The Making of Urban Security. Introduction[1]

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Introduction

This issue aims to account for the place and the process of "security", understood as protection of goods and people, in urban dynamics. More specifically, it underlines how institutions' policies and citizens' actions to ensure their safety reveal spatial injustices at different scales. Our focus is therefore the ways in which these policies and actions play out in practice, and not their theoretical conception. Whilst public policies for security often target the richest and better integrated areas of cities, we choose to focus on more deprived areas, where violence is present on a daily basis and regulated in particular ways (Jobard, 2005), often informal and/or criminal (Rivelois, 1999, Peddrazini et Sanchez, 1998, Bacqué-Madzou, 2008).

One first intersection with spatial justice issues has to do with a redistributive understanding of security, with specific geographies and modes of production. One could argue that, in the same way as certain essential urban services, such as water provision (Jaglin, 2005), security is a common good, a resource that ought to be equally or universally accessible to city-dwellers. Its absence or presence could therefore be used as an indicator of spatial (in)justice. The issue is particularly important in cities where deprived areas seem to be failed completely by the main public security measures.

What's more, security for some may result in insecurity for others. Ensuring security can entail restrictions on individual freedoms (Davis, 1992 ; Coleman, Sim, 2000), giving rise to excesses and conflicts. Residents' initiatives can supplement public measures or substitute for them. While they do not necessarily invalidate measures implemented by public authorities, they do challenge the theoretical aim of security for all. The relationship between security and spatial justice is therefore by no means straightforward.

To approach the spatial, urban, dimension of security, it is necessary to take into account individual and groups' representations, which brings us to a procedural understanding of justice. Specific conceptions underlie discussions around security, and relate to controversies and claims made by local associations (Holston, Appadurai, 1996). Where the notion of justice is not explicitly part of the claims or discourse of residents seeking safety, it remains a useful category of analysis for scholars trying to account for the institutional and political dimension of security. These links between spatial justice and security raise three major issues.

First, these links have to do with the production of an urban order, whether just or unjust. We postulate that formal or informal measures taken to enforce this order tend to foster division in cities, differentiate between neighbourhoods and encourage community selfishness, at the expense of real security for all. They lead to categorisations of people, neighbourhoods or cities and assign fixed identities (Dikeç, 2007). Besides, a merely spatial reading of these issues could lead to ignoring people and groups rendered invisible by their lack of territorialised identity

(homeless people for instance), who are left behind all securitizing processes, however fragmented.

Security also raises the issue of power relations and mechanisms which produce norms (Goffman, 1975 ; Becker, 1975). These are not only central to place-making, they may foster or consolidate unequalities, by defining legitimate and illegitimate uses of space, and even who is legitimate or illegitimate in space. Specific forms of territoriality are unearthed by the analysis of discourse and policy in relation to security. While some areas, such as central business districts, become showcases for urban safety (Bénit, Gervais-Lambony, 2003), others are seen as enclaves where public institutions no longer dare to tread, stigmatised as they are as hotbeds of criminality.

There is a long history to these processes of criminalisation of the poor (see Chevalier, 1958), constantly reactivated under different names. Repressive policies have, in many Western countries, been favoured over more educational or social measures (Wacquant, 2006). Dominant discourse in the media or scholarly publications maps some neighbourhoods as "dangerous", denied their sociological or historical diversity, designating their inhabitants as "guilty": banlieues, ghettos, informal settlements... (Tissot, 2007). Statistics are produced to validate such finger-pointing, on the basis of police reports that reflect predominantly certain types of offences, which take place in certain places (Tévanian, 2010) — they measure degrees of social tolerance rather than anything else (Kalifa, 2003). Urban security is linked with the unclear and ideological notion of "urban violence" which disregards local realities and the social violence endured by the working class (Beaud, Pialoux, 2003). There are far-ranging consequences to this representation, for instance the strong connection between working-class neighbourhoods and prisons (Wacquant, 1999, 2001; Garland, 2001, Chantraine, 2003, Steinberg, 2004; Godoi, 2009), with prisons becoming key to understanding social relations in cities. Physical safety is central to the debate, sidelining other forms of safety, social or to do with stable employment.

Last but not least, power systems are analyzed in the papers gathered here, including not only the ruling elites of cities or countries, but many other actors (residents, groups, security companies, cooperation agencies, etc.) which intervene on various levels (Jouve, Lefevre, 1999 ; Bénit-Gbaffou, Morange, 2008), which provides insights into the varying forms of governance in cities. Read together, these papers usefully remind us of the influence of national policies and local legacies, whilst taking into account the general context of economic deregulation (Brenner, Theodore, 2002), competition between cities (Jacquot, 2007) and the circulation of models. The latter makes the traditional contrast between cities of the global North and cities of the global South less relevant and challenges conventional geographical readings.

(Di-)visions of the city

Criminality, insecurity and spatial justice are intertwined in the city. A strong sense of insecurity, a statistically higher exposure to danger or the over-representation of criminal groups in some areas reflect particular unjust processes. Several articles in this issue deal with the process of construction of spatial justice in cities by foregrounding fear, risk and danger. They analyze the lack of security and the feeling in insecurity, and show how these are used to stigmatize not just neighbourhoods, but entire cities. The injustice here is twofold: locally, inhabitants' chances of becoming victims are higher, and at the scale of the whole city, both neighbourhoods and people are stigmatized. Sylvanie Godillon shows how in the urban area of Lille, the poorest inhabitants are more likely to suffer road accidents, and the so-called "deprived areas" concentrate a high proportion of these. In an environment that makes one more likely to

become a victim, physical integrity is more directly at risk and the exposure to danger is higher. In this version of injustice, one's bodily integrity is at higher risk in specific areas, and the body carries the stigma (Rose, 1995 ; Nast, Pile, 1998).

Julien Rebotier's paper shows how crime rates point to Caracas, Venezuela, as one of the most violent cities in the world. Locally, the weight of insecurity is felt in different degrees and reflects social and spatial distinctions. The most deprived areas, the barrios de ranchos, are not only neglected by the authorities but exposed to daily criminality. Insecurity ranks along with work and housing among people's top preoccupations, with the burden of fear compounding spatial injustice. The sense of insecurity rooted in specific areas reflects differential urban geographies. Fear and criminality take part in the sense of injustice and reinforce social and economic difference within the city.

Nicolas Bautès and Rafael Soares Gonçalves also emphasize, in their case study of Rio de Janeiro, that the exposure of the most deprived populations to violence is a major form of injustice within the city. The development of drug-trafficking has increased pressure on inhabitants, in the form of threats, of evictions or other daily aggressions. The favelas become identified as "risk zones" and contrasted with the rest of the city. Violence in Rio produces particular forms of injustice, the stigmatization of neighbourhoods, the violence experienced by inhabitants who become constituted as victims and/or criminals.

Mélina Germes uses lexicologic analysis to show how, in France, the narratives of policemen, and the practices that derive from them, tend to produce specific territorial constructions. "At risk" neighbourhoods become places of exception where violence is the norm. These neighbourhoods and their inhabitants are denied full membership of the "political collective", by virtue of a reasoning that defines the individual by his or her behaviour, and identifies whole social groups, and ultimately, urban areas, with crime. Residents' exposure to physical violence is ignored, as is their exposure to police violence (Mohammed and Mucchielli, 2006) or more insidious forms of social violence (Bourdieu, 1993).

Beyond discourses which establish some types of areas as dangerous, or conversely, as model areas, public policies oscillate between the omission and the active concealment of spatial injustices. Sylvanie Godillon shows how the authorities' and the associations' disregard for the actual geography of accidents contributes to maintain inequalities within the cities, and enables them not to take any measure to try and address them.

The urban environment is rife with instances of such laissez-faire politics. Run-down areas signal greater vulnerability as well as social unequality. In Caracas, for instance, the run-down city centre awaiting restructuration constitutes a cityscape of insecurity which contrasts with the modernity of business districts. Such contrasts inspired Western urbanists to talk about "situational prevention" (Newman, 1973; Jacobs, 1961) or the "broken window theory" (Kelling, Wilson, 1982), which called for public spaces to be reclaimed by inhabitants, neighbourly relations to be strengthened and for community participation. The implementation of these theories also benefited "zero tolerance" policies which tended to legitimize authoritarian police control and again stigmatize groups of people.

On the other hand, "revanchist" movements to "re-conquer" areas seen as dangerous are well-documented (Smith, 1996). In Rio de Janeiro, for instance, the organization of sporting events has implied campaigns to "roll back" insecurity. With much media attention, the government has carried out quasi-military operations to "conquer" favelas, displaced families and established a form of "community police". These actions carried out in specific parts of the city aim to reassure potential visitors and attract foreign and national investments. According to

Nicolas Bautès and Rafael Soares Gonçalves, they are part of a speculative dynamics and part of a larger policy of urban renewal. The poorest inhabitants, who are already victims of injustice, are finding it ever more difficult to remain close to the city centre.

In a similar vein, the renewal projects of central Genova, an Italian port, are part of a competition between cities. The central areas, seen as key to the development of the city as a whole, are being re-appropriated by new users and by public investment. As is the case in Rio, these policies are part and parcel of political changes and the transformation of the securitarian paradigm.

In both cases, new practices regarding security are presented as "political innovations". They are part of a new story-telling not only about security but about the city as a whole, which aims to become a showcase for a local know-how likely to be exported globally. Security is the area of choice for these cities in the global competition. Suffering from a dismal reputation, they are trying to challenge the stigma with "innovative" policies, on the belief that a safer city would be more attractive. There are therefore implicit hierarchies of security. Not only do cities aspire to make their environment safer, they also care for their reputation and representation.

However, what is often presented as "innovation" (despite the fact many of these policies have clear historical precedents), in a discourse that is often at odds with realities on the ground, destroys urban cohesion and does not address inequalities, in particular in their spatial dimensions. These policies often make little case of the idea of universal access to security, and fall short of the ideal of redistributing this resource in a fair way.

Security and urban governance

The making of security in the city is dependent on governmental security policies (Deluchey, 2000 ; Herbert, 1997). Several of the papers in this issue analyse the state's role, through institutional discourses as well as through interventions in practice.

The nature of political regimes, either authoritarian or democratic, influences the definition of security and the role given to public actors (Tadié, 2006 ; Soares Gonçalves, 2010). Brazil is a case in point, with the democratic transition which brought about a reorganization of police forces (Melgaço, Bautès & Soares Gonçalves). Within cities, a "community" police force was instituted in some areas, to break with violent policing habits that had developed during the dictatorship. Conversely, governments of colonial and postcolonial Cameroon have consistently made policing a prerogative of the President and his cronies (Fer, Morelle, Iyébi Mandjek). Leafy residential neighbourhoods and spaces where power is on display (squares, routes taken by the President) are made secure at the expense of working-class areas. Over time, special police forces were created to complement the existing, and dedicated to the security of the Presidency. Claims for a fairer security remain weak.

Beyond the nature of the regime, economic policies have an impact on the production of security, and reiterate mechanisms of domination and exclusion. Economic crises, the demands of international funding agencies and the strategies of private companies all play a part (Hibou, 1998). Several contributions to this issue (Rebotier, Fer et al.) emphasize the turning point of the 1980s in the adoption or ending of security policies. Austerity packages and structural adjustments signaled the end of certain public initiatives, with consequences on both the action of police forces and the living conditions of city-dwellers. The pauperization of many inhabitants increased perceived insecurity and gave rise to private initiatives to ensure the safety of mostly wealthy neighbourhoods, which the poorer ones could not afford (Flusty, 1994 ; Blakely, Snyder,

1997). This was the case in Caracas, for instance, with rising social tensions and rioting in the 1980s.

This privatization of security transforms urban areas by reinforcing inequalities, as Lucas Melgaço shows in the instance of Campinas. Exclusive spaces were created physically in the city, with gated communities, surveillance infrastructure, and repulsive planning and architecture (electrified enclosures, pikes to prevent people from sitting down, etc). They impose social distinctions within the city and deny some categories of the population access to public space, by creating defensive cityscapes, of military inspiration (walls, watchtowers, barbed wire, etc.) but do not necessarily reduce criminality. They contribute to intensifying inequalities, by making clearly visible certain unfair practices of security.

In a context of austerity measures and state reform, security is increasingly privatized and levels of competence are rethought. But the production of urban security goes way beyond economic reform and neo-liberal discourse. Economics and politics are closely intertwined, as are the local, national and global scales. The influence of funding agencies and cooperation structures, and of models of security more generally, may push in the direction of a commodification of security. But economic rationalities are not the only external influences.

In Genova, for instance, the municipal policies rely on a set of recommendations published by a network of authorities on security issues, the Italian Forum for Urban Security (FISU), which is part of the European Forum for Urban Safety. It advocates a balance between freedom and security and the idea that security is best achieved by social integration and a fair distribution of resources within the city (Jacquot). In Yaoundé, French representatives led the reform of police forces, around the principle of a centralized "police de proximité" at odds with experiments in "community policing" led in other parts of the world (Fer, Morelle, Iyébi Mandjek). This reorganization does not mitigate the absence of the state from many areas of the capital of Cameroon.

In response to this, inhabitants try to organize vigilante committees. These are by no means new, since they existed during the colonial period. They are sometimes legalized or even encouraged by central state, but others are disowned. This shows to what extent the state is dependent on grassroots initiatives but also how important its role is in the last instance. The papers gathered here highlight the informal but also illegal, sometimes corrupt, actions of some public actors, the importance of informal private actors (the youth of Yaoundé, for instance) or illegal ones (drug-traffickers of Rio de Janeiro), which gives a full sense of the meaning of privatization. Drug barons of Rio impose their own "justice" through surveillance and ad hoc "courts", as they used to ensure some redistribution of wealth. While some might perceive these initiatives as legitimate, and maybe even just, others experience them as a worsening of the situation of spatial injustice. Conceptions of what is "just" or "unjust" vary between individuals and groups and operate at variable scales (Harvey, 1992; Gervais-Lambony, Dufaux, 2009; Fainstein, 2010).

Security in large cities seems to be governed by processes of decentralization, privatization and participation. Where the state seems to be withdrawing, it may be more accurate to talk of a reorganization of its action (Hibou, 2011), as the examples in Brazil and Cameroon illustrate. Security is understood in flexible ways, according to public actors' desire to delegate, and of their ablility to regain control. Processes of segregation and unequal access to security are not merely injustices resulting from official policies. Local leaders and bosses also take part in negotiations and arrangements for the security of a given territory, at the expense of

neighbouring areas which are left out of the process. Their inhabitants resort to individual or collective tactics to ensure their own safety, at least for some time.

Our aim here is to look primarily at practices by the more deprived inhabitants. Is it just a question of adapting to insecurity and criminality in the context of power relations? This is what the example of vigilante committees in Yaoundé suggests, since they are occasionally forced to disappear for lack of an official authorization or because mobilizations do not last. Police units in Rio de Janeiro have become virtually the only form of go-between in contacts between the state and favela-dwellers, which excludes other social actors and implies the risk of a constant securitarian control. Inhabitants' participation seems to be canalized or even forced (Brock et al., 2001 ; Miraftab, Wills, 2005). Police action may still be violent and drug-traffickers remain present and scrutinize the population's relations with police forces. Nonetheless, Nicolas Bautès and Rafael Soares Gonçalvès believe that renewal policies are likely to lead to a resurgence of residents' initiatives and mobilization.

The general picture seems to be of a failure in redistributive justice, with the state failing to deliver security for all, but with local successes for procedural justice, with forms of negotiation taking over. Grassroots movements define a right to security, mobilize for the recognition of the injustice both spatial and social they suffer and claim measures for their safety in the name of what they see as fair. In Genova, for instance, urban renewal policies include a security dimension. This was the basis for an attempt to eradicate prostitution from the city centre, but also triggered resistance and negotiations. The transsexual community, for instance, was recognized as legitimate because of the surveillance role it played. What remains to be seen is if such claims can be heard not merely locally, within a neighbourhood or community, and can be generalized to the whole city.

Conclusion

This issue aims to show that security is a spatialized resource, negotiated within power relations that are often unfair. Security is not the mere product of unequal political and social relaions, it has an influence on urban dynamics and on the general degree of injustice in cities. What the papers gathered here show is the injustice affecting the poorest parts of urban areas, whose populations are most often victims of robbery and mugging, live with a strong sense of fear, but are also, ironically, designated as criminals. Entire cities are dropped from international rankings because of their failure to ensure security.

The imperative of safety is strongly advocated by international agencies in the field of development and made a must by the competition between cities. Community policing and participation are spreading fast, though how well they actually reflect inhabitants' claims is questionable. Once an area is considered safe, it can also become the target of speculation that drives out the most deprived. For lack of efficient public policies to ensure safety, city-dwellers invent and carry out informal practices to ensure their security. There are multiple strategies and forms of participation, which means a reading in terms of domination fails to capture the complexity of situations where claims sometimes manage to make themselves heard, fleeting and fragmented though they may be. Contradictory versions of justice may also clash, since safety for some is liable to mean greater vulnerability for others.

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