforced geographically through the spatialization of social boundaries. Spatial distance facilitates social distance. When proximity occurs, the categorical boundaries are challenged and can lead to unease. According to Hubbard (2002: 371), the “potential for abjection is thus present when spatial orders are called into question, blurring the distinction of pure and polluted.” In public space, where physical proximity is likely to occur, order is established to provide a clearer distinction between the pure and the polluted, the marked and unmarked, the citizen or non-citizen.

Desire/disgust, two sides of the same coin

Bodily emissions, the substances and odors that come from us create a sense of unease and evoke feelings of disgust (Creed 1993, Douglas 1984, Grosz 1994, Kristeva 1982, Longhurst 2001, Miller 1997, Russo 1997). Disgust, while visceral, is a social construction and tied to morality. The moral element of disgust relates to conceptualizations of vice. Vice is “a moralizing capacity of disgust” and “a temptation and a threat to moral and social order” (Miller 1997: 187). Disgust upholds moral and social orders and provides definitions of “us” and “them,” “private” and “public,” what is tolerated and what is to be expunged.

Disgust serves a social purpose in that it differentiates as well as elevates one’s status above those who are despised (Miller 1997). This disgust is also used against those constructed as abject (e.g., prostitutes, drug users, and chronic public inebriates) to justify strategies of confinement and exile (Longhurst 2001, Pile 1996, Sennett 1994, Sibley 1995, 1981, Wilson 1990). Disgust and its “Other,” desire, and are applicable and important to discussions of the abject body, especially those of the prostitute, drug user

and chronic public inebriate. Sibley (1995: 3-4) argues “[r]epulsion and desire, fear and attraction, attach both to people and to places in complex ways” (3-4). Initially, there is desire for sex or sexual gratification (by the client) and/or desire for the drug of choice—crack, heroin or alcohol—by the drug user or chronic public inebriate.²⁹ For the frequenter of the prostitute as well as the prostitute, there may be a feeling of guilt or uncleanliness (Delacoste and Alexander 1998, Freud 1989, Kipnis 1993, Meretrix 2001, Sawyer *et al.* 2002, Sycamore 2000). For the drug user, there can be an initial sickness (nausea or vomiting) after the use of certain drugs, like heroin, and for the chronic public inebriate, an excess of alcohol can induce similar reactions.

Public privates

Chantal Mouffe (1993: 93) states, “The public sphere is always created by the exclusion from that public sphere of things which we do not want to bring to bear on the public sphere.” Public and private spaces are not two separate, bounded entities though they are at times constructed as such. It is impossible to draw boundaries delineating what is public and private. Public space requires private space to exist, but for certain marginalized groups such as the homeless,³⁰ private space does not exist.

The constructed distinction between the public and private is intimately related to the interior and exterior of the body. Those who are without the luxury of private space must conduct those activities which are considered private in public space. Hygiene, sexual and leisure activities are performed publicly. The body becomes public. The interior functions and the exterior of the body become public. Buck-Morss (1986: 118) argues,

²⁹ Certain drug use, especially that of heroin, is equated with or surpasses sexual satisfaction and desire in that the drug provides a better high than an orgasm. Use of heroin often mutes one’s sexual drive.

³⁰ The lack of private space can also have a temporal element. For some, such as streetwalking prostitutes or others such as chronic public inebriates, victims of domestic abuse, the mentally challenged, et cetera, private space can be accessed at some points during the day (motels or shelters), but often they are without a private space over which they have domain.

To inhabit the streets as one's living room is quite a different thing from needing them as a bedroom, bathroom or kitchen, where the most intimate aspects of one's life are not protected from the view of strangers, and ultimately, the police.

The relationship between interior and exterior, public and private creates linkages to the imposition of "disease" as a marker onto those who are constructed as abject, leading to the infliction of social control by monitoring the body.

Physical disease, social dis-ease

Analysis of metaphors and who uses them highlights power relations (Brown 2000, Cresswell 2000, 1997, 1996, Derrida 1991, Grosz 1990, McClintock 1995, Pile 1996). Brown (2000: 15) states: "metaphors can carry along with them a whole system or networks of beliefs that do powerful epistemological work but remain taut and unacknowledged." While the use of metaphor can be problematic, since certain metaphors can connote a myriad of unintended meanings, Cresswell (1997: 334) argues:

Metaphors are *acts* that encourage some thoughts and actions and discourage others and this has geographical implication. Many are metaphors that tell us *what and who belong where*, they are, as such, constitutive moments in the spatiality of everyday life (original emphasis).

Even if a metaphor is not directly geographical, metaphors cannot be divorced from space. The connotations produced by metaphors have real effects. Drawing on Lefebvre (1991), Cresswell (1997: 333) argues that metaphors are more than a figure of speech, but can be thought of as acts which "can be understood as a mode of thought and action that is implicated in everyday life. This extends metaphor beyond rhetoric or theoretical understanding and into the realm of practice and experience."

The abject body is further a site of socio-spatial control as the deployment of bodily metaphors such as disease intensify that social control (Bordo 1993, Brook 1999, Conboy *et al.* 1997, Cresswell 2001, 1997, 1996, Douglas 1984, Featherstone *et al.* 1991,

Foucault 1995, 1990a, 1990b, 1988, Martin 1987, Price and Shildrick 1999, Sennett 1994, 1970, Shilling 1993, Sibley 1995, Turner 1996). Disease, both metaphorically and literally, is seen as a form of pollution. Ideas of pollution underlie social power relations in that they define what is “out of place” (Cresswell 1997). When people are considered to be diseased, they are either quarantined or exiled to reduce the risk of contagion. Douglas (1996) states, “[w]herever dirt is identified...there is ‘matter-out-of-place’. Thus shoes in their ‘proper place’ are just shoes, while shoes on the dining table become dirt” (quoted in Cresswell 1997: 334).

Discourses of disease are used to justify socio-spatial control in the name of public health. McQuie (2000: 9) writes, “Infectious disease discourse applied to the social body demands spatialized strategies to protect the ‘healthy’ from possible contagion.” The state, in the form of public health agencies provide governmental and scientific discourses on the body and as Foucault (1990a: 54) argues,

sets itself up as the supreme authority in matters of hygienic necessity, taking up the old fears of venereal affliction and combining them with the new themes of asepsis, and the great evolutionist myths with the recent institutions of public health, it claimed to ensure the physical vigor and the moral cleanliness of the social body, it promised to eliminate defective individuals, degenerate and bastardized populations.

Disease rhetoric rationalizes the elimination of “defective individuals, degenerate and bastardized populations” from public space for reasons of public health. This exclusion in the name of public safety often has unintentionally negative effects on public health and welfare (Fischer and Poland 1998, see also Wilkinson 1996).

“Epidemiological language describing drug use as ‘contagious’, ‘epidemic’, and ‘infectious’ have become common metaphors” used by the police and the general public (McQuie 2000: 9). The disease metaphor is used to describe prostitutes and drug users

because prostitutes and drug users are believed by a large component of society to carry or be more likely to have sexually transmitted and blood diseases including venereal diseases, AIDS, Hepatitis B, and Hepatitis C (Bonilla 1999, Chapkis 2000, Cresswell 2000, 1997, Howell 2000a, Hubbard 1998, Hunt 2002, Kail *et al.* 1995, Lerum 1998, Loff *et al.* 2000, Porter and Weitzer 1999, Wahab 2002).

Metaphors of disease underscore the construction of abject bodies and reinforce moral geographies. Abject bodies are further marked as immoral since diseases “that attack the skin in especially grotesque ways often come to be understood as allegories of the moral condition of the inside: leprosy and syphilis (like AIDS today) were thus seen as moral afflictions and the wages of sin” (Miller 1997: 52, see also Gilman 1988, 1985, Wilton 1998). Additionally, cirrhosis of the liver, Hepatitis B, and Hepatitis C jaundice the skin and abscesses can erupt at points of infection from intravenous drug use, creating a physical mark of vice. Prostitutes and drug users are seen as socially acceptable only after they have been cleansed of social dis-ease.

To label someone as diseased places him or her in a lower social status. It strips them of humanity and reduces them to a body that must be cleansed, controlled and purged. This disciplinary impulse has been argued to contain remnants of fear of contagion from earlier plagues and outbreaks (McClintock 1995, Foucault 1990, Wilson 1990, Craddock and Dorn 2001). These fears led to extensive purification campaigns in nineteenth century United States and United Kingdom, which have “left a deep imprint on attitudes about sex, medical practice, child-rearing, parental anxieties, police conduct, and sex law” (Rubin 1984: 268). There is always a desire for separation and segregation in order to heal social ills. The cure is to remove the disease which “threatens the boundaries of

personal, local and national space...[T]he ‘diseased other’ has an important role in defining normality and stability” (Sibley 1995: 24). This normality and stability is policed and upheld through socio-spatial control, through the regulation of bodies and space and bodies in space.

This dissertation provides a deeper understanding of the discourses, practices and processes of abjection by examining them as they work on the ground in the East Precinct. Abjection is seen in the East Precinct through a variety of means. An ethnography of the East Precinct provides a glimpse into the everyday consequences and mobilizations of abjection. It is seen in the practices of territoriality, in the discourses of public safety and in the processes of exclusion.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Socio-spatial control

This section links abjection to social control, discussing the role of disciplinary power in modern society through the Foucaultian discourses and practices of governmentality and territoriality. Under the rubric of controlling disorder, governmentality and territoriality are exercised by the police and community policing groups, such as neighborhood associations and crime watch groups (e.g., Block Watch), to project their images of community and order on public space. These images inform how the “citizen” is conceptualized by society through narrow definitions of the public and public space and which actions and people are considered appropriate for each.

Disciplinary power operates within society--not above society--through social control as a “disciplinary technology” (Foucault 1997, 1995, see also Fischer and Poland 1998, Gordon 1992, Lemke 2000). As such, power can move “through progressively finer channels, gaining access to individuals themselves, to their bodies, their gestures

and all their daily actions” and “inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (Foucault 1980: 39, 152). Hannah (1993: 413) posits that “[a]t the core of the disciplinary logic of social control lies a mechanism for the regulation of human activity composed of three ‘moments’: *observation, judgment and enforcement.*” Any form of policing, whether it is formal or informal, involves each of these three moments. There must be an observation of some person or activity, judgment that the person or action is disorderly and enforcement of norms to restore order.

Power is always related to knowledge in that knowledge justifies power. Foucault (1995) argues that power and knowledge directly imply one another. Power must make everything and everybody visible, in order that they be known. The panopticon, a mode where people are aware that they are being observed, becomes a generalized function spread throughout the social body and forms a disciplinary society (Foucault 1995). The panopticon, besides a method of discipline, is also a form of data collection as knowledge is obtained through surveillance. The state “relies upon surveillance, upon the state’s ability to collect, store and use information about its subjects” (Herbert 1996a: 567). But it is not only the state and police that rely upon surveillance. Communities rely upon the power/space/knowledge trifecta in order to map out and enforce their community boundaries. Bodies and spaces are mapped through observation and reports (Moran 1996, Mort 1998) designating between orderly and disorderly, citizen and non-citizen. These practices define and redefine what should be included or not, what is designated as public and what is not (Foucault 1991).

Urban governments, police and communities use their disciplinary power to produce idealized public space and its idealized inhabitant, the ‘citizen,’ by creating and supporting exclusion, both formally and informally. This power is exercised through what Foucault calls governmentality and territoriality. These two methods of socio-spatial control are often combined by a variety of parties—the state, police, civil society institutions, communities—interested in the maintenance of “order” to uphold the illusion that an orderly public space can be achieved. This is true in the East Precinct as is seen in the case of local government (the Mayor and Seattle City Council), the Seattle Police Department, non-profit organizations, and the neighborhood associations that are all involved in excluding those who are seen as non-conformant to dominant social behaviors. In the cases of prostitutes, drug dealers and chronic public inebriates, the processes of territoriality and governmentality work together to form idealized spaces of order.

Governmentality

Governmentality is the regulation of social relations between government and those governed (Schofield 2002). It prescribes a mode of conduct. Foucault’s definition of governmentality as “the conduct of conduct” provides for the examination of how governmentality is inscribed upon abject bodies—to think “about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern, what governing is, what or who is governed)” (Gordon 1991: 3). Governmentality does not necessarily refer to government as a political entity, but instead refers to,

more or less calculated and rationalized activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, which seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of both those who govern and those who are governed (Isin 2000b: 149).

Governments construct and identify the social body to “render this object at least partially susceptible to rational management” (Hannah 1993: 24-25).

Foucault’s notion of governmentality encapsulates the governing of not only the Other, but also the Self, through self-surveillance (Foucault 1995). Sometimes the self-surveillance is prompted by reminders from the state. For example, posted signs in areas of surveillance help citizens “come to ‘govern’ themselves through the state’s mentality” (Figure 2.2) (Brown 2000: 89). Those who are not self-surveillant nor non-compliant with norms are subject to policing. They become known as delinquents. Modern power is no longer the power of the sovereign, but instead is the power of the social body (Foucault 1984). In modern power, when the body of society has replaced that of the sovereign, the social body is healed by removing the sick, by excluding delinquents.



Figure 2.2 Sign of governmentality. Courtesy of Phil Green.

Foucault (1990: 141) states that “[d]iscipline sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself.” In the case of those seen as abject in public space, the only place accessible is one of reform (jail, rehabilitation center, et cetera) where they are enclosed off from society. Prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates are excluded unless they become part of a system

in which they become enclosed to be rehabilitated/treated. When they occupy a sanctional space, they fall under the surveillant gaze of the city (see Parr 2000, 1997, Parr and Philo 1995, Philo and Parr 2000). Their movements, actions, and interactions are subject to scrutiny and punishment if deemed unacceptable. They are caught in the trappings of what Foucault (1990: 198) terms “exile-enclosure.”

Forms of policing, both formal and informal, are also functions of governmentality. Foucault (1984: 241-2) defines the police as “a program of government rationality. This can be characterized as a project to create a system of regulation of the general conduct of individuals whereby everything would be controlled to the point of self-sustenance, without the need for intervention.” Once again, policing does not have to only refer to the state-sanctioned law-enforcement entity. Community policing bolsters the relationship between the individual and the state by hailing them to become a part of the regulatory body. Saunders (1999: 137) argues that community policing “involves the mobilization of state subjects into the repressive and ideological apparatuses of rule. It collectivizes and incorporates ‘civilian’ bodies into the practice of surveillance and, by extension, of the state” (original emphasis).

In the East Precinct, these civilian bodies take the form of crime prevention councils, neighborhood associations and Block Watch groups. While the Seattle Police Department polices according to the dictates of the state, the civilians in the East Precinct police in their own ways. While they may not be able to arrest those that break the law, those involved in community policing are able to keep records of crimes committed and those who commit them. This act of governmentality then becomes an act of

territoriality. Community policing creates territoriality out of governmentality by creating an Other to be excluded.

Territoriality

Activities that exclude or conversely, include, can be regarded as territorial. Defense of a territory happens through processes of inclusion and exclusion. The *Dictionary of Human Geography* (2000) defines territoriality as the “assignment of persons and social groups to discrete areas through the use of boundaries.” It defines human territoriality “as the strategy used by individuals, groups and organizations to exercise power over a portion of space and its contents,” and states that the range of territoriality can be from a personal space bubble to nation-states. According to the dictionary, territoriality is put into practice three ways: popular acceptance of classifications of space, communication of a sense of place, and enforcing control over space. Cox (2002) cites such examples as the allocation of school districts, which simultaneously include and exclude, the assignment of extra police patrols to particular neighborhoods, or the presence of gated communities and private schools.

Foucault (1984: 68) defines territory as “a geographical notion, but it’s first of all a juridico-political one: The area controlled by a certain type of power.” Foucault (1984: 252) argues that “space is fundamental in any exercise of power.” Sack (1986: 2) described territoriality as a spatial strategy “to affect, influence and control.” Territories are spaces “that are defended, contested, claimed against the claims of others...Territoriality is activity: the activity of defending, controlling, excluding, including, territory is the area whose content one seeks to control in these ways” (Cox 2002: 1). Cox goes on to state that territory “is to be understood through its relations to those activities we define as territorial: the exercise of territoriality, in other words”

(ibid: 3).

Johnston (2001) argues that territoriality can be useful in studies of group and individual behavior at multiple scales, although it is commonly used to describe state power, leading to criticism. For example, Agnew (1994) and others believe that political geography suffers from a “territoriality fetish” (see Johnston 2001) and needs to focus on territoriality on smaller scales due to a fragmentation of the state.

Gottman (1973: ix) defined territory as “a portion of space enclosed by boundary lines” and noted its relevance to political geography since territory is “a material, spatial notion establishing essential links between politics, people and the natural setting” (quoted in Johnston 2001). Gottman (ibid: x) stated that examinations of territories show the “internal” relationships between communities and space, and the “external” relationships between communities and their neighbors. He also argued that,

the significance of territory, at least in ‘western’ history, has not been simply in the routine of political processes but also as a `psychosomatic device ... [whose] evolution ... [is] closely related to the human striving for security, opportunity and happiness.

Community watch groups are predicated upon the notion of exclusion. They monitor those who are outsiders or strangers. Police often encourage citizens of “communities” to use strategies of territoriality to mark their spaces and to discourage those who are not citizens of the community, especially those seen as deviants such as prostitutes, drug users, vagrants, et cetera, to move on or to avoid the community (and the space) all together. States Fischer and Poland (1998, p. 191), “‘community policing’ has come to entail governance of local space by targeting ‘problem’ hosts or carriers of ‘disorder’”. The boundaries and areas that are created through territoriality mark areas of citizenry. Public spaces are controlled and patrolled in order to purify public space and reduce risk

of “contagion” of the citizen from abject bodies in public space, and at the same time to delineate who can be a citizen.

This dissertation adds to understanding of how citizenship is tied to territoriality by examining the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing. There is little research on the application of territoriality to community policing and especially on how that relates to constructions of citizenship. While the discussion of territoriality is a common subject in geography, it has yet to be applied to policing done by those other than the state. Through the discussion of the relationship between community policing and territoriality in the East Precinct, a portrait is revealed of the idealized citizen. This idealized citizen is in ideological opposition to those that are policed by the community. The ideal citizen enacts territoriality, rather than being targeted by it.

Resistance

According to Foucault, within technologies of power there are always points of confrontation and struggle. This resistance takes a myriad of forms and can be either direct or indirect (Chauncey 1996, Daly 1998, de Certeau 1984, Hubbard 1998, Pile 1997, Rose 2002, Scott 1985). De Certeau’s “strategies and tactics” provide a useful base upon which to frame the resistive relationship between the governing/knowing and the governed/known. Urban governments and police use strategies to create “a *panoptic practice* proceeding from a place when the eye can transform foreign forces into objects that can be observed and measured, and thus control and ‘include’ them within its scope of vision” (de Certeau 1984: 36, original emphasis). Strategies, while based on sight and observation, are spatial as well. They construct geographies of known/unknown, controlled/uncontrollable, and order/disorder. To avoid this surveillance and these

geographies, prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates or others constructed as abject, engage in tactics.

Increased surveillance constructs geographies of fear in which prostitutes and drug users are forced to make decisions that they otherwise might not have due to increased threat of incarceration or action by police (Delacoste and Alexander 1998, Elias *et al.* 1999, Hubbard 2004, Margonelli 2002, Muhlstein 2001, Sycamore 2000, Weitzer 2000, Zebrowski 2002). In order to avoid detection, drug users are compelled to use in areas that lack the basic amenities for proper injection (eg., clean water). According to outreach workers, homeless users “are at greater risk of overdosing because they take less precautions in injecting drugs, for fear of getting caught by police” (Talvi 2000). Pamphlets on how to inject drugs under less than ideal circumstances are distributed through outreach services. This literature arms the user with a way to combat the surveillance that can lead to bodily harm. Under surveillance, prostitutes have less time to evaluate potential dates and weigh the risks involved (Carole 1998, Hubbard and Sanders 2003). One Seattle area prostitute stated that “[m]ost of the time out there, you use your sixth sense as far as ‘Is this guy going to kill me?’ But the biggest thing women worry about is getting arrested” (Muhlstein 2001).

Painter and Philo (1995: 117) write of a “citizenship of non-citizens” in which the non-citizen occupies tenuous spaces for brief periods of time and is connected to others through “fragile networks of friends, word of mouth and local knowledge.” These non-citizens are able to occupy public spaces for only a short while before fear of harassment by the police occurs. Many times, these non-citizens enact tactics of avoidance in public spaces “where ‘proper’ citizens go and instead seek and carve out safe havens away from

the ‘terrorism’ of such places” (Painter and Philo 1995: 116). De Certeau (1984: 37) argues that the “space of the tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. ... It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers.”

Governments, police and others interested in maintaining an idealized public space are committed to filling those cracks through a variety of methods. For McQuie (2000: 8), “[a]chieving public order is not framed as law enforcement activity per se, but as winning the battle of wresting public space from undesirable individuals.” The battle for public space and the control of disorder on a micro-scale has become a popular way of creating the illusion of order in public space.

This dissertation explores how a variety of players in the East Precinct actively pursue the illusion of order and how they create geographies of exclusion in the name of order. The “wresting of public space from undesirable individuals” is a common theme to community policing. Those who engage in policing “disorder” believe that they are doing the “right” thing. Those who are considered undesirable in public space are in need of policing in order to create a public space that is safe and orderly for those who fit the role and follow social norms for public space.

Broken windows

One of the most popular methods of controlling crime and disorder, endorsed by police and neighborhood associations alike, is Wilson and Kellings (1982) “broken windows theory.” The basic premise of broken windows theory is that if a window gets broken and is not repaired, it is assumed by both the community and stranger that the building is not cared about by the inhabitants of the building or the neighborhood.

Neighborhood morale begins to decline and criminals will move in. This is supposed to result in more broken windows and an escalation in nuisance crimes, such as graffiti, vandalism, trespassing, et cetera and general disorder.



Figure 2.3 Example of broken windows theory on the ground.

Dan Kahan (1997: 370-1, quoted in Harcourt 2002: 125) states that,

Disorder...is pregnant with meaning: Public drunkenness, prostitution, aggressive panhandling and similar behavior signal not only that members of the community are inclined to engage in disorderly conduct, but also that the community is unable or unwilling to enforce basic norms...In this environment, individuals who are otherwise inclined to engage in crime are much more likely to do so.

Wilson and Kelling argue (1989: 46) that “sometimes ‘fixing broken windows’ does more to reduce crime than conventional ‘incident-oriented’ policing.” They argue that this is such because 1) “a lot of serious crime is adventitious, not the result of inexorable social forces or personal failings” and 2) “law-abiding citizens who are afraid to go out onto streets filled with graffiti, wins, and loitering youths yield control of these streets to people who are not frightened by these signs of urban decay” (ibid: 47).

Broken windows theory is enforced by police and by community policing organizations by the arresting/reporting of petty crimes such as those listed above. The focus is on dissipating crime before it spirals out of police and community control. Broken windows is a way of controlling social meaning and by doing that, changing human behavior. It is a melding of law and social norms. Kelling (1987) argues that,

[u]ntended *disorderly behavior* communicate[s] that nobody cares (or that nobody can or will do anything about the disorder) and thus [may] lead to increasingly aggressive criminal and dangerous predatory behavior (in Mitchell 2003: 201, original emphasis).

Broken windows theory is not just about windows, but the control of disorderly people. Broken windows can be made of glass, but they can also be prostitutes, drug dealers and chronic public inebriates.

Several scholars have come forth to critique the broken windows theory by questioning the data used to support the theory (see Harcourt 2002, Sampson and Raudenbush 1999, Taylor 2000). Policing under the Broken Windows rhetoric “scapegoats the homeless and other people we deem disorderly” (Harcourt 2001: A23, quoted in Mitchell 2003: 228). This is due to the way that policing works under Broken Windows. Those who are viewed by police and communities as disorderly are policed more stringently and often harassed simply for their presence in public space.

Harcourt (2002: 7) finds that “there is no good evidence to support broken windows theory. In fact, the social science data reveal no statistically significant relationship between disorder and crime in four out of five tests.” Harcourt continues his critique of the order-maintenance approach, questioning its theoretical validity, stating that it poses a false dichotomy of the disorderly and the law-abiding which is shaped by policing and punishment strategies. While some studies have shown a link between enforcing minor

crimes and a drop in serious crime, a cause and effect relationship has yet to be established (Worrall 2002). But broken windows theory has been largely embraced by police, governmental and civil society institutions concerned with crime. Researchers at the Police Foundation found that residents of neighborhoods that had community policing programs “felt that social disorder had decreased and that the neighborhood had become a better place to live” (Wilson and Kelling 1989).

Broken windows theory allows, through exercises of governmentality and territoriality, the marking of abject bodies by those who engage in spatial policing. The endorsement of this type of socio-spatial control by community policing groups (or the police or government institutions) creates a way for communities to exclude those constructed as the Other. This dissertation shows how socio-spatial control exercised through community policing leads to practices of exclusion by communities under the rubric of order. Communities mark those who are seen as different as strangers, as outsiders. They then seek to expel those they perceive as infiltrating their communities. Residents of the East Precinct repeatedly engage in these practices as they police the contours of their communities.

Community

Being part of a community can produce a feeling of belonging and of acceptance. To quote Richard Sennett (1970: 31): “[t]he bond of community is one of sensing common identity, a pleasure in recognizing ‘us’ and ‘who we are.’” While the concept of community is exclusive in its inclusivity, it must be noted that it is a fluid concept that shifts according to scale. For common purposes, a community is defined as a group that shares a set of common interests. A community identity is a collective identity. In order for community to exist, microdivisions are ignored and commonality is promoted

(Fischer and Poland 1998, Schofield 2002, Sennett 1970). Schofield (2002: 663) writes, “[t]o think community is to enter a world without enemies.” Williams (1976: 76) comments on the affect of community stating that it,

can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships. What is important is that unlike all other terms of social organization (state, society, etc.) it never seems to be used unfavourably and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term (quoted in Schofield 2002: 664).

As a citizen, you are joined in an imaginary community with other citizens (Anderson 1991, Sharp 1996). Communities are built through a social interaction between invested individuals (Martin 2002). With this interaction comes a power, participating in a community also means deciding who gets to participate. One’s communal identity glosses over difference between members of a community and exacerbates difference between the community and those who are not accepted as part of the fold. The ideal of community “expresses a desire for the fusion of subjects with one another which in practice operates to exclude those with whom the group does not identify” (Young 1990: 227). This has spatial ramifications. Being part of a community gives one a claim to space—communal space, public space.

Neighborhoods are often envisioned as the spaces of community. Yet neighborhoods are specifically contingent on location (Martin 2002) and communities are not necessarily (see Anderson 1991). Neighborhoods change and people and businesses move in and out over time. But there is a constant. When the idea of the neighborhood is mentioned, a sense of nostalgia is often evoked. There is almost a utopian vision of the area that is “the neighborhood.” When the characters on Sesame Street™ sing of the “people in your neighborhood”, they sing of business owners and police, school children

and postal workers, not prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates. Cox (2002: 148-9) argues that there is a creation of a moral hierarchy of “good” and “bad” neighborhoods, arguing that “[w]ithin this moral socio-spatial hierarchy residents jostle further to redefine their spaces, their neighborhoods, in some way which will further enhance their sense of social worth.”

Community policing

Policing of space occurs at various scales through various means, ranging from the policing by law enforcement agencies to community watch groups. Of course, there are any number of combinations of groups that negotiate the perceived public-private divide of this policing, meaning that law enforcement officers deal with both public and private space as do community watch groups. While police officers are charged with public safety and order, they use their links with communities to police in ways that they cannot always. Neighborhood watch groups with their own systems of vigilance (at times in league with local law enforcement) are able to police spaces through alternate means of policing (e.g., members of a group can physically patrol certain hot spots for much longer than a police officer can allocate her time). It must be noted that those who engage in community policing are often not representative of the larger community. Sadd and Grinc (1994) argue that those with greater social capital participate to a greater extent than those with fewer social resources. They argue that sometimes this leads to policies that “target of members of the community who do not [or even cannot] participate” (quoted in Bass 2000: 151).

Community policing, also called “problem-oriented policing,” is a relatively recent form of law enforcement. It signals change in the “who, what, why and how of social control” (Fischer and Poland 1998, see Scheerer and Hess, 1997, Stenson 1993).

Its goal is to create a more functional and cooperative relationship between police and neighborhoods (Mastrofski *et al.* 1998). According to Greene and Mastrofski (1988), community policing began as a result of communities feeling estranged from police and wanting some form of police accountability. Community policing functions as a rhetorical strategy to legitimate and hold accountable police departments as well as bolster surveillance to an extent that just cannot be done with police manpower and resources alone (Saunders 1999).

Community policing calls for officers to create relations with a vast array of organizations, both public and private, and to engage with members of the communities (Goetz and Mitchell 2003, see also Kleinenberg 2001 and Thracher 2001). Goetz and Mitchell (2003: 222) state in their research that the theme of “officer as community-builder” is a popular theme throughout the community policing movement. They build community by creating a common goal—that of eradicating crime and nuisance. The interaction between the police and community is supposed to help with persistent community problems that are perceived to lead to crime and disorder (Greene and Mastrofski 1988). Community policing comes out of a “common philosophical assumption that social disorganization leads to crime and must be minimized” (Goetz and Mitchell 2003: 222)

Neighborhood organizations are often involved in a type of community policing. The most common grievances which are cited by these neighborhood organizations are: 1) disorderly conduct as prostitutes and drug traffickers causing commotion by flagging down cars and arguing and fighting with people on the street, 2) partying, 3) discarded paraphernalia which is viewed not simply as unsightly trash but also as a public health

hazard and vehicles for the possible transmission of AIDS, 4) public health risks related to the spread of AIDS, Hepatitis B and Hepatitis C, and 5) risks to children as many people tell stories of having observed children playing with used condoms and syringes.

In these neighborhood associations, there exists a community of fear based on the threat of an “invasion by outsiders.” Residents believe their neighborhoods are under siege by outsiders and they seek to “take back” their community. In doing so, they produce a discourse of the abject. In the Miller Park area of Seattle, residents gather every other Friday evening and march up and down the block (Figure 2.4). One of the participants, Wes, stated, “We take the American flag, and we form a little line, and we walk. We go wherever they are. Sometimes we double back on them and come in at a different angle.”



Figure 2. 4 Neighborhood March. Courtesy of Andrew Taylor.

Community policing “requires the willing participation of the public...[and] therefore the police to transform communities from being passive consumers of police protection to active co-producers of public safety” (Bayley and Scheering 1995: 588

quoted in Fischer and Poland 1998: 189). Saunders (1999: 137) argues that community policing “contributes to state efforts to individuate its subjects through the elaboration of a system for training individuals in the ‘proper’ (or what police call the ‘most effective’) use of their bodies—looking, listening, recording observations and passing this information on to police. Community policing “collectivizes and incorporates ‘civilian’ bodies into the practice of surveillance, and by extension, of the state” (ibid.).

PUBLIC SPACE

By determining what actions and behaviors are considered appropriate in public space and by excluding those who do not act in accordance, citizenship is constructed as a response to the abject (Bell 1995, Davis 1990, Ellickson 1996, Fyfe and Bannister 1998, Jones 1997, Lister 1997a, Mitchell 2001, 1995, Painter and Philo 1995, Smith 1996, Wilson 1990). The citizen also plays an important role in liberal democratic political theory. Those not conceptualized as full citizens are marginalized and have limited or no rights to public space, especially if their actions are deemed inappropriate (Bell 1995, Isin 2000a, Lister 1997b, Mitchell 1995, Staeheli 1996, Staeheli and Thompson 1997).

Citizenship

The “public” in public space is continually in question, thus destabilizing notions of citizenship (Bondi and Domosh 1998, Domosh and Seager 2001, Duncan 1996, Marston 1995, McDowell 1999, 1992, Mitchell 1995, Rose 1993, Staeheli 1996, Vaiou 1992, Warner 2002). Since citizenship is such a complex term, a distinction should be made here between legal citizenship and socio-cultural citizenship. Legal citizenship references position within the political body, while socio-cultural citizenship is “wrapped up in questions about who is accepted as worthy, valuable and responsible member of an everyday community of living and working” (Painter and Philo 1995: 115). Geographers

have provided new definitions of citizenship and challenge standing ones (e.g. racist, sexist, homophobic), but even the new definitions are at times insufficient to describe the processes at work when discussing citizenship.

Definitions of citizenship are intrinsically related to, and complicate, conceptualizations of public space. For example, Staeheli and Thompson (1997: 29) argue that the police 'are charged with guaranteeing access to public spaces for all *citizens*' (emphasis added). But many geographers have repeatedly shown, not all citizens (in the political sense) fit the socio-cultural model and not all are treated the same in public space. Painter and Philo (1995: 115) write,

[I]f citizenship is to mean anything in an everyday sense it should mean the ability of individuals to occupy public spaces in a manner that does not compromise their self-identity, let alone obstruct, threaten or even harm them more materially. If people cannot be present in public spaces (streets, squares, parks, cinemas, churches, town halls) without feeling uncomfortable, victimized and basically 'out of place', then it must be questionable whether or not these people can be regarded as citizens at all, or, at least, whether they will regard themselves as full citizens of the host community able to exist on an equal footing with other people who seem perfectly 'at home' when moving about in public spaces.

Fear of the Other leads to the exclusion of those who are seen as threatening, which undermines the possibility of public space.

The ideal citizen

Young (1990: 120) writes,

The modern conception of the public...creates a conception of citizenship which excludes from public attention the most particular aspects of persons. Public life is supposed to be 'blind' to sex, race, age, and so on, and all persons are supposed to enter the public and its discussion on identical terms. This conception of the public has resulted in the exclusion of persons and aspects of persons from public life.

Yet geographers have shown repeatedly how race, gender and sexuality become markers in the construction of the ideal citizen. Racialized and gendered bodies have

historically not been allowed to be part of citizenry, nor has race or gender been included or recognized as a characteristic of the ideal citizen (Domosh and Seager 2001, Doyle 1994, Marston 1995, Massey 1994, McDowell 1999, Rose 1993, Staeheli 1996, Warner 2002, Wilson 1998). Additionally, prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates are not imagined as part of the civic body as they do not fit the narrowly prescribed role of citizen (Anderson 2002, Foscarinis 1996, Howell 2000a, 2000b, Mitchell 1998a, 1998b, 1997a, Moser 2001, Symanski 1981, 1974, Waldron 1991).

Rose (1993: 35) states that the public/political realm was “constructed as one of rationality, individuality, self-control and hence masculinity, since only men could be fully rational individuals, free from passionate attachments.” Feminist geographers have pointed out how the body has been removed from citizenship and how the dis-embodied citizen fits a masculinist model. Hartsock (1985) explains,

In the masculine citizenship community...bodies and their appetites and desires are given no legitimate place. The body and its desires are treated as loathsome, even inhuman, things that must be overcome if a man is to remain powerful and free...individuals must separate themselves from and conquer the feelings and desires of the body (quoted in Lister 1997a: 70-1).

The ideal political body is thus dis-embodied. Yet modern urban citizenship is constituted “as a space where the ‘normalcy’ of citizenship is articulated against the ‘pathologies’ of non-citizens” (Isin 2000a: 10-11).

The public in public space

Public space has been conceptualized and theorized as a place of encounter (Harvey 1989, Lefebvre 1997, 1991, Sennett 1994, 1976, 1970, Staeheli and Thompson 1997). In public space, especially urban public space, one is confronted with difference and the complexities of social life, which can stimulate a fear of the unknown. This threatening difference is often used as justification for social control, especially of those who are

constructed as Others. Blomley (2000: 3-4) notes:

From one perspective, the potential of public space can only be realized if it allows for spontaneous and unprogrammed encounters with others. It is here (and for many of us, only here) that we encounter the homeless and the destitute, for example.... For some theorists, indeed, it is only through concrete, unmediated encounters with others that a shared public culture is possible. Yet for another constituency, the very unpredictability of public space signals disorder, rather than political possibility. While public space may serve certain limited functions, it requires careful regulation, either by private interests, the state, or through various forms of self-regulation, such as Community Watch programs.

Encounter can be frightening. That's why many times there is a push to exclude that which is considered too different. Those who do not fit the mold of an 'appropriate public' are excluded (see Mitchell 1995, Smith 1996, Thompson and Staeheli 1997). If the urban public is a 'place of encounter', then why is there such a desire to reduce encounters with those who are others? (Lefebvre 1995, 1991, Sennett, 1994, 1976, 1970). It is because that interaction can be seen as threatening to social order.

Two important debates have emerged within urban geography regarding the definition of the public space. Kilian (1998: 125) argues,

People have their right to certain expectations of privacy in public. How can a space be considered public without such restrictions? If a woman 'gets what is 'coming to her' (i.e. is harassed or attacked) for jogging in the park in the dark of early morning, how is that space 'public' from her perspective? On the other hand, if all 'undesirables' are removed from the park in the name of protecting that woman's rights, the publicity of the park is questionable for those who may be considered 'undesirable'.

What differentiates public space from private or the functions of public space is subject to debate. Is public space for interaction and political freedom or is it a recreational space for citizens and those considered to be the appropriate public? (Mitchell 1995). These two tenets concerning the function of public space come into conflict in both the literatures on public space and in everyday reality. The question is one of disorder versus

safety. The crucial question is: whose safety? Kilian (1998: 130) answers this question using the example of an urban park:

A park is structured as even more 'public' than a restaurant. No one group has total power of exclusion except the state. The police and park employees, as agents of the state, have the power to act as inhabitants. Decisions about who is a stranger and who is a visitor are not made arbitrarily by police, but by a set of law that define (albeit vaguely) appropriate and inappropriate uses. Because these decisions are made on behalf of inhabitants vaguely defined as 'the public', they are open to debate. And because laws often normalize existing exclusions, marginal groups may be deemed by law to be inappropriate.

Those who do not fit constructed ideals of citizenship are more subject to marginalization (Bell 1995, Isin 2000a, Lister 1997b, Mitchell 1995, Staeheli 1996, Staeheli and Thompson 1997). They are also more subject to discipline as Isin (2000a:10) argues, "while the city is constituted as a space of liberty for the citizen, it is also constituted as a space of discipline for strangers and outsiders--non-citizens. ... The city...is also a space where those who lack or are denied...citizenship rights are subjected to discipline and punishment."

Exclusion

The citizen of the city cannot be delineated without knowing what or who is a non-citizen. The city, and hence the citizen, need the abject, the Other, for definition. Jones (1997: 3) defines citizenship as "a specific type of social bond between members of a community which symbolizes material connections of culture, tradition, and, usually, geography and which also usually separates one group of citizens from another."

Secor (2004: 359) posits that citizenship, as "a set of hegemonic processes and discourses, assembles and naturalizes the subject positions of citizen and stranger, situating them within a grid of power relations rendered across state and society." Those who are produced as strangers are imagined within that grid of power relations as Others

to the citizen, as “undesirables,” as disease and disorder.

In public space, where physical proximity to those who are unfamiliar is more likely to occur, order is desired to provide a clearer distinction between the pure and polluted. This order is often achieved through socio-spatial control. Mitchell (2003: 135) argues that when “public space...becomes a place of seemingly illegitimate behavior, our notions of what public space is supposed to be are thrown into doubt.”

CONCLUSION

To recognize a community, an ‘us’, there must be a ‘them’, an Other. Discourses on community inform conceptions of public space and who has access to that public space. Fear of the Other leads to exclusion from public space of those who are seen as threatening. Fischer and Poland (1998: 193) argue that community “has become a critical resource as well as a product of effective self-selection of norms, stakeholders and resources” which often results in the “exclusion of the ones disrupting the order striven for.” Those constructed as abject are continually policed and surveilled to uphold local government, police, and community definitions of public space and of who belongs in public space and to maintain public order and public health (Chauncey 1996, Daly 1998, Fyfe and Bannister 1998, Herbert 1996a, 1996b, Hunt 2002, Lupton 1999, Lyon 1994, Ogborn 1993). Policing and surveillance both produce and are informed by discourses surrounding the citizen and non-citizen.

By combining literatures on the abject body, socio-spatial control and public space, this dissertation provides a framework through which to examine how community policing produces an urban citizen subject and thus, a notion of who belongs in public space. This work explores “contingent citizenship,” a term which describes the imbricated relationship between geography and citizenship by examining the control of

abjection in public space. Contingent citizenship, as I frame it, is a public citizenship where one must conform to a social norm and act in a prescribed, appropriate way in the public sphere or fear repercussions such as incarceration, public humiliation or barring from public parks and large areas of the city.

In the chapters that follow, I will show how abjection, socio-spatial control and public space, are all imbricated in community policing and produce a notion of urban citizenship. The discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing will be drawn through the themes of community, public safety and neighborliness using the East Precinct as my primary case study. As residents of the East Precinct are involved with programs that have affiliations with the SPD and the local Seattle government, I am interested in how the three groups work trialectically in the conceptions and praxis of citizenship. By analyzing five social programs with which residents of the East Precinct are involved—Alcohol Impact Areas, National Night Out, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, Weed and Seed and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition—I will produce a comprehensive study of the relationships between community, public safety, governmentality, and territoriality that shows how these discourses are mobilized by a variety of players, including state, public and private organizations institutions under the rubric of community policing. Within the following chapters, I will show how territoriality is enacted and used as both a cohesive, community-building stepping stone and also as a divisive marker for social Othering, resulting in definitions and policings of public space by communities and neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 3

Discourses and spatial strategies: Methodology

INTRODUCTION

For the past four years, including two summers of fieldwork in Seattle, I gathered data from a variety of sources using multiple methods. My research questions are concerned primarily with how community policing groups, in conjunction with local law enforcement and government agencies, produce and discipline the abject body in urban public space and how practices of governmentality and territoriality work to define and exclude abject bodies. In order to understand these processes, I focus on Seattle's East Precinct and the people and programs that practice community policing. Within my research, I used the qualitative methods of participant observation, interviewing and discourse analysis. These methods combined added depth, breadth and rigor to my research.

While I considered the use of other methods, such as questionnaires,³¹ I believe that the three approaches I chose best suited my investigation into how discourses regarding citizenship and public space are produced, practiced, and informed by those who engage in community policing. Interviews provided valuable access to the perspectives of neighborhood association members, employees of local non-profit organizations, policymakers and police, allowing them to use their own words to explain how they see their role in the community policing of public space. Discourse analysis allows me to recognize and understand the productive and constitutive functions of discourses in social

³¹ Benson and Matthews (1999) mailed surveys to thirty-nine vice squad departments in Britain to ascertain the practices and attitudes of vice squad police officers. These questionnaires were followed up by interviews in seven of the twenty-three squads who responded.

practices and how those practices shape discourse (Denzin 1997, Fairclough 1992, Foucault 1995, 1991, 1990a, 1990b, 1988, Hall 1997, Mills 1997, Rose 2001), while participant observation provided an opportunity to observe interactions inside community policing groups as well as occasions to examine the spatialities of community policing.

In preliminary fieldwork, I volunteered with Street Outreach Services (SOS), a publicly funded harm-reduction agency that provides outreach service to local drug users/traffickers and streetwalking prostitutes in Seattle. SOS offers daily support groups that provide participants with food and other basic necessities such as hygiene products and needle cleaning kits. They also provide access to health care, detoxification programs and clinics, shelter, clothing, and parenting classes. The staff members of SOS have all had personal experience with substance use, and most of the women, prostitution.

I worked with SOS in order to understand the micro-geographies of fear that prostitutes and drug users face in urban public space. Understanding that surveillance by police and neighborhood associations created geographies that endangered already marginalized groups, I went to Seattle to see how these geographies of surveillance worked on the ground. I wanted to examine the strategies of the police and neighborhood associations juxtaposed with the tactics of the prostitutes and drug users.

During this preliminary research, I ran into several pitfalls that shaped my latter fieldwork. I found that I had a difficult time dealing with my privileged position as a researcher and what I termed “public privates.” While as an academic I study the constructed boundaries between public and private, when I encountered them in ‘real life,’ I felt I could no longer continue my research. Realizing that it is politically incorrect to acknowledge one’s own creation of an abject Other, I must state now that I

felt feelings of unease when interviewing my research subjects. I was uncomfortable with the ‘private nature’ of their activities that had to be carried out in a public light. Grooming, hygiene and shelter—things that are typically considered private—were public. I could not handle the collision of the private into the public and ended up abandoning my research midway through the project.

After struggling with this ‘failed’ research for some time and wondering how I was going to proceed with my dissertation (not to mention feeling guilty about Othering my informants), I realized that I could study the way that communities and police deal with prostitution and drug use instead of how prostitutes and drug users deal with communities and police. I was able to rework my research questions and come up with a dissertation research project that I felt that I would be able to complete. My previous experience in the field served to bring home the importance of the categories of public and private as well as discourses of abjection. My prior failure in the field provided the impetus for this dissertation research.

My research plan was to arrive in Seattle and study two ordinances, Stay Out of Areas of Prostitution (SOAP) and Stay Out of Drug Areas (SODA). Established in response to neighborhood complaints in 1989 and 1991, respectively, the SOAP and SODA ordinances enabled the Seattle City Council to ‘redline’ areas ranging in size from one to several city blocks.³² Both ordinances created an uneven geographic enforcement of public laws in Seattle.³³ In Seattle, SOAP and SODA ordinances have been effective in

³² The SOAP ordinance was challenged in the first year of its operation by the American Civil Liberties Union but was upheld by the Washington State Supreme Court (*Seattle v. Slack*, 1989).

³³ First, the ordinances restrict a person from patronizing any business within the zones if s/he has been convicted of prostitution or drug using/trafficking in any area of the city; thereafter, the only movement allowed within a zone is to and from one’s home or workplace. Second, they restrict certain activities within zones that are sanctioned or go un-ticketed in non-zoned areas of the city. In particular, the

clearing out some drug and prostitution related activities in these areas. Yet when they reduce illegal activities in one area they often intensify them in others: according to police officer Paul Peterson, “I’ve seen it over and over. If the heat is on in one community, the hookers just drift on down the road to another” (Kamb 2002, see also Lowman 1992).

The research I proposed was to examine the socio-spatial control of prostitutes and drug users/traffickers in urban public space within Seattle’s SOAP and SODA zones. I had planned to explain how neighborhood associations convinced the Seattle City Council to establish the zones, with particular focus on the exclusionary discourses that were mobilized in support of the ordinances. Additionally, I was interested in the establishment and everyday enforcement of the ordinances by Seattle’s police and in their effectiveness as realized by participant observation and crime statistics within and outside the zones. I has also intended to compare responses to the zones across two different types of organizations found within the zones: (a) social agencies that provide services to prostitutes and drug users/traffickers, and (b) neighborhood associations composed of residents and business owners. The largely qualitative research was to be based on data in the form of: City of Seattle public records, interviews with stakeholder groups, public officials, and police, and participant observation focused on the activities of police, social service agencies, and neighborhood associations, supplemented by quantitative analyses of crime and HIV infection rates within and outside of the city’s SOAP and SODA zones.

ordinances allow police officers to arrest individuals for loitering, talking to, or soliciting others in any public space within the zone. Third, rules governing ‘probable cause’ for arrests and ‘beyond a reasonable doubt’ for convictions are relaxed within the zones.³³ Fourth, the zones are subject to more intense police presence and surveillance.

My research interests lay in the explanation of how local neighborhood associations convinced the Seattle City Council to pass the SOAP and SODA ordinances and in understanding the discursive frames by which prostitutes and drug users/traffickers were ‘constructed’ as abject bodies by police, local government institutions and neighborhood associations. For example, did the discussions focus on disease (e.g., impurity, pollution, diffusion, contagious, the “clean: city)? On the illegal nature of the activities (e.g., dangerous, hidden, corrupting, fraudulent? On the threats to hetero-normative family life (e.g., children, social breakdown, ‘nice’ neighborhoods)? On morality (e.g., unnaturalness, goodness, sin)? To what extent were these formulations linked to codes of race and gender? And finally, to what extent were they linked to other arguments, such as those surrounding tourism, property values, and economic development? I also planned to investigate the establishment and everyday operation of the zones, particularly as seen through the eyes of the Seattle City Council, which establishes the zones, and the police, who are given oversight over the enforcement of the ordinance. Additionally, I intended to look at how the zones were interpreted by the people who either lived or conducted business in the zones versus those who provide social services to prostitutes and drug users/traffickers.

Before I arrived in Seattle, I had a tentative agreement set in place with the Seattle Police Department. While a research contract had not yet been signed, all necessary paperwork had been filled out and I had been in contact with the department for months notifying them of my intentions and expected research questions and timeline. When I arrived, I contacted the police department and my phone calls were never returned. I approached the Seattle Police Chief, Gil Kerlikowske, at a Mayoral Town Hall to ask

advice about the situation, he reassured me that everything was most likely fine and to contact my point person again. I followed up on Kerlikowske's advice and once again, my phone calls to both Dave Chavez, the Research and Grants contact, and Assistant Chief Nick Metz were not returned.

In a state of despair, I decided to follow up on other contacts involved in community policing. Through a stroke of luck, I was introduced to the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition (EPCPC), where I was able to make contact with residents of Seattle's East Precinct, mainly those who belonged to neighborhood associations and local block watches. When I spoke with people regarding SOAP and SODA zones, many did not know to what I referred. Other stated that it was a "hot topic" years before, but now it was not really a focal point of their neighborhood associations. My initial research project, after being stonewalled and basically told that my focus was misdirected, was mutated into another—one which focused on community policing in a more general sense. After attending my first meetings of the EPCPC and interviews with Seattle Neighborhood Group employees, I formulated the following research questions:

- How does the trialectical relationship between discourses of community, public safety and territoriality affect notions of citizenship?
- How is territoriality enacted and used as both a cohesive, community-building stepping stone and also as a divisive marker for social Othering?
- How are discourses of community mobilized by a variety of players, including state, public organizations, and civil society institutions?
- What are the practices and negotiations of community policing, or how communities employ the resources available to them by the police department and use them to effect their own type of spatial policing?
- How is public space defined and policed by communities/neighborhoods?

In the process of trying to answer these questions, I realized that my research, while not originally designed as such, was an ethnography of Seattle's East Precinct. Emerson *et al.* (1995) state that "[e]thnographic field research involves the study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives," involving both social and physical proximity (Emerson et al. 1995: 1) Following Atkinson and Hammersley (1994: 248), this dissertation is an ethnography as it has:

- a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them,
- a tendency to work primarily with 'unstructured' data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection....,
- investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail,
- analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

In the process of writing this ethnography, there are several issues to consider. One is that the writing and recording process is an act of transformation. Second, while attempts are made to incorporate "polyvocality" (see Clifford and Marcus 1986: 15), there is still a selection process that frames and shapes the ethnography (see Mills 1990). Third, England (2001: 210) argues that "fieldwork is a discursive process in which the research encounter is structured by the researcher and the researched." The researcher is not a detached, neutral observer but instead is "intertwined with the phenomenon which does not have objective characteristics independent of the observer's perspective and methods" (Mishler 1979: 10, quoted in Emerson et al 1995: 3). The relationship between the researcher and those researched is unavoidably complicated and the site of multiple

power positions, which require careful negotiation by both parties (Jones *et al.* 1997, Katz 1994, Kobayashi 1994, McDowell 1992, Moss 1993).

Furthermore, there are ethical issues to consider. During my research, I was acutely aware of my own position, in that I was often both an insider and an outsider at the same time. Additionally, I had to negotiate power balances that were constantly in flux, especially when speaking with government officials and police officers (see Benson and Matthews 1999, Chapkis 2000, Lerum 1998, Lupton 1999, Mitchell 1992). Preliminary fieldwork, my previous local contacts and my extensive knowledge of Seattle political history and geography³⁴ helped me negotiate complex situations.

METHODS

Through a combination of the methods and resources described below, I was able to produce a comprehensive ethnography of the discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing. The use of a variety of methods and sources allows for a triangulation of the data and access to multiple perspectives. Varying methods and a deep archive creates a deeper investigation into the creation, perpetuation and enforcement of the power/knowledge/space nexus as mobilized in community policing.

Archive

The archive for this dissertation is assembled from a variety of sources. It includes notes from participant observation and interviews, neighborhood associations websites and listservs, newspaper articles from both daily and weekly local papers (including the *Seattle Times*, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, the *Seattle Weekly* and the *Stranger*), public and private documents, including Seattle City Council meeting minutes, news releases and websites (accessed from the City of Seattle website), Seattle Police Department

³⁴ Local knowledge is based on my living in Seattle from 1993 to 2001.

pamphlets and websites, which include crimes broken down by geographical area and other crime statistics, and materials published and distributed by the Seattle Neighborhood Group and the National Association of Town Watch. These documents were collected both before and after interviews and participant observation were conducted. Many of these documents were available on-line, and those records which were not were requested through the specific agencies that distribute and/or publish them.

The materials distributed by newspapers, neighborhood associations, the City of Seattle, the Seattle Police Department, SNG and the National Association of Town Watch provide additional historical and geographical contextualization and triangulate the data obtained from participant observation and interviews. These data offer valuable background to the dissertation research project. As Hodder (1994: 394) states, records are a material culture that are “embedded within a sociological and ideological system.”

As I progressed further into my research, I continually revisited my archive material, looking for new themes and angles to explore. My archive provided multi-method and multi-source investigation into the socio-spatial regulation of abjection in public space through community policing. Analysis of the archive shows how neighborhood associations, policymakers and police construct ideas of abjection, citizenship and public space and practice Foucaultian governmentality and territoriality. The archive provides a broad background to the research and contributes to an understanding of the processes involved in community policing from multiple perspectives. In addition to the varied nature of archive, I used a variety of qualitative methods in the assemblage of the archive. These are outlined below.

Participant observation

Following DeWalt and DeWalt (2002: 4), some key elements of participant observation include:

actively participating in a wide range of daily, routine and extraordinary activities with people who are full participants in that context: using everyday conversations as an interview technique, informally observing during leisure activities (hanging out), recording observations in field notes (usually organized chronologically), and using both tacit and explicit information in analysis and writing.

Participant observation also lends itself to the research of certain subcultures, usually those which are seen as deviant, as the use of more formal research methods can be off-putting and lead to suspicion. Additionally, the use of participant observation provides an opportunity to note discrepancies between what is said and what is done (Adler and Adler 1994, Atkinson and Hammersley 1994, Burawoy 1991, Clifford and Marcus 1986, DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, Smith and Kornblum 1996, Spradley 1997, Whitehead and Conaway 1986). Participant observation involves observation in the research subject's usual milieu. Important to participant observation is the ability to map the scene—to note how things and people are situated in space, the limits to the space observed, and interactions within the space—both verbal and non-verbal.

The participant observations methods in this research draw from approaches used by Castillo *et al.* (1999), Delacoste and Alexander (1998), Flowers (1998), Jenkins (2000), Keith (1992), Low (2000), Mitchell (1992), Sycamore (2000), and Seymour (1999). The method of participant observation can be used to facilitate dialogue and interaction with informants. Participant observation allows for both informal interviews and additional

data collection from participation in the daily activities and interactions of the group researched.

Most of my participant observation took place in the planning of a community picnic, while the rest of it took place during crime prevention council meetings between community members and local police officers. I volunteered for the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition (EPCPC) First Annual Community Gathering in order to gain access to informants and give back to those I was researching. Through this opportunity, I was allowed access to key SNG employees and those who were most active in EPCPC—the Executive Committee. As a member of the Planning Committee, I was allowed to attend both community and executive session meetings. In preparing for the picnic, I was involved in a number of committee meetings, those both open and closed to the public. I was privy to a number of conversations about the background of the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition and the future the members hoped to build.

Other opportunities for participant observation took place at Seattle's Annual Night Out Against Crime, participating in Block Watch meetings and spending time with SNG workers as they went about their daily activities. Often, I was allowed to "tag along" with workers as they ran errands or performed their prescribed duties. Some of the most informative conversations and insights to the process of community policing were gleaned during this time.

The use of participant observation allowed me to provide an example of how community policing works on the ground. Through participant observation, I was partially able to experience the perspectives of neighborhood association members. During my participant observation, I kept a journal in which I wrote down my

observations, notes and maps. I also included my own actions in order to be able to reflect upon my own positionality in the research process.

Interviews

Another method I used to assemble my archive is that of interviewing. This method was employed to gain insight into the perspectives of my informants. Interviews allow the participants involved in an event to describe and interpret their own experiences. While I acknowledge that interviewing is not a neutral process, it allows for face-to-face interaction and the opportunity to analyze intonation, facial expressions and body language.

I used two styles of interviews: informal and semi-structured. Informal interviews most often occurred during participant observation at SNG. They were not recorded and I relied upon memory for the most part, with the occasional note taken (I felt that extensive note-taking would detract from the conversations and interrupt flows). Semi-structured interviews, which I used as my method of choice when interviewing city officials and police officers, allowed flexibility since the format can be altered in cases of time constraints. It also allows for deeper inquiry. My interview questions were often reworked depending on the situation and tailored to the informant. The semi-structured interview allows informants to use their own words to describe experiences and concepts in response to direct(ed) questions.

Interviews, and the sites in which they take place, involve what Elwood and Martin (2000: 649-50) describes as “microgeographies” that “can offer new insights with respect to research questions, help researchers understand and interpret interview materials and highlight ethical considerations in the research process.” Elwood and Martin also argue

that these microgeographies can be examined to reveal power relations and social identities. They state that “the very social relations that are the subject of research may be highlighted in microgeographies where the research is carried out” (ibid: 652).

Interview informants included a variety of players in the Seattle community policing scene. I was able to interview Seattle City Council members Nick Licata and Richard McIver, City Attorney Tom Carr, head of Seattle’s Neighborhood Action Team (part of the Mayor’s Office) Jordan Royer, and Mayor Greg Nickels to gain the perspective of local government policymakers and officials. In order to get insight into local law enforcement, I had brief access to a few beat police officers and more extended time with Seattle Police Department East Precinct Captain Mike Meehan, East Precinct Operations Manager Lieutenant John Hayes, Community Police Team Officer Tyrone Davis and Crime Prevention Coordinators Sonja Richter and Diane Horswill.

Other informants included SNG employees and a number of Seattle residents who were active in their neighborhood associations and block watches. The latter were often “recruited” after their local neighborhood association meetings. When the regular meeting ended, I asked those lingering about if they would like to speak with me about their involvement with the group. After each meeting, two or three people would remain and agree to be interviewed.

Others were interviewed at their convenience. Interviews often took place at coffee shops that were of easy access to my informants. I found that interviews would very often be “on the fly” and that little preparation was available, or even necessary, in most situations.³⁵ I would usually introduce myself and briefly explain my research agenda.

³⁵ As my interviews were intended to be semi-structured, I prepared a list of questions in order to facilitate the interview process. Often those questions were not asked as the subjects provided lengthy narratives of

The first question I asked was typically, “How did you get involved with SNG/EPCPC/Weed and Seed?” Interviews lasted anywhere from ten minutes to two hours. I tried explicitly not to ask leading questions, but instead to allow each informant’s experiences to come out within the dialogue.

From interviews with a number of sources with a variety of perspectives, I was able to gather information that was not available through other methods. The use of interviewing as a method allowed me greater access to the processes behind, and on-the-ground effects of, community policing. After the forty-four interviews were transcribed, they were subject to discourse analysis, of which the processes are outlined below.

Discourse analysis

In this dissertation, I employ discourse analysis to recognize and understand the productive and constitutive functions of discourses in social practice and how those practices shape discourse (Foucault 1995, 1991, 1990a, 1990b, 1988, Hall 1997, Rose 2001, Fairclough 1992, Denzin 1997, Mills 1997). Following Hall (1997: 6), discourse refers to or constructs:

knowledge about a particular topic or practice: a cluster (or *formation*) of ideas, images, and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms and knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. These *discursive formations*, as they are known, define what is and what is not appropriate in our formulations of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity, what knowledge is considered useful, relevant and ‘true’ in that context, and what sorts of persons or ‘subjects’ embody its characteristics.

their perspectives on, and actions in, community policing. Though in all cases, I followed the advice of DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) and Fontana and Frey (1994). They encourage the following techniques for a successful interview: active listening, sensitive silence, “uh-huh” prompts, repetition and summary feedback.

My purpose is to examine the discourse produced regarding abject bodies and definitions of public space/access to public space as well as how these discourses are produced (see Cresswell 1997, 1996, Moran 1996, Smith 1994, Theweleit 1987) by those who community police.

Discourse analysis, especially when undertaken from a post-structuralist position, has few rules, but guidance in the process can be found. Following Rose (2000: 158), strategies for discourse analysis include:

- 1) looking at your sources with fresh eyes.
- 2) immersing yourself in your sources.
- 3) identifying key themes in your sources.
- 4) examining their effects of truth.
- 5) paying attention to their complexity and contradictions.
- 6) looking for the invisible as well as the visible.
- 7) paying attention to details.

The use of discourse analysis as a method in this research allows one to get at the “properties of texts, the production, distribution, and consumption of texts, sociocognitive processes of producing and interpreting texts, social practice in various institutions, the relationship of social practice to power relations, and hegemonic projects at the societal level” (Fairclough 1992: 226). Discourse analysis of the amassed archive for this dissertation involves, most importantly, the examination of the intertextuality³⁶ of the discourse analyzed and of the social practices that both produce and are produced by the discourse.

³⁶ Understanding intertextuality is paramount when examining discourses. Intertextuality refers to the relationship a text or image has with other text and images. The meaning is dependent not only on the original text one is analyzing, but also to other meanings contained in other texts and images (Rose 2001). This intertextuality provides context as well as providing an opportunity to examine the reinforcement of dominant meanings or challenges through alternate readings.

In the examination of my archive, I found that several themes ran throughout the materials. Analysis is meant to bring order to the data, summarize data and allow the researcher to discover themes and relationships (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). One of the initial steps of analysis is to figure out main themes contained within the data, find the constants (or what seem to be constants) and understand omissions or irregularities. First, identify key themes by making a list of words or concepts that appear in the text and coding the archives as applicable. The most recurrent tropes were of: order/disorder,³⁷ health, community, privacy, disease, cleanliness/dirt, neighborhood/city and neighbor/stranger. In my analysis, I focus on the practices and spatialities of these tropes, especially as mobilized by those who engage in community policing. It is important to analyze how these themes inform power relations and the effects of their power on the ground.

Rose (2001: 136) defines discourse as referring to “groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act of the basis of that thinking...[D]iscourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it.” Discourse analysis examines the relationships behind the discourse, the processes and effects of those discourses, how dominant codes and meanings are reproduced as natural or commonsense and/or undermined by slippages, and contested meanings or alternate understandings. These slippages show that the discourse is constructed and not an “absolute truth”. Discourse analysis examines the nexus of power/knowledge. Rose argues that the institutional location of a discourse needs examination since “a statement coming from a source

³⁷ I use binaries here for the sake of simplicity. These dualisms were not necessarily stated as such categorical opposites in the narratives.

endowed with authority...is likely to be more productive than one coming from a marginalized source” (Rose 2001: 158). In discourse, “cultural values are enacted and social structures come alive” (Denzin, 1997: 38).

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of Spatial Strategies.

In this dissertation, I analyze the spatial strategies of those involved in the socio-spatial regulation of bodies constructed as abject in urban public space. This analysis is four-part. First, I examine their spatial strategies for controlling or eliminating prostitution, drug use/trafficking and chronic public inebriation. I look at their territorial strategies of community policing, focusing in particular on the observational techniques and judgment calls involved in that enforcement. Analyzing the spatial strategies of each group, I pay attention to the social relationships of class, gender, and race as they function in each hot spot. Second, I analyze the movements of people, both those policing and those policed, within the hot spots. Third, the archive is examined in order to find examples of what de Certeau (1984) calls “strategies and tactics” of both the police and the urban ‘dissidents’ within hot spots (see similar work by Chauncey 1996, Hunt 2002, Laycock and Clarke 2001, Lever and Kanouse 1999, Lowman 1992, Mitchell 1992). The police records will further add to the geographies constructed and produced within these areas and show the effectiveness of community policing. Fourth, I analyze the interrelationships of the organizations involved, paying specific attention to the role that coalitions or divisions play in the exercise of territoriality. Analysis focuses on when, how and by whom these relationships were initiated and on the relationship itself (i.e., the level of involvement between groups).

Analysis of Discourse Mobilization

In the study of this archive, I use established methods of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1999, Hall 1997, Mills 1997, Rose 2001), paying careful attention to the development of discourses on abject bodies in urban public space through the following tropes identified in preliminary research: (a) neighborliness, (b) public safety (c) community, (d) governmentality, and (e) territoriality. Archival documents were reviewed and content-coded to draw out mobilizations of these discourses. Transcribed interviews were analyzed to identify first, recurring mobilizations of the above discourses and second, their interrelationships. The use of coding themes allows for the identification of narratives that incorporate historical, cultural and political aspects. Once coded, the documents will be used in the historical and geographical contextualization of the community policing activities of the East Precinct.

Validity

The next step in analysis is to think about the relationships and connections between key words and concepts. In conceptualizing relationships and connections, the researcher needs to be conscious of reliability and validity issues as there is no “absolute truth” to be found. Researcher bias is, of course, always an issue, but by using a reflexive approach and variety of methods, I provide a solid platform for validity. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) recommend what Bernard (1995) terms a “constant validity check,” in which one continually oscillates between *emic* (informant’s perspective) and *etic* (researcher’s perspective) thinking. This allows the researcher to look at the overall data from the local perspective and the local with insight to the overall data. A constant validity check includes:

Looking for consistencies and inconsistencies among informants, checking informants' reports of behavior against the researchers' observations of behavior, examining evidence that does not support a conclusion as well as evidence that does, and trying to reevaluate the conclusion (looking for breakdowns), developing alternative explanations for things drawing on informants' views, as well as the views of colleagues and the theoretical literature, examining extreme or contrary cases and fitting them into the analysis, rather than excluding them as aberrant (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002: 191).

By using the above steps in my analysis, I create a research project that stands up to questions of validity and provides an understanding, rather than an explanation, of the processes involved in the socio-spatial regulation of abject bodies in Seattle urban public space. The use of the qualitative methods of participant observation, interviews and discourse analysis in conjunction will lead to a more complex, more reliable, and more valid portrait in that these methods can be used to complement or to refute each other as a form of both "data triangulation" and "methodological triangulation" (Denzin 1989, quoted in Flick 1998: 229-230, Altheide and Johnson 1994, Denzin 1997, Denzin and Lincoln 1998, 1994, Kirk and Miller 1986).

LESSONS LEARNED

The most important lesson learned in my fieldwork was that research questions will change in the field. Whatever is envisioned when one steps out into the field is not necessarily what will come to be. When I first arrived in Seattle, I had a list of questions and a list of informants and a schedule prepared. That was day one. By day four, I realized that no one cared about my initial questions and that they were considered boring or even passé by those asked. I quickly realized that my research would have to shift gears and that my questions would have to change based on both the informants I had access to and the information provided by those informants.

For example, I had initially planned to include police “ride-alongs” as part of my participant observation, believing that they would provide additional opportunities for informal interviews (see Benson and Matthews 1999, Chapkis 2000, Fyfe 1991, Herbert 1998, 1996a, 1996b, Keith 1992, Laycocke and Clarke 2001). As ride-alongs are open to the public and can be scheduled by calling a local precinct, I anticipated no scheduling problem. Yet when I called each of the five precincts to make appointments to participate in a ride-along, once again, I was ignored by the Seattle Police Department. Realizing that the police were not going to be helpful in any way with this research, I was left to my own devices and from there, I was able to forge strong relationships with my informants in my newly revamped research project.

In sum, the lessons learned from undertaking this research project were as follows: 1) one should learn to shift gears (metaphorically speaking) quickly, 2) one should take what one can get, 3) one should get as much data as one can possible attain, even if it seems superfluous, and 4) one be open to every new experience as one never knows what can come out of it.

CHAPTER 4

Findings: “Neighbors”

Good fences make good neighbors. –Robert Frost

Your next-door neighbour is not a man, he is an environment. He is the barking of a dog, he is the noise of a piano, he is a dispute about a party wall, he is drains that are worse than yours, or roses that are better than yours. –Gilbert K. Chesterton

INTRODUCTION

The people in your neighborhood. Sesame Street teaches us that they’re the “people that you meet when you’re walking down the street.” They’re the “people that you meet each day.” If one uses that definition of neighbor, then the people that you meet when you’re walking down the street each day are Mrs. Kinkle and the man who just moved in on the corner. They’re lawyers, carpenters and homemakers. They’re also the homeless, prostitutes, drug users, and chronic public inebriates. But most people wouldn’t define the latter as neighbors. Why is it that the definition of neighbor is so narrowly drawn?

Discourses, practices and spatialities of neighbors and neighborhoods surround us in everyday life. If you see your neighbor when you get out of your car or walk home at night, you might wave. If you check your mailbox and your neighbor is checking theirs, you might give a friendly “Hello, neighbor.” You might give a nod to your neighbor at the grocery store when you’re in queue for check-out. You might stop by to return a tool or bring over soup if one is ill. You might take your children or your dog to the neighborhood park. You might attend the neighborhood watch meetings. All of these images are examples of how neighbors and neighborhoods are defined through discourses, practices and spatialities. When you see an outsider, someone who does not

fit dominant social conceptions of a neighbor, a sense of alarm can be raised. Who is this person in *my* neighborhood?

Johnston (2001: 540) defines a neighborhood as an area “within which there is an identifiable subculture to which the majority of its residents conform.” So while a neighborhood is a geographically designated, contiguous area, it still involves a process of including neighbors, and excluding those not constructed as such. It involves conforming behavior. Exclusion may take the form of social sanctions, in which strangers or those seen as outsiders or undesirables are ignored or harassed. This harassment can be from residents, community watch groups or the police. People often have to follow certain behavior codes in order to be left alone without social repercussions. For example, in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, Seattle began to implement a number of laws and regulations aimed at removing prostitutes, drug users and other ‘disorderly’ individuals from public view. Mark Sidran, Seattle’s City Attorney during the mid and late nineties, instituted what he termed “civility laws.” In 1993, Sidran championed the move to outlaw aggressive panhandling and sitting on downtown sidewalks during business hours to the Seattle City Council. He toughened the penalties for public drunkenness and urination and later backed an ordinance that held property owners responsible for cleaning up graffiti. He was also the motivating force behind Seattle’s Alcohol Impact Areas (AIAs), stating:

Alcohol is the most heavily regulated product you can buy because alcohol's abuse is one of the most serious public health and public safety problems we face. From homelessness to drunk driving, to assaults and other crimes, alcohol can cause devastating consequences, not only for those who drink, but for entire neighborhoods...Those who make a buck from selling booze should not pass the buck to the police, medics, park staff, neighbors, and others for all the problems that flow from those sales, and the fact that the great majority of liquor licensees run their businesses

without any problems proves that it can be done. And these rules simply say that all licensees are expected and, when necessary, required to be good neighbors.³⁸

Exclusion can also be economic, as in AIAs' "Good Neighbor Agreements" or geographical, as in Seattle's recently revived Stay Out of Drug Areas (SODA) program. Reinstated in 2004 after weak enforcement and eventual abandonment in the late nineties, the SODA ordinance enables the Seattle Police Department to 'redline' areas ranging in size from one to several city blocks. A SODA order restricts a person from patronizing any business within designated zones if one has been convicted of drug using/trafficking in any area of the city; thereafter, the only movement allowed within a zone is to and from one's home or workplace. In particular, the ordinance allows police officers to arrest individuals for loitering, talking to, or soliciting others in any public space within the zone. SODA was revived largely in part to popular sentiment from neighborhood associations, especially those in the East Precinct.

For many neighborhoods associations, exclusion is seen as necessary since neighborhoods are predicated on territoriality. There must be a territory that binds, a common area, in order for there to be a neighborhood. Territoriality is even encouraged by Block Watch groups and by police departments. For instance, the Seattle Police Department encourages neighborhood residents enact "Natural Territoriality" in order to prevent crime:

Many researchers of animal behavior have demonstrated that an animal currently in possession of a territory has more confidence than a challenging animal and usually wins a battle. A basic principle of CPTED is that law abiding citizens should show that they 'own' the territory. This discourages crime in the area...Optimizing territorial behavior through design means encouraging such features as: front porches, holiday

³⁸ Washington State Liquor Control Board Meeting Minutes, dated January 6-7, 1999.

decorations...and architecture that respects and contributes to neighborhood identity.³⁹

Neighborhood identity is forged through territoriality, through the erection of boundaries, both social and physical. Signs that distinguish one neighborhood from another dot the landscape with messages like “Welcome to Madison” or “You are now entering Leschi.” Neighborhood newspapers such as the *Capitol Hill Times* inform residents of local news gatherings, such a picnics or neighborhood clean-up days as well as of neighborhood events. Stores proudly name themselves as Madrona Market or Judkins Park Grocery. When locals state where they live, they say “Central District” or “Miller Park.”

In this chapter, I look at how the discourses, practices, and spatialities surrounding neighbors and neighborhoods are mobilized in Seattle’s East Precinct, by the Seattle Neighborhood Group, the Seattle Police Department, the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition, Seattle City Council members and residents of Seattle’s East Precinct. By examining how these groups enact and encourage neighborliness, I provide an analysis of how exclusionary social relations work on the ground. Examples of neighborliness are drawn from activities, which range in scale from the street level to citywide.

This chapter will use three Seattle case studies to examine neighborliness: the implementation of Good Neighbor Agreements in conjunction with Alcohol Impact Areas, National Night Out Against Crime, and the Central site of Weed and Seed. According the “Neighbor Invite” found on the SPD website, Night Out is designed to “heighten crime prevention awareness, increase neighborhood support in anti-crime efforts, and unite our communities.”⁴⁰ In their goals, they hope to build a sense of

³⁹ From the Seattle Police Department website, available at <http://www.cityofseattle.net/police/>.

⁴⁰ From the Seattle Police Department website, available at www.seattle.gov/police.

neighborliness. Literature that is distributed repeatedly focuses on “joining your neighbors” in the evening’s activities against crime. Good Neighbor Agreements are agreements which outline business practices and detail certain restrictions to improve neighborhood livability, including restricting the hours of alcohol sales, removing high alcohol content/low cost beverages, and not selling single cans or bottles of alcoholic beverages. “Good Neighbors” don’t sell beverages that chronic public inebriates prefer. “Good Neighbors” prevent crime that way. Weed and Seed helps “communities mobilize and create partnerships to address violent crime, gang activity, and drug trafficking in our neighborhoods.”⁴¹ It works to weed out crime and seed in neighborhoods that people *want* to live in. Each of these programs uses the ideas of neighbors and neighborhoods in different ways, but the effects are similar—the exclusion of those that are seen as outsiders and the reification of narrowly defined notions of neighbors and neighborhoods.

VOICES FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD

In Seattle Neighborhood Group affiliated meetings, such as those of various Block Watches or the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition, discourses of neighborliness abound. Everyone has an idea of who a neighbor is and is not. Everyone has an idea of what a neighborhood looks like. This becomes evident when they discuss crimes committed in their neighborhood.

The following exchanges took place in a neighborhood forum on public safety. Residents of the Miller Park neighborhood in Seattle’s East Precinct have been active for years working to change the reputation of their area from ‘crime-ridden’ to ‘family-friendly.’ Within this public safety forum, people were allowed to report to police the activities they witnessed in their neighborhood and their sentiments regarding the

⁴¹ From the Weed and Seed brochure, distributed by the Seattle Neighborhood Group.

changes, both positive and negative (though usually overwhelmingly negative). In analysis, three common themes emerged: loss of ownership, threat of outsiders and frustration. Unedited versions of testimony are included as contextualization and as an attempt to preserve authenticity.

Many residents discuss how their neighborhood has changed over the years. Some reminisce about their childhood, like Laurie. Her anger at how things have changed since her mother lived in the area peeks through her thoughts on the relationship between then and now. Her resentment at losing ownership of the neighborhood is evident:

I want to offer a little perspective. My mother bought a duplex on 22nd Avenue East in 1973. The lady who sold it to her was “Vicki” and she lived for many, many years where Scott and Chris now live. She was very active in the church on the corner. Everyone in the neighborhood knew and loved her. She was a family lady and gave my mom a sense of how deeply the neighbors felt about these streets. They loved all the good the bad and the ugly, because it was theirs. So fast forward to today. What the gentry just don't understand is this is not their neighborhood. The people who hang out and act like they own the streets and piss on the shrubbery—many of them grew up around here and they feel ownership over it.

Laurie is upset that those that she perceives as outsiders have taken over her, and her mother's former, neighborhood. It is interesting to note that she uses the word gentry, a word not often used in colloquial speech. The word gentry implies a feeling of ownership, and Laurie angrily laments its loss. It also connotes a relationship with the word gentleman. Laurie posits a dichotomy in her testimony, that of us/them, civilized/uncivilized. She, as a civilized member of the gentry, poses herself in opposition to those who *act* like they “own the streets” and “piss on the shrubbery.” Laurie opposes their notion of ownership with her own “legitimate” claims to the neighborhood. Yet in her dualism, she acknowledges that those she wages her anger at are part of the neighborhood as “many of them grew up around here.”

There is palpable frustration when residents speak of the most prevalent crime in their area: drug dealing. States Alex,

I am absolutely not happy with what's going on in our neighborhood. Yesterday afternoon, two large vehicles, a beat up white van with duct tape on one window, driven by an African-American man, sped up 20th out of the Miller parking lot clipped a car parked there, followed moments later by a black late model SUV (also speeding) driven by a white man with a tattooed upper arm. "Drug deal gone bad," said one of my neighbors. We have seen street kids loitering at the intersections of 18th and Republican and at the Qwest junction box on the alley between 17th and 18th and a few weeks back I found drugs stashed in the flowerbeds at the corner of 18th and Republican. All is not well. This isn't the Madison that I know. But neighbors have suggested that the construction on Madison [Avenue], along with the closure of the AMPM [convenience store] on 23rd, has caused the trouble-causing population to relocate to our neighborhood.

For Alex and many others, the drugscape has changed the landscape—"This isn't the Madison that I know." The Madison he remembers wasn't filled with "street kids" and drug deals. But once again, the trope of outsider returns. The trouble-causing population (outsiders) contrasts with decent, law-abiding residents (those seen as neighbors). There are class and race issues that appear here as well. An African-American male in a "beat up" van and "street kids" (i.e., homeless) are seen as problems that are relocating from (O)ther neighborhoods to Alex's. Many residents have reached their breaking points, with both the drug dealers and the city's response to area complaints. Belle elaborates on the situation:

The bus shelters on John St. between 21st and 23rd are constantly being used for drug consumption and deals. I want to say I have had more than 100 incidents but that would fall short. At this point, I encounter them face to face because police response is minimal. Homeless people are also drug dealers, handicap [sic] people are drug dealers and consumers. The police have told us there is nothing they can do. Sundays are drug days, and of course, no police are around. Yes, Sundays. Going back to the homeless/drug dealer/handicaps, there is a fellow that lives between both shelters on John between 21st and 23rd. Apparently does not have money

to get a place but does to smoke crack in front of my house. However, that is not the only worry, this guy spends so much time in these shelters that he knows all the moves neighbors around there make. They know the cars (as soon as they see me coming down John they move), the times we are not there, and to make things more interesting they have radios that catch police conversations so they know when they are coming. I have heard this from the other side of my fence. It is incredible how organized this is... We have tried to contact Metro to have them switch the shelter to face towards John, but they do not give a damn (either they have an insider or do not care about neighborhoods) I asked Coughlin [Seattle City Council Member] in one of our meetings about what to do, and the response was, “bring the shelter down and put it on the middle of the street...”⁴²

The drug dealers that Belle describes are a constant presence in her neighborhood. Even on Sundays. Their continued presence is a signal that city officials “either have an insider or do not care about neighborhoods.” Everyone she sees is an outsider—the homeless, the handicapped and the ever present drug dealers. Belle is fed up with the lack of city response on the part of the police and Seattle City Council. She points out that the police do nothing.

Belle fears that the Other has knowledge of her comings and goings, that “know the cars, the times when we are not there.” Their knowledge of her routine is power that they have over her. By “knowing all the moves the neighbors make,” the Other shows an intelligence that is unexpected by Belle (“It is incredible how organized this is”) and frightening to her. When she describes the crack smoker that follows her moves, she hits on a familiar note of anxiety for participants in the forum: mobility.

As hinted at by Belle, a significant amount of anxiety resonates regarding loss of mobility due to a loss of ownership of space. Sherrie simply stated, “I would like to walk freely in my neighborhood.” Many exchanges involved ‘outsiders’ infiltrating the

⁴² As of August 2005, the bus shelter at that location has been modified. King County Metro removed seats from the bus-shelters on John between 21st and 23rd, and removed the back panel from one of them (no room to turn it round) to discourage loitering/dealing in the shelters.

community and making residents uncomfortable to move about. Angela recounted the following:

My husband and I were at the p-patch [community garden] at 20th and Republican, pretty much minding our own business when a young African-American man walked by. Apparently he didn't like the way my husband was staring off into space because he shouted, "What the hell are you looking at, bitch?" as he walked south past the garden. I think we were both quite surprised as this was totally unprovoked. The young man then continued on his way. This guy is clearly not my neighbor as folks who live on the streets of the neighborhood don't greet each other with "What are you looking at, bitch?" It's hostile and clearly uncivil and I have to say, vaguely threatening and unsettling. I would not go so far as to say we were in danger, but when hostile people start verbally assaulting the residents of our neighborhood, well, it's unacceptable.

Angela evokes the idyllic image of a neighbor here. In her imagining, neighbors are friendly, warm and civil. They are not "threatening" or "hostile." Neighbors greet each other, they don't verbally assault. Here again we encounter a dichotomy of us/them, neighbor/outsider. Here again, we encounter racial issues. Lilly reported the following in reply to Angela:

I was at the #11 bus stop and a truck drove up and I believe the people inside were European. I am from Israel. They called me a "Negro lover" and said, "Clean up your neighborhood." The passenger threw what I think was oil out of the truck towards me! I was shocked it was my first time experiencing racism in the U.S. I will never catch this public transportation again. I may be moving soon, I feel classism, oppression and racism from the whole neighborhood--the Afro-Americans and the Euro-Americans.

In Lilly's testimony, there is an interesting twist to the 'invading outsider' theme. She sees herself as a member of the neighborhood, but at the same time, perceives herself as the outsider as she feels "classism, oppression and racism from the whole neighborhood." She is both in and out at the same time. Many stories like this were repeated, especially from African-Americans.

Voices that stress the negative aspects of the neighborhood were not the only ones heard. Mike tried to help channel the frustration felt by the residents of the neighborhood by placing the focus away from negativity to productivity.

It seems like there is a lot of frustration and anger, which also leads to energy. I think our biggest problem as a group may be to harness this energy in a way that is both very productive for the neighborhood, and leaves the residents feeling empowered, so that they continue to stay involved rather than give up...

From these testimonies, pictures are painted of neighborhoods. They describe codes of conduct that form neighbors and shape neighborhoods. We see the ideal and the reality through local residents' words. These voices are important to hear because they form the building block of spatial strategies for social control. From these voices, one hears the social division of Othering and the call for control over that Other. These voices from the neighborhood are asking policymakers and police to do something, anything, to curb the infiltration of the Other into their neighborhoods. These voices also say that if someone else isn't willing to do it, then they are. The implications of this social Othering are potential vigilantism.

When territoriality is exercised by neighborhoods, they are hoping to create their own sanitized space. By reducing encounters with the Other, they feel a greater sense of security and safety. When the Other is policed and controlled, neighborhoods are once again "owned" by those who live in them instead of by those that "act" like they own them. This form of territoriality increases cohesion between those that do the policing and division between the policers and the policed.

SEATTLE NEIGHBORHOOD GROUP SPEAKS

The Seattle Neighborhood Group uses these voices and pictures to help residents construct their ideal neighborhoods and make them reality. According to the mission statement of SNG, “We partner with residents, businesses, government agencies and other service providers to advocate for safe neighborhoods and to develop strategies that create strong communities.”⁴³ In order to create “safe neighborhoods” and “strong communities,” SNG has numerous resources available to the neighborhoods that they service.

These resources include the provision of “No Trespassing” and “No Loitering” signs. With these signs, outsiders to the neighborhood are warned to keep moving or face the consequences. The Seattle Neighborhood Group provides signs “to support enforcement of trespass legislation for citizens who wish to enforce of the criminal trespass ordinance on their property.” Similar to the voices in the public safety forum, there is a note of ownership through the promotion of the “No Trespassing” and “No Loitering” signs. Only here, with the use of these signs, there is a reestablishment, a reassertion of ownership. There is a staking of claim with this small piece of styrene:



Figure 4.1 No Trespassing/No Loitering sign.

⁴³ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group brochure, distributed by the Seattle Neighborhood Group.

SNG also runs a Nuisance Property Program, hosting ‘Take Action’ workshops for neighborhoods that experience ‘ongoing nuisance activities.’ The purpose of the Take Action workshop is to help residents “identify neighborhood problems, figure out if those problems are linked to specific properties, and then work with the owner of the property to address the problems.”⁴⁴ A public nuisance is defined under Washington State law as a crime against the order and economy of the state. For example, places where fighting occurs or where vagrants resort shall be deemed a public nuisance. Those who offend public decency or “annoy” any considerable number of persons are also considered public nuisances (RCW 9.66.010). Nuisance crimes are most often brought to the attention of local police through neighborhood associations and/or Block Watch programs (often organized by SNG). The most common grievances which are cited by these neighborhood organizations are: graffiti, disorderly conduct, arguments and fights on the street, partying, discarded paraphernalia and liquor bottles (which is viewed not simply as unsightly trash but also as a public health hazard), loitering, and public urination. Nuisance crimes draw a line between neighbors, often the line between ‘good’ and ‘bad.’ ‘Bad neighbors’ are dealt with by SNG, through their Nuisance Property Program.

SNG works directly with three Crime Prevention Councils: the West Seattle Community Safety Partnership, the Southeast Seattle Crime Prevention Council, and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition. These crime prevention councils hold regular public meetings for the community to discuss neighborhood safety issues. SNG also participates in other crime prevention councils and works on public safety committees in other communities. Block Watch, a “national program that is based on the principle that

⁴⁴ From the Nuisance Property Program brochure, distributed by the Seattle Neighborhood Group.

neighbors working together are the first and best line of defense against crime,” is another important part of SNG’s crime prevention efforts.

From just the above mentioned programs, the Seattle Neighborhood Group’s picture of a neighborhood is outlined. Their conception of a neighborhood is not much different than those of the people they work with—local residents. They want a crime and nuisance free neighborhood. They want a neighborhood where people come together as neighbors to prevent crime. But here again, the voice of dichotomy is heard: neighbor vs. nuisance, citizen vs. trespasser.

There is also a feeling of fortressing neighborhoods that is represented by SNG. Block Watch is the “first and best line of defense against crime,”⁴⁵ and the provision of No Trespassing and No Loitering signs only further signals that only certain behaviors are wanted. When those who exhibit undesirable or aberrant behaviors enter the neighborhood, they are not wanted and action is often taken against them.

In order to advocate for safe neighborhoods, SNG and their affiliated organizations use three primary programs: Good Neighbor Agreements, the Annual Night Out Against Crime and Seattle’s Central Weed and Seed Site. Besides mobilizing discourses of neighbors and neighborhoods, they effect practices and create spatialities of being neighbors in neighborhoods. How they do so is outlined in the next sections.

GOOD NEIGHBOR(HOODS)

Dear Business Owner,

In the past year, neighbors and business and property owners on Capitol Hill in the Broadway and Pike/Pine business districts have been confronting the issues of drug abuse in our parks, on the streets and in

⁴⁵ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group website, available at www.sngi.org.

neighborhoods in general. We have worked long and hard attempting to resolve these very serious problems.

We have noticed that your business sells items used in the drug abuse culture, namely water pipes, glass pipes, hash pipes, scales and balances designed and used for weighing controlled substances, and other items considered “drug paraphernalia” as defined by RCW 63.50.102.

We are asking you as part of this community to voluntarily stop selling such items from your place of business and join with the community in fighting the drug abuse problems in our neighborhood. Your business is within a short walk of one of the city’s drug problem areas. We, as your neighbors, are asking you to join us in not just confronting the issues of drug abuse, but also in saving the lives of many people caught in the drug abuse cycle by not providing them with the equipment to abuse drugs.

It is our hope that you will abide by this request voluntarily. We are sending a copy of this letter to Captain Mike Meehan of the East Precinct of the Seattle Police Department and Edward McKenna, Assistant Seattle Attorney. Our hope is that by your voluntary compliance with this request that enforcement of the legal codes will not be required.

Sincerely,
Brad Trenary
East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition

This letter was sent out to businesses on the Pike/Pine Street corridor, of Seattle’s East Precinct, a notorious hot spot for drug sales. The East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition, one of the crime prevention councils that the Seattle Neighborhood Group works with, drafted this letter in the hopes of intimidating local businesses in to complying with Washington State law—laws that they may not know that they are breaking. Selling small envelopes meant for spices does not necessarily mean that one is outfitting drug dealers with needed paraphernalia. Selling roses stored in small glass tubes at the counter of one’s store does not always say, “Buy these for your crack smoking needs.” These letters are meant to “inform,” but often they just intimidate. This form of intimidation does not seem too neighborly. Basically, it’s “do what we say or

face the cops.” Letters such as this are of course legal, but neighborhoods are not built on letters. These letters may or may not foster a sense of neighborliness between the business targeted and the surrounding community. Most often they do not since they end up targeting businesses that serve lower economic and social classes.

Good Neighbor Agreements have become a common practice nationwide. They outline how businesses and neighborhoods will coexist. Over the past decade, Good Neighbor Agreements (GNAs) have become very popular in Seattle. The first agreements to limit the sale of “abuse beverages” (meaning high alcohol content/low cost) were signed by the Korean American Grocers Association in March 1998. A press release used to be sent out to media alerting them of the latest “Good Neighbor”, with headlines like “Southland Corp. is a Good Neighbor!” Those press releases are virtually non-existent now as GNAs have become more commonplace with the establishment of Seattle’s Alcohol Impact Areas.

Alcohol Impact Areas were created as a tool to address the problem of chronic public inebriation by limiting certain types of alcohol sales. Seattle initially created an AIA in the Pioneer Square in 1999 area and in June 2004, approved two new AIAs for a larger Central Core section of the City, including downtown, and one in the University District (home to Seattle’s University of Washington). “One of my priorities as mayor is to build healthy communities,” said Mayor Nickels in a October 2003 press release detailing the two new AIAS. “This is an important tool to help businesses and residents in communities deal with a problem as we continue with a comprehensive strategy of services and sanctions for substance abuse in neighborhood. In that same press release, Seattle City Councilmember Margaret Pageler added, “Our goal is to protect those who

are at the highest risk from easy access to alcohol—the chronic public inebriate. This will help us learn whether Alcohol Impact Areas reduce harm to this vulnerable population while responding to neighborhood concerns.” AIAs and their corresponding GNAs definitely respond to “neighborhood concerns,” but can they actually do anything good?

GNAs are voluntary agreements executed between businesses and the neighborhoods they inhabit. Most neighborhood associations, in attempts to get “nuisance” businesses to sign, state that they will support stores which sign agreements and will consider actions such as organizing neighborhood boycotts of licensees which refuse to participate. As another point of coercion, neighborhood associations suggest to businesses that debate over whether to sign that they will become they will become the natural hang out for chronic public inebriates and other “street people” as more and more businesses in the neighborhood sign. Additionally, neighborhood associations argue that non-compliant businesses will draw added focus by law enforcement (including the police and Washington State Liquor Control Board) because of the associated uncivil and criminal behavior that supposedly comes from the consumption of low cost, high alcohol content beverages.

GNAs do have a displacement component. The Alcohol Impact Areas have moved consumption of low cost, high alcohol content beverages (the beverage of choice for most chronic public inebriates) to the neighborhoods surrounding the AIAs. As AIAs have expanded (with the two new zones being established), the problem just keeps moving. Directed by the Mayor’s Office, Seattle’s Neighborhood Action Team has mapped out the location and number of people who were found passed out on the sidewalk, or cited by police for drinking in public, or who were sold liquor while intoxicated. The results

show public-drinking problems in neighborhoods far from the downtown Alcohol Impact Area.

Phillip Wayt, of the Washington Beer and Wine Wholesalers Association, is dubious of the AIA's benefits, stating that as a way to deal with a number of individuals that have problems with housing, with drug addiction, alcohol abuse, and mental illness, it's not a panacea. Wayt alleges that many homeless alcoholics are mentally ill and abusing other drugs in addition to liquor. Clarifying his point further, Wayt states, "The AIA limits the amount of alcoholic products they can purchase, as if their problems will go away. That's not the case" (quoted in Holdorf 2003a).

DEANO'S: A GOOD NEIGHBOR AGREEMENT GONE BAD



Figures 4.2 and 4.3 Deano's Café and Lounge and Deano's Market.

The Seattle Neighborhood Group actively works with neighborhood associations and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition for Good Neighbor Agreements with businesses in the East Precinct. One such business, Deano's, has been a hot spot and hot topic for East Precinct residents for years. For over three years, local residents have been campaigning against Deano's Café and Lounge and the next door Deano's Market. They've held 'neighborhood marches,' written letters to the city, and invited government officials like City Attorney Tom Carr and Councilmember Tom Rasmussen to tour the

neighborhood. Backed up by police reports and crime statistics, neighboring residents say that prostitution, drug deals and violence are rampant on the stretch of Madison Avenue around Deano's and in the neighborhoods just behind the bar. Local residents say that large crowds congregate at the bar every night and accuse the people who hang out outside Deano's of selling drugs or working as prostitutes. Many residents say they've been offered drugs or sex when walking in front of the establishments. Area residents used to march in front of Deano's every other Friday evening, toting signs that read "Drug Dealers Go Home" (see Figure 4.4)



Figure 4.4 Territoriality in action.
Courtesy of Alice Wheeler

Neighborhood associations in the East Precinct desperately fought for a review of Deano's liquor license, hoping that it would be revoked. Letters flooded Assistant City Attorney Dan Okada's desk. They would recount such experiences as:

Every day I encounter the black plastic bags containing HAC [High Alcohol Content] beer cans littering our neighborhood. On numerous occasions I have witnessed public drunks littering their empties as well as other items, I believe that a majority of the trash on the sidewalks and

streets in our neighborhood are the result of the careless behavior of these public drunks.

The bus stops in my neighborhood often reek of urine and it is not uncommon to encounter vomit on the sidewalk. I suspect the lack of cleanliness of our public spaces is correlated to the sale of HAC beer and fortified wine.

Our neighborhood is plagued by drug dealers and drug users. The sale of HAC beer and fortified wine contributes to this problem. It makes the area more hospitable for users as they are able to purchase alcoholic intoxicants when they are unable to obtain their drug of choice. This, in turn, makes the area more hospitable for drug dealers as it increases the concentration of drug users.⁴⁶

The letter writing campaign was successful and led to the review of Deano's liquor license.

After the City Attorney and State Attorney General responded by reviewing Deano's liquor license, the neighborhood associations who initially fought the renewal of a Deano's liquor license began to state anxiety over being portrayed in local media as a racist NIMBY organization as Deano's main customers and owners are African-American (Jenniges 2002b). This anxiety stemmed from an earlier event when the police and the liquor board teamed up against another Madison hot spot, Oscar's II, which was deemed by the police and surrounding community a 'nuisance' bar. The process backfired, and it made the cops and the neighborhood (whose residents testified against the place) look racist (Jenniges 2002b). Deano's owner, Jack McNaughton, secured locally renowned civil rights attorney David Osgood in his fight to keep the liquor license, hoping to repeat Osgood's success with the Oscar's II campaign. According to Osgood, cops have told the owner of Deano's—and the owners of other popular black hangouts he's represented—to get rid of the hip-hop music and turn their bars into Starbucks coffee shops (Jenniges 2002b).

⁴⁶ Note the use of words like "plagued" and "cleanliness" in this letter. Here abjection discourses are made overt.

When Deano's liquor license was eventually renewed, the surrounding community, headed by Andrew Taylor, an active member of the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition and president of his neighborhood association, asked Deano's to sign a Good Neighbor Agreement (see Appendix A for the full GNA). The GNA states that the purpose of the agreement is to foster "improved public safety and to augment efforts by the City and the community to reduce crime, nuisance activity, and disruptive activity in and around Deano's." The GNA also says that if Deano's is granted another liquor license (which it was), Deano's "agrees to be a good neighbor by operating Deano's in a manner that will help improve public safety, security and quiet enjoyment in the surrounding community."

One of the terms of agreement of the GNA state that "[a]ll patrons entering the premises after 9:00 p.m. shall be checked for weapons by employing either a hand search (frisk) or a metal wand capable of detecting weapons." Good neighbors don't carry concealed weapons. Another is that Deano's will "provide regular and routine maintenance to the exterior of the premises including window cleaning, keeping shrubbery manicured and keeping the building painted." Deano's is immediately to clean up any graffiti and repair any vandalism damage to their premises. Good neighbors keep their property looking clean and tag-free. This tenet is directly related to the Broken Windows theory and Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles that many that fought against Deano's espouse. Any violation of the GNA could result in retaliation from the neighborhood and the Washington State Liquor Control Board.

As of August 2005, Deano's was sold to a new owner. The Seattle Police Department agreed to not oppose its liquor license if the new owners signed a Good Neighbor Agreement. Dan Okada, the Assistant City Attorney assigned to the East Precinct, negotiated the agreement. The new owners agreed to not stock the large bottles of high alcohol beer that often litter our streets. They were allowed to sell off existing stock (which has now all gone). Several of the neighbors on neighborhood cleanups remarked on the lack of bottles in the area. Deano's Market now has banners advertising more "conventional" brands of beer. The owners also agreed to replace the plywood in their windows, and to move the cooler near the door. They were given until the end of August 2005 to implement changes, which are designed to allow easier police surveillance of the store's interior. Time will only tell if the new Deano's will be a "good neighbor."

Deano's provides an interesting lens through which to examine neighborhoods and the idea of neighborliness. A neighbor must conform to social standards or risk social sanctions. But Deano's is an example of a neighbor that would conform, that would reform. But what did Deano's temporary victory over the neighborhood association mean? Perhaps it means that we need to change our definition of neighbor to one that includes a sense of diversity. We need to open up the definition of neighbor to include the Other, to include those that are different from "us."

The battle against Deano's shows how communities come together to fight a common enemy. Territoriality over the neighborhood becomes a moment where the community is united and greater divisions are drawn between social groups. Others are created and

further marginalized as evidenced in the case of Deano's (e.g., African-Americans who felt ostracized by the actions against both Oscar's II and Deano's.

NIGHT OUT AGAINST CRIME

Every year, the first Tuesday of August is the National Night Out Against Crime (NNO). Matt Peskin, creator of NNO, called it:

a wonderful opportunity for communities nationwide to promote police-community partnerships, crime prevention, and neighborhood camaraderie. While the one night is certainly not an answer to crime, drugs and violence, National Night Out does represent the kind of spirit, energy and determination that is helping to make many neighborhoods safer places throughout the year.⁴⁷

An estimated thirty-four million people across the United States celebrate NNO.

President George Bush said in 2004 (to commemorate NNO's 20th anniversary),

For two decades, Americans across our country have joined forces with local law enforcement on the first Tuesday in August to promote police-community partnerships and help create safe and vibrant neighborhoods. By coming together as neighbors, Americans can assist law enforcement in preventing crimes in our communities.

By coming together as neighbors, coalitions against crimes are formed and images of neighbors and neighborhoods are shaped. National Night Out is an event designed to: heighten crime and drug prevention awareness, generate support for, and participation in, local crime prevention efforts, send a message to criminals letting them know neighborhoods are organized and fighting back, and strengthen neighborhood spirit and police-community partnerships. In Seattle, neighbors congregate and have potlucks and block parties. They cordon off streets and have cherry pit spitting contests. They invite local fire fighters and police to join the fun by sharing a barbequed hotdog or hamburger (see Figure 4.6). It's a night when residents in neighborhoods throughout the nation are

⁴⁷ From "National Night Out," available at <http://www.nationaltownwatch.org>.

asked to lock their doors, turn on their outside lights and spend the evening with neighbors and police.



Figure 4.5 Night Out 2004 in Seattle's East Precinct.

Night Out is a night that communities come together against crime, against those in their neighborhood that are not neighbors. Event Reminders and Neighbor Invitations (available from the Seattle Police Department website or one's local Crime Prevention Coordinator) are to be given to 'neighbors' to let them know of the evening's activities. There is a language of 'we' built into these invitations, a notion of 'us.' This 'us' is posed in opposition to a 'them,' those non-neighbors, those who damage the neighborhood with their deeds.

In the posters distributed around Seattle for Night Out, there is a picture of a neighborhood set in front of a downtown Seattle backdrop (see Figure 4.7). Trees separate the 'city' from the 'neighborhood.' This neighborhood is represented by a school, a church, a few houses and an apartment building. All of these edifices have their lights on to show solidarity against crime. Interesting to note is that there are no 'neighbors' in the neighborhood. The neighborhood is marked only by buildings. Yet

without neighbors, there is no neighborhood. The vision of a neighborhood without neighbors sanitizes the space, makes it race, class and gender free. There are no politics without neighbors.

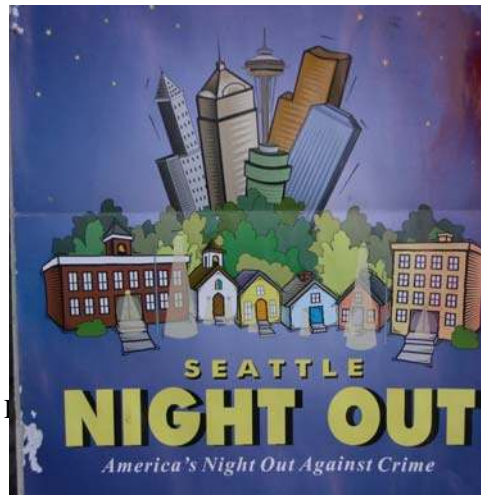


Figure 4.6 Seattle Night Out poster.

In interviews at various Night Out parties in 2004, I found that many of the block parties were being held on “troublesome” streets. Meg, one of the Night Out organizers I spoke with, stated that she chose the most “problematic street” for the activities she planned. She described it as “party central” marked by “nuisance” behavior” and ringed by “dark, heavy trees.” She said that she planned the party there to let “them” know “this is who we are.” Yet she mentioned that she went door to door (to every home and apartment building) on that block to invite residents to Night Out. Meg had even planned for “get to know your neighbor” Bingo. But she was anxious as to who would actually show up.

I attended several Night Out events during my fieldwork in Seattle during the summer of 2004. I showed up with cookies to share (as most were potlucks) and set out to talk with people. Only one problem—no one really wanted to talk with me. They seemed to

only want to talk to their friends, their ‘neighbors.’ As far as I could tell, there really wasn’t an attempt to get to know new people, unless they were fire fighters or police officers and many of them were known to organizers and others active in crime prevention activities. The occasional chronic public inebriate who wandered up to the Night Out event was typically treated politely and allowed to eat something, but no one went out of their way to make CPIs or anyone else deemed a stranger feel welcome. The picture painted of Night Out was of neighbors getting together to celebrate a lovely August evening. They came together as a neighborhood to simply show that *they* were a neighborhood.



Figures 4.7 and 4.8 Seattle’s 2004 Night Out.

There was often discussion in the planning of Night Out about “taking back the streets and making them safe.” But for whom did they become safe? In Night Out, an example of how territoriality leads to a cohesive community is easily seen, but may be more difficult to see how it is also a divisive marker for social Othering. The neighborhood comes together for one night to show comm(unity) and ignores those that do not fit the bill of “neighbor.” Public space then becomes defined as for only those that fit that definition.

Weed and Seed: Seeding in neighborhoods

Started in 1992, Weed and Seed is a federally funded program that focuses its efforts on identified high-crime neighborhoods across the country. Seattle has three officially recognized Weed and Seed sites: Central Seattle, Southeast Seattle, and Southwest Seattle. Seattle's Weed and Seed sites are managed through a partnership between the U.S. Attorney's office, Seattle Police Department and the Seattle Neighborhood Group. Weed and Seed is a multi-agency strategy that "weeds" out crime (violence, gang activity and drug trafficking, to name a few) in selected neighborhoods and then "seeds" the neighborhoods through social and economic revitalization.



Figure 4.9 Weed & Seed cartoon. Courtesy Washington Free Press © 1994.

Since Weed and Seed's introduction into certain Seattle neighborhoods, Part One crimes⁴⁸ in those designated areas have been on the decline through the conjoined efforts of patrol officers and community police teams, as well as other specialty units of the

⁴⁸ Part One crimes are Homicide, Non-Negligent Manslaughter, Rape, Robbery, Aggravated and Non-Aggravated Assault, Burglary, Stealing, Auto Theft and Arson

Seattle Police Department. Using the following “Operations” and “Enforcement Tools,” the SPD has been successful in the reduction of crime in the Weed and Seed communities. Operations include Buy-Bust and Reverse Buy-Busts (where undercover officers either pose as buyers or sellers of illegal drugs), prostitution stings, emphasis patrols, increased narcotic search warrants, the ‘Tag and Bust’ Task Force (to combat graffiti), and Operation Safe Home (a joint Department of Justice/Department of Housing and Urban Development initiative that seeks to reduce crime and violence in public housing). Enforcement Tools include Trespass Contract Program (property owners sign a contract allowing officers authority to remove unwanted individuals from their residence or place of business), Problem Orienting Project Tracking Program (a computer tracking program that allows for the tracking of community contacts, community meetings, narcotics activity reports and problem oriented policing projects), Knock and Talks (conducted at locations that have been identified as having possible or prior criminal activity), Department of Corrections Monitoring Program (monitors individuals on active parole status), and Sex Offender Monitoring (monitors offenders who are released back into the community as they integrate themselves back into society). According to the Seattle Police Department, the use of the above tools has been effective in weeding out crime.⁴⁹ After the implementation of Weed operations, the crime rate dropped and stayed down. Violent crime fell faster in the Central Site of the Weed and Seed Program than anywhere else in Seattle. The neighborhood accounted for seventeen percent of Seattle’s violent and drug crime in 1994, falling to twelve percent by 2000.⁵⁰ Although it went

⁴⁹From the Seattle Police Department Website, available at <http://www.cityofseattle.net/Police/Programs/WeedSeed/weed.htm>

⁵⁰ Latest statistics available from U.S. Department of Justice National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Seattle Case Study.

from the most crime-ridden neighborhood in Seattle to the third highest, the drop in crime is still significant (Lasweski 2004)

Seeds of social and economic revitalization are planted through programs, which are administered by the Seattle Human Services Department (Division for Families & Youth Services). Seed program services are provided to all those who reside within the Weed and Seed community boundaries. Seed programs are funded by a number of sources including the Department of Justice, the Executive Office for Weed and Seed and the Local Law Enforcement Block Grant.

Seed projects involve “safe environments” where area residents can gain access to employment, educational, housing and recreational services. Current projects involve the Catholic Communities Services’ Yesler Terrace Youth Tutoring Program. This program is an after-school program for students (elementary through high school) that live in Seattle’s Yesler Terrace neighborhood. The program focuses on reinforcing assets. In addition to skill building, the program includes homework assistance, computer assisted learning, supervised learning activities, and educational games. The purpose of the program is to guide students so that they “develop the self-esteem and decision-making skills necessary to make healthy choices.”⁵¹

Donut Dialogues, another project run by the agency Peace for the Streets by Kids from the Streets, provides opportunities for interaction between homeless youth, the Seattle Police Department, business owners and the neighborhoods they inhabit. Donut Dialogues focus on creating positive rather than negative interactions and “focus on misperceptions that youth and adults may have about one another.”⁵² Each Dialogue

⁵¹ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group, available at www.sngi.org.

⁵² *ibid.*

session ends with the participants identifying a realistic goal that can be accomplished by working together over time. Past projects have included murals, softball games and barbeques.

The Seattle Goodwill Industries runs STRIVE, a four week “intensive attitudinal training that prepares job seekers to enter the workforce with a positive attitude, an eagerness to learn new skills and a commitment to long-term employment.”⁵³ STRIVE provides services that include intake, training, placement, and follow up. The course curriculum includes subjects such as Job Search, Job Retention, Values Clarification, Interpersonal Communications, and Transferable Workplace Skills. After graduating, students receive job placement support, continuing education, work related counseling, and social service referrals if needed.

The final Seed project in the Central site is that of Homeless Youth Case Management Program, run by Street Outreach Services. Homeless Youth Case Management Program is to “assist homeless young people as they strive to improve their lives by building trusting relationships and offering consistent, non-judgmental care.”⁵⁴ Each youth is involved in their own case management by identifying service goals and using their own skills and strengths to achieve positive outcomes which are worked on with case managers.

In 1992, Seattle’s Central Seattle Weed and Seed area was one of the first in the country to be recognized as a Weed and Seed site. In order to be more effective and sustainable in the “weeding” process, the Central Weed and Seed joined forces and merged with the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition. The EPCPC highlights Weed

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

and Seed activities at every meeting and often brings in Seed providers. With the EPCPC, the community was able to establish priorities for community-police relations. They are as follows. Officers will: engage in activities that get police out of cars (i.e. bike and foot patrol), engage in activities that build relationships with youth and address truancy, actively participate in community meetings and problem solving efforts to address long-term crime and nuisance issues, follow up on police action items, report them back to community and coordinate involvement of additional police resources as needed, and focus community-policing activities on hot spots and mini-marts.⁵⁵

When Weed and Seed emerged in 1992, the Central site was overrun with prostitutes that were “nearly run over as they flagged down cars of potential customers. It was just a part of the mix of gangs, drugs and drive-by shootings,” according to Kay Godefroy, the Central site’s first director and now the founder and head of the Seattle Neighborhood Group. Weed and Seed was at first met with resistance from the neighborhoods it hoped to serve. In March 1992, Seattle City Council member Margaret Pageler said, while commenting on growing opposition to Weed and Seed, “the name of the program is enough to raise anybody's hackles,” and many Seattleites agreed (King 1995). Police efforts to combat crime seemed to only target, and strain the relationship with, African-Americans in the area. Then, after a series of community activists began to focus attention on police discrepancy in arrests, the police asked the East Precinct residents for advice. According to then Seattle assistant police chief Harry Bailey, the response from the community was: Arrest the drug buyers.

⁵⁵ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group, available at www.sngi.org.

This changed the mood in the neighborhood. Instead of arresting low level dealers who were mainly African-Americans from lower economic levels, the new arrests were of predominantly white, suburban commuters who only came to the neighborhood to buy drugs. Residents that before were reticent to talk with police now became helpful and would now point out drug houses after years of distrust. This laid the groundwork for the changes that Weed and Seed would then move in and make.

Each Seed project does help to plant seeds of hope in the neighborhood. If the Weed and Seed is to “weed” out crime from the community and then “seed” in through a wide range of crime and drug prevention projects and human service agency resources that promote social & economic revitalization to prevent crime from recurring, then they are taking the right steps to do so with their Seed Projects. Statistics and qualitative interviews have shown that crime is down in neighborhoods serviced by Weed and Seed and that the services provided by Seed partners have had a positive effect on reducing unemployment and increasing social services in each site, most markedly the Central site (Department of Justice 1997).

CONCLUSION

The discourses, practices and spatialities of neighbors and neighborhoods are mobilized through everyday action. From simple things like hellos and waves (or their absence) to complicated state funded projects, neighbors and neighborhoods are created in many ways. This chapter has shown how three Seattle programs: Good Neighbor Agreements, Night Out, and Weed and Seed have shaped, and been shaped by, sentiments of neighborliness. Exclusion can be the name of the game when it comes to neighborhoods, but there is also a production of solidarity, a cohesion that is formed.

Neighbors and neighborhoods are formed often through the very act of excluding. It forms a uniting force, a link that binds neighbor to neighbor.

Good Neighbor Agreements, on first examination, are a good idea. They provide a contract of conduct between business and community. But upon second look, they, like their counterparts Alcohol Impact Areas are just another way to exclude those who don't fit into the neighborhood. They effectively displace chronic public inebriates from one backyard to another and target businesses that serve African-Americans in predominantly white neighborhoods. Richard McIver, a City Councilmember who has dissented repeatedly to the establishment of AIAs in Seattle, stating: "I'm not opposed to protecting our neighborhoods, but I'd like to see all neighborhoods protected and I don't believe this legislation does that. My proposed solution to the problem of chronic public inebriation is the equal enforcement of all existing laws throughout all Seattle neighborhoods."⁵⁶ According to former Seattle City Councilmember Judy Nicastro, the Pioneer Square neighborhood's efforts to be designated a so-called Alcohol Impact Area, a place where cheap liquor isn't sold, is tantamount to "class warfare." The consumption of more expensive or even "conventional" alcohol by middle and upper classes is not seen as a problem since the consumption is in private. When the city bans booze in one neighborhood, "all we're doing is keeping people moving around and not dealing with the problem. Nobody stops drinking because of the Alcohol Impact Area down in Pioneer Square" (quoted in Holdorf 2003a).

Night Out is similar to GNAs in that there seems to be no apparent problem with it. What could be wrong with a bunch of neighbors getting together on a Tuesday evening in

⁵⁶ From "City Council Approves Alcohol Impact Areas", Seattle City Council Press Release dated June 1, 2004, available at www.cityofseattle.net/council.

solidarity against crime? It's not just solidarity against crime that is being exercised. It is the exclusion of those who don't fit into the narrowly conceived definition of neighbor. Those who act in aberrant ways are subject to targeting by those that participate in Night Out, as evidenced by Meg's campaign against her "troublesome" street the next block over. Even those who are just unfamiliar are subject to social sanctions. There is no reaching out of the neighborhood to the homeless man who lives in the alley between apartment buildings, there is no welcome wagon to greet him and embrace him into the folds of the neighborhood association. There may be a plate of food involved, but there's no cherry pit spitting with the rest of the folks on the block. NNO is definitely a night of "us" and "them." NNO helps bind neighbors together in solidarity against the Other. A night like this is desired to show a uniting force against crime. Unfortunately, this unity also serves to divide along class lines.

The history of Weed and Seed is very much about "us" and "them." In the beginning, the very neighborhoods that Weed and Seed were supposed to service were most resistant to the program. Why? Because they had seen what police-community interactions could be like—full of racial profiling, indiscriminate arrests and police brutality. But what Weed and Seed has done was, in a sense, plant the seeds of community, of neighborhoods. Through an extensive outreach program to the area, Weed and Seed has been able to provide some much needed help. This is not to say that the weeding process has not been without its kinks. The processes of weeding out neighborhoods has a complicated past. Similar to Good Neighbor Agreements and Night Out Against Crime, removing negative elements from a neighborhood is quite subjective. What is art to some is graffiti to others. What is loitering to some is hanging out to others.

Ron, a longtime resident of the East Precinct, active member of the EPCPC and president of his community council, stated in one meeting that “the idea is that we want to be neighbors...The ideal is the neighborhood.” He went on further stating that he just wanted to *know* the people that lived around him. Ron wanted to know if they had finished painting or if little John had received A’s on his latest report card. Is this ideal so hard to achieve? It seems that those who want to know each other, already do know each other. They meet through neighborhood association meetings or Block Watch or they introduce themselves at the grocery store. What needs to be achieved is a sense of tolerance, or maybe even perhaps, the changing of the ideal of what a neighborhood is. Perhaps a neighborhood should be more inclusive and the definitions of neighbor challenged. Perhaps your neighbor could be the people you meet each day when you’re walking down the street.

Mike Davis, in *City of Quartz* (1990), describes the gated communities of Los Angeles as “socially pure” and “fortressed”. These gated communities use walls, fences and gates to keep out the uninvited. Blakely and Snyder argue that the gating of communities is emblematic of the large social urge to exclude those who are seen as different:

Neighborhoods have always been able to exclude some potential residents through discrimination and housing costs. With gates and walls, they can exclude not only undesirable new residents, but even casual passersby and the people from the neighborhood next door. Gates are a visible sign of exclusion, an even stronger signal to those who already see themselves as excluded from the larger mainstream social milieu (Blakely and Snyder 1999: 153, quoted in Johnston 2001).

But walls, fences and gates are not the only way to fortress a neighborhood. These barriers can be social as well.

Sennett (1970) argues for the disintegration of the myth of the purified community, where “the purifying of identity may be forged in a life as a means of evading experiences that can be threatening, dislocating, or painful” (34). This purified identity is resistant to new experiences and perpetuates a lie of solidarity. Sennett calls for disorder in the city as a way of functioning—a chaotic, anarchic city that can bring diversity to those who resist it the most.

In an editorial to the one of the East Precinct’s neighborhood newspapers, guest columnist Bronwyn Doyle (2005) details her daily interactions with her “neighbors”, four people who had been smoking crack in the entrance of her apartment building at 3 a.m.: “Hey, people, I need to sleep! I pay rent. I work. Get the hell away from here. Go! Leave now!” In his column she talks about a particular incident that occurred on April 26, 2005. Usually the addicts and homeless people that rooted in the entrance would leave when she asked, but on this occasion they didn’t. As she (and the addicts) waited for the police to arrive, the smokers moved over to his window and spoke in loud voices. Doyle stops the story at this point and makes a profound statement “Sometimes, yelling at them is what it takes. But then, I don't know their names. And they don't know mine.”

Later that day (after a few hours of sleep), Doyle attended the first-ever Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing, headed by Councilmember Nick Licata. She details the events of the night, focusing specifically on the 30-minute precinct 'break-out session,' during which loud arguments frequently broke out. After discussing several of the fights, Doyle states,

I had a shift in perspective that night. Maybe this 'us and them' attitude is part of the problem - it bleeds into every issue: us law abiding citizens between them crack addicts, us innocent civilians against them mean cops, us active neighbors against them active neighbors. Crime summit fiasco it

wasn't, but a problem-oriented bitch session it was. Three days later, on Saturday morning at 9:30 a.m., I saw many of the same faces from the summit meeting at the first official MADCAP [Madison/Denny Community Action Program] neighborhood cleanup and barbecue, organized by community member Jon VandeMoortel, to continue facilitating a sense of community and to strive to be as regularly visible as the chronic addicts who hang out on private property.

Doyle describes how more than twenty “neighbors” showed up to the MADCAP cleanup and barbeque, including a few of “them.” People that she had regularly asked to leave the entrance to her apartment building showed up. And she learned their names.

CHAPTER 5

Findings: “Public Safety”

I want to live in a safe neighborhood. I want to be able to park my car on the street and walk home in reasonable safety. I want shootings and screaming in the middle of the night to end. The real issue is how much money are you willing to spend to make this happen? What is my life worth? What is this neighborhood worth? I think we are worth a lot more than we have received. I believe we are truly in need of more.—Kris Hansen, resident of Seattle’s East Precinct, questioning the Seattle City Council

Public Safety is the paramount duty of the City of Seattle.—Mayor Greg Nickels

INTRODUCTION

According to Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels, two of the highest priorities of urban government are to “keep our neighborhoods safe” and to “build strong families and healthy communities.” Yet budget cuts have dramatically reduced the public safety funds and the number of police officers on the street. The slack has to be taken up somewhere and in Seattle, the slack has been taken up by neighborhoods through forms of community policing such as neighborhood block watches.

In this chapter, discourses, practices and spatialities of public safety as mobilized and realized by residents of Seattle’s East Precinct are explored. Public safety is a motivating factor for the removal of those and that which are seen as disorderly. A desire to social control disorder through the Foucaultian discourses and practices of territoriality and governmentality is often rationalized by breaches of public safety.

The examination of the mobilization of public safety is important as the rationalization done in its name has the possibility of limiting the potential of public space. In this chapter, I show that public safety is used as a method of excluding those that are seen as threatening. There are class and race aspects to this threat. Repeatedly,

the homeless and African-American males are described as menacing or frightening. So frightening that geographies must be altered in order to avoid them.

Often, the notion of public safety is left unquestioned. Obviously, it is seen as a positive thing. But just who comprises the public in 'public' safety is many times unproblematized. This chapter discusses discourses of public safety used by communities to describe neighborhood "nuisances" such as prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates. Using a series of mayoral Town Hall meetings on Public Safety and the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing held in Seattle, Washington, as my empirical examples, I will show how public safety was evoked continually as a method of putting pressure on the Mayor of Seattle, the Seattle City Council and the Seattle Police Department to "clean up" neighborhoods.

During these meetings, there was a palpable frustration at the "infiltration" of the social Other into their communities. Fear of strangers, of outsiders, motivated many to speak. Overwhelmingly, problems in the neighborhood were blamed on the mysterious Other, the one who is not neighbor, the one who is not part of the community, but instead, one who comes into the area and ruins it for the residents. Stranger equals danger.

This chapter addresses geographies of fear brought on by the presence of the Other, using public safety as a lens for examination. Fear of the Other leads to the exclusion of those who are seen as threatening. When closeness occurs, these boundaries are challenged and can lead to unease. In spaces where physical proximity is likely to occur, order is desired to provide a clearer distinction between the pure and the polluted, the marked and unmarked, community and stranger. Disorder rhetoric rationalizes the

elimination of “defective individuals, degenerate and bastardized populations” from public space for reasons of public safety, leading to a spatialization of social boundaries (Foucault 1990a: 54).

‘Official’ public safety in Seattle consists of police and law enforcement, fire departments, courts, emergency resources, and hospitals.⁵⁷ Police and law enforcement consists of emergency response communication and patrol services; community police and anti-crime teams; community, business and crime victim outreach programs; criminal investigation; and law enforcement programs. Fire departments are “committed to minimizing the loss of life and property resulting from fire, medical emergencies and other disasters” through the operation of fire stations, housing engine and ladder companies, aid units, medic units, hazardous materials units, and marine response capabilities.⁵⁸ The Court system of Seattle has jurisdiction to try violations of all city ordinances, and collects fines arising from violations from parking, traffic, DUI, housing and fire code offenses. The legal component of public safety involves the Law Department (also known as the City Attorney) and the Public Defender. The Law Department has two primary duties: prosecution of those who violate City criminal laws, and providing legal advice and representation to city officials and departments. Emergency response is comprised of the following divisions: paramedics, environmental, transportation, telecommunications, and emergency preparedness. The hospitals component of public safety consists of community, long-term care, psychiatric, rehabilitation, addiction and substance abuse treatment.

⁵⁷ As seen from the official City of Seattle website, available at www.ci.seattle.wa.us/html/citizen/publicsafety.htm

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

Unofficial public safety, while technically still a part of public safety, is more of the day to day activities and situations that people find themselves in. It is safety when crossing the street or when getting into one's car. It is a feeling of security when taking a walk to the corner market. It is a feeling of freedom that many people in the East Precinct do not have. Unofficial public safety is on the thoughts of most people everyday. In a post 9-11 world, there are those that are terrified of the unknown. This terror often becomes mobilized against those that are seen as different, as strangers or outsiders. Fear such as this leads to panics, where 'citizens' unite to exclude and purge threatening difference in the name of public good, in the name of public safety. Discourses of the Other result in practices and spatialities of exclusion. In public safety discourse, practices and spatialities, social Others (i.e., prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates) are not seen as having a right to public space in the name of public good.

Discourses of public health and public safety are used to evoke one's sense of survival, one's sense of preservation. Words like "scary," "dirty," and "threatening" are used to create scenes of fear. When one hears those words, there is a visceral reaction. One feels the adrenaline build as one imagines what could happen in any of those given situations. One imagines what might happen or what one would possibly do to protect oneself in a confrontation with someone who is scary, dirty or threatening. Discourses such as these led to geographies of fear and hence, practices of expulsion in the name of public safety. In order to effect change, residents of high crime areas (such as the East Precinct) frame problems in their neighborhoods through the rubric of public safety.

One way to effect change is to get the attention of government officials. Many

constituents try to reach their officials with little result. So when the opportunity to bend the ear of the Mayor or the City Council arises, many jump at the chance. During the last year, the City of Seattle provided many such opportunities. The mayoral Town Halls on Public Safety and the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit provide examples of how public safety becomes an impetus of change.

Mayor Greg Nickels has repeatedly stated, “Public Safety is the paramount duty of the City of Seattle” and has made public safety one of his top priorities for government. As such, Nickels held five Town Halls on Public Safety over the summer of 2004 in the five different precincts of the Seattle Police Department. The Town Halls were a chance for Mayor Nickels to showcase his governmental priorities. In addition to these Town Halls, the Public Safety, Civil Rights and Arts Committee of the Seattle City Council held the first ever Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing in the spring of 2005. By scheduling these public meetings, the government of Seattle hoped that constituents would believe that officials were living up to their promise and making public safety a top priority.

The next sections of this chapter focus on the discourses of public safety and social Othering that were continually evoked during the mayoral Town Halls on Public Safety and the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing. These discourses were used to change government policy in the form of government resolutions and allocation of budgetary funds. Using information obtained from the question and answer period and follow up interviews from the Town Halls and testimony from the Crime Summit, I will discuss how perceived and actual threats against public safety lead to a fear of the Other.

These discourses of public safety evoked during these meetings are part of the broader social control processes of governmentality and territoriality. Repeatedly, public safety is used as a rationalization of social control. Foucaultian discourses and practices of governmentality and territoriality are seen in the testimonies and reports that are given to the Mayor and Seattle City Council. Through the control of space and the incorporation of the civilian into the state body, social control is enacted and used to make public space seem safer for those that are considered “the public.”

THE MAYOR’S TOWN HALL ON PUBLIC SAFETY

According to Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels, two of the highest priorities of urban government are to “keep our neighborhoods safe” and to “build strong families and healthy communities”. Yet budget cuts have dramatically reduced the public safety funds and the number of police officers on the street. This larger trend is part of the curbing of the welfare state. The slack has to be taken up somewhere and in Seattle (as in many other places), the slack has been taken up by neighborhoods through forms of community policing such as neighborhood block watches. This has led to a large outcry of frustration from ‘hot spot’ neighborhoods. Cries for help and expressions of frustration are found whenever and wherever there is a listening ear. Especially if that ear belongs to a government official.

The Central Seattle Mayoral Town Hall on Neighborhood Safety was held July 17th, 2004 at the Emerald City Outreach Ministries. Although the Town Hall was held in an area of the city that is largely African-American, the audience (of about one hundred people) was predominantly white, so much so that the police officers present (around twenty or so uniformed) vastly outnumbered the minorities present (see Figure 5.1).

Most of the participants in the Town Hall were long-time residents of the area, homeowners or local business owners, and members of their local neighborhood associations and Block Watches.



Figure 5.1. Mayor Nickels addresses the crowd.

Mayor Nickels, started the Town Hall by outlining his priorities for government. As he discussed his plans to improve public safety, he continually mentioned his pride in the public safety departments of Seattle, most especially the Seattle Police Department. He then began to discuss the current (2004) and proposed (2005) budget cuts in public safety funds, stating basically that he would give as much money as he could to public safety issues, but that in the end, all departments and programs would receive less money. Simply put, he stated that his hands were tied. This did not sit well with the audience. During the introduction of the various department heads that were present at the Town Hall, there was a noticeable rumble from the audience.

After the Mayor's opening remarks, the floor was opened up for questions. At first there seemed to a real reluctance to speak, but as the hour progressed, more and more

people lined up to address the Mayor. Mayor Nickels was treated with a mix of civility and hostility. The frustration and anger of the audience at the state of budgetary and public safety affairs was obvious. Often, the only words of praise addressed towards the Mayor were those to commend the resource-strapped police department (“get a lot of bang for your buck, no pun intended”), but that praise was tempered with criticism as well (“Reporting crime seems to do nothing, and takes a lot of time. Please shorten the outgoing message”).

As was echoed in more extensive interviews, these residents felt they were in a paradoxical state. They both felt empowered and angered that they were in charge of their own public safety. While they considered the Block Watch program to be invaluable, there was a sense of hopelessness that came along with it. One participant in the Town Hall, Gretchen, a woman in her late fifties, asked Mayor Nickels with visible frustration: “Beyond being watchful, what can neighborhoods do? It just doesn’t seem to be enough”. Many of the participants in the Town Hall were frustrated that *they* were the ones who had to rid their neighborhoods of crime and when they were unable to do so (out of fear for themselves or for their families) they felt vulnerable.

Three common motifs arose out of the question and answer period with the Mayor. The first was a feeling of impotence, a feeling of powerlessness over their situations. Residents were frustrated that they had given their all, followed the procedures outlined by law enforcement, and nothing changes. The second theme was that of anger. Much of the anger stemmed from paying high taxes and not being able to feel safe. But anger also arose from the lack of government and police response. Lastly, residents discussed demanded more law enforcement and social services for those in need. These sentiments

seemed to be motivated by both empathy and a desire to attempt another course in order to effect change.

Those residents that felt powerless to change their situations were very vocal in the mayoral Town Hall. Perhaps they felt it was the only thing left they could do. Foster reported:

One night there were fourteen shots fired in such rapid succession, it could only have been an automatic weapon. I understand fourteen shots represent an entire clip being emptied. Shots were fired at 4 a.m. and sounded to be about one block away. I waited for a while to see if there was any drama, but things were strangely quiet. Hard not to imagine what kind of damage fourteen shots would bring. The conditions here are unbelievably out of control. I didn't call the cops because they always make me feel like it is my fault that there are troubles around here. What can we do?

The Mayor only responded that the police should always be called in situations like that. Foster is obviously frustrated by the situation in his neighborhood. The conditions, as he sees them, are “out of control.” Out of his control, out of the police’s control, out of the state’s control. The only ones who have control in this situation are the criminals since there are no repercussions to their crimes. An entire clip can be fired without police response. The police often aren’t even called because they are not only seen as ineffectual, but antagonistic towards those that report crime. Foster states that the police “always make me feel like it is my fault that there are troubles around here.” The responsibility of public safety has been passed on from the police to the community. It is the community’s fault that there is crime.

Another speaker discussed action closer to home. Brandi discusses the events in her neighborhood.

In April, two large caliber bullets entered our windows. One went through my neighbor’s window across from me, entering the window, and lodging

itself into a desk. The other went into the unit below me. I've lived here since October 2003, and am now ready to pack up and move to an area where I have a lower chance of being shot in my own home. The city and police don't seem to care about what is going on here.

Here Brandi notes that even shots fired into residences don't merit response from the police or the city. She is prepared to move to another "safer" part of the city to reduce her chances of "being shot in [her] own home." Her mental geography of her neighborhood is one of danger, of infiltration of crime and criminals, of threats to her person. Other testimonies were less dramatic, but the frustration at the lack of response on the part of the police was still present. Bryan stated,

Every morning when leaving for work, I am aggressively pursued by prostitutes, even when I have a small child with me. I don't have the time it takes to report this problem every day, but it does happen every day. It would be easy to fill a police bus with regulars everyday. Why aren't they arrested?

Bryan's anger at the ineffectiveness on the part of local police and government leads him to question the Mayor. He is being asked by the police to report the problem everyday to no avail. By filling out reports, he becomes part of the state apparatus of policing, but here, it has no effect. These questions and reports to the Mayor were met with a mixture of sympathy and astonishment. He recommended that each person call the police when shots are fired and reiterated that the police were doing the best they could with what they had.

While many residents of the East Precinct felt hopeless, others felt anger at the state of affairs. Ineffectual police response mixed with high crime caused many to feel that their tax dollars were being misused. Travis discusses the regular gunfire in his neighborhood and what he feels is the regular reaction by the police—too little too late.

I was awoken by shouting, then three big gunshots—boom boom, boom-- then a car speeding away. I dread Friday nights when these kinds of events often wake us up. At 1:45 a.m. the other night we were awakened to extremely loud popping that I can only assume was gunfire. This is not the first incidence of gunfire in the area, and it indicates that things are not, in fact, getting much better or safer. For those of us paying taxes and trying to make the neighborhood a good, safe place, being awakened by gunfire just outside your window is frustrating and terrifying. Unfortunately, by the time police arrive the shooters are long gone. What we need instead is increased regular patrols.

Travis is upset that his efforts to make his neighborhood “a good, safe place” were not supported by the police. He feels that the tax money he pays should entitle him and his neighbors to some modicum of public safety. He feels ownership of the territory he pays for and wants it to be free of gunfire and threats to his safety. Travis notes to the Mayor that this is a repeated problem that happens every weekend. He is both frustrated and terrified at the state of affairs in his neighborhood. On the heels of Travis, a woman asked the Mayor to respond to her situation:

For the last few years I have tried to believe what the SPD has been telling us, but SPD is negligent in its lack of patrol and enforcement here [the East Precinct]. I'm sick and tired of trying to make a go of it around here. I have one goal: get out of this area. Why should the crack smokers and sex sellers be allowed to feel more comfortable than those of us paying insane property taxes?

She feels a loss of ownership of her property. Drug users and prostitutes have moved into her neighborhood and taken over. They are the ones who are more comfortable in that space. They are the ones who “own” the space, although they pay no taxes. Once again, the ownership of space is not dealt with by the police or the state. Instead, they are “negligent in its lack of patrol and enforcement.” The police have abandoned policing and left it to the residents of the community to police their territory.

Another resident, Greg, speaks of his loss of rights over space. The lack of ownership he feels over his property manifests itself into anger. He directs his ire directly at the Mayor, calling him out on his “pet projects” and asking him to rearrange his priorities.

The problems in the East Precinct are not subsiding. I am getting of sick of being hassled by these people hanging out, I am sick of waiting for SPD to solve this problem. I feel like these drug dealers and prostitutes have more rights than we do. My property taxes are totally insane, and for what? My neighbors and I have our cars and houses broken into, things stolen out of our yards. Drug dealing, trespassing, and fights going on all the time. Garbage, broken glass, and beer cans are everywhere. What the hell is going on? I'm losing my patience; I know part of the problem is funding and manpower. Maybe you [meaning Mayor Nickels] should camp out on this corner 24/7 until this problem is solved, or is are you too busy with South Lake Union and trolley cars to care about taxpayers and their kids? Somebody in authority, please do something!

Rights to property are brought up again here by Greg, another example of territoriality. Greg feels that his property is owned by the drug dealers and prostitutes that are drug dealing, trespassing and fighting around him. While he recognizes “part of the problem” is the rollback of the welfare state, Greg is still frustrated by the situation in his neighborhood. He asks Mayor Nickels to directly get involved (by camping out on the corner) since the police will not, or even cannot.

One of the final speakers launched into a tirade regarding the situation in her neighborhood. Sarah unleashes her anger on the Mayor, while framing it in the language of public safety:

Just waiting for to get your kid from the school bus stop at 20th Avenue East and Denny at four in the afternoon could be dangerous and certainly is miserable. While waiting for fifteen minutes at one of Seattle’s most notorious corners, I was both presumed to be a prostitute and yelled at by those that were prostitutes when they assumed me to be their competition. Apparently just being at that corner makes you a prostitute.

I paid a quarter of a million dollars to live in an area that the Seattle Police allow to be a drug supermarket. I pay nearly \$3,000 per year in property taxes, yet if I lived a few blocks away I could expect far more

safety, paid for by the same taxes. Needles in the gutter and a constant stream of drug transactions is not acceptable, but that is what the kids on that bus will see every day. People so on drugs that they can't walk in a straight line, and it is obvious that the reason they are on that corner is that they sell drugs, use drugs and give blow jobs right there all day long. I know that they are there at night too, because they keep me up at night.

Although it would be foolish to go out at night and use the property I own. City Hall has a record that I own it, but we all know the criminals 'own' whatever they wish in this part of town, so my own property isn't useable by me. My neighborhood is a putrid cesspool of open and notorious drug sales, with people openly smoking crack on some very predictable corners everyday, with people shooting up in cars in the same places everyday, with people giving blow jobs in cars in the same location everyday. Something should be done and the police should do it.

There are lots of voters watching to see how long these deplorable conditions are allowed to flourish. Get cops on the streets now, before the uprising by tax-paying citizens is unleashed on City Hall. No longer will we be satisfied with, "We are working on that area. Blah, blah, blah," from the you [meaning the Mayor], the city and the police. It is clear that nothing is improving here and we are sick of waiting.

Sarah calls upon the police and the Mayor to get involved, to improve her neighborhood's situation. She too brings up the right of ownership to her property, saying that "it would be foolish to go out at night and use the property I own." She warns of an uprising by the tax-payers of Seattle as a result of deplorable conditions in neighborhoods. By bringing up her rights as a voter, she is invoking her role in governmentality. She is stating that as part of the state apparatus (as a taxpayer and voter), she is entitled to a certain amount of responsibility on the part of the government. Finding that her government has done nothing, she feels that they have just pandered to her, giving her empty promises ("blah, blah, blah").

Sarah is also angered that she is seen as a prostitute, something she finds so vile. She describes her neighborhoods as a "putrid cesspool" filled with crack smokers and prostitutes that pollute her daily existence. The regularity of their presence, the brazenness of their actions aggravates her to no end. She is frustrated by the lack of

police attention to this situation in her neighborhood. She is “sick of waiting” for something, anything, to be done.

Anger is not the only emotion felt. Many feel anger mixed with other emotions. On such is empathy. There is an increasing call for the supplementation of law enforcement with social services. One resident, Lisa stated,

We need funding and additional police and public safety workers. I sleep when police are in the area. I wake up when they are not. I, too, want more social services for those of our society which are left behind. Yet I also want to feel safe coming and going from my house. It is essential that public safety remains a concern and that the city council fund elements that support that safety.

Another, Don, reiterated Lisa’s sentiments, explaining that law enforcement alone cannot change the high crime situation without the help of social services:

I want to point out here that the situation in our area is crying out for action above and beyond what the police can provide. We need drug rehab counseling info, detox facilities, more shelters, information for prostitutes on safe sex as well as resources to get out if they want to, and so much more. Simply complaining about the police—or, for that matter, locking people up—isn't going to make the issue go away. Homeless people largely want to be left alone. Crack addicts are addicts, and they are no longer making rational decisions about anything, much less concern about people's property values or trespassing. Am I alone in seeing this issue as being so much more complicated than just calling 911? I'm all for better policing, but that's just one, tiny step of a huge ladder of social services that we need in this area. It's not a matter of pushing people out, but helping people who live here lead better lives.

Don and Lisa feel that the larger issue, that of restoration of the welfare state, is more pressing than simply locking up those that are in need of service or complaining about the state of affairs. Drug rehabilitation, detoxification facilities, shelters and information are all needed in order to secure “rights to the city” for those that need the welfare state, such as drug users, chronic public inebriates and prostitutes (see Lefebvre 1995, Mitchell

2003). Don points out that the situation needs more than just a police presence, that 9-1-1 does not do anything to solve the problems of the rollback of the welfare state.

Other testimony focused on more mundane (or in some cases, more unusual) issues, but still were focused on public safety. Words like “scary” and “dangerous” were bandied about. To each speaker, the Mayor would nod. His standard reply was, “I’ll look into it.” For example, Brian explained to the Town Hall a strange incident that happened to him at his house:

I came home during the day and as I was driving in my driveway, I followed someone in to my parking spot who then walked up to the back of my house and was using the spigot. He knew me, we had talked before, he knew I lived there, but when I repeatedly asked him to stop using my water, he ignored my requests. Taking water is not the issue, the brazenness and the fact that he was in a place that prevented me from walking into my house without encountering him was the issue. During the day, this is unnerving; at night it would be scary.

Brian is unnerved by the “brazenness” of the act and that he had to confront the Other on his own property. The idea that the man blocked the entrance to his house was particularly threatening to Brian, who finds encounter with the Other on his own property menacing. Brian’s territorial feelings cause him to find the situation with the man “unnerving.”

As expected, many of my respondents in fieldwork stated that they changed their geographies based on geographies of fear. Mark, another resident of the East Precinct, echoed Brian’s geography: “I find it challenging to feel safe. Sometimes, I feel barricaded in my own home.” When police presence was high, respondents felt that they could “go anywhere”, but when police forces were strapped due to outside circumstances, they felt a sense of desperation.

Asked Mary, an retired black woman with four grandchildren, “I know you can’t just arrest someone for looking funny, but what can you do?” She was visibly upset at the idea of a stranger, someone unfamiliar in her neighborhood. She went on to discuss the anxiety she feels when she waits at the bus stop,

What I am supposed to do when they’re dealing right in front of me? I can’t say or do anything. The cops don’t respond in time and if they do drive by, they [meaning the dealers] just go somewhere else until the police leave. Sometimes they don’t even care if the cops drive by. They’re fearless.

In her testimony, Mary described the geographies of the dealers. They are mobile and able to change locations easily until pressure from police presence is alleviated. She went on to state that sometimes even pressure from the police does not solve the problem as the drug dealers are “fearless.”

Another participant stated to the Mayor: “Block Watch is all we have to protect ourselves. We have to learn how to protect ourselves”. The issue of protection was brought up repeatedly. One speaker, a local business owner in his late forties asked, “Is it fair that families that live near certain parks have to put their lives and families at risk?” Said another, “We need to take over our parks again. More foot patrol is needed so that families won’t feel threatened since the bullies have moved in.”

The very next speaker challenged Mayor Nickels to walk through her neighborhood at night. She asked for the name of his scheduler so that she could make it happen and he responded that he would be willing to set up such an event. After this initial “invite,” the Mayor was repeatedly asked to visit neighborhood after neighborhood and walk the streets and stroll the parks to witness the effects of crime on the community. Over and over again, discourses of public and personal safety were evoked as a reason for social

Othring and the exclusion from public space of chronic public inebriates (CPIs), prostitutes and drug users/traffickers, questioning their constitution as urban citizens and their rights to access public space.

Pamela asked the Mayor about another public safety issue: public health. She discussed the status of her neighborhood park, stating,

I would like to point out that Volunteer park is so littered with used condoms and needles that I can't let my kids play under the trees in the larger park areas. The playgrounds seem to be pretty clean, thankfully, but the rest is just plain dangerous. Can they put sharps disposals at the trash cans?

With the use of the word “dangerous” and the suggestion of a sharps disposal, Pamela signals to the Mayor that this is both a public safety and public health issue. By using such a strong word as “dangerous,” she gets the attention of the Mayor, who immediately states that he’ll “see into it.” He then turned to his assistant and whispered a few words before turning back to hear the next speaker.

Renee discussed her neighborhood situation, explaining how things have changed over the last year. She describes everything from the people to the paraphernalia:

There were a lot of scary, sketchy people hanging out at the SE corner of the ball field [which ball field exactly was never determined] last Summer/Fall [2003]. Sometimes it seemed as though someone had taken up residence under the trees by the stands and often, it was clear that some individuals spending an afternoon there were totally whacked out of their minds. I called the cops one day because a woman was sort of skipping in and out of traffic in this very odd way, clearly totally baked. I walk this neighborhood all the time and I notice when there's an increase in street populations. Things seem to increase as the weather gets better. I'd love to see increased late night patrol. I call the cops for everything and have encouraged all my neighbors to do the same.

To Renee, drug users are scary, sketchy people. When they occupy space that she sees as rightfully hers, then she calls the police. She walks the neighborhood documenting changes in the street population, noticing an increase or decrease depending on the

weather. Renee has become the eyes and ears (and mouth) of the neighborhood. If the police are not there to see criminal activity, then she makes sure that she and other local residents notify the police of it. She calls the police for “everything,” but as evidenced in earlier testimony, how much does it really change?

To some, there is no change. There are the same old problems day after day that never change. They feel frustration and a sense of desperation that nothing will ever change. Then there are those that feel that they can effect change. By calling police officers and by confronting the problems in their neighborhood head on, they feel that they are making a difference. If anything, they are making their presence known to the criminal element. And to them, that’s something.

Town Hall attendees, by using discourses of community, public safety and territoriality, strengthened their citizen-subject position in the eyes of the state through the policing of their neighborhoods and the reporting of the activities that went on in the neighborhood. Those who attended the meeting and voiced their concerns to Mayor Nickels reified their status as citizens in that they became part of the state apparatus. While their status as citizens was reinforced, at the same time, a process of Othering was carried out. There was a creation of an Other to the citizen-subject.

The “solution” to the “problem” of the Other is often the exercise of territoriality as evidenced in the comments from the community in the mayoral Town Hall. As described by respondents, territoriality became both a cohesive community builder and a divisive marker. It was used to draw lines between us/them, safe/dangerous and to delineate stranger from neighbor.

Those who attended the meetings and reported to Mayor Nickels practiced a form of community policing. They used the resources available to them (their eyes, their phones, their status as constituents) to police their neighborhoods. With a government willing to at least listen to their complaints, attendees are able to promote their definitions of public space. Public space that is safe for them, not for everyone.

CITYWIDE NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME SUMMIT

On the evening of April 26, 2005, Seattle city residents gathered, in conjunction with the Seattle City Council and Seattle Police Department for the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing, the first of its kind. Held at City Hall in the Council Chamber, the meeting was called by the Public Safety, Civil Rights and Arts Committee to address crime in Seattle neighborhoods. While only 200 or so people could be accommodated in the chamber, many more residents had access to the meeting via a live feed on Seattle's Seattle Channel (available both on local television and the internet at www.seattlechannel.org). All five of Seattle's precincts (North, West, East, South, Southwest) were represented by the respective Precinct Captain, chairs of the five corresponding Precinct Advisory Councils, and constituents from each precinct.

Opening remarks were made by Nick Licata, chair of the Public Safety, Civil Rights and Arts Committee. He stated that he hoped the summit would address public safety issues in a way that considers how Seattle can increase law enforcement visibility as well as employing effective strategies for dealing with repeat offenders. In a press release sent out the day before the Crime Summit, he stated:

[W]e cannot simply add new police officers and assume that crime will go down. We must have effective long term strategies to make our communities safer. From riding along with police officers and talking to

others, I have heard more than once that to effectively fight street crime and disturbances, we must provide services for drug and alcohol abusers.

I believe we must break down that revolving door which recycles offenders from the streets to jail and then back to the streets. I've personally seen that many of these people are addicts and/or mentally ill. They need some place to go to begin to develop a sense of responsibility to themselves and to the community they live in, otherwise they will endlessly be walking the pavement, dealing drugs, committing petty theft and/or sleeping in alleys or doorways.

I hope we can begin to explore expanding the definition of public safety in a way that combines law enforcement with social services. Otherwise, we will be relying just on our police force and our legal system to correct a societal problem that goes beyond their resources. I believe we should consider employing medical treatment, mental health counseling, and providing affordable housing and employment opportunities as strategies to complement our law enforcement in not only keeping offenders off the street but also getting them on the road to a normal life.⁵⁹

Licata raised a somewhat controversial thought in his speech when he called for the expansion of the definition of public safety “in a way that combines law enforcement with social services.” This is a public safety that does address the public as a whole, that does address rights to the city and rights to public space. A combination of policing with social services allows for a public space that is safe for all that use it, not just for those that are recognized as the appropriate public.

He was then followed by a brief speech by Seattle Police Department Chief Gil Kerlikowske, who stated that he was “proud everyday of this police department,” while acknowledging that “safety was not equal across every precinct.” On the heels of Chief Kerlikowske’s comments, Peter Harris, Seattle City Council Central Staff member, broke down the levels of crimes committed in Seattle by precinct and by type of crime. He then averaged the number of officers present in each precinct at any time of day. According to his figures, eighty-eight police officers are on duty during each of the three police shifts,

⁵⁹ From Urban Politics #193, http://www.ci.seattle.wa.us/council/licata/up_193.htm

or watches. Spread over five precincts, the numbers of officers in a precinct range from seven to twenty-four.⁶⁰ With that statistic, Harris cautioned that the focus should be on the impact of the officers, not on the actual numbers on the street.

Stephanie Tschida, the PAC for Seattle’s East Precinct and president of the East Precinct Crime Prevention Council, was the first constituent to speak. She started off by discussing “quality of life” issues, saying, “The only way we can know about quality of life is by what you see and what you feel.” During her time, she repeatedly used the phrase “quality of life” to describe how crimes such as drug dealing, robbery, assault and “anti-social behavior” deteriorate quality of life for those in the East Precinct.

Captain Mike Meehan⁶¹ was next to the microphone. His focus was a response to the crime statistics presented by Peter Harris. He argued for “responsive and flexible” action on the part of the police department when dealing with crime and deployment issues. He called for police officers to “get out of cars” and “learn more from the community.” At the conclusion of his time in front of the forum, he thanked the Seattle City Council “for support of AIAs, which will help with incivility issues.”

The audience was then divided up into sectors, color-coded by precinct after opening remarks were made by each PAC and Precinct Captain, to answer four questions proposed by the Public Safety, Civil Rights and Arts Committee:

1. Does the information that you heard about crime levels and Seattle Police Department staffing levels in your neighborhood match your perception?
2. What do you think the City’s top law enforcement priorities should be?
3. Which public safety issues are well addressed in your neighborhood? Which are not?

⁶⁰ Number of officers assigned to each precinct is based on 911 calls logged.

⁶¹ Captain Meehan is now the former East Precinct Captain. The new captain of the East Precinct is Captain Landy Black.

4. What policing “Best Practices” does the Seattle Police Department use to address “hot spots”? What should they do differently?

Each group included a Councilmember, its Precinct Advisory Council chair, the precinct captain and residents of that precinct. Additionally, those not present, but viewing on television or over the internet, were invited to call in their issues and responses to the proposed questions.

Many of the specific recommendations varied from precinct to precinct but there were common ideas across all precincts: Residents in all precincts felt that there needs to be more beat patrol officers and they want to understand more about how patrol-staffing levels are planned for each precinct (precinct size, population, et cetera). They felt that the most successful way to address crime is when the Seattle Police Department shares information, identifies problems (i.e., hot spots), and creates solutions in collaboration with citizens and other relevant institutions (e.g., schools, non-profit organizations, and other governmental agencies and departments). And finally, residents agreed that a comprehensive approach that recognizes the need for social services in conjunction with law enforcement should be the most successful way to fight crime.

East Precinct residents responded to the questions by stating repeatedly that they needed more police and more police accountability, while commending the police for “doing the best that they can” and “communicating well with the community.” They asked that the police generally focus more on crimes against people and property, but the most important issue they wanted dealt with was that of drug sales. Constituents of the East Precinct repeatedly used drug sales, specifically street drug dealers, as an example of a “core problem that creates other problems.”

After the groups had formulated their responses to the Council-generated questions,

each precinct was allowed four people to testify to issues they wished to highlight in their neighborhood. Vanessa, from the Southwest Precinct, stated that she does not go outside at night or on the weekends due to her fear of crime. She testified, “It’s scary. We have to walk in pairs.” Mobility is a theme that arises repeatedly in testimony regarding public safety. Over and over again, constituents discussed how they would skirt hot spots so as not to come into contact with crime. Geographies of fear and crime (which often do not match up) shape the geographies of those in the East Precinct as evidenced in the reports to the City Council. Avoidance of that which is seen as “scary” in public space creates a desire to “clean up” that space to make it more attractive to those who feel threatened.

Many were frustrated by “how long crime had been allowed to flourish,” stating as one person phrased it that the City of Seattle had been “sitting on its hands too long.” The first speaker to testify stated her desire for the punishment, the suffering of criminals after the murder of her brother at a notorious drug-ridden motel in an infamous Seattle hot spot. Yet interesting to note, she also expressed concern for the indigent and for prostitutes who had been abused or harmed. She demanded that monetary retribution for crimes be paid to charities. This mix of anger and empathy was to be heard time and again throughout the evening.

Andrew, the president of a community council within the East Precinct called Deano’s a “magnet for the sick and destitute” and claimed there were no “victimless crimes.” He detailed how he faced gunfire, harassment and human feces in his yard on a weekly basis. He asked the Council to address issues that cause street crime, stating: “Do not stop drug buy-busts to funnel that money into treatment because they are still needed.

Do not abandon the only tool that addresses street crime. No enforcement tools equals no effect. Come and see for yourself.” Twice the Council was invited by both Mike and Andrew Taylor to come and view the state of the East Precinct. Said Mike:

I invite the council to come live with us for a week. It will create some paradigm shifts. Can I see of a show of hands to see if anyone will accept this invitation? [No hands were raised and his invitation was met by silence.] That’s what I thought.

Overwhelmingly, those testifying from the East Precinct mentioned drugs or drug-related crimes/enforcement in their statements. One man, Mike, exclaimed that he was “appalled by the state of drugs in the neighborhood,” declaring them not a public health or nuisance issue, but a much-needed priority of public safety. Kris, a resident of the East Precinct, discussed the problems in his area, Miller Park:

Sadly, this is not theatrical. It’s a daily reality for this neighborhood and I am not the only one impacted by the brazen drug traffic. I’d like to say I always call 9-1-1, but what is the point? There is a half an hour wait before my low priority call is answered and everyone has stumbled away by then. Every officer in this precinct knows what is going on in this neighborhood! I wouldn’t want to respond or patrol this area either. Frankly, I save up my 9-1-1 calls for the real trouble and we do have real troubles. There was a shooting on my block this week. It wasn’t the first time and it won’t be the last. There is the sober reality that a deal is going to go bad once and a while and everyone around is a potential victim.

Another man, a resident of the Southwest Precinct, stated that he used to not know what a hot spot was until he moved into one. Then, he said, “I learned right quick.” This shock at the state of things in the East Precinct was nothing new. But there were others voices to be heard. Beyond shock and anger were voices of compassion.

Others were more concerned with providing social services to those in need instead of simply “throwing the book at them.” Linda, a concerned constituent from the South Precinct, stated:

More services are needed, not more police. There should be more police time spent on issues of poverty: alcoholism, homelessness, drug addiction. You can move the homeless out, but they're not going to go away unless you address the root problem—poverty.

At the end of the testimony portion of the evening, Nick Licata concluded the meeting by inviting the City Council to respond to the events of the evening. He kicked off remarks by saying that he was concerned with “causes, not symptoms” and that he was “trying to get people to take responsibility for their actions and their ‘brother community’”. He turned over the floor to his fellow Council members by stating that “crime and social services must work together in a comprehensive approach.”

Council member Tom Rasmussen wondered about the turnout of predominantly white constituents, wondering if the message would be different if more people of color were represented. Other members were astounded by the call for greater collaboration between communities and police, believing it to be “good” already. Still others mentioned their personal concerns for the community, including the re-establishment of community service officers that helped support police officers. Fellow SCC member David Della concluded, “There’s a lot we can do to prevent crime if we come together as a community,” calling this meeting “the beginning of a dialogue.”

In his posted follow-up to the Crime Summit, Council member Licata discussed Resolution 30773, which supported the Mayor’s addition of twenty-five new police officers to the Seattle Police Department, while requesting as well that the Mayor reflect the public safety recommendations raised by the public in the Crime Summit in his 2006 budget. The resolution also supported continued SCC deliberations for a November 2005 public safety levy, which would allow the Council to follow up on the Civil Streets Initiative (CSI) that proposes to combine law enforcement with emergency and human

services. Licata states,

This approach has been shown to be effective for dealing with repeat offenders. The City Departments providing these services will coordinate their efforts and focus them on altering the behavior of drug addicts, alcoholics, and the mentally ill by providing them drug treatment, counseling, and job opportunities. But these services are accompanied by tight supervision until an offender can take responsibility for their actions. Even if the City does not pursue a specific CSI levy for funding additional police and social services to address street crimes, it can frame the public policy discussion by identifying some new strategies for achieving more effective law enforcement. With the intended result that those arrested are not soon back on the street being arrested once again for the same activity.

While Licata feels hopeful about the results that could arise from the Crime Summit, there are those that feel it was a waste of time. They are not cynics, they are people that have dealt with the system repeatedly to no avail.

Taking matters into their own hands

Prior to the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit, there was a lot of discussion amongst residents in the East Precinct as to whether it would change anything. Residents formulated the “Sleepover Plan,” which would put the area's crime problems—drug dealing, prostitution, and shootings—right in Council members’ faces. Repeatedly, East Precinct residents have offered up their own homes, even their own beds to Seattle City Council members. “Live in our neighborhood for a week,” Andrew proposes, “Sleep in our houses, shop at our grocery stores, go walking past Deano’s [Cafe and Lounge].”

While many of those who are behind the Sleepover Plan attended the Crime Summit, they believe that they effect more change than the Seattle City Council can. Just prior to the Crime Summit, residents in the East Precinct, most specifically in the Miller Park Area, waged a 9-1-1 calling campaign (a “dial-a-thon” as it’s been designated) to direct attention to the crime in their area.

The backlash to the summit stemmed from worries that Council member Nick Licata (initiator of the Crime Summit) planned to abolish tough (and controversial) enforcement techniques like drug buy-busts, in favor of funding social services like drug treatment. “Don't abolish the “drug buy-bust” program... it's all that stands between us and mayhem,” neighborhood association president Andrew Taylor pleaded in an April 26 letter to the council. Cops do one bust a week along Madison, which neighbors say is the only thing keeping “brazen” drug dealers remotely in check. Licata responded in the meeting that he had no plans to scrap the buy-bust funding. He stated that law enforcement and social services should go hand-in-hand.

While Licata's two-sided approach is a commendable way to address crime, East Precinct residents are still waiting for results. From interviews obtained during fieldwork and from statements made at public forums, most residents state that they don't think they'll see a drop in crime along unless they go after it themselves. They would rather be “vigilantes” than “victims.”

The night before the Crime Summit, residents organized a call-in session, meeting at the new Starbucks across the street from a notorious hot spot, Deano's. Close to a dozen people showed up with cell phones in hand ready to call police every time they noticed any illegal activities (including loitering, drug dealing and prostitution). By doing so, they hoped to flood the 9-1-1 system and make a point about crime in their area. During this call-in session, Lieutenant Davis, a Community Police Team Officer, offered advice on how to be an effective 9-1-1 dialer. Residents are encouraged to contact Officer Davis after they make 9-1-1 calls in order to keep him informed as to hot spots in the East Precinct.

Deano's Lounge and Café and the next door, Deano's Market, near the intersection of 21st Avenue East and East Madison Street, remains one of the Seattle's most notorious crime hot spots and definitely the number one hot spot in the East Precinct. . Drugs, loitering, violence and prostitution have long been problems in the area dubbed "the war zone" by residents, many of whom are weary of the issue or frustrated by city and police response. That the area has a high crime rate can hardly be disputed. According to Seattle Police Department statistics, there were 144 felony narcotics arrests by May alone in 2005, more than any other precinct. The East Precinct also considers the 21st and Madison area its top priority as far as allocating resources.

Neighborhood residents have basic plans of attack to combat crime in their area. One way is to call the police persistently and report crime. The other is to take the problem head on and confront those that are committing crimes face to face. This means taking a more confrontational approach to individuals who may be using taking drugs in a neighbor's back yard. It means walking up to a person who may be smoking crack cocaine and telling them to leave. One of the people who has taken that tactic is Julianne, who has lived near the Deano's hot spot for more than seven years, says that the intent behind the face to face approach is "to make the neighborhood inhospitable for inhospitable non-residents." Julianne goes on to say that she feels that her own neighborhood is currently inhospitable to residents. According to Julianne, many of her neighbors are afraid to leave the house at night due to fear of crime. Julianne states, "Working nights, I see a different world coming home late at night than many see during the daylight hours or while driving past the neighborhood."

While stating that the movement to make the neighborhood “inhospitable to non-residents” is not vigilantism, she says that she and other area residents are frustrated with the drug situation and the “negative climate on the streets.”

We really are just asking the non-residents to move on. The older ones usually do, but the younger ones are argumentative. But by the time we call 911, and by the time officers get here, criminals have left the scene or the drugs are hidden. We aren't happy with this and don't think of it as a real solution. I endorse all sorts of progressive ideas on solving crime here. We just want the right to live here peacefully.

To counter the face to face “confrontational” approach is the brand new neighborhood association called Madison/Denny Community Action Program (MADCAP). According to founding member Jon VandeMoortel, “We are not trying to be a confrontational presence. It's about creative resistance to crime in the neighborhood and a desire not to allow things to continue as they have” (Schwartz 2005).

On Saturday, April 30, 2005, MADCAP members held a community clean-up and barbecue. The event involved cleaning debris, pruning back shrubbery to expose sidewalks and unclogging sewer drains. Local area residents bagged trash and swept streets in an effort to “clean up their community.” Two community watch signs were put up (see Figure 5.2). The city of Seattle provided cleaning supplies, food and fliers for the event as part of its Adopt-a-Street program. During the barbecue, the group was joined by several people (mostly chronic public inebriates) who are typically associated with the problems MADCAP wants to address. “That was a positive surprise,” VandeMoortel said. “But they are part of this neighborhood, and we see them here every day” (Schwartz 2005).



Figure 5.2 MADCAP taking a break.

Organizations such as MADCAP are taking the resources available to them and using them in a different way than those who support the vigilante method. They are using the city and the police in a way that helps to foster a relationship between the neighborhood and the Other created in policing. While many of those involved in MADCAP were involved in the Mayoral Town Hall on Neighborhood Safety and the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit, they are involved in a more ethical form of community policing. They are employing an empathetic, sympathetic form of community policing. This is increasingly rare in that while there are those who are concerned with public safety for all, there are many who believe that their safety is the only one that matters. This form of territoriality only serves to further increase the divisions in neighborhoods between those that do the community policing and those that are policed. It creates a public space that is, under the rhetoric of public safety, in need of sanitization. It creates a public space that ignores the “public” of public space.

CONCLUSION

Public safety is an issue that concerns everyone. Everyone wants to feel safe and secure, especially in their own home or neighborhood. But many do not or cannot feel

safe in their daily lives. This fear comes from a variety of places: movies, newspapers, or from personal experience. Whether confrontational or just a presence in the neighborhood, public safety is not just a discourse used, it is a practice, a spatiality that results from fear. In order to have space that is free from strangers, from criminals, from Others, people will fight to preserve what they perceive as order. From dial-a-thons to face-to-face confrontation to testimony in front of the Mayor, City Council and Chief of Police, residents of the East Precinct are enacting more and more strategies to “clean up” their neighborhoods.

In this process of cleaning up, of ordering space, there are those who get pushed aside or even harmed during the process. The public aspect of public safety is often ignored by those who are its strongest advocates. The private nature of public safety is overwhelming. Most people are concerned about their own private property or their own private persons when they discuss public safety. Not very often is there a concern for the public as a whole. What happens to the homeless or chronic public inebriates when there are street sweeps in the name of public safety? Very often they are ticketed, fined or placed in police custody. What about their safety? What about their public needs?

MADCAP is one of the new, softer forms of community policing. They are trying not to oust those that are seen as outsiders, those Others that will not go away, but instead to figure out ways to work together with those who need social services to make the neighborhood a place for everyone. They are working on a method that incorporates a sense of empathy. There is an understanding in MADCAP that the social is contextual. That another does not have to be an Other.

With traditional confrontation, there does not necessarily have to be an Other (see Bronwyn Doyle's op ed, Chapter 4), but many times there is. When you confront another to reprimand them, to expel them, a division is erected between you and that person. A barrier is erected in that conflict. Even when Julianne states "We aren't happy with this and don't think of it as a real solution," and endorses social services as well, she is still creating a divide. By using the phrase "non-residents," she generates a dualism, a divide between self and Other.

Divides such as this were evident at the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and the Mayoral Town Halls. Discourses of 'us' and 'them' helped to inform practices and spatialities (and vice versa) outlined by Seattle's government. When residents of the East Precinct spoke of danger in their neighborhood, overwhelmingly the image of the Other was evoked. There's the crazy man who steals water, the prostitutes who solicit men taking their children to school, and the cars that circle the neighborhood. There's the drug dealer on the corner or the pimp who hangs out at the bus stop. These are all social Others to those who testified in front of the Mayor and the Seattle City Council. Because they are considered to be Others, they are feared.

In these discourses, practices and spatialities of Othering, prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates are not seen as having a right to be in space. One of my informants described it as "positive displacement", where the undesirables are replaced with members of the community, but instead, I argue, it is a creation of "geography of nowhere." This geography of nowhere is evoked in the name of public safety and public health, for the greater social good. But instead, it ignores the very point: the "public" part of public safety.

CHAPTER 6

Findings: “Community”

We need a concept of human dignity that says we are not captives of the system, but can control our own community—engraving in Flo Ware Park

INTRODUCTION

Being part of a community can produce feelings of belonging and acceptance. Being left out of a community can cause one to feel ostracized and alone. This chapter is about both sentiments—the creation of community through the exclusion of the Other. While communities are both inclusive and exclusive at the same time, this chapter is concerned with the processes of exclusion and how the exclusion of Others builds communities through the act of community policing.

Chapter 4 discusses neighborhoods and the difference between neighborhoods and communities may not be clear. For the purposes of this dissertation, neighborhoods are based upon geographically defined contiguous areas in which residents conform to a specific identity or are excluded and marked as outsiders. In this chapter, communities are similar to neighborhoods, excepting that communities are not necessarily united contiguously. Communities can be formed from a variety of starting points and with little necessary geographic relation (Anderson 1991, Johnston 2000). The way community is used in this chapter is similar to Tonnies’s ([1887] 1998) conception of *gemeinschaft*, where community is a social network. Communities involve interacting individuals which form a group with some common characteristic or goal. As it is used in this chapter, a community is a politically/economically/culturally motivated group that

excludes those that do not have the same intended outcome for a project (e.g., the community gathering used as an example later in this chapter).

For example, the following testimony from a man detailing an incident in his neighborhood:

We have a friend staying with us who was walking out to his car to go meet some friends for dinner. He got into his car and rolled down the windows because it was hot. A black man in a black hat and dark fleece jacket walked up to the car. He looked over and within 5 seconds the man reached into his car, unlocked the door and jumped in yelling at him to hurry up and drive. The man was obviously high and assumed he wanted to buy drugs from him. My friend turned off his car and pleaded with the man to get out as he was not interested in anything. The man started yelling at him, calling him a stupid white boy. My friend walked around, opened the passenger door and again asked him to get out of his car. The man then threatened him telling him he was going to mess his shit up and that he better not come around here anymore.

This was 7 at night in the full daylight. My friend used to live in Seattle for twenty years and has never experienced anything like this. Sadly he doesn't feel safe at our house and will more than likely be leaving early. It's pretty sad that we live in such a bad area that a simple act of getting into your car and looking the wrong direction gets you all of this. I'm so tired of these drug dealers owning our streets. *There has to be more we can do as a community* to stop this behavior.

In this story, the “black man” is seen as an outsider, not as a part of community. It. The phrase “There has to be more we can do as a community” signals this divide. This sentiment of working as a community to remove the presence of unwanted elements is a key part of community policing. The issue of race is raised here again. There is a “fear of the black man” that exists in the community. This is due to mental maps and geographies of fear and crime. While the “black man” is not always the perpetrator of crime, he is the scapegoat for it.

This chapter details the history and current status of community policing in Seattle, using the East Precinct as its focus. Residents from the East Precinct have been involved

in community policing since its introduction and have been active members in community-police relationships. From the first community activism of Mothers Against Police Harassment (MAPH) to the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition (EPCPC), residents of the East Precinct have had a long relationship with community policing. Looking at the inception of community policing to its current incarnation, the next sections detail how community is built through the policing process by looking at the history of community policing in Seattle (including a report commissioned by the City of Seattle on police-community relations and the Community Police Academy of the Seattle Police Department). This chapter also discusses Crime Prevention from Environmental Design and a community gathering which was co-sponsored by the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition and Seattle Parks and Recreations. These latter examples show community policing on the ground and show how territoriality and public safety inform discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing.

The history of community policing in is long and complicated. Born out of scandal and hostility towards the police, it has since become known nationally for its progressive policy and positive community-police interaction. Community policing is explored through a variety of means in this chapter. By looking at how the Seattle Police Department deals with the community in its policing practices, this chapter explores community-police interactions empirically and not just in theory. In addition, looking at how CPTED is employed in two different projects—the East Precinct’s Flo Ware Park and the area known as the Jungle—an example of community policing through community activism and crime prevention is provided. Finally, the East Precinct Crime

Prevention Coalition community gathering shows an example of community policing from its inception to its fulfillment.

This chapter discusses how discourses, practices and spatialities of community policing are enacted by multiple groups in Seattle's East Precinct. By showing these groups in action, by showing how their activism leads to change, this chapter provides an example of how community is built from the exclusion of the Other and how socio-spatial control (exercises of territoriality and governmentality) lead to narrow definitions the "public" of public space. These narrow definitions limit the potential for encounter in public space and diminish rights to the city and access to public space for those that are policed.

COMMUNITY POLICING

External pressure from the community is often the primary reason police departments initiate and institute change (Zhao 1996, Bass 2000). Collective action from the community motivates elected leaders to address problems that need attention, but may have in the past been ignored due to lack of community interest. However, community members with greater social capital are usually those who participate in forms of community policing and can end up further marginalizing groups within their community that cannot or do not participate (Sadd and Grinc 1994).

Community policing in Seattle started following the corruption scandal that rocked the Seattle Police Department in the late 1960s.⁶² At the same time, residents from the South Precinct, who had a long tradition of community action, turned their attention to

⁶² A highly confidential report that was initially only available to select members of the Seattle Police Department (released to the public in 1970) revealed that there was an extensive payoff system that involved several divisions of the police department, including the entire vice division, and was coordinated by the Assistant Chief of Police, M. E. "Buzz" Cook.

issues of crime control. Despite resistance from then Chief of Police, Pat Fitzsimons, residents of the South Precinct succeeded in forcing the department to establish a “police-community partnership” in 1989, the South Seattle Crime Prevention Council. The National Institute of Justice has since called the partnership a model of community policing (Lyons 1995).

Concerns regarding police behavior and racial targeting began to arise in the 1980s as Seattle’s Police Department launched aggressive drug enforcement campaigns. The alleged unfair bias of the SPD’s ‘drug war’ was the basis for the first police accountability group comprised of members of the community. Mothers Against Police Harassment (MAPH) was started after Harriet Walden’s sons were unlawfully arrested in front of her home. With the help of other mothers in her local area, MAPH was formed to protest abusive police practices against African-American men.

After Seattle was named as a pilot site for Weed and Seed, other groups were spurred to become involved in police accountability and to push for citizen oversight. The first group, made of a collective of smaller progressive political groups, was formed under the name Coalition for Police Accountability. The Coalition was involved in several protests and presented testimony at Seattle City Council meetings and public hearings, but eventually disbanded due to a lack of core strategy (Bass 2000). The next wave in citizen oversight was to form crime prevention councils at the urging of city leaders. The initial crime prevention councils were not independent citizen review boards, but instead consisted of a civilian auditor to examine police internal investigation records. As such, they were not met with cooperation from groups like MAPH.

The South Seattle Crime Prevention Council (SSCPC) was the first crime prevention council created in Seattle. A SPD staff captain attended the first meetings and discussed public order and public safety issues brought up by the organization's members, informing the group of what to expect from the police in each situation (Fleissner, Fedan, and Klinger 1991). The council soon enlisted the aid of the Seattle Housing Authority to enforce code violations and to evict drug dealers for public housing. Soon after, representatives from the Parks Department, the School Board, and the Department of Human Resources, joined SSCPC as active members. The council proved so successful in dealing with community problems that similar councils were established in four of the five SPD precincts. These councils ultimately supported the addition of 140 officer and civilian positions to the police department, who were used to staff and support community policing teams throughout the city of Seattle (Fleissner, Fedan, and Klinger 1991).

While at first reluctant to admit Seattle's crime problems for fear of political and economic repercussions, soon political leaders embraced community policing (due to community demands and the availability of federal funds) (Bass 2000). Though the funds were important, it should be acknowledged that the discourse of community policing held powerful sway as well. Focusing on ideas such as inclusion, openness and accountability, it offered an attractive solution to the ugly problem of fighting crime. The rhetoric of community policing allowed political leaders to tote it as their banner for re-election, although many had feared initially that it would be alarmist and inflate fear of crime in Seattle. This also allows, in the rollback of the welfare state, for the shrinking of government and the redirection of social control to communities. It is a form of

disciplinary power, where social services become disciplinary apparatuses. Two such opponents, Mayor Charles Royer and Chief of Police Pat Fitzsimmons, reluctantly decided to work with the South Seattle Crime Prevention Council, agreeing to fifteen point plan between the SSCPC and the Seattle Police Department.

The Community Policing Team (CPT) began as a pilot project with SSCPC. There was a CPT in each of the precinct's four districts, consisting of five officers and one sergeant assigned to each team. The program took a unique approach to crime prevention—at meetings the SSCPC would identify hotspots for police officers. They would select, add or reclassify (as pending or resolved) these hot spots using a parliamentary procedure. By the end of the SSCPC's first year, the police had worked on thirty-nine targeted areas (hot spots), successfully resolving nearly half. By the end of the following year, the police had resolved all the remaining hot spots. Twenty crack houses were included in the initial thirty-nine hot spot list, and most were successfully shut down in the first year. As the program gained community support, it shifted its emphasis to neighborhoods and gradually added more officers to each CPT team. Currently, CPTs work closely with a number of groups throughout the city.

While community policing technically began under Mayor Royer, community policing became a citywide issue when Norm Rice became mayor in 1989. Rice was a avid supporter of community policing and under his leadership, three more crime prevention councils were established in Seattle's precincts.⁶³ He also appointed a Chief of Police that welcomed community policing: Chief Norm Stamper.

⁶³ At that time, there were four precincts, each with a corresponding crime prevention council. With the recent redivision of four precincts into five, there is yet to be a crime prevention council in the Southeast precinct.

Police Perspective on Community Policing

In 1995, newly elected Chief of Police Norm Stamper invited the City of Seattle to “ask him or your local beat cop or precinct commander those hard questions about how he plans to make good on all those promises” (Lyons 1995). Stamper wanted to quell the voice he imagined himself hearing, like those of people who work two jobs and still lack resources available to others in the community. He wanted to make sure that there was equality in the dialogue between Seattle residents and the SPD, and not a favoring of the concerns of those in the community who already have power, voice and resources.

Stamper sought to build on Chief Fitzsimmons’ vision of community policing by utilizing the specialized community outreach teams that Fitzsimmons had placed. Stamper’s hope was to expand community policing to the point that “we will drop the term community, because it will be clearly seen as redundant [because] if it’s not for the community that we do the policing, if it’s not with the community that we do policing, why are we policing?” (quoted in Lyons 1995).

In this quote, Stamper raises an interesting question: what does the term community policing mean? To Stamper it means that policing must be done in conjunction with the community if it is to be effective. But by community, Stamper means *everyone* in the community. He is quite strong in his conviction that those who are marginalized already should not be further marginalized in the community policing process. The redundancy of the term community to Stamper provides another moment of analysis. Policing is part of the community. It is for, and with, the community that police police. The relationship between community and policing is complex and imbricated.

Stamper strongly supported civilian oversight committees, stating the “we are the people’s police, we belong to the communities that we serve” (quoted in Lyons 1995).

He advocated increased citizen participation in the Seattle Police Department and reviews of citizen complaints and allegations of police misconduct. He admitted that direct citizen contact, getting out of police cars and talking to people face to face would be a daunting task for officers in certain high-crime areas. But Stamper had a vision for his Seattle Police Department: “To me, the real calling here, and the vision that I have, is that we begin to value and to celebrate our differences. Because that is the strength of this country and that is the strength of the community” (quoted in Lyons 1995).

In a 2003 speech entitled “The End of Community Policing,” Chief Gil Kerlikowske discussed how he saw the end of community policing. Meant to be a controversial speech to the Department of Justice, he outlined the pros and cons of community-oriented policing. The pros of community policing were that it recognizes depth and array of police work beyond responding to calls for service and the work of patrol officers; provides training in far more than police tactics and strategies; and acknowledges the contribution of community members and groups. Cons included the leaving out of the contribution of middle management and others; the lack of recognition of the complexity or ability of the community to participate in this ‘partnership’ and that the mission of community policing is too often defined as “being all things to all people.”

Kerlikowske believe that “we should put to bed the era of community policing and engage, instead, in policing.” He argued that this should be so due to two primary reasons: “we must remember that those most impacted by crime and events are so very busy attempting to make ends meet and understand that they turn to us for our expertise and experience and to do the job that they cannot do” and secondly, that the SPD “must remember to admit our mistakes and shortcomings and to acknowledge what we either

cannot do, or do not have the training and background for. We must also recognize and support the role of other providers, those in education, public health, mental health.” At the end of his speech, Kerlikowske stated that policing should be on a firm foundation of trust and communication, but that it should not be “policing in a systematic way that disdains the next new thing.”

This sea change was due in part to the events surround 9/11. Kerlikowske felt that the role of the police needed to be strengthened in a post-9/11 era. Community policing only undermined the militaristic function of the police institution. For Kerlikowske, community policing was asking too much of the community by asking them to police themselves without enough resources or training to do so. He also felt that the Seattle Police Department did not have adequate resources or training to deal with the community in the manner that community policing calls for.

Kerlikowske’s discarding of community policing as a way of operating was meant to be polemical. Coming from a long tradition of community policing, he meant not to completely disregard the benefits of community policing, but recognize its limitations. Yet under his leadership, CPT teams have been cut as have the budgets for Community Outreach Officers. But there is still one staple in place: the SPD Community Police Academy.

Those interested in community policing and law enforcement procedures can enroll in the Seattle Police Department Community Police Academy, an eight-week program established to educate the public in the operation of their police department while at the same time obtaining feedback from the community. Started in 1987, it is one of the oldest community policing programs in the United States. According to their mission statement,

Police Academy organizers are “hopeful that increasing community awareness will challenge some of the myths and images of law enforcement and will provide a realistic view of police procedures.”⁶⁴ The purpose of the Community Police Academy is to increase understanding between the Police Department and the community members of Seattle through education and interaction and better that relationship. Participants become familiar with various facets of the Seattle Police Department and knowledgeable about the role of law enforcement in the criminal justice system as well as the daily tasks of the various police departments. It is hoped by those participating that through increased understanding, “Seattle's community and police together can achieve realistic solutions to neighborhood problems relating to crime, fear of crime, and neighborhood decay.”⁶⁵

There are no special eligibility requirements for taking the course and there is no fee. People from various socioeconomic classes, races and religions are selected from the community to comprise each class though individuals who are active in their communities are given preference for attendance. The curriculum consists of six sections: Patrol Operations and Procedures; the Criminal Justice Process; Officer Safety; Firearms Training; Youth Crimes and Crime Prevention which are taught over thirteen three-hour sessions. Community Police Academy students are able to go on “ride alongs” with officers on patrol, visit the 9-1-1 Dispatch Center to listen to calls and dispatches, and tour law enforcement facilities.

The Community Police Academy serves to further ingrain territoriality and governmentality in the community. Those who attend often are involved in their neighborhood associations and block watches. They take the information that they learn

⁶⁴ From the Seattle Police Department website, available at <http://www.cityofseattle.net/police/community/CPA/default.htm>

⁶⁵ Ibid.

at the Academy and bring it back to their organizations. The Community Police Academy is often a direct link between communities and police, teaching those that attend ways to police the neighborhood.

In finding solutions to “neighborhood problems relating to crime, fear of crime, and neighborhood decay,” two things happen. One is the formation of the criminal Other and the other is the creation of a police presence that is not directly linked to the state. Those that police their neighborhood become an indirect function of the state. They are subsumed under the umbrella of governmentality. By engaging in the program, they become part of the state apparatus of policing. Those that are involved in the Community Police Academy are also interpolated as citizen-subjects. They become citizens in the act of attending the program and by becoming an extension of the state.

Vera Institute of Justice

In a January 2004 report by the Vera Institute of Justice, which was commissioned by the City of Seattle, a portrait was painted of police-community relations. This report was to assess citizens’ level of satisfaction with the police department and “to identify possible sources of friction in police-community interactions.”⁶⁶ The report looked specifically, at the bequest of the City, at whether Seattle residents of different races and ethnicities have different experiences with, and opinions of, the Seattle Police Department. Overall, the Vera Institute found that interactions with, and opinions of, the police were positive,⁶⁷ although there were problem areas.

Compared with police departments in three other major cities where similar citizen satisfaction surveys have been conducted, Seattle’s police department ranks at or near the

⁶⁶ From the Vera Institute of Justice Report, available at <http://www.ci.seattle.wa.us/Police/Publications/Special/VeraInstituteStudy.pdf>

⁶⁷ The most common praise was of SPD’s effectiveness.

top on five measures of police effectiveness (Davis et al. 2004). Those persons who had recent contact with the police rated officer performance high, with three out of four of those who had requested police assistance stating satisfaction at how the situation was handled. At the same time, there is still suspicion on the part of Seattle residents that the Seattle Police Department engages in some forms of misconduct. A majority of those polled by the Vera Institute admitted that they thought racial profiling and stopping people without reason are problems that need to be dealt with in Seattle.

When the results of the Vera Institute surveys were broken down according to race, a consistent pattern emerged—the responses of Latino, Asian, and white residents of Seattle were virtually indistinguishable on opinion questions and questions about satisfaction with police encounters. However, African-American respondents answered less positively than any other racial or ethnic group across the board. Large majorities of African-American residents believed that there were problems with the police stopping people without reason, racial profiling, and inflicting abuse (both verbal and physical) upon suspects. African-Americans were about fifty percent more likely than the other ethnic groups to believe that these problems existed (Davis et al. 2004). Although the majority of respondents from all racial groups were positive on all police effectiveness items, in general, African-American residents were the least positive. This pattern was far more prominent in survey items concerning police misconduct. Overwhelmingly, African-Americans stated they had at one time had problems with the police on three of the four misconduct items. According to the report, the reason for this disparity may be that among those detained by the police, larger percentages of African-American residents were questioned about their presence in a neighborhood, searched or arrested.

Survey results were also analyzed by precinct. There were differences on whether or not the police: did a good job of preventing crime; responded promptly to emergency calls; were effective in dealing with neighborhood problems; dealt with residents in a fair and courteous manner; and were responsive to the specific concerns of racial and ethnic groups. The Southwest precinct had the most positive responses and the highest ratings, with no precinct emerging as having the lowest ratings overall (Davis et al. 2004).

Precinct differences were marked regarding questions about police misconduct. Among the five precincts, the North and Southwest precincts had the lowest number of respondents who believed that the police engaged in misconduct. The East and South precincts had the most respondents who believed that police misconduct was a problem: Controlling for race of the respondent, in these precincts about six in ten respondents believed that the police stop citizens without good reason and engage in racial profiling (Davis et al. 2004).

The report concluded with several ways that police departments can reach out to communities to help bridge the gap between police and communities. Many of them were common sense, like have police officers get out of their cars and interact more with community. Others involved the hiring of more officers that dealt specifically with the community and the expansion of community outreach programs. One way that the SPD has sought to repair the divide between community and police has been with its crime prevention education efforts. Programs, such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, teach residents to help take control of crime in their neighborhood and not rely solely on the police, who may have more pressing issues to deal with other

than graffiti or loitering. The next section explores how communities have employed CPTED as a crime prevention effort.

CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN (CPTED)

The Seattle Police Department advocates the use of CPTED in crime prevention efforts, stating that “the physical design of your neighborhood, it’s layout, lighting, building and maintenance, can effect the levels of crime and fear in your neighborhood.”⁶⁸ Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design looks at the entire neighborhood to identify areas or elements that may have the potential to attract crime. Advocates argue that knowing simple CPTED design principals can lead to solutions that can be undertaken to reduce fear and prevent crime in these areas.

One of my interview respondents, Meg, discussed her opinion on CPTED:

People act differently in different environments. I’m always aware of how space makes me feel. There is a culture of the space, a culture of expectation of behavior in that space. There are definitely social constructs that define how we use space. Niche theory. People take on different roles based on what is there and what is expected. When a space is vandalized or run-down, it makes the space not ok. CPTED creates cultural expectations through a variety of means. It’s a multi-layered effort.

According to CPTED presentation by SNG,⁶⁹ CPTED is “about claiming space and kept the right activities in that space.” Within this presentation, they compare people marking space to how bears mark space using the example of claw marks on a tree. The following picture (Figure 6.1) is then shown, and the question asked: “Who has claimed this space? Who belongs?”

⁶⁸ From the Seattle Police Department website, available at : <http://www.ci.seattle.wa.us/police/prevention/Tips/CPTED.htm>

⁶⁹ The Seattle Neighborhood Group performs almost all of CPTED reviews in the South and East Precincts.



Figure 6.1 Caretaker example. Courtesy of Seattle Neighborhood Group.

SNG then state that people who use a space naturally become ‘caretakers’ for that space, or the people who determine what happens in that space and how it is kept and cared for.

When Figure 6.2 is shown, the following caption appears:

This is a crack that is about 14 inches wide between two buildings. It is claimed for a variety of uses including drug injection, prostitution and urination. This little space attracts a lot of attention from many people throughout the day and night. They are the caretakers in this area.



Figure 6.2 Another caretaking example. Courtesy of Seattle Neighborhood Group.

After a few more examples of caretaking, the presentation then discusses the basics of CPTED: natural surveillance, access control, definition of territory, image and maintenance and community activation.

These interconnected principles “act like spokes in a wheel...if one is weak or missing, the wheel doesn’t work well at all!”⁷⁰ The first principle is “Natural Surveillance,” which means making environments easy to see into/out of so that users of that space can see what is happening in on all parts of their property. According to this principle, trespassers and potential criminals will feel unsafe because they are too visible. Lighting is an important part of Natural Surveillance, but just which lighting is key. For example, glaring or direct lights can be “dangerous and hide criminal activities.”⁷¹ The second principle is “Access Control.” This is about “determining who you want on the property, and limiting access to those you don’t want.”⁷² It is about designing and placing walkways, building entrances, fences, landscaping, and lighting in such a way as to discourage crime. Proper locks, gate latches, doors, and entry systems all contribute to Access Control. The third principle of CPTED is “Territorial Definition” which is all about promoting “proper use” of zones. There are four zones—public, semi-public, semi-private, and private. According to SNG, “It is especially important that environments exhibit these four zones, and in the proper order! If a building or site has its zones out of order, or if one or two are missing, there will be serious conflict of use, and general unhappiness.”⁷³ Another component of Territorial Definition is using signage. Examples include “No Trespassing/No Loitering” or “No Parking” signs. The fourth spoke in the

⁷⁰ From the Seattle Neighborhood Group website, available at www.sngi.org.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ *ibid.*

CPTED wheel is “Image and Maintenance”. If one keeps properties looking good on all sides, it “sends a powerful message that the people here care about this place and will not tolerate bad behavior in this area.”⁷⁴ The last principle used in CPTED practice is “Community Activation”. SNG advocates bringing people together who live in a community, learning to look out for each other and supporting each other in crime prevention for ‘all the other principles of CPTED are worth very little when there are no people who want to take care of the place they live, work, or visit. Communities that work together and get ‘activated’ can be really great places to live, where everyone feels safe.”⁷⁵ Finally, the SNG presentation ends with the following message: There need to be *clear consequences* for those who cannot follow the rules in your community. Those consequences may include exclusion or harassment or even incarceration.

From CPTED presentations, a great deal about the exercise of territoriality in space is learned. CPTED is about claiming space and belonging. Similar to how animals in nature mark their territory, communities are asked to do the same. Communities are encouraged to claim both public and private space and become caretakers for those spaces. Territoriality is supported and justified by CPTED, for if the “community” doesn’t take care of the space, then prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates will move in and make it theirs, thereby making it a “dangerous” and “unsavory” place in the community.

Flo Ware Park

Flo Ware Park, a park named after activist Florasina Ware who was known in Seattle for raising a voice on behalf of children, the elderly, and the poor, was renovated using

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

CPTED principles. Flo Ware Park before its renovation was seen as a dangerous place. It was seen as a crime magnet and a danger to children due to an obsolete playground. The location of the basketball court near the street allowed drug dealers to “fade” into games when police arrived. In addition, prostitution and illegal drinking were rampant due to poor lighting and hidden areas.

In November 2000, the Leschi Community Council met to discuss how to rebuild Flo Ware Park into a “safe neighborhood playground and community gathering place,” commemorating the life-long works of community activist Flo Ware.⁷⁶ The Committee applied for funding from the Opportunity Fund on behalf of Flo Ware Park improvements. In July 2002 the Seattle City Council unanimously approved twelve park acquisition projects and seven development projects for funding. The Opportunity Fund granted \$250,000 to improve Flo Ware Park.

Designers sought to understand how the park was currently used and future hopes for the park by asking people who lived in the neighborhood what they would like to see changed in the park as well as what they would like to stay the same. Members of local schools, churches and community groups met frequently with public safety officers and Seattle Parks and Recreation Department staff to create a concept plan designed to attract larger and more diverse groups of people to this underutilized park through enhancement of safety, maintenance, and design features. Figure 6.3 shows the plans for the renovated park.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*



Figure 6.3 Plan of the renovated Flo Ware Park.

Nine CPTED strategies were influential to the renovation of the park:⁷⁷

1. *Provide clear border definition of controlled space.* This was accomplished through locating a 3' fence on the perimeter of the park.
2. *Provide clearly marked transitional zones.* This was accomplished by placing a 3' fence on the perimeter of the park and using a variety of different paving surfaces.
3. *Relocate gathering areas.* The basketball court and play areas were relocated away from the street to minimize the “fade in to the game” behavior to conceal any illicit activities.
4. *Place safe activities in unsafe locations.* The basketball court was relocated to the back corner of the park.
5. *Place unsafe activities in safe locations.* Seating and potential ‘hangout’ areas are located in the front and central part of the park.
6. *Redesignate the use of space to provide natural barriers.* Natural barriers were created through the open lawn areas.
7. *Improve scheduling of space.* Encourage use by all ages, institutions (nearby churches and schools) and other programs. Turn on the water spray during the hot days of summer.

⁷⁷ From Friends of Flo Ware website, available at www.flowarepark.org.

8. *Redesign or revamp space to increase the perception of natural surveillance.* The removal of plum trees along Jackson Street (street trees remain) improves the visibility into the park. Catalpa tree was pruned to minimize dark areas.
9. *Overcome distance and isolation.* Entryways were located to encourage people to walk through the park. Benches and a variety of seating areas and activities minimize distance and encourage occupation of the park by a variety of users.

With the implementation of CPTED strategies, the park then became “claimed” by the “community” and *they* became the caretakers of Flo Ware, not drug dealers and rowdy youth. The fence placed around the perimeter of the park was to signal the territory that the community had claimed, to signal that they were in control of the space, not the “hardheads” that had used it before. The relocation of gathering areas to a more central area of the park was another way to claim territory. The relocation signaled that the space was for “proper” users of the park, not for drug dealers, prostitutes and chronic public inebriates who could previously easily infiltrate these areas of the park. The gathering areas were also moved in an attempt to diminish illegal activities in the area by reducing opportunities for drug dealers, prostitutes and chronic public inebriates to “fade in.” The switching of basketball courts and seating areas were carried out in order to place safe activities in unsafe locations and unsafe activities in safe locations. This was so that more visibility of “unsafe activities” could be available to both the community and the police—the natural surveillance component of CPTED.

These CPTED principles are to make the space more user friendly to those that are seen as part of the community, such as schools and church groups and unfriendly to prostitutes and drug dealers. By using space to control behavior, this park is an example of an ideal community.

John Barber and Kimberly Bowen, founders of Friends of Flo Ware Park, called Flo Ware a true inner city park, representing a diverse neighborhood that is 80% non-white. The park is very small, but is used by ethnic community centers and churches. According to Friends of Flo Ware, the new plan “honors both our community and Flo Ware.”⁷⁸ They wanted the park changed from a concrete jungle to a place where one can linger.



Figures 6.4 and 6.5 Flo Ware Park in Seattle’s East Precinct now.



Figures 6.6 and 6.7 Flo Ware Park before renovation. Courtesy Tonna Kutner.

The Jungle

CPTED principles were also used to clear out an area called the” Jungle,” a green space typically known for homeless encampments and criminal activity. On June 18,

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

1994, bull dozers moved into raze down the settlement of more than 100 homeless persons, some of whom had been there for ten years. It was the largest sweep of homeless people in Seattle's recent history.

At the bottom of Beacon Hill, where I-90 meets I-5 is a wooded slope that used to be filled with cardboard shacks, small wooden A-frames and shanties. Some were in disrepair, some were tidy. The people in The Jungle have no garbage service, electricity, sewers or running water and cook in fire pits. Most follow paths from the hillside under the freeway to the industrial area to get water from pumps at businesses there. Some carry their garbage out, but most bury it or throw it in heaps beyond their dwellings. It used to be Seattle's largest and oldest homeless encampment (Keane 1994). It used to be a well kept secret, since it was well-hidden. A series of concealed paths led to the encampment.

The people who used to live there said the Jungle represented a place to feel safe (Keane 1994). But the city disagreed. The City of Seattle said that the Jungle was a threat to public safety and human decency in general. Laura Paskin, spokeswoman for Seattle's Department of Housing and Human Services, said the city has received fifteen complaints from Beacon Hill neighbors about sanitation and fire concerns (Keane 1994). "It is a health hazard and a safety hazard both for the people living in the encampments and the neighborhood," stated Paskin (quoted in Keane 1994). Homeless advocates were outraged at the sweep, saying the city should put dumpsters and portable toilets on the property instead of driving people out.

Even after the sweep in 1994, local residents feared the area and claimed it was a community nuisance. In 2002, for budget reasons, the City of Seattle ceased making

quarterly cleanups of the Jungle. In the interim, a well-organized heroin gang moved in, setting up a base camp for large operations. They beat up the homeless people who lived in the woods. As such, the Jungle became a safety concern again. Responding to neighborhood complaints about drug dealing, prostitution, and theft, the City of Seattle landscaped the Jungle. Jordan Royer, director of the city's Neighborhood Action Team stated in 2003 in regards to the project.

There's a certain criminal element that has become entrenched in there. It's so overgrown that it's custom-made for criminal activity. People in the neighborhood have told me that 'We've lived in this community a long time, and our neighbors have always been homeless people, but lately it's gotten totally out of control'. The community was ready to go in there and take care of matters on their own, but we put the kibosh on that (quoted in Holdorf 2003b).

In August 2003, work crews used logging equipment to clear out the English ivy and blackberry vines that clot the greenbelt. Before that, city employees walked through the area and gave campers 24 hours' warning that their possessions would be removed and their campsites destroyed. During that walk-through, 17 encampments were found. Written notices left at campsites give the name and phone numbers of local social service agencies.

To make the area easier to police, the Washington State Department of Transportation is re-grading and gravelling a lower access road. The city hopes to re-gravel other abandoned streets with money from the State Department of Transportation — then patrol cars would be able to drive through the area. Before I-5 cut through the west side of Beacon Hill, the Jungle was a residential neighborhood overlooking the Duwamish industrial area.

As the Seattle Police Department did not have the resources to deal with the Jungle on its own, the Jungle Work Group was created. The Work Group consists of the SPD, the Seattle Parks and Recreation Department (who have jurisdiction over the space), the City Attorney's office, the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT), the Seattle Neighborhood Group, the Department of Neighborhoods, the Human Services Department, the Department of Corrections, Seattle Public Utilities and the Seattle Department of Transportation. While the Work Group decided that the Jungle will always be a hot spot, they agreed it could be manageable.

Today the underbrush, shacks and residents (both criminal and homeless) have been removed and the Jungle is undergoing renovations to become a public park. It is to be a woodland filled with well-lit paths and parkways, not the homeless and mentally ill. It is to be part of Washington State's Mountains to Sound Greenway trail.⁷⁹ But Jordan Royer is still concerned: "I have a concern encouraging people to go into there, when we don't know if it's safe or not" (quoted in Ho 2005). There are others who believe if more people use it, the safer the Jungle will be.

SAFE ACTIVITIES IN PUBLIC SPACES

The idea of using space and replacing unsafe activities with safe ones is a common thread in community policing and crime prevention. As part of the "giving back" process of my dissertation, I volunteered to help organize a community gathering that was billed as "police-community event." I thought that this would be an invaluable contribution to my dissertation and I was correct. This community gathering gave me insight into the workings of a group that actively promoted the notion of 'community.' I was able to witness group politics in a more intimate fashion than I had previously. This

⁷⁹ This 100 mile bike and pedestrian trail will run from the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound.

community gathering was the culmination of my fieldwork as it was one of the final projects with which I was able to engage in the summer of 2004.

The First Annual East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition community gathering, themed “Supporting Safe Activities in Public Spaces”, was to be the first activity in a year-long schedule that focused on the reclamation of public space, although at times it was referred to as “positive displacement” of ‘hardheads’ and prostitutes. This picnic, organized by East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition members, was supported by the Seattle Police Department, the Seattle Fire Department, the Mayor’s Office the Seattle Parks and Recreations Department and several local businesses.

In preparing for the picnic, I was involved in a number of committee meetings, those both open and closed to the public. I was privy to a number of conversations about the background of the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition and the future the members hoped to build. Over and over again, discourses of community and community-building were evoked. For instance, Meg said that she felt “community-building at a cellular level” and Ted stated that “Familiarity breeds community.” Those who were planning the picnic were very careful in their negotiations of inclusion and exclusion.

The picnic was publicly advertised as a “community gathering”, as the word “picnic” was perceived to have negative racial connotations. An urban legend surrounds the word “picnic”, stating that its origin is from the activity of elite whites in the south “picking a nigger” and then lunching while he is lynched. Although the actual French origin of the word was explained to the group, they still felt that the word would offend many of their constituents.

Related to the picnic urban legend was a significant amount of debate over the picture that was to be used for the flyers advertising the community gathering (see Figures 6.8 and 6.9). The picture on the right was eventually chosen over the one on the left. It was chosen as it could be interpreted as showing a more racially diverse crowd than the solely African-American group portrayed in the picture on the left. The committee designing the invitation didn't want anyone to feel "left out." What they didn't acknowledge was that they did want people to be excluded, just not those they felt were appropriate for the community gathering.



Figures 6.8 and 6.9 Choices for the EPCPC community gathering logo.

The key to inclusion in the group seemed, in their words, to hinge on behavior. As long as one behaves, they can come and play the reindeer games. A press release from Seattle Parks and Recreation, a subsidiary of the Mayor's Office stated that "The event will celebrate *safe activities* in urban public spaces, offer the community a place to unite and build a coalition between neighbors..." The community has a place to unite and build coalitions against those that they perceive as outsiders, as hardheads and troublemakers.

One informant, Denise, a woman who had worked for years in local non-profits, including the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition, recalled another picnic that had happened a couple of years before. She said that in the previous picnic, a lot of chronic public inebriates showed up and ate the free food offered rather than “the neighborhood people”. She then added, “...but the park is for everyone as long as your activities are legal and don’t intimidate others.” Another woman, Mary, recalled the community gathering where the Mayor (Schell, not the current Mayor Nickels) was attacked with a megaphone, breaking his cheekbone and nose. She stated, “He [meaning Omari Tahir-Garret, the assailant] wasn’t supposed to be there. It was only supposed to be for the community.”

The community gathering followed on the heels of the Seattle Police Department’s Annual “Night Out”, an evening where neighbors come together and throw get-togethers to show their solidarity against crime. Many of the Night Out events that I attended took place on “the worst street in the neighborhood”. These streets were specifically chosen because they were problem areas and the neighborhood organization wanted to reclaim them as part of their community. These streets were chosen as strategically as community battlegrounds.

In the planning of the community gathering, two things were key: where should the picnic be held and what time of day? The two decisions were paramount as the desired effect was to oust as many “hardheads” from the park as possible, replacing them with members of the Coalition and their families. The planning committee decided on Pratt Park finally, choosing it over other parks for three reasons: one, it was in the Central Area, a notoriously crime ridden and impoverished part of town; two, it had recently been

renovated as part of the program “Crime Prevention through Environmental Design” and three, several shootings had taken place there in the previous months. The next decision was when to hold the picnic. Should it be in early afternoon when it would be significantly more convenient or should it be in late afternoon when the “hardheads” were “finally up”? When we polled one local business owner who was adjacent to our desired park, he stated: “Do it when the hardheads are here. Get their asses out”. That sealed the deal. The picnic was then scheduled for 3 p.m.

At the community gathering, which was held on August 14, 2004, there were lots of activities for everyone there. There was a short ceremony commending members of the EPCPC for their activism, where both officers and community members were highlighted for their “service to the community.” Although the main focus was on children (there was face painting, bubbles and games for kids), there were public safety information booths and community leaders with which adults could interact.

Residents of the East Precinct were able to come together for a hot dog barbeque, for which all of the supplies were donated by businesses in the East Precinct. Coffee from Starbucks, hot dogs from the Madrona Market, buns from Gai’s and chips from Safeway. Those attending were invited to bring a side dish or snacks, and additional money for condiments and drinks were provided by donations from EPCPC members.

Who showed up to the “community gathering”? The community gathering was populated mostly by members of the EPCPC and their families. Of the nearly one hundred people that showed up that afternoon, there were approximately fifteen police officers and four fire fighters. Chief of Police Gil Kerlikowske was absent, but Captain Meehan, who was the Captain of the East Precinct and Assistant Chief of Police Nick

Metz showed up with their families. Neither the Mayor nor the City Council showed up, even though they were invited and expressed interested.

When those local residents that were uninvited showed up, they were welcomed with a plate of food and a soda or a water. Approximately five chronic public inebriates showed up and a few more homeless persons. They kept to themselves and no one bothered them. While they weren't targeted as guests, they weren't targeted as criminals either. They were treated as outsiders, but they were not ignored or harassed.

When the 'hardheads' did show up (or woke up), they maintained their distance, keeping to the perimeter of the park which was police car and fire truck free. It wasn't until the gathering disbanded that they worked their way into the center of the park. These groups of mostly young African-American males were the group that the community was supposedly uniting against. These were the drug dealers and rowdy youths that were causing the troubles and problems in the 'community.' These were the people to whom the 'community' was standing up. These were the Others, the markers that made the community gathering a 'community.'

Some people think the tide has already changed, that the community has already won in its goals of ousting the Other. Ron, a longtime member of the EPCPC and president of his local neighborhood association, stated that the new policy for the Coalition was about "building from the inside out", whereas before "it was about taking back space". When I questioned him to expand on why it had changed, he replied that the space was "ours again" and that the hardheads were just as scared of "us" as they used to be of "them".



Figure 6.10 The ‘community’ of the EPCPC gathering. Courtesy of Seattle Neighborhood Group.

CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed how community policing leads to exclusions of the Other through a variety of means. These means ranged widely from landscaping to official police actions. Through the examination documents and events related to community policing, an idea about how the discourses, practices and spatialities of urban citizenship is formed.

The relationship between community, public safety and territoriality is shown throughout this chapter by razing of the Jungle, the renovation of Flo Ware Park and the planning of the community gathering. In each of these examples, the ‘community’ exercises territoriality in the name of public safety. In the case of the Jungle, it is cleared out (of both underbrush and people) when the surrounding neighborhoods state that criminals who have camped there are terrorizing the community or complain that rats have moved in due to the unsanitary conditions of the shantytown. The Jungle is mowed down as an act of public safety. Flo Ware Park was renovated due to public safety concerns. The welfare of the children that played there was on the minds of the local

residents. Syringes and used condoms in the sandbox and unsafe playground equipment spurred a sense of territoriality in the surrounding community. They wanted a place for their children to play safely and they wanted a place that was drug and prostitution free. In the name of public safety, they applied for city funds and got the needed grant to renovate the park.

Territoriality is enacted and used as both a cohesive, community building activity and a divisive act of social Othering as shown through the example of the EPCPC community gathering. By claiming territory, the members of the EPCPC that attended and or/planned the picnic came together as a group united against the ‘hardheads’. They marked the drug dealers and “rowdy youths” as social Others, as outsiders. Pratt Park became a territory that was, in a sense, battled over. While the EPCPC community gathering staked a claim for a while, the hardheads eventually moved back in. But as Ron said, were they really as afraid of the “community” as the community was of them?

The practices and negotiations of community policing, or how communities employ the resources available to them by the police department and use them to effect their own type of spatial policing, are evidenced in the Vera Institute of Justice report. Norm Stamper, former Chief of Police, had a vision of the city where it wouldn’t matter how powerful you were, you would be able to access the same resources as everyone else. The commissioned Vera Institute of Justice report showed that for the most part, Stamper’s vision had come true. While there were allegations by African-American residents of police misconduct, for the most part, those polled stated satisfaction in the police department’s response to crime. This is not to dismiss police misconduct, but instead to

highlight that across the city (though geographically and racially variable) the police were seen as a positive presence.

Public space was defined and policed by communities and neighborhoods as seen in the examples of the Jungle, Flo Ware Park and the EPCPC community gathering. In these cases, the “community” had a large impact on changing public space. In the instance of the Jungle, it was because of area residents’ complaints of crime and public safety that the City moved in and tried to manage the problem of the shantytown. For Flo Ware Park, it was once again due to public outcry that the space was changed from rundown to state of the art. It was because of the surrounding community that the park became a place that was no longer a crime magnet. The EPCPC community gathering showed that appropriating public space can be a temporal thing. You can replace unsafe activities with safe activities, but for how long?

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is concerned with socio-spatial control, most specifically exclusion of those socially constructed as Other. Within this dissertation, I discussed a variety of groups and how they socially and spatially construct the Other within the Seattle's East Precinct. These groups ranged from neighborhood associations to non-profits to government agencies. The empirical chapters discussed the discourses, practices and spatialities of Othering using the themes of neighborliness, public safety and community as frames.

This dissertation explored the relationship between discourses of community, public safety and territoriality and their effect on the production of citizens and Others by examining a variety of events that ranged from the razing of the Jungle to the Mayoral Town Hall on Neighborhood Safety. The removal of persons from the Jungle is a moment where a community, in the name of public safety, was able to exercise territoriality. This affects citizenship in that it shows who is acceptable in public space. It is only those constructed as citizens. And the homeless who lived in the Jungle were not constructed as citizens. They did not have the same rights to use the space that others would in the future (with the construction of the railway).

This right to public space, this right to the city is paramount for a diverse city. A city where encounters with Others are not threatening, but contain potential. Lefebvre's (1995) and Mitchell's (2003) conceptualization of "the right to the city" figures

predominantly here in that they argue that urban space should accommodate the everyday needs of urban inhabitants.. In Seattle, this project has yet to be realized since legitimate claims to a safe and satisfying existence in cities by both individual citizens and social groups have not been met, especially for those who are cast out as “Others.”

PRODUCTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is embroiled in questions of who belongs in public space. Socio-cultural citizenship is concerned with the everyday functioning of public space, with who is included and who is excluded. Questions surrounding socio-cultural citizenship are important to consider because they affect how society views public space. Just who is the “public” of public space? How does society define public space? Who is seen as a citizen and who is not?

This dissertation showed that not all citizens (in the political sense) are seen as socio-cultural citizens. They are, in fact, often seen instead as Others. As Painter and Philo (1995) contend, the citizenship of Others must be questioned since they are seen as being on unequal footing with other members of the community who are seen at home (or perhaps “in place”?) in public space. The displacement of Others from public space reduces the political possibility of public space and restricts “rights to the city” for those who often need them most.

The relationship between discourses of community, public safety and territoriality plays a key role in the formation of notions of citizenship. In the name of protecting the community (under the rubric of public safety), territoriality is enacted and exercised against those who are not seen as full members of the citizenry. This act of territoriality is not simply an act of social control—it is an act of social marking. Exercises of

territoriality in public space mark Others as differentiated from citizens, those who “rightly” belong in public space.

The East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition community gathering and National Night Out are similar in their relationship to community, public safety and territoriality. Both events were considered public safety events. Both events were supported by the Seattle Police Department as such. These two events, although separate, both exercised territoriality by taking over a space and having its participants claim that space as theirs. The participants in the EPCPC community gathering and Night Out felt entitled to that space albeit a temporary claim. They felt that they were uniting as a community to show criminals that they were unwanted and not tolerated. Their uniting as a community had a divisive effect. A line was drawn in the sand between ‘us’ and ‘them.’ This line was between active, upstanding community ‘citizen’ and criminal.

The Mayoral Town Hall on Neighborhood Safety and the Citywide Neighborhood Crime Summit and Public Hearing were chances for citizens to voice their concerns over public safety and loss of territory. It was their chance to come together as a community of citizens to show elected leaders (as part of their civic duty) that crime was unwanted in their neighborhoods and they would not stand by and idly let it happen. ‘Citizens’ stood as constituents in front of political leaders and discussed the loss of ownership of their space and how they wanted it back. These ‘citizens’ did not want Others to move in and take over their communities.

TERRITORIALITY: UNITY AND DIVISION

Territoriality is both a uniting and divisive form of social control. Those that exercise territoriality are often brought together in their common goal of rejecting “threatening

difference” (Sibley 1995:69). As a form of social control, territoriality is very effective as a method for the control of space and power are intertwined. Communities, governments and police all use territoriality to produce idealized public space albeit in different ways which range from the formal to the informal.

Since territoriality simultaneously includes and excludes, the acts of territoriality are complex. Territories are defended and controlled, contested and claimed. Gottman (1973) writes that examinations of acts of territoriality are examinations of the “internal” relationships between communities and space, and the “external” relationships between communities and their neighbors. Territoriality is enacted and used as both a cohesive element and a divisive marker as seen through the actions of East Precinct organizations in their efforts to police and prevent crime. Community policing in general is both cohesive and divisive. There must be a united group which polices an atomized group.

Through this uniting as a community, territoriality is usually enacted (as seen in the EPCPC community gathering examples and Night Out) to oust criminal or unwanted elements from the neighborhood. Territoriality is exercised in order to control space and the activities within that space. CPTED principles are good example of territoriality at work. CPTED is predicated on the use of territoriality to show those that “don’t belong” to “move on.” In the case of the Jungle or of Flo Ware Park, the surrounding communities exercised territoriality as an attempt to create orderly public space, public space free from drug dealers, prostitutes or chronic public inebriates. They are united in their goal.

Alcohol Impact Areas and Good Neighbor Agreements are also examples of exercises of territoriality that simultaneously unite and divide. Coalitions are formed by those that

participate (or are forced to participate) in GNAs and AIAs against those businesses and neighborhoods that do not. It also forms microcosms within the AIAs. Those who advocate for AIAs and GNAs are uniting, whether intentionally or not, against purchasers of high alcohol content beverages. There is a division created within neighborhoods, between HAC consumers and those who participate and support AIAs and GNAs.

Within exercises of territoriality, a bond is formed between those who are establishing claim to that area, whether self-entitled or not. For those who are targeted by exercises of territoriality, the choice many times is stay and be harassed or move on and be left alone. But is this strategy really appealing? If everyone exercises a NIMBY attitude, then what space is left for those who are marginalized by society?

COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITY POLICING

Discourses of community were mobilized in a variety of ways by a myriad of players. From Good Neighbor Agreements to the Community Policing Academy of the Seattle Police Department, community was employed, not just as a hot buzzword, but as a way of life. Community was not just something one belonged to or lived in, it was a goal to be achieved—a cohesive unit of neighbors and neighborhoods that worked together harmoniously to acquire a better quality of life. The goal for the many of the organizations including the Mayor's Office, the Seattle City Council, the Seattle Police Department and the Seattle Neighborhood Group as well as the residents of the East Precinct was this feeling of community that many felt had been lost due to the infiltration of crime. Community was to be an active entity, not something to which someone simply belonged.

Communities engage in community policing in order to gain a better “quality of life” by reducing crime in their neighborhoods. Community policing is carried out in a variety of forms. It can be both formal and informal. Formal community policing takes places through CPTED evaluations, Good Neighbor Agreements, the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition and the Community Policing Academy. Informal community policing is through everyday acts such as calling 9-1-1 or attending the mayoral Town Halls or Crime Summit and reporting to government officials.

Communities use the resources that the Seattle Police Department and local government afford them in a variety of ways. Sometimes they are satisfied with the number of patrol officers they have, but this is often not the case. Neighborhood and community organizations have become quite savvy in working the system to their advantage. Whether its plaguing the SPD with phone calls, sending letter after letter to the Councilmember or showing up to testify at public hearings, communities and neighborhoods are making their needs known. There is always the problem that exists in community policing in that it can often marginalize those who cannot or will not speak for themselves.

Based on fieldwork, I have found that those who are currently in power have started to seek out Other voices. Communities that seek out Others have begun to crop up through certain organizations, such as those involved in Weed and Seed. Through those programs, community has a broader definition—it is not as narrowly conceived as it is in other organizations. In Weed and Seed, involvement and fostering change are important, not the exclusion of those who are seen as different.

DEFINITIONS OF PUBLIC SPACE

Public space is defined by communities and neighborhoods by a measure of sameness. Those who fit in, those who look and act the same are allowed to be in public space without threat of harassment or policing actions. Those who do not fit in are defined as Others and policed to maintain social control. Exercises of territoriality often are mobilized against Others in attempt to sanitize public space and make it orderly for those who are seen as citizens and allowed full access to public space. Because they fit in and act “properly” (they don’t solicit for sex or drugs or use the streets for a urinal), citizens are not policed in public space.

This dissertation showed how public space is defined and policed by communities and neighborhoods by showing how territoriality was exercised to carve out havens from crime. Encouraged by the Seattle Police Department, organizations in the East Precinct have latched onto the idea of territoriality, using it as a form of crime prevention. Beyond that, it is also used as a way of building communities and neighborhoods. It provides a moment of unity, a moment when the common goal is the appropriation or reappropriation of space.

Public space, in the case of Night Out and the EPCPC community gathering, is defined and policed similarly. Public space is for those who participate in community activities. Those who do not fit in should go about their own business and avoid these places since they will not be welcomed, they will not be recognized as part of the community. Subtle policing occurs at events like NNO and the EPCPC community gathering. It is through a coalition of sameness, through exercises of territoriality, that feelings of acceptance (and rejection) are created. If one is not seen as a neighbor or as a member of the community, then one is not seen as having the same rights to public space.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design uses exercises of territoriality in public space as one of its founding principles. Without it, the whole concept would fall apart. But what is good for bears is not necessarily good for people. The policing of public space using CPTED creates a public space that is problematic and questions the public nature of public space. In the case of the Jungle, the razing of the landscape displaced many people that had coexisted without problems in the neighborhood for several years. The exercise of territoriality in the Jungle has created a public space that lacks potential. It has become sterile and devoid of possibility of encounter with the Other as it is transformed into a trailway.

In the testimonies and reports given at the Town Halls on Neighborhood Safety and the Citywide Crime Summit, public space is created as a space of neighborhoods. It is a space for neighbors and communities. It is not a space for drug dealers, prostitutes or chronic public inebriates. It is a white, middle-class space since those who do not fit that mold are seen as threats to that public space. Others are formulated in juxtaposition to those that are seen as “rightfully” having access to public space. Yet rights to public space must be secured for all in order for citizenship to mean anything.

The exercising of territoriality creates a division of space, a division that marks wanted and unwanted, desirable and undesirable. It also creates an ethical dilemma of sorts. Public space is to be for all. Yet how can it be? Kilian (1998) raises the following:

If a woman ‘gets what is ‘coming to her’ (i.e. is harassed or attacked) for jogging in the park in the dark of early morning, how is that space ‘public’ from her perspective? On the other hand, if all ‘undesirables’ are removed from the park in the name of protecting that woman’s rights, the publicity of the park is questionable for those who may be considered ‘undesirable’ (125).

CONTINGENT CITIZENSHIP

In this dissertation, I argue that discourses of abjection, socio-cultural citizenship and public space work together to form a contingent citizenship, which is based on socio-spatial norms of appropriate bodies and actions in public space. Contingent citizenship is predicated upon social codings of certain actions in public space; it is a public citizenship where one must conform to a social norm and act in a prescribed, appropriate way in the public sphere or fear repercussions such as incarceration, public humiliation, or barring from public parks and large areas of the city.⁸⁰

Contingent citizens are not recognized as part of the ‘public,’ even when occupying public space. This lack of recognition constitutes definitions of the ‘public’ by creating an Other against which the citizen is defined. Without recognition or access to public space, one cannot fully exercise one’s rights as a citizen. Drug users are considered by many to be an urban blight (as are prostitutes and the homeless). I argue that it is because they represent actions in public that are considered private that they are considered abject. Injecting drugs into one’s veins in private is still illegal, but it isn’t visible and subject to the public eye of judgment. Buck-Morss (1986: 118) states, “To inhabit the streets as one’s living room is quite a different thing from needing them as a bedroom, bathroom or kitchen, where the intimate aspects of one’s life are not protected from the view of strangers, and ultimately, the police.” Their bodies are policed and segregated to reduce disorder in public space for those who are deemed by society to be ‘citizens.’ This policing, both legal and social, can lead to the marginalization of groups that are already marginalized.

⁸⁰ These repercussions can affect both legal and socio-cultural forms of citizenship. In the case of incarceration for certain felonies, voting rights can be restricted.

Contingent citizens are created through the mobilization of abjection discourses combined with a reduced access to public space (often based on conceptualizations of an orderly space for citizens) which many times has negative ramifications for those designated as such. When occupying public space, contingent citizens fall under the surveillant gaze of the city (e.g., National Night Out, the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition community gathering). Their movements, actions and interactions are subject to scrutiny and punishment if deemed unacceptable (e.g., the “weed” component of Weed and Seed, Alcohol Impact Areas). Living already dangerous lives, their lives are made even more tenuous because of the constant threat of arrest or police harassment. In the case of the drug user, increased surveillance constructs geographies of fear in which they are forced to make decisions that they otherwise might not have due to the increased threat of incarceration or action by police.

For example, in the case of drug user, in order to avoid detection, they are compelled to use in areas that lack the basic amenities for proper injection. According to outreach workers, homeless users are at greater risk of overdosing because they take fewer precautions in injecting drugs, for fear of getting caught by police. In the Seattle area, pamphlets on how to inject drugs under difficult circumstances are distributed through outreach services, but the harmful effects of the war on drugs are still evident.

When heroin addiction in King County was deemed an ‘epidemic’ in 2000--affecting an estimated 10,000 people--the wait for public methadone treatment had stretched to up to eight months.⁸¹ Reflecting a national trend, heroin deaths in King County nearly

⁸¹ Following that record period, King County expanded the number of clinics that dispensed methadone. The wait is now closer to three months. “Heroin-related deaths have declined from levels in the 1990s, but they are still unacceptably high,” said Dr. Alonzo Plough, Director of Public Health - Seattle & King County (Public Health-Seattle and King County 2005: 2).

tripled in the 1990s, to a record 144 in 1998 (Ho 2000). From SODA's inception in 1991 to its unraveling sometime in the late nineties, heroin-related deaths in the Seattle area rose from forty-three to 113 at the end of the decade (peaking at the aforementioned 144 deaths in 1998). Hospitals were reporting record numbers of heroin patients, most commonly for the treatment of abscesses, a result of intravenous drug use. Harborview Hospital, which services many of Seattle's addicts, sees around twenty people a day for large, infected sores on their arms, legs, buttocks and breasts. Another five to ten people a day are in the emergency room sleeping off overdoses, compared to 1990 when the hospital had, on average, only one heroin overdose a month (Ho 2000).

The strategies of the Seattle Police Department show that discourses of the Other and the mobilization of abjection to control public space are still a dominant discourse and practice. This trend does not look like it will change in the near future. The Seattle Police Department, in an effort to support Mayor Greg Nickels' priority of keeping "our neighborhoods safe," is instituting a new program which will be used to reduce drug crime on the streets of Seattle. Along with the restoration of SODA, the program will consist of: the creation of a new system called NARCSTAT, which assembles data from many different sources - citizens, police, the fire department, hospitals, and helps police shut down open-air drug markets; the creation of new teams with state Department of Corrections to get frequent offenders off our streets; and intensive work with various partners to move addicts off the streets and into treatment. New exertions to sanitize public space only further the marginalization of contingent citizens, leaving the illusion of orderly public space intact and strengthening discourses of abjection for those who do not fit narrow definitions of 'citizen.'

Contingent citizenship provides a new insight into space and citizenship by examining the real socio-spatial effects of moral and aesthetic discourses of abjection. Additionally, the relationship between marginalized groups (including racial minorities and drug users) and mobility is further elucidated through the introduction of a term that incorporates social definitions of appropriate behavior, which in turn, defines who is accepted as a citizen.

NEOCOMMUNITARIANISM AND FEMINIST ETHICS OF CARE

A number of geographers have been recently concerned with the devolution of the state and the consequences that has on the welfare of citizens (see for example, Elwood 2002, Fyfe 2005, Jessop 2002, Peck and Tickell 2002, Staeheli and Brown 2003). This may be due to an increasing number of revanchist policies “that seem to penalize people for not being wealthy or for not conforming to social norms” are becoming the norm under neoliberalism (Staeheli and Brown 2003: 771). This turn to social justice is nothing new to geography (see Harvey’s 1973 seminal work *Social Justice and the City*), but the relatively recent turn to the community as a site of administering that social justice is.

In neocommunitarianism, the community is heralded as the best scale on which care can take place. Care for the social Other is increasingly becoming privatized and personalized with the shift of welfare from first, the federal to the urban to then finally, civil society. As Elwood (2002:121) states, there has been a “a devolution of responsibility for planning and service delivery in urban governance from state to citizen” (Elwood 2002: 121) This third sector, located “between market and state,” has come to be regarded as “a place where politics can be democratised, active citizenship strengthened, the public sphere reinvigorated and welfare programmes suited to pluralist

needs designed and delivered” (Brown *et al* 2000:57, quoted in Fyfe 2005: 537). But is the third sector, is civil society, the place for this to happen? Where does charity begin, if it is to begin anywhere?

A feminist ethic of care “begins with an understanding of political subjects who are shaped by myriad social relationships that are in turn contextualized in space and time....In particular, feminist conceptions of care and justice are argued to be inclusive, compassionate, and partial” (Staeheli and Brown 2003: 773). Care in this sense is not a prepolitical project, but instead, key to politics because of its focus on welfare and social justice. Feminist ethics of care involves care for the socially disadvantaged, but with a personal approach (Friedman 1991, Jagger 1995, Tronto 1993). Jagger advocates “a kind of caring that requires knowing people in their particularity rather than as representatives of certain disadvantaged groups” (1995: 132, quoted in Smith 1998, 29). To know someone’s particular situation and needs makes care more effective. This knowledge can be created within communities since communities are potentially better able to assess their intercommunity needs.

The only problem here is that intercommunity needs can be used potentially to exclude members of the community that are not seen as such, such as prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates. Neocommunitarianism seems to be a double-edged sword in that it seems to be the most effective level on which care could be administered, but at the same time, it must be recognized: Care for whom?

For Etzioni, “[w]e start with our responsibility to ourselves and to members of our community; we expand the reach of our moral claims and duties from there” becoming a type of “pluralism-within-unity” (1995: 146-7, 155 quoted in Smith 1998: 28). Yet

Etzioni pays little attention to inequality while recognizing that social justice has an intercommunity dimension (Smith 1998). Friedman (1991: 828) states:

It is not really the “neighbor” as such who needs the moral attention of others. The one who really needs general moral attention is the person who lacks resources and who would not be adequately cared for even if all her friends and family were partial to her as they could be because they, too, lack resources. There are systematic social inequalities among different “neighborhoods” in the distribution of the resources for loving and caring (quoted in Smith 1998: 31).

Lake and Newman (2004) look at how the “not for profit” sector is expanding with the devolution of the state and how this burgeoning sector affects citizenship. They examine how non-profit organizations are “increasingly assuming functions of the state” while realizing that since “access to, and participation in, the shadow state are unevenly distributed, the result may be selective disenfranchisement or differential citizenship” (109). Those who are “the poorest, the most disabled, and the multiply afflicted...are most likely to experience the burden of differential citizenship within the shadow state. These groups are doubly disenfranchised: transferred from the state to the shadow state that is itself unable to respond to citizenship claims due to structural and contextual constraints” (ibid: 118). They posit that society should create the necessary conditions for the shadow state to complete its charge. To not do so, “is to make a mockery of the idea of citizenship” (ibid: 119).

The work in this dissertation shows how neocommunitarianism works on the ground, the spatial techniques of power through which it works, and how it mobilizes discourses of abjection and community to get this “work” done. It also shows the consequences of the neoliberalist policies for prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates. The devolution of the state into a shadow state under neoliberalist rollback depends upon the

production of a particular idea of community, a particular kind of community. The idea of who and what the community is takes shape through these practices.

Ethics of Community

To conclude this dissertation, I would like to insert a call for an “ethics of community.” Instead of the “positive displacement” community policing organizations hope to create through their clean-up efforts, a ‘geography of nowhere’ is established for those marked as ‘undesirables.’ While they work in tandem with social service agencies to remove prostitutes, drug users and chronic public inebriates (CPIs) from public space, the surrounding communities do little to support the agencies that are within their jurisdiction because they don't want them in their neighborhoods (citing a number of public safety and public health reasons). I am interested in promoting an ethics of community, searching for a communal responsibility for those that are Othered in the process of community-building.

Discussing the focus in geography on the spatial dimension of social justice, Proctor (1998: 11) posits that the “metaphor of space provides perhaps the most familiar entry of geographers into substantive questions of ethics.” Geographies of morality,

reflect the varying scales of assumptions made about the inclusion and exclusion of people from particular social groups and the codes by which they live. Geographies in everyday moralities suggest that issues of space, place, environment, landscape and so on are often built into the very heart of moral arguments and assumptions (Cloke 2002: 589).

Further strengthening the relationship between geography and morality, Cox (2002: 148-9) argues that a moral hierarchy of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ neighborhoods is created and “[w]ithin this moral socio-spatial hierarchy residents jostle further to redefine their spaces, their neighborhoods, in some way which will further enhance their sense of social

worth.” It is at this nexus of morality and geography that the players I’ve discussed in this dissertation, including the Seattle Neighborhood Group, the Seattle Police Department, the Seattle City Council and the East Precinct Crime Prevention Coalition, are situated and play their most influential roles. They are concerned with helping people that live in Seattle neighborhoods to live a “nuisance-free” life, but they can often end up causing more harm than good. Often, community policings lead to a further marginalization of already marginal groups.

In an interview with the founder and director of SNG, Kay Godefroy, I asked her about her organization’s role in the revamping of several Seattle parks. She stated that the redesign of these parks helped to solve the problem raised continually by families who used the park. These families complained time and again about the presence of ‘undesirables,’ including chronic public inebriates, the homeless and prostitutes in the park. When I asked her just exactly how the redesigned parks solved the problem, she stated, “When they [CPIs, prostitutes, et cetera] see citizens in the park, families, they don’t want to be around anymore.” I questioned her further, asking her if the taking over of the park by families was a strategic move to remove unwanted persons. She responded, “I like to call it ‘positive displacement’, instead of ‘removal.’” This answer echoed sentiments I heard in meeting after meeting at SNG. Paul, a Block Watch captain, remarked, “The only time-tested way to get rid of all kinds of vice is to *displace* it.”

In this dissertation, I argued that the influential organizations named above in the East Precinct, through their programs and policies, create a displacement of those deemed nuisances. But in doing so, they create an ethical conflict. They, as self-named

community organizations or organizations that represent the community as a whole, ignore and sometimes harm members of their own communities, often without a second thought to the consequences of their actions.

It is from empathy and ethical concern, I argue, that ‘communities’ should operate. Their goal should not be the “displacement” of those who are in need of community services, but to help those who are *in* the community. Sypnowich (1993: 106-7) argues that,

Resolving the tension between difference and sameness involves understanding that the rationale of the politics of difference is for those ‘others’ to become part of a ‘we’ which is a source of social unity, as a community or nation but potentially including all of humankind (quoted in Smith 2000: 1151).

To conclude, I end with a quote from John, a member of the Squire Park Community Council:

We have created a symptom-oriented, revenge-based social structure. We need to evolve into a cause-oriented, cure-based social structure. We need to move beyond our childish, self-absorbed, profit-motivated decision-making and grow up into an adult, shared, common needs world view. Two stadiums [referring to two recently built sport structures funded by tax-payer money] and still people struggle for survival. It’s a wonder to me...



Figure 7.1 Seattle's two new stadiums.

APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY GOOD NEIGHBOR AGREEMENT DARNELL PARKER AND HELEN COLEMAN D/B/A/ DEANO'S CAFÉ AND LOUNGE (DATED 8 MAY 2003)

THIS COMMUNITY GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD AGREEMENT ("Agreement") is entered into between Darnell Parker and Helen Coleman, D/B/A/ Deano's Café and Lounge, located at 2030 East Madison in Seattle (hereinafter "Deano's"), the City of Seattle, a municipal corporation ("The City"), and the Miller Park community ("community") for the purpose of fostering improved public safety and to augment efforts by the City and the community to reduce crime, nuisance activity, and disruptive activity in and around Deano's.

BACKGROUND FOR AGREEMENT

1. Deano's is a café and lounge, currently operating daily from 12:00 p.m. until 2:00 a.m.
2. The current licensee, JG Mac Inc., holds a Spirits, Beer, Wine Restaurant/Lounge liquor license issued by the Washington State Liquor Control Board (WSLCB).
3. Local business owners and community residents have complained to the City of Seattle and the Seattle Police Department ("SPD") regarding noise, gunshots, shootings, crowd disturbances, alcohol and drug problems, narcotics sales, prostitution, vandalism, littering, fighting, and other disturbances alleged to be associated with Deano's.
4. The City of Seattle has previously objected to the renewal of the liquor license for the current licensee for this establishment. This objection was based upon administrative liquor license violations issued to the current licensee as well as criminal activity and public safety concerns associated with the premises.
5. The WSLCB entered into a "compromise" agreement with JG Mac Inc., which requires, among other things, that the establishment either be sold with the new owner assuming the liquor license or that alcohol service end at the establishment.
6. The City of Seattle and community each have the ability and opportunity to file an objection to the assumption of the existing liquor license by Darnell Parker and Helen Coleman.
7. Darnell Parker is the current manager of Deano's. Helen Coleman is currently the Chef at Deano's. Darnell Parker and Helen Coleman have entered into a contingent agreement to purchase the assets of the existing business and lease the facility from Dean Falls. Parker and Coleman have applied to the WSLCB to assume the liquor license and consideration by the WSLCB to assume the existing liquor license is pending.
8. Darnell Parker and Helen Coleman are aware of community concerns regarding criminal activity associated with the premises. Darnell Parker has met with the Miller Park community to discuss those concerns. The community has expressed mixed concerns and feelings regarding the prospective licensee's ability to adequately resolve those issues.
9. If granted the assumption of the liquor license, Deano's agrees to be a good neighbor by operating Deano's in a manner that will help improve public safety, security and quiet enjoyment in the surrounding community. To further this goal, Deano's agree to use good faith efforts to follow the business practices and procedures set forth below.

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

1. Deano's will implement security measures for its business and premises as follows:
 - a. Deano's shall employ adequately trained security personnel each night and at all events at Deano's in sufficient number to patrol and maintain order among patrons. The number of such security personnel shall be determined by the anticipated size of the crowd and the prior experience with similar events.

- b. Deano's shall have one or more security personnel stationed at all entrances. All patrons entering the premises after 9:00 p.m. shall be checked for weapons by employing either a hand search (frisk) or a metal wand capable of detecting weapons.
 - c. Deano's shall maintain sufficient security to adequately patrol any leased or allotted parking areas.
 - d. All security guards and personnel will wear clothing that conspicuously identifies them as security personnel, such as clothing displaying the word "SECURITY" in large contrasting letters.
 - e. Each security guard shall carry a high-beam flashlight.
 - f. Security personnel shall not fraternize with patrons except as necessary to maintain crowd control and perform security duties.
2. Deano's shall comply with occupancy limits in all areas of its facility.
 3. Deano's shall post signs and verbally advise patrons to leave the premises and parking areas in a quiet and peaceful manner.
 4. Deano's will refuse to admit anyone appearing to be under the influence of alcohol or drugs.
 5. Deano's will criminally trespass anyone found to be in possession of drugs or attempting to enter the premises with any weapon. Deano's will trespass from the premises any person who refuses to cooperate with security or any person who causes a disturbance.
 6. Deano's will use its best efforts to reduce, discourage and eliminate persons loitering outside the premises, including times when the business is not open. Anyone continuing to loiter outside the premise after having been warned by management, security, or SPD will be trespassed from the premises.
 7. Deano's will sign a Criminal Trespass Contract with the SPD. No person having previously received a trespass admonishment will be allowed back into the premises. A list of admonished persons will be maintained and posted near the entryway. Deano's employees will be trained to use the list to exclude from the premises persons who have been previously admonished.
 8. Deano's will provide regular and routine maintenance to the exterior of the premises including window cleaning, keeping shrubbery manicured and keeping the building painted. Deano's will immediately clean up any Graffiti and repair any vandalism damage to the premises.
 9. Deano's will restrict any and all pay phones located on the premises to outgoing calls only.
 10. Deano's will install and operate security camera(s) and video recording device(s) on the premises with the number and placement of such cameras to be negotiated between the City and Deano's. Warning signs shall be placed conspicuously about the premises stating words substantially as follows: "Warning! Security cameras in use. Activity may be subject to monitoring by the Seattle Police Department". All video recordings shall be retained for at least seven (7) days from the date recorded. Any videotape requested by SPD shall be retained until turned over to SPD or Deano's is informed by SPD that the tape no longer needs to be retained. Any videotape requested by the SPD shall be provided immediately.
 11. Deano's will immediately notify SPD of any observed, known or suspected criminal activity, including illegal drug transactions and prostitution activity. Deano's shall cooperate in any investigation by SPD regarding criminal activity in and around the premises.
 12. If an entrance or admission fee is charged, Deano's shall maintain a policy of "no reentry" and will require any patron who leaves the establishment to re-pay a readmission fee equal to the original admission fee.
 13. Deano's shall install an entrance breezeway window or otherwise open the entryway area so as to allow a clear viewing of persons and activities.
 14. Deano's shall require all employees and all persons and promoters who hold events at
 15. Deano's to adhere to this policy.

16. Deano's will post a code of conduct clearly visible to patrons. Such posting shall clearly state the expectations of persons patronizing the establishment. The posting must include a statement that no drugs, weapons or disorderly conduct will be tolerated and that police will be notified in all instances of illegal behavior including assaults, weapons or narcotics violations. The posting will also state that persons engaging in disorderly conduct will be required to leave the premises.
17. Deano's shall require all employees who serve alcohol to attend training by the WSLCB regarding appropriate service of alcohol and recognition of signs of intoxication. Deano's agrees to meet routinely with its employees to discuss appropriate alcohol service.
18. Deano's acknowledges that compliance with the terms of this Community Good
19. Neighbor Agreement does not by itself, constitute fulfillment of Deano's responsibility to be a good neighbor and its duty to comply with all state and local laws.
20. Deano's agrees to work together with the community on crime prevention and reduction efforts. Deano's owners and/or management shall be available to meet with representatives of the City of Seattle and community members as may be necessary and upon request, to discuss concerns of the neighborhood and the City regarding security, crowd control, criminal activity, and other issues which may impact the public safety and welfare of the community. Requests for meetings may be made directly to Deano's by neighborhood groups and representatives, or members of the neighborhood may request the City of Seattle to address neighborhood concerns with Deano's. The City of Seattle's role in assisting the neighborhood in addressing public safety issues is not limited to requests from members of the neighborhood; the City of Seattle may, at its own initiative, address concerns to Deano's. A representative of Deano's will make reasonable efforts to attend regularly scheduled meetings of the Miller Park Community. Deano's shall provide contact numbers to the community to allow members to reach Deano's personnel to discuss issues of immediate concern.
21. Deano's agrees that any action contrary to the terms of this agreement or inaction on the part of Deano's to comply with the terms of this agreement will be deemed a material breach of this agreement.
22. Deano's acknowledges that the City's and community's recommendation regarding future renewals of its liquor license is contingent upon but not guaranteed upon full compliance with the terms of this agreement. Deano's further acknowledges that the City or community may request the WSLCB consider compliance or non-compliance with this agreement in making any decision on renewal of Deano's liquor license, and that the City or community may address issues of public safety concerns to the WSLCB regarding Deano's liquor license regardless of whether such concerns are or are not addressed by this agreement.
23. Deano's acknowledges that it has had the opportunity to seek legal counsel regarding the terms of this agreement and enters into this agreement voluntarily.
24. Based upon the promises of Deano's as set forth in this agreement, the City of Seattle and the Miller Park community will not object to the assumption of the existing liquor license to Darnell Parker and Helen Coleman.

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England, Marcia (forthcoming) Book review: How to do your dissertation in geography and related disciplines. *Southeastern Geographer*.

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