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Assembling fear, practicing hope: geographies of gender and generation in Newcastle upon Tyne

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Assembling fear, practicing hope: Geographies of Gender and Generation in Newcastle upon Tyne.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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November 2009

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work. Data from other authors contained herein are acknowledged at the appropriate point in the text.

Catherine Louise Alexander

Dedication

In loving memory of two inspirational women.

To my grandmothers
both of whom sadly passed away
during the production of this manuscript.

To Maura: who always brought real joy to life
and
To Mabel: until we can say cheers properly

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with love and thanks.

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Abstract

This thesis explores young people's emotional experiences of fear of crime. It is based on a long-term and in-depth piece of participatory fieldwork in a low-income urban area in Newcastle upon Tyne. I engaged in the use of participatory diagramming, group discussions and individual interviews in order to access the lived experiences and material realities of local residents, to identify and understand how fear works in the neighbourhood. The research includes insights from a variety of groups: the emphasis is mainly on the young, but with a perspective from older people too. It shows that fear is tied to power and has a bearing on people's freedom, including their access to and use of space, their participation in social life and their ability to control their future. The theoretical contribution is to enhance understandings of fear, by showing that it is bound up with a practice of citizenship; and to enhance understandings of what citizenship means, by documenting its entanglement with fear. Methodologically, the work contributes to the development of participatory geographies. In both an empirical and a theoretical sense, the thesis brings to light how participating in research as well as in wider community activities enabled participants to envision ways that fear can be negated through increasing 'confidence' of all kinds. As such, the thesis concludes that participation – in the fullest sense of the word – can be empowering in the face of fear. It enables us to imagine the possibility of a more hopeful future trajectory.

Chapter 1: Introduction

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Youth is often portrayed as risky, problematic and painful. For socially excluded young people living in urban areas in particular, the use of derogatory terms like disaffected, disengaged or detached are interchangeable. Policy makers and practitioners alike refer uncritically to what is a diverse and heterogeneous youth experience, encompassing innumerable groups and social issues in the current UK context. These processes work to cement and normalise these stereotypical understandings in the popular imagination. Related to this, media representations feed into moral panics that construct youthful bodies as deviant in relation to dangerous groups, places and behaviour (Horschelmann, 2005; Little and Leyshon, 2003). Crucially, the discourse of youth as a problem for society informs policing and community safety policies in the context of contemporary UK society. Recent research has shown that these discourses, in turn, work to exacerbate social and spatial disparities and contribute to the demonization of those social groups who are at the sharp end of fear (Alexander, 2008; Hopkins, 2006; Shirlow and Pain, 2003; Poynting et al, 2004). While it is acknowledged that there is a strong relationship between the geographies of marginality and fear, it still remains that the everyday feelings, experiences, practices and actions of young people living in these areas are under researched, and almost invisible in comparison to the extent of interest in the global geopolitics of fear (Pain and Smith, 2008). In response to this, research across sociology, criminology and human geography has called for more spatially nuanced understandings of how fear is experienced emotionally for marginalised groups (Pain, 2001; Smith, 1989; Valentine, 1989). Yet it remains that very little is known about the everyday experiences of young people living in income-poor urban areas. This is all the more surprising, when it is these very groups that are so often presumed to be at the root of many fears at the local level.

    Addressing this gap, the research presented in this thesis offers a local, grounded and participatory account of how fear of young people and young people's own fears, construct their citizenship in an income-poor, materially disadvantaged, council estate in Newcastle

upon Tyne, North East England. I argue that space and scale at the local level are critical in developing more nuanced theories of the geographies of youth and fear of crime. I work from a moral perspective that is closely attuned to young people's own perspectives[1]. Bringing to the forefront those who are generally presumed to be at the root of local anxiety and fear (in this case the 'hooded youth' hanging out on the streets), is an important political project. In the context of this thesis, it involves exposing the partiality and irrelevance of the fears that tend to be publicised in the local media. The research also serves to highlight the capacity of young people to resist and act on their fears, rather than passively experiencing them. As such, the role of emotions in galvanising action is a recurrent theme throughout the thesis.

This introductory chapter will briefly situate the contextual background, the participatory approach, the particular methods used and the ethical considerations undertaken in the research. I go on to outline how the research questions and overall aims were formulated with the young people, and so developed iteratively throughout the project. I then go on to review the literature surrounding the themes and concepts which are key to theoretically underpinning the research. In line with the flexible, iterative and innovative nature of the wider research project, I interweave literature, methodology and empirical evidence throughout the thesis, rather than adhering within a more traditional structure.

1.1 Research area: Woolsington and the East Thorpe Estate, Newcastle

Throughout the thesis, I refer to different scales at different times. These include north east England, 'the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne and economically disadvantaged[2] urban areas of the UK. My research is seeking to understand the processes and everyday lived experiences of fear of crime at all of these scales, with lessons drawn from one local area for explanations developed for this latter scale.

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[1] The nature of the research was selective, in that I worked with five different community groups, who were particularly interested in working with me. I do not, therefore, intend this thesis to be read as a representative account of all young people in the area, and I certainly do not wish to give the impression that I am aware of all youth experiences in the neighbourhood.

[2] I use the term economically and materially 'disadvantaged' as a process which works to limit an individual's participation in social activities, their access to material resources and the well being enjoyed by the majority of citizens within a society. While accepting that this is a problematic and controversial term, the thesis aims to demonstrate that there are a range of very real, context specific exclusions at work at certain times and spaces within East Thorpe itself, and these are often overlapping, and therefore can be experienced multiply by certain young people living within the area.

Woolsington, in northwest Newcastle upon Tyne (Figure 1.1), has an unevenly dispersed population of 7,928. Compared to the national average, the ward has been ranked 436th most deprived out of 8,414 wards in England (Figure 1.2). It is an extremely polarised area, with severe social deprivation and unemployment nestled in close proximity to pockets of affluence, such as Darras Hall and Ponteland. These polarized structural positionings provoke tensions in the local area. The area supports a large youth population, with 40% of residents under 30 (Office for National Statistics, 2007). The older generation also make up a considerable proportion of the population (20% are 65 and above). Woolsington exhibits a high degree of spatial mixing amongst socially diverse populations at ward level. There are spatial variations inside the neighbourhood in terms of its social difficulties and it is by no means a homogenous place. The research demonstrated that local people did not want (or were not able) to move out of the area, as there was a considerable sense of community spirit and rootedness to the neighbourhood. The research supports the contention that, in areas where this is the case - where emotional attachment intersects with material considerations - "one tends to encounter the most powerfully felt expressions of intensity towards crime" (Taylor, 1996: 18).

The research was conducted in and around the neighbourhood known locally as East Thorpe which is a council estate in Woolsington (Figure 1.3). The estate falls within the 10% most deprived super output areas as compared to the national average ('Index of multiple deprivation', Office for National Statistics, 2007), and within the 3% most deprived band for crime, education, health and employment nationally. In terms of community safety issues, residents of the neighbourhood have been found to be concerned with car theft, theft from vehicles, fear of personal attack and violent crime, and they were more likely to feel unsafe when outside in the ward as compared to the city as a whole (Newcastle City Council, 2007).
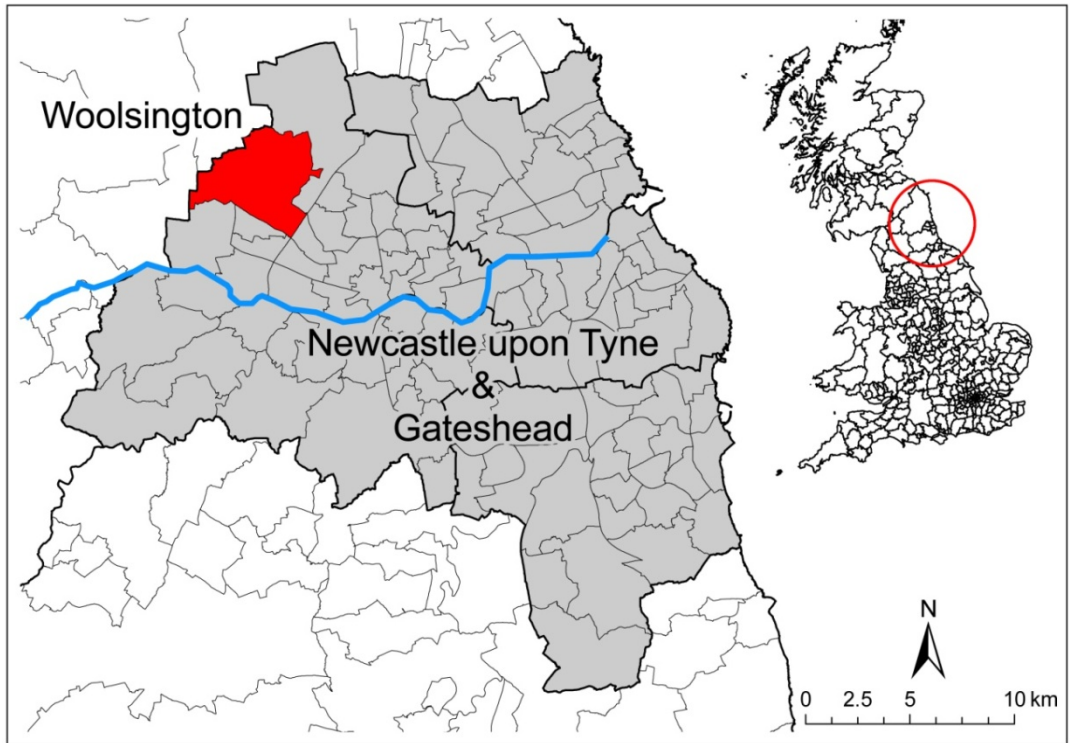
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(Map data under license: digimap.edina.ac.uk)
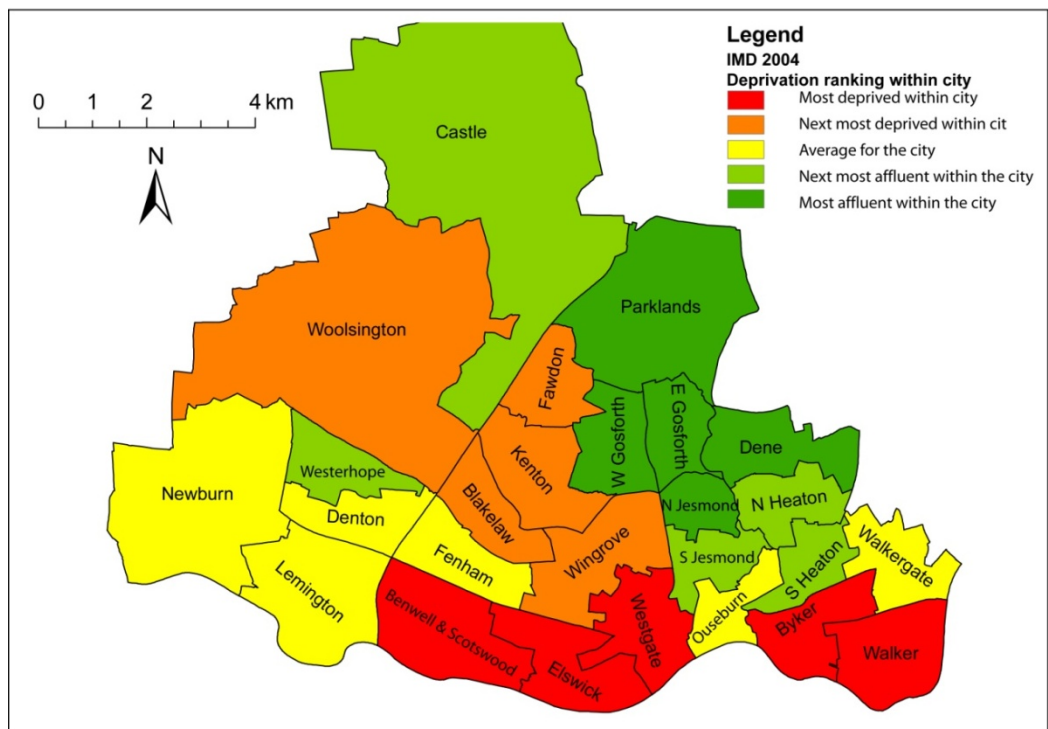
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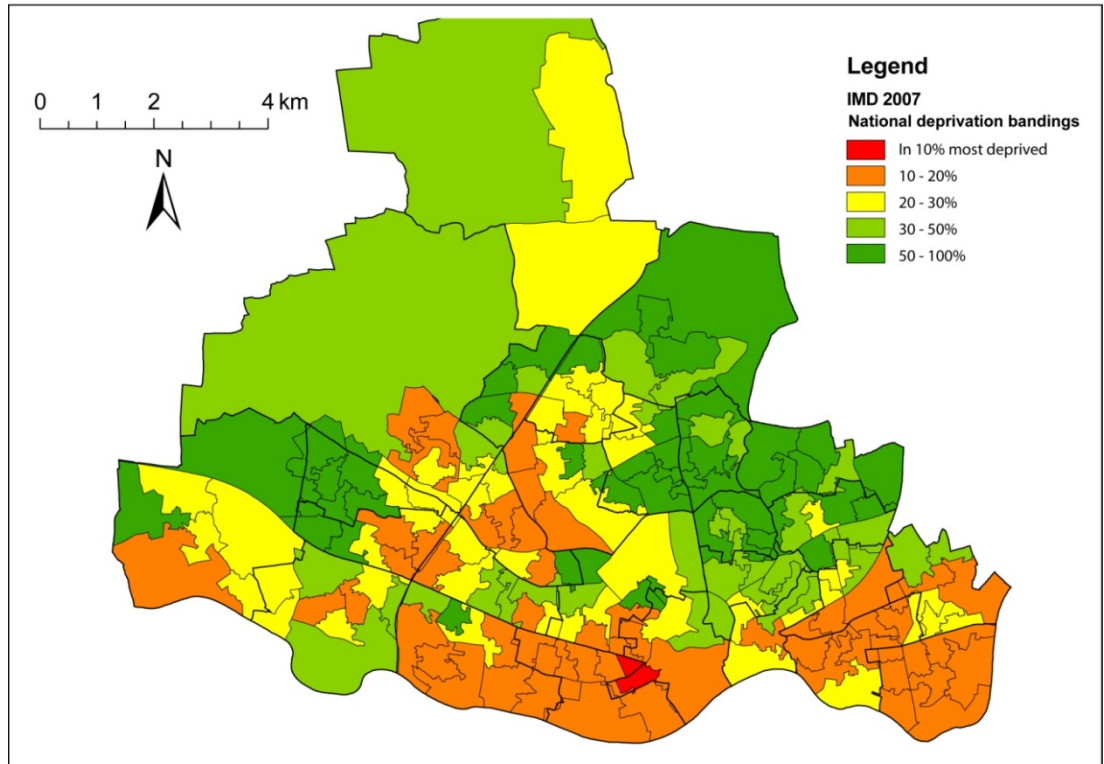
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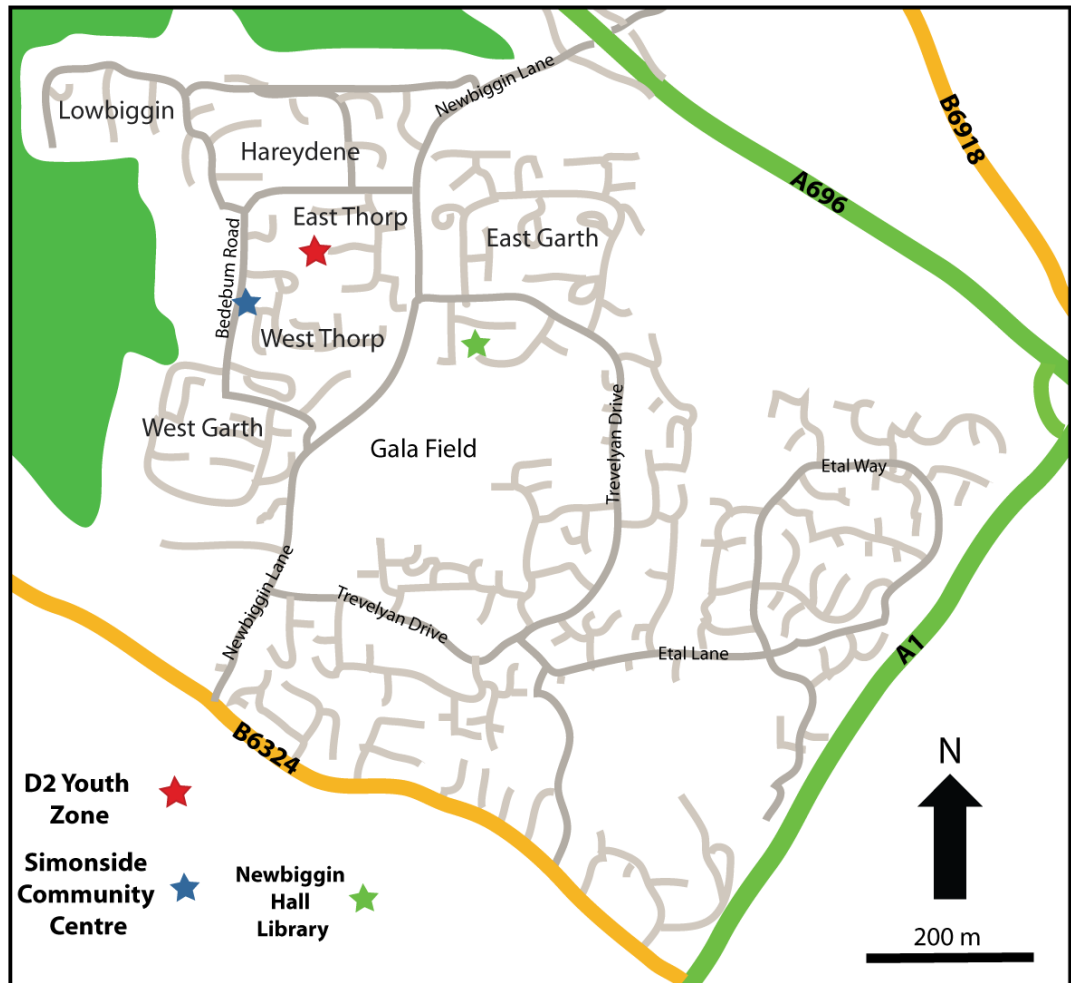
Figure 1.4 Map to show research site and proximity of estates within Newbiggin Hall

Together with the young people, over the course of the fieldwork, we decided not to make anonymous any of the places used within the research. This was a unanimous political decision: and the result of young people feeling that their local neighbourhood had received a disproportionate amount of bad press: and in making an effort to rectify the situation, by portraying the local area in a different light.

The Office for National Statistics (2001 / 2007) data shows that the ward of Woolsington has a population of 7,929 which is predominantly White British (96.7% v NA 87%), with no other single ethnic group representing more than 0.5%. This relative heterogeneity is reflected further in the neighbourhood declared religions with Christian (78%) a significantly higher percentage than the national average (NA 72%). The 2001 census data also indicates

less religious diversity in this ward as compared both national and regionally. The age structure of the Woolsington ward also show that there is a significantly greater proportion of both older and younger people than the national average; 14% of the population is < 9 years (NA 12.2%), 22.3 < 15 years (NA 20.2%), and 27% are < 19 years (NA 25.1%). Between the ages of 24 – 44, the local population mirrors the national average closely, yet for ages above 59 years, represents 24.6 % of the Woolsington population, yet only 20.7 % of the national average. As such, the majority of the neighbourhood is made up by a high concentration of young people and elderly, highlighting the significance of intergenerational issues in the neighbourhood. Further indicators of health state show lower than average conditions locally (Health "Not good" 14.8 % v NA 9 %; "Good" 60% v NA 69%). High divorce rates (9.5 % v NA 8.2%), and a relatively low level of married citizens (39% v NA 43.5 %) are also apparent.

Economic activity indicators fall below national averages, with those in full time employment (31.8% v NA 40.81%), part-time employment (11.83% v NA 11.81%), and unemployment (4.25% v NA 3.35%), permanent sickness (11.29& v NA 5.3%) and those 16-74 unemployed who are in long-term unemployment (42.4 % v NA 30.2 %). There is a significant proportion of working age population (16 – 74), with no qualifications (46% v NA 28.8%). Full owner occupation is relatively low (19% v NA 29.2%), as is mortgage ownership (26.7% v NA 38.9%), with a high concentration of council owned housing (47.1% v NA 13.2%). Average modelled weekly total income (2005) for households (£360), is low compared to the region (£410) and nationally.

Having lived in the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne during the fieldwork, and within the city more generally for over 10 years, I have observed that networks of rumour instill a sense of fear related to East Thorpe amongst people from outside the area. The estate has a strong reputation in the city, which calls to mind an image of poverty and social decline. As a consequence, residents suffer on-going stigmatisation and prejudice born of stereotypes, which seem to be connected to the high level of crime in the area. Areas such as Woolsington are challenging spaces for young people to grow up in, yet there is very little research about young people who live there and even less focused on their own everyday experiences and concerns.

1.2 The economic history of Newcastle upon Tyne

The north-east of England has a rich economic history of shipbuilding, coal mining and associated heavy engineering industries. As a measure of the region's national significance, in 1961 these key industries employed more than twice the workers as the next nearest location in the country. The dominant and widespread mineral extraction of coal sustained the economic stability of the region during the 19th century, throughout both wars, and for a considerable period thereafter (Nayak, 2006). Historically the north-eastern industrial heartland developed largely independent of the reliance upon colonial trading links, such as the large port cities on the south and north western UK coasts, leading to what some label a hegemonic "genuine local ruling class" (Massey, 1995, 194) to emerge. Even as recently as the 1970s, 40% of employment was based in the manufacturing and primary industries and their supporting networks (Hollands, 1995; Robinson, 1988).

However, these structures were radically changed and on the whole collapsed, in direct response to a succession of pit closures under the Thatcher government in the 1980s. This process of economic decline was perpetuated by the increasingly competitive demands of the global economy. The focus of investment shifted from the staple of the north east, manufacturing, to direct investment in business. The most visible manifestation of these moves was the burgeoning north-south divide representing in many aspects a vicious circle of economic decline. Critically in the north east, generations of young people became unable to make the same youth transitions to schooling, training schemes, apprenticeships and hard physical labour in line with family tradition, and were now often portrayed as unskilled, unemployable, and hence a redundant youth (Nayak, 2006: 817).

Despite the scale and severe impact of these largely economic changes, the region has recently developed a new identity (see: Chatterton and Hollands, 2001). These efforts have sought to distance the area from the more traditional, white working-class and masculine associations with heavy industry, trade unions and working-men's clubs. Such associations had notably positioned women and immigrant communities as apart from what was traditionally the dominant 'norm' of Geordie working class men (Knox, 1992; Lawless, 1995; Nayak, 2006).

Today, Newcastle upon Tyne is portrayed in the media as a Party City: a site for excessive drinking and wild stag and hen nights. This widely touted stereotype underpinned the joint Newcastle / Gateshead 'European City of Culture' bid (2003) which encourages visitors to 'feel

the buzz'. Concurrently, the area has received major investments[3] in tourism, the arts and new cultural industries. Just as the traditional 'masculine' infrastructure depleted, so it was replaced by a new cultural identity.   An increase in the number of nightclubs, restaurants and cafés has created a vibrant consumption economy (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001).

This shift from "coal mining to 'clubbing'" (Nayak, 2006) has had a profound effect upon the region's landscape and hence the formation of local identities. In particular, as outlined above, processes of gender cannot be separated from this recent economic and structural upheaval. Notably in this context, the growth in services, catering and call-centres has transformed the region's economic basis, but also imparts significant gender transformations in the labour market; in this feminization women suddenly accounted for 50 percent of the work force in the region (Hollands, 1997). In contrast, the bodies of working-class young men have been interpreted as troublesome, non-conformist and marked by resistance (Campbell, 1993; Cohen, 1997; Willis, 1977; Nayak, 2006). Moreover, "young men may also be unwilling to surrender any real or imagined bodily capital they may accrue through physical toughness" (Nayak, 2006: 819). In a culture where supposedly 'feminized' attributes are in demand, it would appear that "certain white working-class males may be out of step with an economy that values flexibility, keyboard proficiency, telephone communication skills and personal presentation" (Nayak, 2006: 819).   In research conducted 16 years ago, Campbell (1993) asserted that post-industrial masculinities needed to adapt, risk unemployment or (as the next chapter will outline), indulge in underground activity and criminal hyper-masculine displays (Campbell, 1993) in order to survive the unprecedented changes in society.

1.3 Social class, youth and 'deviance' in the area

The continual struggle that working-class children and young people endure to achieve a sense of safety, place, ownership and independence outside of the parental home has led some writers to view street based activities as class cultural "rites of resistance" (Hall and Jefferson, 1977). In his studies of working class communities, Cohen (1997) has come to understand the development and practices of street gangs as recuperative measures that seek to "assert territorial power over local streets and neighbourhoods to compensate for a broader socio-

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[3] Newcastle-Gateshead has invested heavily in Quayside redevelopments that include the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art, established in a converted flour mill at a cost of £46 million. The Baltic opened in 2002, and has attracted frequent controversy and criticism for its ineffective cost management.

economic exclusion" (Nayak, 2003b: 310). Research has demonstrated that the lives of working-class young people are more 'outdoor' and 'local', and so it is often the street where "young people can gather to affirm their sense of difference and celebrate their feelings of belonging" (Matthews et al, 2000: 63). Inevitably, "the street corner is the most likely institution open: it is cheap and always accessible" (Corrigan, 1979: 114).

The thesis presents an insight into some of the ways in which young people in disadvantaged urban areas become essentialised as deviant through media discourses and the reiterative practices of others in everyday life. It discusses how young people are conceived, imagined and understood both within and outside their local neighbourhood. Using their own words and frameworks of understanding, the thesis demonstrates how these young bodies are both emotionally and metaphorically marked, recognised and categorised. Their narratives reveal the way they perform and are perceived and identified on an everyday basis. To my reading, there are a number of fractions which, taken together, work to stigmatise young people in the local area. Their bodies are read as risky and as a consequence, their actions and daily movements can be misunderstood and misinterpreted. The thesis adds to existing literature on constructing youthful bodies as deviant (Jenks, 1996; Griffin, 2001; Little and Leyshon, 2003; Hörschelmann, 2005), by arguing that this is part of a multidimensional process of making and manufacturing social class. The ways in which power is practised and perceived are central to the (re)production and (re)working of everyday space (Massey, 1999; Gregson and Rose, 2000; Allen 2003). Most significantly for this research, social class as a construction is fundamentally about power. In the current political context, class is "so insinuated in the intimate marking of self and culture that it is even more ubiquitous than previously articulated, if more difficult to pin down, leaking beyond the traditional measures of classification" (Skeggs 2005: 969). The thesis points towards the unspoken, omnipresent and everyday process of class-making and the localised, profoundly felt effects this has on the young people who participated in the research project. Media representations in particular can affect an individual on a deeply personal level. Thus the thesis demonstrates that, through both local and national media discourses, fear is cultivated and works to inform the public perception of young people generally. Young people's narratives are drawn upon to explain how they feel they have been equated with stereotypes in the popular media of charvers on a number of occasions, which, to my reading, has had a powerful stigmatising effect, which as we shall see, is deeply internalised.

This is in line with Skeggs' (1997, 2005) argument that the body is the most important marker of class. Her research on the formation of social class in Britain analyses media sources and, drawing on a diverse array of evidence, from feminist commentators to the Blair government, she traces the way that these narratives act to reproduce, recirculate and repeat the representation of white working-class women, so that "we now have the loud, white, excessive, drunk, fat, vulgar, disgusting, hen-partying woman who exists to embody all the moral obsessions historically associated with the working class; contained in one body" (Skeggs 2005: 967). National media representations such as these relate to other practices of marginalisation and exclusion by caricaturing young people's bodily appearance in particular ways, drawing on their clothing, speech and comportment.

The underlying argument here is that, despite their best efforts in attempting to make their own youth transitions in the local area, the young people who participated in the research are essentialised as deviant through the process of class formation. While acknowledging that some of the young people who participated in the research have been involved in criminal activity –the research demonstrates that the ways in which these young people choose to dress, their regional accents and how they carry themselves all materialise within certain circumstances to essentialise criminality (regardless of whether they have committed a crime or not). This process will be described and defined in more detail in the next section of this introductory chapter. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I demonstrate that addressing these stigmatising tendencies may entail more than the consideration of class-based relations alone. Rather, the research project has revealed ways in which a generational orientation could be working to elude this class orientation of their identities. As such, this thesis argues that intergenerational exchanges can be one way to contest the class-based construction of deviance as it allows new assemblages to be constructed and lived out.

1.4 Assembling fear

Assemblage, as understood by Deluze and Guattari (1987), is a metaphor for "dynamic structure applied to semi-stable socio-natural configurations and geographies that emerge over space and time" (Robbins and Marks, 2009: 177). For Robbins and Marks (2009), sensitivity in analysis to assemblages draws attention to 1) relationships between people and things, 2) changing trajectories and rates of change, and 3) spatially hetergenous forms and effects (p177). An emphasis on assemblage stresses : "The making of socio-natures whose

intricate geographies form tangled webs of different lengths, density, and duration, and whose consequences are experienced differently in different places" (Braun, 2006: 644). "Accepting that not all configurations are the same or behave the same way, assemblage geographies typically trace the implications of specific network forms in terms of their momentum and social, economic, ecological, and political outcomes" (Robbins and Marks, 2009). In the context of my research, I think of 'the assemblage' as a process that takes into account the particular locality, history and geography of what it seeks to explain.

As component parts of the assemblage, we can interpret how the clothes and accessories a young person chooses to wear, certain items they carry with them, using particular objects in a particular way within a particular space, materialise in particular ways as signifiers. For example, a young person on a street corner at night time dressed in sportswear, behaving in a certain way with other young people and carrying a glass is assembled, interpreted, signified, in a certain way. In this assemblage that glass signifies a weapon. If the same young person is dressed smartly at an afternoon tea party carrying a glass, in this space the young person is assembled very differently. As such, fragments of the individual are separated and reassembled with other materalities within different situations to produce different meanings.

Thus, instead of arguing that individuals are stereotypes or stereotyped, employing the assemblage as a concept begins to debunk the notion of stigmatisation alone, suggesting that the processes at work are more complicated. Instead, certain parts of certain people at certain times materialise to create a particular assemblage. The concept is about challenging the notion that the whole person has inevitability, for example when defining this young person as a dangerous, criminal who can only behave in an aggressive way. Instead, it allows for the possibility than under certain circumstances this young person may engage in criminal activity. It demonstrates that many and diverse component parts come together (for example a history of abuse and violence, personal vendettas, defending the family name, lack of material or financial power, problems with drug and alcohol use), that may have an impact on an individual's behaviour within a particular space and time. I am not necessarily arguing that this can make criminal actions acceptable, but it does allow for an understanding of why certain individuals sometimes act in certain ways and sometimes they do not.

At various points through the thesis, I draw upon the concept of an assemblage in order to better understand and explain how any why the young people act differently in different situations. Some individuals involved in the research have been, and may continue to be, involved in serious acts of violence and criminal activity. Yet whenever I met, observed or heard about these same individuals, I found this difficult to imagine, as they were always very calm, personable, honest and open with me. This juxtaposition presented a dilemma to me when attempting to analyse and evaluate how these young people acted and performed could be interpreted in very different ways according to different situations. As such, employing the assemblage enabled me to get past the argument that the young people were pulling the wool over my eyes or lying to me. It gives them credit for having influence and agency over how they choose to perform different identities. At the same time, the concept is also used to show that "there are assemblages of fear built, trained, embedded, woven, wired, nurtured and natured into the way specific times, places and events work" (Pain and Smith, 2008, p3). In this way, proceeding from the proposition that the world is relational, the concept of assemblage evaluates the relative position of various actors to one another, describing the territories, scales, and geographic configurations as a result. Second, premised on the notion that "objects are an effect of stable arrays or networks or relations" (Laws, 2002), analysis traces the way particular configurations actually make involved actors the way they are, producing the contingent character of the objects and agents involved. Third, accepting that not all configurations are the same or behave the same way, the concept of assemblage can be used to trace the implications of specific network forms in terms of their momentum and social, economic and political outcomes ((Robbins and Marks, 2009: 177).   As we shall see, this is particularly pertinent in my attempts to 're-assemble' a conception of social citizenship from the various youth experiences detailed in this thesis.

1.5 Methodology

Over a period of 5 years, I undertook a long-term and in-depth qualitative research project, together with 4 different pre-existing friendship groups of young people and a Senior Action Group. It is important to note that the groups self-identified and referred to themselves in particular ways and having being granted permission to do so by the young people, I draw upon these pre-existing group names as a useful way of categorising and describing each group of young people I worked with. In addition, the specific and selective nature of the research means that the voices of the young people throughout the thesis are not intended to be

representative of all young people in the local area. I chose to speak in more depth and detail to young people with whom I was able to establish rapport with and those individuals who expressed to me that they had a story to tell.

Furthermore, in radical response to the various ways in which the young people have been stigmatized, targeted, victimized and identified as criminal in the local media, the young people are specifically introduced by real names and photographs, chosen by the young people themselves, have been used to represent themselves. In certain cases, some young people have elected to remain anonymous. In particular, the Elvis Club choose to remain anonymous, and every attempt has been made to protect identities. Certain individuals in each group preferred to remain anonymous: and every effort has been made to protect their anonymity. However, for the most part, the young people who participated in the research were proud to take full advantage of an opportunity to have their say, to have their voices heard, and to be recognized for and credited for the hard work they contributed to this piece of research.

The first youth group (discussed in Chapter One) referred to themselves as the 'Bad Lads'. These young men were aged 16 to 25, lived in the most income-poor part of the estate and accessed a local youth club once a week to play football. The majority of their time was spent hanging out together on the streets of their local neighbourhood.

The second group I worked with called themselves the 'Elvis Club'. The group consisted of both young men and young women between the ages of 16 and 32, who found it difficult to socialise outside of their own weekly youth club. This youth group was accessed through a different youth organisation, which was based just outside East Thorpe.

The third group were young women aged between 16 and 20, who had all been (by their own definition) involved in the youth justice system[4]. They referred to themselves as the Youth Justice Girls and lived in the estate itself. These women were the first group I accessed through the D2 Youth Zone, which is a youth led charity operating in the local area. All remaining youth groups were accessed through contacts made at this organisation.

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[4] Quotes are cited 'in the raw' in an attempt to capture the vernacular 'Geordie' accent of the area - the personal significance of the local dialect to the young people of the area is discussed elsewhere (Alexander, 2008).

The fourth group of local residents who took part in the research, were the Senior Action Group. These women were aged 65-89 and originally met as a 'friendship club' which over time developed into an alliance that actively campaigned for better conditions for older people in the local community.

The fifth and final group that I worked with were the youngest: a mixed group of young people aged 13-14. This was the most newly formed group, coming together only three weeks before the research started. Having met at the D2 youth club, they wanted to form a group collective with the specific intention of discussing matters of importance to them in the local area (their own definition of politics) and to eat pizza. Thus they appropriately named themselves the Pizza and Politics group.

Like the other young people who participated in this research, I am also classed, radicalised and gendered. My positionality as a middle-class, female excluded me from the worlds which young working class men occupied, while my whiteness, age and gender are points of similarity to young women. While I have lived in Newcastle upon Tyne for 10 years, I am not originally from the region. As we shall see, some of the young people initially perceived me as a poshy student.

All of the people who participated in the research are diverse in terms of their age, gender, ability and social standing. Yet points of commonality were that: they were all white, unemployed, working class, mostly young people, who have left or intend to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Each chapter introduces and focuses on a new axis of differentiation to illustrate the diverse and distinct ways that fear affects different individuals. In this context fear of crime is revealed to have a very different impact upon each individual according to the way in which experience fuses with intersecting axes of ability, age and gender.

I engaged in the use of participatory diagramming, group discussions and individual interviews (see Table 1.1) in order to access the lived experiences and material realities of local residents, to identify and understand how fear works in the neighbourhood. I draw upon the empirical evidence to demonstrate more broadly how fear of crime works to mediate and shape everyday life experiences, to restrict movements and ultimately to limit the opportunity for full social and democratic participation of local residents.

Each of the research projects were carried out with pre-existing groups of young people, accessed through various youth groups in the local area. All research was carried out either at

the youth group – or very close to the youth group – where the young people met regularly. Clearly this technique had both advantages and disadvantages associated with such close spatial, emotional and psychological proximity to the youth group. This was an advantage in terms of developing networks of trust, accessing a space familiar to the young people and where they felt at ease and comfortable, receiving support and advice from local youth workers, regular contact with young people, the ability to leave research materials at the youth centre for the young people to gain ownership (and be able to work on projects in their own time and outside of the limited times I was in the youth group). However, there are also many political and ethical considerations which may have impacted on the nature of the research, which was very much based on the relationship the young people had with their youth workers, the agenda of the youth workers, and the pre-existing group dynamic.

Importantly in terms of participatory research, and wherever possible, I involved the research participants in the analysis, and facilitated feedback workshops where I checked with the young people that they agreed with, and were happy with the way in which I was analyzing and interpreting their data. I ensured that I involved the young people to the extent that they were happy to be involved in the analysis and dissemination of the research: which I will describe in more detail for each chapter that follows.

Table 1.1 Participant groups and levels of participation

Group	Time spent in research	Techniques employed	Data Generated	Level of Participation
Bad Lads	Two consecutive weeks	Brainstorming diagramming of what area is like	Diagram and Accompanying Fieldwork notes	Shallow
		Two two-hour long Focus Groups	Partial[5] transcripts	
		In-depth interview with youth worker Mike	Interview transcript	
Elvis Club	Four months	Four hour-long	Focus Group	Shallow

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[5] Where participants asked for certain periods of research to not be recorded, the dictaphone was turned off or abandoned; also some participants elected to make comments 'off the record'. Parts of transcripts were inaudible.

		focus groups	Transcriptions	
		10 follow up paired interviews	Partial interview transcripts	
		Table of likes and dislikes	Fieldwork notes and observations	
Youth Justice Girls	Six consecutive three-hour long meetings initially. The research continued on and off for a period of six months	In depth discussions Photography Mind mapping	Field work notes Diagrams	Becoming participatory
Senior Action Group	Four months	Four hour-long focus groups One two-hour in-depth interview One hour follow-up telephone interview Two intergenerational focus groups	Transcripts Transcript Notes on conversation Transcripts	Somewhat participatory
Pizza and Politics	30 months continues to present day	Four two-hour long planning sessions Photo Voice Group mind mapping Participatory Video	Fieldwork notes Montages Diagrams Video	Participatory Action Research

1.6 Research approach

The research was conducted with an unfolding, iterative approach, and was developed together with the people who participated, providing an opportunity to consider what we can learn from young people in our communities. In turn, the research process provided an

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opportunity for the young people to develop their skills in research, collective decision making, community organising and action. This is in stark contrast to the "epistemology and operational problems associated with other methods such as quick tick surveys – which are inappropriate to quantify human behaviour given the psychological complexities of experiencing and fearing crime. This not only arguably promotes errors in reporting, but also exacerbates the tendency for survey analysis to relate what is measured – present-day fear of crime – solely to individuals' immediate social or environmental circumstances" (Pain, 2000: 368).

In the context of this research, the sessions that I carried out were entirely voluntary, with the young people being able to opt in or out at any stage of the research. The young people were consulted in initial planning sessions, to get an idea about the kinds of methods that they would prefer to use, and they were also given a choice of techniques at the start of each subsequent session. In an effort to engage with my participants in a more collaborative research process, I experimented with a number of participatory techniques, including spider diagrams, mind mapping and simple table charts, and the groups were encouraged to be creative with the use of marker pens, ballpoint pens, flipchart paper and post-it notes, with the intention that they could feel free to collaborate in any way that they preferred (see: Alexander et al, 2007). Overall, more than 30 young people took part in the fieldwork. When I initially set out to undertake research in East Thorpe, I tried not to have any preconceptions about how the project would pan out. My intention was to employ as participatory an approach as possible. I brought with me knowledge and experience of a number of traditional research methods – as well as participatory techniques, such as brain storming and creating mind maps. Importantly, I was open to what the young people wanted to take part in. The circumstances and dynamics in place with the Pizza and Politics group who were, the last group that I worked with, enabled this particular project to develop into a piece of Participatory Action Research (PAR). As such, I have been working in more depth with the Pizza and Politics group since 2007 on a long-term participatory project. I continue to build on the relationships that I have fostered with these young people, to try to achieve more inclusive and mutually beneficial ways of working.

1.7 Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is "an umbrella term covering a variety of participatory approaches to action-orientated research . . . [it] involves researchers and participants working together to examine a problematic situation or action to change it for the better" (Kindon et al, 2007: 1). The most common methods used in PAR focus on dialogue, storytelling and collective action. "In work with marginalised or vulnerable people, one of the most important features of these types of method is their 'hands-on' nature, and their ability to enable people to generate information and share knowledge on their own terms using their own symbols, language or art forms" (Kindon et al, 2007: 17). These methods challenge the more traditional agenda, whereby a researcher dictates and sets the agenda, decides on questions to be asked and direction of the research process. Interest in participatory approaches in recent years has grown in geography. As Kesby (2007) notes, a participatory research approach is well suited to social geography, and to the local scales of spatial analysis. The innovative techniques have revitalised geographical methodology and offered new opportunities for the perspectives of the marginalised to emerge (Kesby, 2007). In this way, participatory research approaches are underpinned by a broader notion of ethical research. Indeed the conventional view of participatory approaches holds that they circumvent or reverse prevailing power relations in research and development (Chambers, 1994; 1997; Kapoor, 2002). Importantly, as Kesby (2007) notes, even when participation is `done properly', `deeply', and is designed and led by participants themselves, it will nevertheless always already constitute a form of power (Kesby, 1999; 2005).

Alongside their increased use, criticism of participatory approaches has intensified. For some, the very fact of the increasing popularity of participation represents its commodification; especially within schemes and research that are top down and extractive. Indeed, there is a powerfully constructed critique as to the shallow use and abuse of participatory approaches (see: Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995; Hagey, 1997; Lather, 1991; Mayoux, 1995; Smith and Blanc, 1997). There are also considerable concerns about the under-theorisation of power and the possibilities for marginalisation to occur within participatory processes striving for consensus and collective action (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Drawing on extensive international comparative work, Cornwall (2004a; 2004b) usefully tempers the one size fits all technocratic approach (Chambers, 1994; 1997) by arguing that participation should be understood as context dependent and contingent on particular local

and regional settings. At the local scale, the specific sites chosen for a participatory activity can fundamentally affect its operation. After Lefebvre ([1974] 1991), Cornwall (2004a; 2004b) argues that every space has its own history. Thus participants, not just facilitators, will determine the meanings of a context. A community centre might seem the logistically obvious location for an intervention, but such sites may hold strong associations that will affect who participates and what they feel able to say a religious site might encourage men's participation, while a purpose-made NGO forum might be labelled as a `women's place' (Jones and Speech, 2001). Thus, the same intervention held at different sites can produce quite different social dynamics (Cornwall, 2002; Kesby, 2007).

While recognising that participation is a form of power, Kindon et al, (2007) nevertheless advocate the use of participatory approaches in certain circumstances and for addressing particular questions. They employ a poststructural perspective on PAR as a spatial practice offers many useful insights into how and why participation works, and helps explain why sometimes it fails or is difficult to sustain (Cornwall 2004; Jones and Speech, 2001). There are also important examples in research carried out with young people where participatatory approaches have successfully been employed resource that facilitates reflection and social transformation (Cahill, 2007).

This thesis provides empirical evidence of the potential of participatory approaches to "help participants to re-engage with wider structures and processes of inequality to effect change" (Kindon et al, 2007; 26). As the last chapter of this thesis demonstrates, I outline how PAR can work to create new spaces for critical engagement beyond the academy. In the context of this research, a participatory approach was employed to facilitate collaboration with participants to jointly generate knowledge and informed action (Kesby, 2007). "Those of us privileged enough to spend time contemplating lives more dangerous than our own miss a fundamental dimension of self-reflexitivity if we neglect our own potential capacity to facilitate change in those lives" (Kesby, 2007: 2827). Kesby's point is not that participation is not dangerous, but that some things are more dangerous than others (Kesby, 2005). In a world where social inequalities prevail and power is omnipresent, "it seems reasonable to deploy (carefully) the resources of participation in attempts to effect empowerment human agency and facilitate socio-spatial change" (Kesby, 2007: 2828).

1.8 Where does my approach lie on the participatory project?

My own research with young people in the local area was centrally based on relationships, and succeeded or failed on the quality of those relationships and of the trust that was established within each research project. In relation to my own research, questions of ethics, researcher positionality, processes and reflection can only be answered in relation to, and in dialogue with, the values, positions and experiences of the local residents who took part in the research. The power of PAR lies in its collective "knowledge produced in collaboration and in action" (Fine et al, 2001). A research process that is collaborative has to take into account difference, this means different perspectives. It then it has to grapple with the spaces between these different standpoints. As such, PAR is a social justice and feminist project that is concerned with shifting power and about bringing new voices into the academy. It is also about challenging the voices within the academy and exclusionary practices that reproduce and maintain structural inequities (Pain, 2003; Pain and Francis, 2003).

In line with recent research by youth geographers (Cope, 2008; Cahill, 2002; 2004), the research outlined in this thesis takes seriously issues of representation and shifting power that are central to feminist inquiry, critical pedagogy, critical race theory, and research concerned with social (in)justice and inclusion (Cahill, 2004). As we shall see, the thesis is centrally concerned with the possibility of research as a vehicle for social change, and the ethical implications inherent in such a prospect (Kitchin and Hubbard, 1999; Fine and Barreras, 2001; Torre, 2001; Clarke, 2003; Pain, 2003; Pain and Francis, 2003; Ruddick, 2004). Research was carried out in the local area together with young people, and as we shall see, an important and key finding was that the research process acted to provide a space for local residents to begin to questioning exclusionary practices and social inequities. As such, PAR as an approach is understood to be more rigorous, more involved, that gets to inside knowledge, that gets better data because insiders "simply know things that outsiders don't" (Fine et al, 2001). As Cahill (2004) asserts "because young women are less likely to pathologize themselves, more likely to understand the ways in which different parts of their lifeworlds are connected" (Cahill, 2004: 78). I would contend that this point is certainly very relevant to researchers working with young people of all ages.

1.9 Research questions

Given the participatory approach, my research questions developed as the research was carried out. They are the result of iterative, grounded analysis in the field, informed by co-participants. I went in to the field with an interest in what life was like for young people living in the local area and I had questions about how comfortable they felt in and around the local area. I was interested in the realities for young people living within an area that was assumed to be 'at risk'. The specific topics touched upon and explored, and questions arising, were slightly different for each group that I worked with. These will be explicitly outlined and identified in the 'methodological reflections' section of each subsequent chapter. The research questions that developed are as follows:

- How is fear experienced by young people living in deprived urban areas in the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne

- How do gender and generation intersect with other identity politics of body and ability to inspire, transmit and re-circulate fear of crime?

- Can theories about citizenship produce a conceptual framework for understanding geographies of fear?

1.10 Grounded Theory: A framework for moving between theory and the field

'Validity', in a qualitative sense, has been conceptualised as a personal strategy by which the researcher can manage the analytical movement between fieldwork and theory (Wainwright, 1997). It has long been established that the integrity of any type of research is dependent on procedures being made explicit and systematically evaluated. The point I want to make here is that while reflexivity is paramount in providing a way of validating the presentation of findings, it rests on the researcher's self-understanding of the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). It is dependent on their ability to 'question' the testimony of respondents (are they telling me what I want to hear?) and on their awareness of the development of the emerging theory (am I seeing what I want to see?).

As such, simply being reflexive does not produce a value-free account, when: "At the heart of the qualitative approach is the assumption that a piece of qualitative research is very much influenced by the researcher's individual attributes and perspectives. The goal is not to

produce a standardized set of results that any other careful researcher in the same situation or studying the same issues would have produced. Rather it is to produce a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of the situation" (Ward-Schofield, 1993: 202). In line with feminist geographers (Kindon et al, 2007; McLafferty, 1995; Staeheli and Lawson, 1994), the research project with the Pizza and Politics group employed reflexivity and involvement of co-participants at each stage of the research process: from the early planning and establishing of relations in the field, to the writing-up of conclusions. In this way, the research contributes to the quest for theoretically informed accounts of social phenomena, grounded in people's everyday experiences of life. It also allowed for the development of evaluative criteria that reflect the realities of qualitative research and the complexities of social phenomena.

There is a well established methodological literature of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1997; Barnes, 1996; Benoliel, 1996; Annells, 1996), which has long been drawn upon across the social sciences (Lempert, 1992; Hall, 1992; Lessor, 1993). Employing the use of grounded theory in the research project made clear that "Knowledge is relative to particular circumstances: it is historical, cultural, temporal and subjective, and thus exists in multiple representations/interpretations of reality" (Benoliel, 1996: 409). As such, grounded theory starts from the premise that the world is in a constant state of flux and that individuals are not all equally placed. It seeks not only to uncover conditions that are relevant to the research question, but also to "build in process and change by exploring how individuals respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions" (Bailey et al, 1999: 173). In line with this, grounded theory demands that the researcher consider both the social and the interpersonal contexts simultaneously. As such, I would contend that grounded theory was the most appropriate research approach in the context of this research project and was especially complimentary in combination with the assemblage as a process.

In the remainder of this chapter, I outline the themes and concepts which theoretically underpin the thesis. These themes arose in discussions with participants; iteratively as the research panned out, and were also informed through my reading of the literature. The next section situates fear of crime in everyday life. I then set the context for the complex gendering of space in the neighbourhood; and the significance of thinking about age in terms of the life-course in the research. The following section outlines my understanding of youth as a category. I conclude this section in setting the context for why I believe that re-

conceptualising - citizenship as informed by youth experiences - has considerable value in developing more nuanced and socially appropriate understandings of the local geography of fear of crime.

1.11 Fear of crime in the everyday

Concerns and arguments surrounding fear of crime have never before been so prevalent, and visible from cult literature to popular media and from local to national politics. While it is difficult to dispute the rise of fear economies, which capitalise on collective anxieties and the new and growing academic niches of 'Fear Studies'. More generally, fear of crime has been reviewed within Progress in Human Geography three times since 1987, a fact clearly symptomatic of its increasing significance to the discipline. In this way, Smith's conclusion that fear of crime "impinges on a wide range of urban affairs, and as such, is particularly suited to scrutiny by the diverse expertise and undervalued eclecticism found within human geography" (Smith, 1987: 17) is just as relevant two decades later. Historically, the physical environment and a positivist based, quantitative mode of enquiry has provided the most common focus of work on fear of crime in human geography (Smith, 1987; Coleman, 1990; Herbert and Davidson, 1995).

Yet critics of the fear of crime have brought into question whether the term actually exists at all. They suggest that the concept has little meaning at all; that it is a "tautological discourse whose circularity is broken when people who are asked about other emotional reactions to crime choose these over 'fear'" (Ditton and Farrell, 2000: 182). Yet Pain and Smith (2008) reject this assertion, and argue instead that in this context, fear is 'misnamed'. Instead, they suggest that fear captures "a range of experiences about which rather little is known" (p. 10).

In spite of critiques of the existence of the term, fear of crime encompasses a well-established body of research conducted across the social sciences since the late 1970s. Some of the earliest accounts of fear of crime were developed by feminist scholars and activists (Stanko, 1987; Wise and Stanley, 1987). This work has emphasised the social and spatial constitution of the micro-politics of fear. Feminist scholars in sociology, criminology and human geography have sought to draw out the way social politics become entwined with the particularities of place to produce emotional landscapes for marginalised groups (Day et al, 2003; Pain, 2001; Smith, 1989; Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1989). The emphasis in this literature

has been on giving voice and credence to the fearful experiences and practices of everyday life. The wealth of detailed evidence on which these ideas were based told of the ways in which harassment, discrimination and other everyday normalised encounters feed into a generalised sense of insecurity. For these writers, the peaks of fear may be created by the threat of sexual or domestic abuse, but the baseline never returns to zero; and the two were not extremes but fundamentally tied to women's (or other marginalised groups') social and political position (Pain and Smith, 2008: 10). More recently, collaborative knowledge production with feared and fearful communities has contributed to this area of in depth and qualitative research (Pain et al, 2007). This has placed a greater awareness that the social relations operating within particular spaces and places are more integral to fear of crime than the physical character of particular environments (Painter, 1989; Koskela and Pain, 2000). Of late, literature is placing more emphasis upon the links between social structure, identity, power relations and fear of crime. As such, it has "congruence with current themes in social and cultural geography: crime, violence, harassment and fear have clear roles to play in the spatial and social exclusion of marginalised social groups" (Pain, 2000: 372).

Yet, in the context of this research, which seeks to contest, challenge and change the process of negative stereotyping, important questions remain about the categorisations relating to fear. Feminist research has shown these categories to be convenient vehicles for further constraining participation in social life (Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1996). Thus, there remains the important political point that 'naming' certain groups as fearful could in fact be doing them a disservice. This has been a difficult and challenging contention to me, in how I talk about and represent my co-particpants. Some of the individuals who took part in the research would disagree strongly with any reference to them as fearful. I struggled with the line of questioning as to whether "the allotment by critical researchers of 'fearful' in addition to 'feared' is not just a means of identifying oppression, but a way of further fixing marginality? (Pain and Smith, 2008: 10).

In addition, I would assert that fear of crime does not just involve a relationship between the individual and a variety of societal structures; it is embedded in a network of moral and political geographies. It has been contended that the practices of knowing and placing fear give it a materiality of its own (Pain, 2001). I concur with these findings and suggest that the everyday experiences and barriers to participation that the research uncovered for young people in East Thorpe is an increasingly ingrained material practice. Indeed, "the uneven

materialisation of some versions of fear and fearfulness is what drives the politics of control that have so much currency today" (Pain and Smith, 2008: 12).

Yet, even in this sophisticated contemporary academic literature, discussions of local landscapes of fear show very little understanding of the character and meaning of the quest for safety and well being at different levels of social formation. Even within pioneering work investigating fear of crime it has "not always been possible to distinguish between perceptions and rumours about incidents and patterns of victimisation and crime, and personal experience of them" (Pain and Francis, 2003: 49).

In the earliest geographical study of fear and one of the few to examine rumour, Smith (1986) suggested that in condemning victims, people develop a mechanism by which to preserve and assert their own social status. In this sense, gossip is "only partly about transmitting information; it is largely an evaluative assessment of morality, and an expression and affirmation of norms" (Smith, 1986: 248). By connecting people's crime-talk to their sense of place, criminologists Loader et al's (1998) study of differential interpretations and reactions to teenage incivilities investigates the place that crime occupies in the social relations of the town of Macclesfield. In conducting an ethnography of anxiety, they elucidated how adult 'crime talk' (Sasson, 1995) about local forms of teenage disorder is connected with and indeed helps to constitute people's sense of the communities they inhabit.

In this sense, fear is a hinge concept (Ewald, 2000), at once reaching down into the least illuminated details of the inner life and out towards the larger and more ostensibly remote features of social organization. Subsequently, whom and what we fear, and how we express and act upon these fearings, are in some quite important sense, constitutive of who we are. Clearly then, in their discussions of crime, and of other matters of concern to them, people develop their own accounts of the past, present and possible futures of their place in the world. People's responses to crime in its association with other matters of concern to them, inform not only their sense of place, where place refers to the immediate settings and conditions of their daily life, but also their sense of its place in a larger societal set of stories, conflicts, troubles and insecurities (Sparks et al, 2001).

In the context of my own research, the subsequent chapters of this thesis will demonstrate that fear of crime was studied as a process emphasising its spatial, cultural and policy

dimensions, with the specific aim being to contextualise and interpret the extent of an individual's fear of crime, to link individuals to each other and to their context.

Since this early academic interest, there has been very little geographical attention to the role in which fear of crime works to mediate and shape place-reputations and youth-stereotypes. As such, there is a significant lack of research examining exactly how fear of crime influences the reputation of particular neighbourhoods, research that incorporates a focus on rumour and reputation with recent theories of class, age, ethnicity and gender, and identities of place. Ironically, "geographers have only partly risen to the challenges identified by Smith, and some of the most interesting recent work around fear, space and place has been employed outside the geographical disciplines" (Pain, 2000: 366).

Fear of crime is receiving much more inter-disciplinary academic attention, the most useful studies found within Criminology (Loader et al, 1989), Anthropology, and more recently within Health Studies. These literatures are also useful in understanding people's fear. We need to understand the situated character of their reception and appropriation by people in the practical and mundane contexts of their daily life. Clearly then, an appreciation of local specificity is a necessary preliminary to any larger comparative exercise. Taylor (1995) focuses upon the meaning of crime to middle class residents and the ways they manage fear in Hale, Manchester, exploring this through residents' everyday talk about crime. As such, "the proper social history and sociological description of these areas (focusing also on the subtle roles played in respect of social control and neighbourhood surveillance by the local shop keeper, the publican, even the milkman and postman) has never been academically written, but the cultural significance of this version of the English suburb is well understood in the detective novels of Agatha Christie, Ruth Rendell and many others" (Taylor, 1995: 264).

It is this type of innovative understanding of the everyday complexities of a local neighbourhood, living within a 'landscape of fear', which I aim to capture; drawing on the assemblage as a process, and employing a grounded theory and participatory techniques. The intensity and type of identity individuals make with 'fear of crime discourse' arises then not only from their direct or indirect experiences of victimisation. It also intersects with people's sense of their place within prevailing social hierarchies and their resulting relationship to a particular geographical community, such as how much time one spends there, the kinds of emotive and financial investments one has in it. Thus it is that people of the same age living in

the same street, or even in adjacent houses, can draw very different conclusions from, and attach varying kinds and levels of significance to, the same crime. People can "share the same locality, but live in different worlds" (Loader et al, 1989: 395). This is the exact point that I try to capture and use to understand the detail of everyday life in relation to the emotional experience of fear of crime.

1.12 Gender

The complexity of the gendered nature of space in the neighbourhood is a key theme woven throughout the thesis. Feminist work has been notable in conveying the gendered social order as a spatial phenomenon (Gamarnikow et al. 1983; Rose, 1993; Valentine, 1989; 1992; Koskela, 1999). How women negotiate space is shaped by fear, violence and ideology (Davidoff and Hall, 1987; Painter, 1992; Valentine, 1992; Koskela, 1999). Some writers have challenged the notion of the fearful woman (Koskela, 1997; Gilchrist et al, 1998). Koskela (1997) evidences women's courage and boldness and the variable ways in which fear and safety are experienced. As Stanko (1997) observes, considering safety and anticipating risk as a consequence of masculinity may vary amongst women but it is nevertheless a consistent and ongoing feature of feminine subjectivity/ies.

In the context of my own research, despite the many diverse individuals within each of the different groups of young people I worked with, we shall see that in response to dealing with the fear, anxieties and very real dangers of living in socially and economically deprived urban areas, the realities they have to deal with mean that some individuals retreat to a core identity norm related to the neighbourhood. I will present evidence to suggest that, at times, many of the young people in the research chose to retreat into a type of white, male, Geordie norm as a technique for survival. Groups and individuals take on masculine attributes, behave in certain ways and take on a persona of a white male Geordie in material and discursive assemblages. To put it another way, like all assemblage approaches, such narratives therefore depend on careful tracing of actor networks where many players (e.g. the young person, their friends, family, social situations, emotions, objects, pets, the local police, the local media media) are at work in constituting the outcome. Applying the concept of the assemblage therefore involves reconstructing the histories of ideas, the force relations, and the political configurations through these interactions of objects and actors. As Mitchell (2002) asserts "it means making this issue of power and agency a question, instead of an

answer known in advance. It means acknowledging something of the unresolvable tension, the inseparable mixture, the impossible multiplicity, out of which intention and expertise emerge" (Mitchell 2002: 53).

This thesis employs the concept of a 'criminalised assemblage' which – as we shall see - is about the masculinism of the everyday lives of young people living in an 'at risk' and criminal context. It is about handling the anxieties of urban living.

1.13 Age and the lifecourse

In the research that I carried out in the local area, I employ the principle of the 'age cohort' to refer to particular generational groups in the area. The concept takes from the fact that because society changes, members of different cohorts born at different times grow older in different ways. As such, the research seeks to get to grips with how fear is experienced by people of different ages in the local area. In thinking about how age is constructed in society and across space, Pain (2001) differentiates between chronological, physiological and social approaches to age. The life-course approach demonstrates that there is no culturally induced sequence of aging, but that life patterns are shaped by the particular historical period and context in which individuals live. The life course varies depending on the particular age of an individual at a given historical event or period (Giele and Elder, 1998).

In Chapter 5, I draw on the concept of intergenerationality to focus attention on the ways in which fear is experienced in the relations, interactions and tensions between and within different generational groups. I argue that the concept of intergenerationality is useful in helping to develop a more relational understanding of fear of crime. We shall see how, employing a generational approach works to illuminate similarities in how women experience the neighbourhood in spite of age differences. The research demonstrates that intergenerationality relies on a concept of similarity and difference. It also recognises that young people are more than just young people due to their relations and interactions with different generations. Vanderbeck (2007) has proposed that 'intergenerational geographies' could be useful in understanding experiences of age as such an approach helps to highlight the role of space in the facilitation or restriction of contact between the generations and how this connects with issues of contact, conflict or cohesion. The use of intergenerationality as an explanatory device has been questioned (Horton and Kraftl, 2008), however, it has also been noted that there are 'times and places when it can figure very powerfully" (Hopkins and Pain,

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2008: 290).   My reading of the literature suggested to me that a study of fear of crime in the everyday was one such place and space.

1.14 Youth[6]

The intersections of different approaches to age in young people's lives often have powerful influences over how they construct and contest their identities in different places and times. In the UK context, the diversity of what it means to be a young person is highlighted here by Valentine (2003: 38): "the terms 'youth' or young people are popularly used to describe those aged between 16 and 25, a time frame that bears no relation to diverse legal classifications of adulthood". Kehily (2007) notes that "definitions of 'youth' in Western societies usually refer to the life stage between childhood and adulthood, the transitional period between being dependent and becoming independent" (Kehily, 2007: 3). This ambiguous phase is further complicated by the fact that being a child is ratified in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, as being a person of up to 18 years of age, whereby adulthood and the vast majority of the rights and entitlements associated with it are only available when a person turns 18.   Certain entitlements don't even start until a young person is older than 21, for example full welfare benefits.

"In contemporary Western societies the age of our physical body is used to define us and to give meaning to our identity and actions" (Valentine et al, 1998: 2). In the context of my own research, I employ a concept of 'social age' to draw a comparison of women's fears in the local area following a continuity through time.

1.15 Methodologies in youth geographies

The emergence of youth geographies (focusing on those aged 16-25) is a recent and important subfield of geography, interested in exploring the complex geographies of young people's everyday lives. Over the last decade in particular, there has been rapid growth in a range of

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[6] I by no means take 'youth' as a universal category - and want to re-iterate the individuality of each person who participated in the research. I also do not classify young people as defined by their age, and assert the importance of rethinking and unpacking the category (e.g. Wyn and White 1997), that conceptualizes youth as a socio-cultural concept (e.g. Daiute and Fine 2003), and that shows the diversity of youth perspectives. Overall, the thesis illustrates 'youth' variability, based on age, social status, gender and ability in contributing towards a more comparative understanding of the diversity of what it means and what it is like to be 'young' in different cultural contexts.

different methodologies; from traditional to visual; from participatory to those exploring the affective geographies of young people. At the same time youth geographies have been criticised for holding uncritical notions about young people and assumptions about their competency and social agency. Furthermore, there are concerns that a "lack of vibrant debating culture has prevented some of these issues from being publicly explored to the extent that they need to be" (Vanderbeck, 2008; 393). In this way, there has been growing critical debate on the contributions geographers can make to research with young people. As such, it aims to foster analytical discussion from different perspectives and experiences of research approaches and methods, while engaging with the 'messiness and complexities' involved in all parts of the research process (Law, 2004).

Another set of dualisms which the youth geography literature has begun to problematise are around the spaces in which fear is situated, public versus private. "Most discussions of fear in the city deal only with public spaces" (Pain, 2001: 899). It has been established that "those spaces commonly represented as safe may be the sites of greatest risk for young people" (Pain, 2003: 165). Indeed, those very spaces where control is exercised over young people, "where it is widely presumed that this is appropriate and serves a protective function are the very places where they are more at risk from harm but very often unprotected" (Pain, 2003: 165). As we learned in the Fear of crime section of this introduction, Sparks et al, (2001) observed that, in relation to youth "when people talk about crime they are often also talking about places" (Sparks et al, 2001: 887). Within criminology, place is acknowledged as central to studies of offending, victimisation and fear of crime (Evans et al, 1992; Bottoms and Wiles, 1997). In an extensive review of the fear of crime literature, Hale (1996) underlines the relevance of local experiences of youth disorder and incivility in explaining fear of crime, observing that "where people live will be at least as important as who they are in determining the extent of anxiety" (p. 119). My own research in the local neighbourhood illustrates that young people in particular identify strongly with the local area. They have particularly powerful conceptions of themselves in relation to the local area. Thus they have the most invested emotionally in the local area and as such they are 'at the sharp end' of the insecurities and anxieties relating to fear of crime.

In relation to youth, crime, fear and local neighbourhoods, there is a wealth of recent research detailing the diverse experiences and differential lifestyles and transitions that young people are making in relation to fear and crime (Munchie, 2009; Browne, 2005; Goldson and

Muncie, 2006; Anderson et al, 1994; Golson et al, 2006). These perspectives demonstrate the value of listening to young people's perspectives in developing more spatially nuanced understandings of youth and crime.

1.16 Citizenship – (re)defining the indefinable?

In this section of the introduction, I want to argue that citizenship is important in developing understandings of the geography of fear of crime. As such, this in turn offers a more grounded and locally appropriate reconceptualisation of youth citizenship that better explains and represents the everyday realities uncovered through the research project.

There is no fixed definition of citizenship and there are multiple understandings of what it means to be a citizen. Furthermore, there are fundamental differences between conceptualizations, vocabularies of citizenship and their meanings vary according to social, political and cultural contexts, which reflect different historical legacies (Saraceno, 1997; Bussemaker and Voet, 1998; Carens, 2000; Siim, 2000). A well-established body of literature demonstrates that definitions of citizenship are shifting rapidly (see for examples: Turner, 1986; Barbalet, 1988; Andrews, 1991; Van Steenbegen, 1994; Bulmer and Rees, 1996; Clarke, 1996; Lister, 2003; Faulks, 1998). As such, Hall et al. (2000, 462-63) suggest that "citizenship may best be understood as signifying a field of struggle; an arena in which relations linking individuals to their wider community, social and political contexts are continually discussed, reworked and contested".

Traditionally, citizenship has been narrowly defined as referring simply to the legal membership of a political community. Sherrod (2003) has argued that having some concern for others and having some connectedness, or shared social membership, to a group such as family, community, race, or religion, are centrally relevant to citizenship. Experiences of membership are also a core part of Walzer's (1989) definition of a citizen and have been well utilised to create broader definitions of citizenship (see: Flanagan and Gallay, 1995). More recently, there has been a gradual shift away from the passive rights based language of citizenship, towards an emphasis on citizen responsibilities and active participation. This has created opportunities to make visible and uncover structured inequalities once hidden by more rigid definitions.

These understandings do not take into account the fact that "citizenship is probably most immediately experienced as a feeling of belonging" (Osler and Starkey, 2005: 9). They do not

readily admit to varying, personalized degrees of citizenship, nor do they "allow an appreciation of the qualitative differences in the lived experience of citizenship" (Hall et al, 1999: 501). Furthermore, recent economic, social and cultural changes make shared social membership, a status and identity common to all, problematic and no longer something to be taken for granted (Hall et al, 1999). Citizenship as it is understood today evokes connotations of commonality and inclusive belongingness, which, I would argue, are increasingly difficult to adhere to in today's fragmented, diverse and deeply unequal society.

For Olser and Starkey (2005: 21) these complexities are played out under the notion of a cosmopolitan citizenship, whereby "globalization has enabled the development of consciousness that identity is multiply situated". They argue that the reality of citizenship on the ground is increasingly at odds with the narrow definition of citizenship in relation to nationality. As people's identities are multiple, this therefore requires a reconceptualisation of citizenship. Olser and Starkey (2005) acknowledge that all of us can claim complex identities, and thus citizenship "requires a politics that plays itself out in a multiplicity of different settings, from neighbourhoods to nations, to the world as a whole" (Sandel, 1996: 351). Yet the narratives of the young people who participated in the research project - their rooted local lives and strong sense of identification with the local area reject this 'cosmopolitain' idea. Instead, I argue for a grounded conception of youth citizenship.

Youth represents a critical time in the formation of identity, in the transition to the rights and responsibilities of adult citizenship: a transition that has been made harder for many young people in the face of a changing labour market. While citizenship is often defined in terms of national or international meaning, it also has a more local and immediate meaning. Recent research has examined those aspects of citizenship which "find expression in notions of space and place, and considers how young people negotiate and mediate their emergent adult identities at this level" (Hall et al, 1999: 505). Their research demonstrated that aspects of personal and social identity resonate with notions of citizenship. Citizenship on a personal level translates down to feelings of wellbeing which are ultimately dependent on feelings of safety. You must feel safe before you can feel that you belong.

As outlined at the start of this section, for me, citizenship is a concept which formalises the conditions for full participation in a community. It refers to the range of formal and informal processes which determine people's inclusion in, and exclusion from, a variety of

symbolic and material spaces and resources. Throughout the thesis, I draw upon T.H. Marshall's (1965) theory of social citizenship as a justification for social integration through the institution of social rights. According to Marshall (1965), social rights are the condition for giving the formal status of citizenship a material foundation, thus ensuring the full integration of all citizens in a community. In this conceptualisation of citizenship, social rights have constituted a powerful mechanism against major aspects of social exclusion in the course of the development of the welfare state (Bussemaker, 1999).

Marshall argues that social entitlements contribute to the construction of a comprehensive political citizenship. He analysed the process of the political integration of the working class in Britain and concluded that the profound class distinctions which existed risked not only producing significant inequalities – with respect to opportunities to consume common cultural goods – but also, in the long term, would undermine the ability of many to participate fully in the life of their society. In this sense, social class is used to explain the inequality of an individual's access to important political and social positions, thereby reinforcing the power of the powerful, and the powerlessness of the working class. In Marshall's view, limited resources and limited access to education for the working class were responsible for this situation. As a remedy, he proposed the extension of the system of social entitlements through reinforcement of the welfare state, and in particular the provision of material benefits to the working class, including increased access to education, health care, and social security programmes. In other words, the extension of social entitlements on a universalistic basis would create the conditions of political and social citizenship which would allow for the full integration of the working class in England (Kymlicka, 1995, p.180).

Marshall agrues that the progressive implementation of forms of universal citizenship has led to a reduction of class inequalities. More precisely, class inequalities still exist in a welfare system, but, according to Marshall, because of the equality expressed by citizenship, individuals consider the inequalities to be more acceptable. In other words, social citizenship rights are a necessary for legitimizing the inequalities that are inherent to capitalism. Thus citizenship rights constitute the recognition of the equal social value of all members of society, as well as the means by which this is achieved (Smith, 1992). In this sense, the social and political integration of the least advantaged strictly depends on the existence of social rights. At a symbolic level, formal universal rights express the moral equality of each citizen, and at

the material level, they allow citizens to live a decent life. Thus, social rights can be seen as an extension of civil and political rights (King and Waldron, 1998).

The quest for citizenship entitlements therefore provides a catalyst for social transformation at a local, national, supernatural and global scale (Johnston et al, 2000). By engaging young people whose voices are too often marginalised from citizenship, this project provides an opening for troubling the status quo and pushing scholarship in new directions by asking new questions and questioning old assumptions. Taking into account young people's views, opinions and valuable expertise about their local area could help in conceptualising citizenship from the bottom up. This suggestion, derived from the feminist arguments cited above, provides a theoretical basis from which to consider a reconceptualisation of citizenship. It seeks a reconceptualisation that is more in line with and appropriate to the views, opinions, experiences and exclusions – namely, the everyday realities of the young people who are participants in the study.

Because theory is developed from within the PAR process as well as being framed by the concerns of the literature, there are more opportunities for challenging accepted points of view and dominant social constructions of citizenship.

1.17 Youth citizenship

While numerous communities throughout the UK have begun to articulate and define their own citizenship(s) in light of their particular lived experiences, there has been little attempt to engage young people in their own re-conceptualisations (see: Lister, 2003; Olser and Starkey 2005; Valentine and Skelton, 2007). Consequently, a number of recent studies have found that if they are asked to articulate their opinions, young people will define citizenship as merely "good behaviour, doing what you are expected to do, obeying laws", and so on (Conover and Searing, 2000; Flanagan and Faison, 2001; Sherrod et al., 2002). Significantly and problematically within the policy arena, disadvantaged and stigmatised urban youths are often constructed as being to blame for their lack of engagement with conceptions of citizenship. Recent attempts to bridge the gap between the perceived problems of young people and the reality of their experiences in the city have often been based on widespread assumptions about the inability of young people to engage with democratic processes, locating "the causes of non-participation primarily within individuals and their personal deficits" (Colley and Hodkinson, 2001: 335).

Yet, as Roker et al, (1999) highlight, it is the narrow definition of the political remit in current use that presents young people as alienated and apathetic. One way forward, they argue, is for the use of a broader definition of political, for example to include voluntary activities, which demonstrates a much higher level of political and social engagement amongst youth. This is in line with a number of feminist theorists, who have recently asserted that unpaid care should be acknowledged as an expression of citizenship responsibility alongside paid work (Knijn and Kremer, 1997; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Lister, 2003). In this way, Lister (2003) points to one group of children who could be said to have demonstrated at least some of the capabilities for citizenship through providing community care for a parent or relative. Yet, it remains that "their existence in a number of Western European countries has only recently been (partially) recognized" (Lister, 2003: 76).

1.18 Summary

It is often the quietest fears, holding apparently little political capital but having a more immediate materiality, which have the sharpest impacts (Shirlow and Pain, 2003). While these impacts may not be headline seeking, they are moral practices which can have effects: which can jump from strand to strand in the assemblage of fear, potentially changing the way fearful lives are replicated for the future.

My contribution places these quiet and sharp fears, and other everyday experiences and perspectives of groups of young people who are particularly marginalized, as central to my analysis, as well as to the methodological approach. I argue that everyday national and local discourses about youth, disorder and criminality have more immediate materiality and pertinence in shaping these young people's emotional lives. My concern is with the ways that these discourses, enacted in everyday life, construct and resist citizenship for young people in Newcastle upon Tyne.

Reflecting the innovative approach and transformative aims of the research, I have chosen an alternative to the traditional framework for presenting a doctoral thesis. I interweave theoretical insights from academic literature, my own methodological reflections, and empirical findings throughout, rather than organising these as separate and discrete chapters. In this way, the main argument is gradually built up via a longitudinal discussion of the empirical fabric of the PhD as the research played out over time; the perspectives and insights taken from the everyday lives of the people involved in the research. The emotional

experience of fear of crime is deeply situated in the local neighbourhood context and is also woven into an informed perspective of how safety informs and impacts on the lived experience of citizenship. I have employed this approach to unpick, evaluate, re-assemble and 're-materialise' a more relational understanding of youth geographies of fear in Newcastle upon Tyne.

Each of the empirical chapters that follows deal with a discrete group of young people, as and how they chose to group themselves. The chapters flow in the same chronological sequence in which I carried out the research. Using a relational perspective, I outline the connections, fractures and relationships that exist between the diverse groups of people who participated in the research. Each chapter will outline how the fears of one individual group interacted with (or avoided), reacted and responded to each other.

Structuring the research in this way also provides an opportunity for me to describe iteratively how, through working together with different groups of young people, the methodology developed and progressed through different depths or levels of participation, from merely the use of participatory techniques to the evolution of a participatory action research project.

In the first empirical chapter (Chapter Two: Bad Lads), I outline a key theme underpinning the theoretical understanding of the thesis, which is how fear works to inspire performances of masculinity as a defensive strategy. Each subsequent empirical chapter builds upon and takes forward this key theme of masculinity. New and equally important themes will also emerge, change shape and develop as we progress through subsequent chapters, in much the same way as my own understandings grew over the period of research. These new understandings cast shadows onto our understandings of the empirical evidence presented in both preceding and subsequent chapters. Initial findings are therefore developed and expanded, and new insights gained, as we proceed through the thesis.

In this way, the research is written as an open, frank and honest account of the research process as it actually happened, detailing the changes to theory, practice and my own learning that came with time. The thesis will, in many ways, be autobiographical: the story of my research process. It will describe how and why I came to carry out the research, how I negotiated access to the different social groups. It will be an honest account about how painful, frustrating and disillusioning this type of research approach can be. It will tell the story

of this research process as it happened, and how the aims and objectives changed as the research developed iteratively, as a creative process. While it is intended as an honest, open account of the problems, barriers and dangers of the research, it also seeks to demonstrate the joy, inspiration and hope that have also been part of this journey.

Chapter 2: Bad Lads

"The 'Downfield Bad Lads – that's us!" (Luke, 17)

Figure 2.1 Sketch at the corner of a participatory diagram

2.1 Who are the Bads Lads?

The Bad Lads are a group of white working class men, who have spent all of their lives in the most disadvantaged and income-poor area of the estate. Four individuals took part in the research: Luke (aged 17), Keith (27), Rob (21) and Tony (25) who were all part of a wider group of between eight and 10 young men. The group referred to themselves as Bad Lads (and were happy for me to refer to them as such) because, as this chapter will demonstrate, they felt that they had worked hard and were therefore proud of the respect and status that was associated with this reputation. This chapter will detail the various ways these young men claimed a 'Bad Lad identity' collectively as their own, openly referring to themselves and each other in this way. To be seen as a 'Bad Lad' meant you had arrived; to them it implied that you were 'top man' of the estate. The Bad Lads are known, perceived and stereotyped as violently patriarchial, unemployed and involved in crime (Goldson and Muncie, 2006; Anderson et al, 1994; Browne, 2005). Associated with deviance and violence, this chapter will demonstrate

the ways in which the Bad Lads perform while also at times suffer due to the pathology of class, gender and generation.

Each of these young men described how they have deep roots (and family names with notorious[7] connotations) in the local area. I accessed the group through contacts I made with a youth worker at the local Young Men's Football Club: Mike (35). Each of the young men has had various experiences of Young Offenders institutes, prison sentences, drug use and dealings with crime and disorder. In my discussions with the Bad Lads about what the estate was like, their responses revolved almost exclusively around drug use and hanging about the streets. When undertaking one such focus group, Luke absentmindedly made a sketch of himself (Figure 2.1), a simple doodle which, as I will outline later in subsequent sections of this chapter, nevertheless became an important and focal point for discussion and debate with the rest of the group of young men.

The main aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that the Bad Lads intentionally act, perform and re-invent themselves in various ways within the local area in order to create themselves as bad enough to act as the main focus of fear in the neighbourhood. I suggest that this bravado is re-created on a daily basis and its purpose is threefold; it not only enables them to cope with and to respond to their own fears, while it also acts to mask and hide their inherent anxieties and sense of injustice at their social and material exclusion, but I would assert that it also empowers these young men to feel that they have more of a sense of control. In this way, a particular form of masculinity is created by the Bad Lads, and used to inspire fear which, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, creates in turn new fears in others living in the area (see: Pain, 2003a; Hopkins and Smith, 2008).

2.2 Introduction

Masculinity, defined both as an ideology and as a form of identity, is a social, historical and political construct. Performance of masculinity interrelates with space, place and time, and as the same person can reveal a different kind of masculinity and / or femininity at different times and in different contexts, it is more appropriate to speak of masculinities (van Hoven and Hopkins, 2009). Social scientists, including human geographers, have been researching masculinites since the 1980s and it has been argued that work has now reached a critical mass

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[7] By their own description

in the discipline (Jackson, 1989; Connell, 2000; Longhurst, 2000; McDowell, 2003; Frosh et al 2002; Hopkins, 2006). More recently, geographers have recommended closer attention to spatially unpacking masculinites (Hopkins and Nobel, 2009) while van Hoven and Horschelmann (2005) highlight the contested source of interest in men and masculinities, by acknowledging that although geography has traditionally been a masculinist discipline, at the same time it has given very little attention to men's experiences as men.

This chapter directly addresses this shortfall, and introduces the theme of gender, which is the central and key concept that weaves throughout the thesis. Taking this chapter as a starting point and developing the argument as we progress through subsequent chapters, I argue that the performance of masculinities in a north east urban and disadvantaged context, is the corner stone underpinning how and why individuals act in specific ways at certain times in the neighbourhood. Each chapter introduces a new axis of identity politics, or social marker of difference, so as to explain how masculinity is performed and enacted, and how it intersects with other social identities in different ways, by groups and by individuals, by men as well as women. Drawing on the Bad Lads' everyday experiences, this chapter demonstrates how context-specific masculinity has been used as a tool of power, oppression and control. As we shall see, this acts to inspire fear and anxiety in other people living in the neighbourhood who go on to alter the rhythms and routines of their everyday lives in response. Yet at the same time, performances of masculinity also provoke bold behaviour, resistance to fear and a distancing as other groups of people attempt to move away from these expressions of masculinity physically, mentally and emotionally. In subsequent chapters we will see how a 'Bad Lad' attitude is an important and commanding feature of the local landscape that partly governs others' fears and spatial freedoms. Thus, we will see how masculinities are expressed, reacted to and presumed by others living in the local neighbourhood.

Importantly, this chapter will also point towards the insecurity and anxieties that underlie some of the most aggressive performances of masculinity in the area. I will explain the geography of the 'Bad Lad' reputation very particular to East Thorpe that is inherent in the young men's performance of masculinity. Empirical data will demonstrate how this mindset is re-circulated, recreated and reproduced by the young men.

Box 2.1 Bad Lads: Methodological reflections

I carried out a pair of 2-hour focus groups at the football club with the Bad Lads. Together with a second-moderator (Alex: male, 26 and local to the North East), we asked exploratory questions which focused specifically upon how the neighbourhood was experienced by individuals. Myself and Alex interacted with the group to establish a rapport and make the group feel at ease. Primarily, we wanted to hear what life was like for this group of young men and how they felt about the local area by keeping our initial questions open so as not to lead the research in any particular direction: good or bad. This led the Bad Lads themselves to be able to identify what it was that impacted on them to feel comfortable and safe, anxious and afraid, and whether they felt that there was anything they could do or change to feel a greater sense of belonging and safety in the local area. As such, the research sessions were loose, flexible and entirely dependent on what the young men had to say and felt comfortable sharing in the project. Parts of each session were tape recorded and when appropriate, the young men were happier to speak off the record, the dictaphone recorder was turned off. By the end of the second session it was clear that the research had come to its natural end. Although up to this point, I had been afforded only a small glimpse into the Bad Lad experience, I subsequently conducted an in-depth interview with the youth worker Mike (35), who by his own admission, was a former local Bad Lad himself. During this interview I was able to clarify and follow up several of the more pertinent themes and questions raised from the initial group discussions.

Reflection on the 'participatory' element of the research

At this stage in the research project, despite having intentions of being inclusive and transparent (Kindon et al, 2007), I struggled with my attempts to make the research participatory in any real sense. Undertaking my pilot fieldwork with the group I was concerned about how to make sure the young men wanted to take part in the research and had enough of a say in how the research played out. The beginning of the first meeting with this group was made up of moments of intense embarrassment and prolonged silences and this was the first time in the research project that I began to realize how many times I was going to have to re-evaluate, re-assess and change my plan of research. It demonstrated to me that if I wanted the research to be participatory in any sense of the word, I would need to be open to change, flexible and adaptable (for more details see: Alexander et al, 2007).

Initially the group was very suspicious as to my motivations for wanting to spend time with them, wondering if I was "undercover polis [police]". They made it clear that they had little time for poshy students, which is how they initially perceived myself and Alex. Eventually, the group began to establish more of a rapport when in distributing the consent forms Alex joked that group should "think twice before signing their lives away to me", which injected a shot of humour into the group dynamic. It soon became clear that the young men were not interested in using the kinds of methods that I initially tried to engage them with. One of the young men (Luke, 17) preferred to scribble, doodle and draw over the diagrams I'd prepared to use in the research. He immersed himself totally in doodling to the extent that I thought he was uninterested in the research project and so we eventually stopped trying to involve him in the conversation. Later in the sessions during a particularly heated debate about the importance of drug culture in the neighbourhood Luke drew attention to the cartoon he had drawn of himself smoking 'tak' (cannabis) (Figure 2.1). Luke voluntarily entering into the conversation, in "his own good time" immediately changed the dynamic and gravity of the group conversation becoming much more in-depth and serious. In focusing attention on an absentminded doodle, each member of the group was able to make important points about the culture of drug use on the estate.

I feel that it is important for me to draw attention to this aside in this methodological reflection, because I want to make clear how it revealed to me that participants can be engaged in participatory research and quietly take in an entire conversation, even if it appears that they are uninterested and disengaged, as young working class men in general are too often accused of being. Through the process of drawing on his own terms of as, when and of what he wanted to do, Luke was able to contribute significantly to the group. I interpret this doodling as a visual representation to express his ideas and understandings of the topics under discussion, which in turn allowed the research to flow more naturally and uninhibitedly. In this way diagramming exploits visual as well as oral methods to express, organize, represent and disseminate information. Many different formats have been employed in this way, including transects, sketches, cartoons, flow diagrams (Chambers, 1997; 2002; Kesby 2005). As we shall see, I used Luke's doodles the next time I met the group to draw out issues and galvanize future discussion around drug use and control in the neighbourhood.

In this way, although it didn't work in the sense that I had originally envisioned, I feel that the participatory technique was successful and in making the diagram itself the centre of

attention enabled several of the men to contribute in a new and fresh manner; countering their obvious discomfort with group discussion as a method of research. When the diagram became the focus in this way, the balance of control and knowledge production shifted very much towards the young men. Being less articulate and less confident to speak out in front of the group, quieter and more introverted members such as Rob and Luke were able to be included to a much greater extent than if I had simply interviewed the Bad Lads in isolation. As we shall see in the main section of this chapter, the techniques enabled Luke to make a significant contribution without having to verbally articulate his opinions and look at what he was doodling rather than engage in face-to-face verbal exchange. The method also meant that a wide range of issues can be covered relatively easily, quickly and difficult subjects tackled more readily. Once out in the open in a diagram, these issues can be fully addressed (Alexander et al 2007).

This was an important step in my pursuit of a participatory approach: being open to being guided by my participants, rather than being wedded to particular methods and techniques. It is important also to draw attention to the fact that the young men themselves lead the group discussion at various points in both focus groups. The remainder of this chapter will outline the themes that arose from the research carried out with this group of young men and tease out the complex relationships the Bad Lads have with the local area, with their families and with other groups of residents in the local neighbourhood.

2.3 Youth, fear and insecurity

Much evidence has demonstrated that those most likely to be victimized by crime in Britain are the most marginalized social groups living in the poorest areas (Simmons, 2002), such as the estate where the research was carried out. Vulnerability to crime and to the negative effects of fear of crime is exacerbated by social, economic and political exclusion (Crawford et al., 1990; Shirlow and Pain, 2003). However, young people have not been prominent as victims of crime and fear, even within critical criminological and geographical literatures until recently. A growing number of studies identify that young people are disproportionately likely to be victims of crime and that fear of crime can have more damaging effects on their lives than on adults (Morgan and Zedner, 1992; Anderson et al, 1994; Aye-Maung, 1995; Brown, 1995b; Hartless et al, 1995; Loader et al, 1998). Yet in mainstream public and policy discourses young people are still primarily constructed as offenders and their victimization and fear are only mentioned and addressed in crime prevention policy in a very piecemeal way (Pain,

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2003). As such, youth tends to be criminalized in public policy and primarily associated with offending, reflecting the broader positioning of youth by society and the state as feared, out of control and in need of regulation (Brown, 1998; Muncie, 2009; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Pain and Francis, 2003). The Bad Lads are a particularly powerful example of this positioning. Their treatment epitomizes the general tendency for dualisms and binaries to be constructed around victimization and fear (see Pain, 2001a): that certain types of people commit crime and others are victims of it; that certain people fear and others provoke fear; that certain places and spaces are dangerous and others are safe. As Walklate (1989) has argued, this leads to a set of inaccurate stereotypes around social difference and crime.

In this chapter, I seek to dismantle some of the ways in which certain young men are commonly categorized in relation to crime. I highlight the spatialities of their identities, how these interact with crime that they commit and also those crimes that are committed against them. As we shall see, it is often the case that those most likely to offend and those most likely to be victims share social and economic backgrounds. As McKendrick (1997) suggests in his ethnography of young peoples' street life, the categorization of young people as victims or offenders rarely fits with the complex local relations they are situated in. Instead, young people have multifarious experiences of crime. The forms and sites of crime they experience are diverse and porous, and often offending and victimization are not exclusive categories. Evidence suggests that certain groups of young people experience particularly high levels of both victimization and offending (Carlen, 1996; MacDonald, 1997; Webster, 2003). As the most feared in the local area, the Bad Lads were thought to be responsible for all manner of crime and disruption in the neighbourhood.

When discussions turned to how comfortable they felt moving around the neighbourhood, the group maintained they had "nee reason to ever feel concerned". They often joked that they were the focus of other people's fears and as a consequence they never felt afraid. Yet, during the research, a number of factors revealed that in fact anxieties and insecurities themselves underlined even these most fearless expressions. In line with recent research (Muncie, 2009; Stanko and Hobdell, 1993; Pain and Francis, 2004), this chapter suggests that it is often those same young people who are assumed to be the most feared, who are in fact the most fearful. Furthermore, despite the widespread media panic of youth as deviant and the numerous policy and press reports identifying the problem that youth hanging out in public space present for local communities (Coles et al, 1998), recent

community ethnographies have suggested that such stereotypes are more readily identified in the media and the policy sphere than in the views of either older or younger people (Brown, 1995b; Loader et al., 1998). It very much remains the case that "surprisingly few sociological studies have sought to get to grips from young people's point of view with these contemporary, British versions of street corner society" (MacDonald and Shildrick, 2007: 343). This chapter directly engages with the very young people who are often assumed to be the 'worst offenders' and who are certainly at the root of the most escalated fears in the local area (Campbell, 1993). While the research with the Bad Lads revealed that they themselves want to appear as if they are fearless, I contend that a closer analysis of the data reveal hidden but nonetheless prevalent fears that impact on this group of young men in significant ways on a daily basis within the local area. As outlined above, I observed there to be a suspicious, defensive, sometimes aggressive manner in which they spoke to each other and about everyday life in the neighbourhood and, as I will outline in more detail later in this chapter, they felt strongly that "you've gotta watch your back". They told of "playing the system" by not paying TV licence, dodging bills, "making a stand", yet at the same time these resistances caused considerable anxiety and paranoia: "he's always jumping if there's a knock at the door – there's guilty, like!" (Tony, referring to Keith). In these ways, fear or paranoia seemed to feature quite prominently in these young men's everyday life despite their claims to the contrary. In the following section we will see how the Bad Lads feel that they have to frequently 'be seen' to be taking part in violence to prove that they are bad and that they can handle themselves. Yet the irony behind this was that they were being 'started on' by groups of young people they don't know. As a consequence of this I observed that the Bad Lads were often worried and anxious about the potential of being beaten up, aware of being followed. The result is constant suspicion and feeling "on [a] permanent high alert for danger of attack" or paranoid, always having to "look over your shoulder for who could be catching up with you". My methodological reflections (see Box 2.1) also demonstrate that the Bad Lads initially posed some questions as to my own motive in talking to them about crime and fear in the neighbourhood.

The focus of this chapter is hence is to demonstrate that the Bad Lads intentionally act, perform and re-invent themselves in various ways within the local area in order to create themselves as bad enough to act as the main focus of fear in the neighbourhood. I suggest that this bravado is re-created on a daily basis and its purpose is twofold. It not only enables

them to cope with and to respond to their own fears, but it also acts to mask and hide their inherent anxieties and sense of injustice at their social and material exclusion. In this way a particular form of masculinity is created by the Bad Lads, and used to inspire fear which, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, creates in turn new fears in others living in the area (see: Pain, 2003; Hopkins and Smith, 2008).

2.4 Social class and stereotyping

In the UK context, in the popular imagination and in wider Newcastle upon Tyne more generally, the Bad Lads often complained that they are recognised and perceived as Charvers[8]. The Bad Lads themselves unequivocally do not self-identify as Charver, in fact they hotly contest any association with themselves and the term and I certainly do not seek to refer to them as such. Nevertheless, even within the most critical academic circles, in describing the Bad Lads in conference presentations I have been mis-interpreted and mis-represented much to my own irritation as a Charver Geographer. Being identified as Charver has deeply felt implications for individuals in the Bad Lads. As has been found in recent research, this means to be affected by "the spectacular portrayal of Charvers as 'mad bad and dangerous' – epitomised in journalistic reports of 'Chavs' and local discourse serve only to confirm their class-inflected masculinities as excessive" (Nayak, 2006: 823). As I have argued, the Bad Lads are the main focus of fear and anxiety in the neighbourhood; a finding that echoes Nayak's contention that they "represent modern day anxieties concerning fear of crime, economic displacement and loss of class respectability" (Nayak, 2006: p824).

At various points throughout the research, the young men outlined that they felt a sense of anger and injustice at the way in which they were perceived as they felt unable to do anything to change it. At times they gave the impression that they felt that their parents, past teachers or employers, ex-friends and police, to them 'all of society', seemed to be against them. Informal discussions with Mike revealed that the Bad Lads "are angry that they cannot get out of their situation; they are **really** angry for being judged when they are unable to get out of their situations" (Mike). In this respect, Mike relayed that they feel powerless and at the same time suffer paranoia and suspicion that everybody is out to get them. "What we're

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[8] Charver is a term in popular use throughout the north east of England. It refers to a subcultural stereotype of a person who is uneducated, uncultured and prone to antisocial behaviour. The label is typically applied to teenagers and young people of white working-class or lower-middle class origin (Alexander, 2008: 181).

up against is a sense of inevitability that they will all end up in prison eventually anyway; so where's the point trying to make a change? They feel as though they have nothing to lose and they describe how they feel Newcastle is no longer their city, that its been invaded and taken over [by students and asylum seekers]."

Kearns and Parkinson (2001) have suggested that young people in poor neighbourhoods seem extremely territorial in their behaviour and ask whether this derives from "the urban problem of fear and anxiety concerning the unknown, or due to the comforting benefits of one's familiar neighbourhood, or simply the result of 'knowing one's place'" (p. 146). The data from my own research suggests that fear is the overriding motivation behind the territoriality of the Bad Lads. Drawing on the concept of territoriality[9] this chapter will outline the various ways in which feeling a lack of control and perceiving an impending invasion provokes the Bad Lads to act in aggressive and violent ways. In line with recent research (Kintrea et al, 2008; Seaman et al, 2006), this chapter will demonstrate that asserting ownership over the area was a means of attempting to regain some power and control in the local area.

2.5 Violence and aggression in maintaining control, power and dominance

In comparison to other young men that participated in the research, the Bad Lads were most keen to express to me that they themselves exerted a certain degree of control in the area and undertook and achieved this in a number of ways. When I asked them to give an example of this they described an incident with an outside dealer who was thought to have attempted to target the neighbourhood. The group described how it had been 'their place to do something about it'. In this way I became aware that the young men felt that their very presence exerted considerable influence and respect in the neighbourhood "nee one messes with us, like" (Rob).

They had no respect or faith in the ability of the local police, maintaining that they themselves knew far more about the situation of the neighbourhood and were able to tackle problems quickly and efficiently. The remainder of this chapter will outline how the Bad Lads felt very territorially about the neighbourhood. It was their place to act, behave and do as they wanted. These territorial identities served to place the Bad Lads as "alienated from their families, their communities and the wider society, locked in a cycle of inevitable but meaningless violence, low-self esteem and self destruction" (Alexander, 2000p. 126). In both

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[9] Territoriality is defined as "a social system through which control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others" Kintrea et al, 2008).

of the two short periods that I spent with this group of young men, there was mention of various forms of extreme violence that they had either witnessed or undertaken themselves, often with origins in their early teenage years. Luke made reference to the frequency with which their contemporaries had been the victim of, or were witness to, domestic violence. It seemed to me that aggression was normalised to some extent in relation to father figures and other male role models in the Bad Lads' lives. Many of these young men's families were long standing and notorious residents in the area, and at times the young men implied that what they had seen in their homes was or as in Tony's case, an experience of three years in prison was far scarier and real to them than anything that could potentially happen to them on the streets.

Discussions with the youth worker, Mike, revealed that the majority of Bad Lads have "come from violent family lives and not-perfect domestic situations". A growing body of literature is documenting the devastating effects which domestic violence between parents can have on children's lives, suggesting that those who have witnessed domestic violence as a child are more likely to act violently and aggressively themselves (Holden and Richie, 1991; Hester et al, 1996; Hester et al, 2000). Although I did not get chance to interview individual Bad Lads in depth about their personal childhoods and what growing up in the area had been like for them more generally, Mike indicated to me that being attacked, beaten up or experiencing other forms of bullying and violence was widespread and prevalent for many Bad Lads. From the limited snapshot that my research with this group afforded me, I would contend that this group of young men have learnt how to 'be bad' from older generations but they think that they can "do it better". Territorality is often associated with very tight boundaries, and in their comparative study across the UK, Kintrea et al (2008) found "territoriality is frequently identified as long standing and generational. . . territoriality was learned behaviour and, importantly, stories told by older generations were significant in the intergenerational transmission of territorial culture" (p. 5). In much the same way, I observed the Bad Lads referring to the failures of older generations, being caught by the polis [police], imprisoned, stabbed, injured and attacked. Interestingly, there was not any evidence of reflection of the possibility that they themselves will eventually they will become old and perhaps unable to maintain their powerful authority, despite being aware that they are drawn into their fathers' arguments and battles, once again taking on the role of an older generation.

When I asked how they knew that this was the best way to keep control in the area, the Bad Lads invariably referred to 'evidence' of various ways in which they knew violence and aggression to be the best ways of establishing and maintaining reputation, authority and ultimately control of the estate. As was found in a similar study "by evoking the 'culture of the street' through real and symbolic acts of violence . . . lads were able to maintain their masculine status as 'hard'" (Nayak, 2006: 822). Writing about young men in the West End of Newcastle 16 years ago, Campbell's sentiment still rings true: "For a lad whose culture celebrated a man's authority and power, and lethal weapons as the solution to social problems . . . where power only meant brute force" (Campbell, 1993: 96). The Bad Lads' aggressive territoriality places them alongside the 'combustible masculinities' Campbell (1993) describes in her explosive account of the 1991 riots in the West End of Newcastle. For Connell (1995), there is something frenzied and showy about this particular style of masculinity. Keith in particular, was known in the group for being "a nutter" as Luke put it: "he enjoys roughing up, disciplining people he doesn't like. He sees it as a form of education!". Keith was known to batter students or "start laying into some gadge [man] for nee reason, especially if it's not one of his better come downs" [from drugs]. The group referred to "when you 'hit and run' off with someone's wallet in town". In joking and boasting about their criminal activity, Keith described how easy it was to "strike up a conversation with 'stuck up students', spin them some yarn [story] about having knock off Burberry or offering to become their drug dealer - then when they look down to put your number in their phone, you grab it and you're away". It seems to me that Keith quickly learned that the quickest and most certain way for him to get what he wanted was with "a few threats, right hook here and there". The Bad Lads feel that putting others in their place is the only sure-fire way that they can gain a feeling of powerfulness. Control, which is the only way they can feel safe, secure and know 'the neighbourhood is theirs', whilst feeling a sense of belonging to the area. Ironically, on a more short-term basis, I would argue that their criminal behaviour, aggression and violence, works only to make them more afraid. They will always be at the centre of trouble. Even if they feel that they are only intervening to keep control and diffuse a situation the message that comes through clearly from their accounts is that they are engaging violence, which in itself breeds more violence.

2.6 Vengeance and retribution

Taken together the data suggest that despite their own perceptions of having choice and being in control, these young men's scope for autonomy is considerably constrained by fear and insecurity. A complex network of formal and informal regulation is at work to circulate and re-circulate fear and insecurity in the neighbourhood. The research with the Bad Lads indicated that they respond directly to their own fears by attempting to regulate and territorialise the area through informal street control and exerting violence and aggression to maintain this (MacDonald et al, 2005). They felt that they had to maintain their reputations they had established in the area, and to 'get on' as best they could, a typical comment being "you've gotta tek care of y'self; nee one else will watch out for you".

I would suggest that the Bad Lads concept of victimisation and offending is often part of the same set of interactions and processes. The act of 'hanging out on the street' also renders these young men vulnerable to victimisation and attack from both known rival 'hard men' and unknown groups in the area who may be 'looking for trouble', as well as on occasion the local police. Linked to the conception of power, dominance and control, and as we shall see, a recurrent theme throughout which all of the young people who participated in the research, was the experience of revenge. The Bad Lads explained that becoming the victim of an attack or being 'caught in the act' of offending leads to vengeance or retribution. The Bad Lads were committed to retaliating in response to their own victimisation or to that of their close friends or family. As we shall see later there was widespread agreement in the neighbourhood that it is legitimate to "get even" or to "lash out" in protecting your reputation. Unlike other groups in the area, the Bad Lads were adamant that they were prepared and needed to remain prepared, to turn on their friends and in some cases even their families in the pursuit of their own 'survival':

> 'Its dog eat dog out there. You've gotta look after number one' (Rob)

> 'Everyman for his-self, right . . . you've gotta get back at them or they'll just keep on at you' (Tony)

The Bad Lads are attacked, and attack others, in seeking vengeance for other crimes and events that occur in the neighbourhood. The Bad Lads are proud of the fact that they are always 'on hand' to be called upon to exert vengeance and revenge for people they care about

who have been 'wronged'. To them this is something they know they can do well: it is a significant and useful skill that is valued and frequently drawn on.

2.7 Drug culture and family name

As outlined in the introductory section of this chapter, the research left me with little doubt of the central importance that drugs had for these young men. The group expressed a very place-specific knowledge of drugs. They knew where and when they could go to get drugs, who dealt and also who was perceived to be a target customer. It was clear that they had in-depth knowledge of the differences between various hard and soft drugs, but they were also aware of variations in quality. They told how they only "tek the purest shit" themselves and were involved in helping to target "'knackers' to get rid of the 'weak crap'". I observed understandings of the local area to be sophisticated. The young men were well informed and Mike inferred that some were also personally involved in the subtle nuances of the control of drug use among young people. For a similar discussion focusing on the north east context see Nayak, (2003) and O'Brien et al, (2008).

The young men openly admitted to taking drugs out in the public space of the street on a regular basis. They all agreed "It makes you happy. It makes you forget things. Forget all your problems: what you've seen". As the below quotation demonstrates this is significant, given the uncertainty, risk and fear that the Bad Lads have experienced within their own violent lives:

> "In many ways, to be a Bad Lad is the 'ultimate goal' to aspire to. For many of the Lads its what you want to be when you grow up. It's what you've seen; it's all you see; all you know. The biggest thing we have to deal with is their families and friends. To offer them an example of a different way of doing things, showing them that there is another way to be, something else is possible. Too many times we've tried and tried to make that change to offer something different and then their Mam or Dad gets released from prison, and it's back to square one again. For young people who feel that they have nothing and no prospects to change this, a life of drugs and crime is a very attractive and appealing prospect. Bad Lads have always commanded respect in the neighbourhood. They feel that they have had to work hard to maintain their image in the area; and it's hard to give this role up."

> (Mike, youth worker, 36).

In the context of drug use in the north east, MacDonald and Marsh (2005) have convincingly argued that proper explanation of the life stories of interviewees requires attention to individual choice making as well as an understanding of the social and economic conditions through which those lives were made. Roberts (1995) refers to the structure of opportunities presented to young people and how individual transitions emerge out of the interplay between individual agency and the opportunities presented as possible to a young person growing up in a particular place and time. Most discussions of the structures of opportunity that shape youth transitions refer to the opportunities or lack thereof, provided by formal, legitimate markets in employment, education and training. Yet, to fully understand the most socially excluded transitions they uncovered, MacDonald and Marsh (2005) added in consideration of the opportunities offered in local criminal and drug markets (see also: Johnston et al, 2000).

Many of the Bad Lads had been deeply involved in the local drug market for years. Luke went as far as to say that they had been "born into it". Later in the research, Mike relayed to me that Luke's extended family were well known for drug dealing in the north east. His father was currently undertaking an 8 year sentence for drug-related offences. Drug use was a dominant theme in the research, in fact almost every time there was discussion about what they got up to, or liked to do, there was also a reference made to tak (cannabis) dropping an acid or getting coked up. Both of the times that I met with the group, in the act of sitting down to talk about the area, Luke always occupied himself at the same time in drawing spliffs and cigarettes implying to me the central part drugs played in their daily lives.

For Luke casual instances of drug-dealing and offending were embedded in deeper familial networks of crime and intimidation with older males acting as ringleaders. For this group of young men the concept of work and pay, in their extended families was tied to making a living off of careers of drugs and crime. As such, for the Bad Lads offending is very much equated with grafting or working hard in a legitimate way of earning a living. I would suggest that this was conceived as a justifiable attempt to temporarily refigure the social injustice they encountered on a daily basis. Grafting was an essential means of contributing to the household economy. For the Bad Lads, in a similar way to other young men in the local area, offending was seen to be "part of the culture of the estate and a social exclusion of their daily youthscapes" (Nayak, 2006: 824).

2.8 Bad Lads' justification of criminal activity

The Bad Lads justify their criminal careers in a number of ways. They believe that they have a right and responsibility to protect themselves and their loved ones from the dangerous and risky environment of the neighbourhood. "If we didn't look out for them who knows what would happen?" (Rob). The Bad Lads also justify their criminal behaviour in economic justice terms. As this chapter has demonstrated, these young men are marginalised and unable to undertake the more traditional school-to-work career tranisitions that they see other young people undertaking in Newcastle upon Tyne. Although all of these young men were claiming unemployment benefit, offending had become an established behaviour to help make ends meet. It was widely felt that state benefits were not enough to live on, especially for young people aged 18–25, who receive less than people over 25 and those aged 16–18, who receive nothing. Many felt that "if you have financial difficulty and you are finding it hard to cope then you will turn to crime" (Luke). Offending therefore framed as survival crime, offending out of necessity in order to survive the situation of being long term unemployed (Pain and Francis, 2004).

For Carlen (1996), in her research with homeless people, survival crime is a "necessary part of the reordering of political, moral and economic possibilities that is forced by being homeless. It is not that young homeless people have different moral values to the rest of society, rather that offending can be understood by their exclusion from citizenship" (p. 135). As we saw with Luke, drugs and alcohol, family problems or 'the way you're being brought up' also contributed to Bad Lad offending. Others said that in many of the areas that they lived, 'everyone's doing it', and this made them more likely to offend. Like other offenders, the Bad Lads commit crimes for different reasons, though necessity is the dominant driver (Pain and Francis, 2004). It is important to note, however, that poverty is only a partial explanation and within the neighbourhood many other of the young people who experience the same or a greater degree of marginalisation did not become embroiled in drugs and crime, as we shall see in subsequent chapters.

> "There's nowt else t'do really. We can't get a job, so we rob about the streets, play football, smoke tak [cannabis]. There's nowt else to do round here really. It's pretty crap. Try coming to live round here. Grow up where we've grown up. See what we've seen. Then y'can speak to us. Otherwise, don't bother."

(Keith, 27)

Performing and reasserting their Bad Lad status was carried out in a number of different ways. They described "hanging out with the lads" as their first priority and feeling marginalised from society, they felt that the lads were the only people who really understood them individually. The Bad Lads spent most of their time together, they had shared interests in drinking and "getting laid, taking tak and getting mortal" [drunk], which seemed to be the most important element in their lives providing excitement and a reason for living. Similar studies have highlighted the fact that working class youths often lack the cash to be able to 'buy into' a different type of consumer identity (MacDonald and Shildrick, 2007). My research strongly suggested that material poverty certainly limited the leisure choices and activities, in which these young men could engage.

2.9 Workfare schemes: barriers to social citizenship?

The Bad Lads described the difficulties they had experienced in attempting to become employed. One felt that his associations with the neighborhood prevented him from gaining employment: "As soon as they hear you're from East Thorpe, they just don't want to know. They think you'll just be out to rob them or that you'll never turn up" (Rob). This view was verified by Mike, who revealed "This neighbourhood is well into its 4th generation of unemployment. So these lads' prospects for a future haven't changed and if anything they've probably got worse. Another reason they can't get a job is the name of the estate. When y'hear 'East Thorpe' it carries a stigma. If I had a pound for every time one of them told me: 'as soon as they hear where I come from, they just don't wanna know'. Cause they either think 'oh he's just gonna pinch something' or 'he's never gonna bother showing up'. They just don't give you a chance". Typical of youth transitions in the local area, all of the Bad Lads left school at, or were excluded before, the age of 16 with no educational qualifications for more traditional 'cyclical' school–to–work careers (Craine, 1997).   Due to their long-term unemployment, the Bad Lads have not had the opportunity to gain the work experience or references that employers look for.

My research concurs with this finding, and in the next section I illustrate some of the everyday experiences of the Bad Lads in times of socio-economic change, and the impact of structural factors on their personal biographies. This generation of young men, in the same way as Campbell described earlier generations of young men in the West End of Newcastle

are: "not only on the edge of politics but exiled from the social world - neither legitimate citizens nor consumers" (Campbell, 1993).

As has been demonstrated in recent research (MacDonald at al, 2005; Furlong and Cartmel, 2004; Toynbee, 2003; McDowell, 2003), the flexible nature of low-skilled jobs in modern Britain and pervasive unemployment and underemployment affect the wider working class, but are felt sharply by young men in particular. In the west end of Newcastle with the knock-on effect of a major shift in the economy and rise in male unemployment in the local area the rights of social citizenship are affected by the restructuring of the local economy: from manufacturing to service. As elsewhere in the UK, recent developments in Newcastle upon Tyne in unemployment regulation policies indicate that the universal approach to the treatment of social welfare recipients is increasingly being replaced with selective programmers characterized, first by lower subsidies compared to those of the late 1070s and 1980s and, second, by the introduction of workfare schemes in social welfare. These schemes require people who benefit from social welfare to perform some kind of work in return. In spending time with the Bad Lads, it became clear that they all were claiming Jobseekers Allowance and most felt angry that they were forced to do so. To add insult to injury, the Bad Lads often complained about the conditions they had to fulfill in order to be entitled to the benefit. The group described the laborious 'carry on' they had to undertake on a regular basis, including the form-filling and paper work associated with the various tasks they had to complete including: 'New Job seekers interview', 'Jobsearch review' (every 2 weeks), and 'Back to work sessions' (every other week) .

Furthermore, 'workfare schemes' introduced by local authorities risk introducing unjust treatment to these already disadvantaged working class men. I would argue that these welfare demands acted as constraints that contradict the Bad lads' citizenship rights. A repetitive complaint that the Bad Lads asserted in particular, was that the Jobcentre did not respect their personal choice in seeking employment.

For me, the compulsory requirements in the welfare programs as described to me by the bad Lads reinforced – rather than relieved – their experience of social exclusion. In this way, I would argue that the Bad lads' experience of the dole suggests an unjust treatment of an already disadvantaged group of citizens.   As was found in a recent study "workfare schemes

appear to be not only a useless mechanism for ensuring full social citizensip, but also to contribute to the reproduction of social exclusion" (Bussemaker, 1999, p 89).

In this sense, the bad lads felt that they are punished by exclusion due to their social class, and they also felt second punishment was doled out to them in the obligation to work, which, in a paternalistic manner, adds to the burden of that for which they are not necessarily responsible (i.e. the difficulty to find a job). As a result, in the case of the Bad Lads, a sense of inevitable dependency on welfare further undermines their already shaky opportunities for the social integration offered by the exercise of their social rights, not to mention civil and political rights. In this way, "welfare recipients remain in a situation of dependency which is incompatible with the regulation of oneself as a full member of society, both from a personal and societal point of view" (ibid).

This section has shown that, for the Bad Lads, a dependency on job-seekers allowance and other benefits is a long-term reality. In terms of their experience of citizenship, it could be argued that the enforcement of 'workfare' to replace 'welfare' in terms of the conditions and regulations attached to claiming jobseekers allowance - undermines the possibility to achieve social integration even further. The Bad Lads feel forced into these rules and regulations: which, under the current guise, as they experience them, feel like punishments. In other words, a social understanding of citizenship suggests that the Bad Lads are disadvantaged with respect to their social class: and thus they are unable to practically participate in the community of citizenship in which they have legal membership. The disadvantage is a double one, because in these circumstances citizenship rights are only formal – and cannot influence the conditions which render the possession of citizenship ineffective, if not worthless (Barbalet, 1988, 2).

At this stage in the research, the lived experiences of the Bad Lads began to illuminate to me that their social rights are not the expression of social and political integration, but represent a conditional opportunity necessary to reach such integration. In other words, to achieve social citizenship requires more than the exercising of social rights; it requires greater involvements of public agencies and social actors in order to achieve better social integration. The significance of this for my own conceptualisation of citizenship will be described and explained in more detail, together with the insights from the next stage of the research project, in the next chapter.

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2.10 Relationality: Concern for younger people in the area

The Bad Lads felt very strongly that it was up to them to take personal responsibility themselves for policing drug use in the area and preventing younger children in the neighbourhood from getting dealt. "They're too young to be ganning up a height" [getting high on drugs]. They maintained "We don't want it getting like 'the Bronx' round here. We canna' let that happen, like". In itself, it is interesting as this is further evidence of the ways in which power and control is exercised in a generational process. The young men did feel very connected to the area and there was a sense they felt they could control and prevent other young children in the neighbourhood from becoming involved in drugs and crime. They did not reflect on the fact that they perceived being a Bad Lad as something to aspire to and therefore it is ironic that they make attempts to prevent younger children 'following in their footsteps'. That they agreed to take part in the research and freely gave up their time to contribute to discussions around issues and passionately gave their opinions is also evidence of their voluntary potential and a more complex side to the Bad Lad personna.

As we shall see in subsequent sections of this chapter, the Bad Lads' sense of personal responsibility for younger children in the public space of the street conflicts considerably with some individuals' lack of responsibility towards their own children in the private sphere. I would interpret their perceived public role and their own perceived importance of their community responsibility, is very much linked to their Bad Lad identity (see: Campbell, 1993 for argument about hegemonic masculinity in Newcastle upon Tyne in the 1970s where men occupied specific public roles, but not private ones) and thus suggested a significant continuity rather than change for young men in the local area. I play up this point about relationalities as it is a key theme in the thesis. Here, we see that they feel obligations as conceptualised around age. In the next section we shall see that they do not feel the same sense of responsibility around gender.

2.11 Gender

As we have seen so far, the young men have very conventional conceptions of masculinity. As this section outlines, they also have traditional constructions of femininity, which has a key role to play in shaping their views of the women in their everyday lives. I would suggest that the Bad Lads are resisting any kind of sign of emotion, love or care. Two of the young men, Keith and Rob, had children and they shared the concrete conceptions about responsibility for

childcare that existed amongst the group. Keith joked it had been claimed that he was the father of a number of children. It was not until later in the research that I discovered that Em (who we meet in Chapter 3) was one of these women he'd had a relationship with. Chapter 3 therefore gives an opportunity for an interesting alternative insight on Keith and his attitude towards childcare. For Rob, spending time with his young son seemed to be a burden. He described how he had neither the time nor the patience to play with 'the bairn'. Instead he felt it was best to leave that to his ex-girlfriend. The group was in agreement that women should have full responsibility for childcare, representing another parallel with Campbell's (1993) observations of the local area.

The everyday lived performance of being male seemed to involve derogatory behaviour towards the women in their lives. I would argue that this was part and parcel of being a Bad Lad and asserting yourself. The Bad Lads relayed that if you ever prioritised your girlfriend above your mates, this was a real sign of weakness. The group mentioned names of past mates who had "gone soft", Dave in particular, and this was when these individuals had lost their claim to Bad Lad status. I observed that you could not be in a settled relationship and be a Bad Lad. You had to be "a man about the toon' and 'score girls". There was much bravado in the group and almost showing off at how badly they treated their girlfriends. During the second focus group with this group, it became apparent that one of the young men, Tony, was in the midst of an argument with his girlfriend, Donna. When Donna called to speak to him, Tony made a theatrical, loud and deliberate performance of putting her in her place. He seemed to intentionally provoke her, sending her insulting texts and then hanging up on her, much to the amusement of the other young men in the group. This one, small example is used to illustrate the general way in which the young men spoke to, talked about and referred to women in front of their mates. From what I observed previously, both during and after the research, this could possibly be part of their upbringing. They seemed to me to have inherited this way of thinking from other men around them. In living in the area for four years in total, I observed this seemed to be true for many men generally who lived in the area. There seemed to be something very particular in the Bad Lad attitude to the way in which these young men conceived their mothers, girlfriends and mates: namely the women in their everyday lives. As has been found elsewhere (Campbell, 1993), there seemed to be an ingrained belief, or an inherited conception of what it is to be male or female in this north east neighbourhood and each was very much dependant on the other.

Unemployment denies this difference its institutional framework. The social space men inhabit becomes solely local and domestic and that is the space they share with women. Difference is reasserted in a refusal to cooperate in the creation of democratic domesticity (Campbell, 1993). Interestingly, as we shall see in Chapter 3, the Youth Justice Girls suggest that the way in which Bad Lads treated women was not merely a public performance of masculinity, but that the young men often maintained and continued to act and perform this type of masculinity in their private lives also.

2.12 Bad Lad masculinity

Writing about a similar group of working class youth, Collinson (1996) has drawn attention to the limited form of masculine identity that is open to these young men in the UK context. He argues that out of the double-bind created by "the contemporary priority given to consumption" in a context of "persisting structural exclusions", such young men commit to a sense of active agency, excitement, loyalties and status to be gained from risky, criminally-orientated street culture. Hence "there is a level of ontological security and trust to be found on the street which obviates some of the uncertainties and insecurities of being male on the margins of civil society" (p. 428-429). As MacDonald and Shildrick (2007) argue, "It would be difficult to properly explain how the young men discussed here came into their current situations – or make predictions about their likely futures – without understanding how a leisure career (comprised of long-term participation in street corner society) generated adherence to a particular form of sub culturally – defined personal identity, set of values and 'lifestyle'" (p. 350). Moreover, "The particular form of leisure, masculine identity and sociality they described echoed historical, economically derived, cultural knowledge of the way to become and be a working class man in this place" (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005). My research with the Bad Lads suggest that this is very much the case in East Thorpe.

In line with this, my findings demonstrate that local, informal street culture placed great value on becoming and being seen as a young man with a particular style of resilient, 'hard' masculinity (Campbell, 1993; Hobbs, 1994; McDowell, 2001).   The Bad Lads believed in the importance of being able to "handle yourself", and prove this if called upon, hostility to others who were not 'one of them' and a perhaps self-deluding self-image that proclaimed their ability to get by in hard times through personal, sometimes criminal effort. I would suggest that the Bad Lads perform a version of masculine identity that has a host of continuities with traditional conceptualisations of 'their place' and 'to their part' of the

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working-class. A direct influence on the transitions of this group of young men was the fact that their "blood ran black and white", a reference to the city football team, Newcastle United. The local area was as much a part of who they were, as their family and friends. The young men were also convinced that being "born into the area" was instrumental in their criminal careers. Keith had been arrested and imprisoned for drug-related crime and received a two year sentence.   In a conversation about the influences over his past decisions, I asked:

> Cat: How d'ya think you got involved in all that [drugs and crime] in the first place?
>
> Keith: Dunno. Probably because of the lads I knocked about with. That's all we had, all we knew. Ask anyone round here. And my brother, he got me into it. I don't think I could get outta it even if I wanted to.

The research I carried out with this group of young men revealed that being a Bad Lad was dependent on being associated with badness in a number of different ways. They feel it is part of what they are to engage in a range of criminal activities. It comes naturally to them and it is something they are adept at. Being crafty and having the ability to commit a crime (burglary, mobile phone theft, and pull the wool over people's eyes, to undertake a scam and not get caught), was considered a valuable and useful skill. Vitally for them, they were expert at averting blame "you'd have to be up early t'catch me out!" (Keith). The skills and experience that the Bad Lads have developed over time are an important component parts of their identities. They were proud of their craftiness and ability to lie convincingly. In relation to the more alternative lifestyles Johnston et al (2000) have suggested that within marginalized youth contexts criminal careers and drug-using careers can become important in understanding and explaining the trajectory of these marginalised youth transitions. MacDonald and Shildrick (2004) have also drawn attention to the concept of the leisure career as "the dominant mode of free-time, leisure activity and socializing engaged in by a person and how they change or persist during the youth phase of the life-course" (p. 341). This is an important concept as it also recognizes that "street corner society was [not] simply the negative, residual outcome of having nothing better to do. Spending free time on the streets with others had social psychological importance and was often talked about positively" (p. 343). Unable to define themselves by traditional work careers and not wanting to define themselves in relation to girlfriends or children, all that is left for them to identity with is the local area, drugs and being

'bad'. It is the only constant thing that will never let them down. The Bad Lads felt that everyone who had had anything to do with them has turned out to be a disappointment: "It's always the same. You go for a job, sign on a course. They promise you they'll be there for you, help you turn things around. Then it comes to nothing" (Keith). For them it is paramount that the neighbourhood remains theirs. I would suggest that it is their only constant source of stability and security in their unpredictable and, they feel, inevitably limited everyday lives. The local neighbourhood was of central significance to them. It was inherent to their identity and they related to the space as much, on occasion even more, than the ways in which they related to each other. Their powerful sense of territoriality and belonging to the estate was a rare constant in their troubled, unpredictable and risky everyday lives.

2.13 Bad Lads: Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that for the Bad Lads, a sense of safety and belonging has impinged upon feelings of being in power and in control. These young men have grown up, and spent all of their lives in the most disadvantaged and income–poor part of the neighbourhood. Their families are deeply rooted in the local area and have been exposed to four generations of unemployment. I have argued that because of this the only sense of power that the Bad Lads can secure for themselves is linked to being seen to be a hard man. By acting aggressively and making sure that they are seen and associated with this violence the Bad Lads are able to assert themselves as powerful and in control in the local area. Acting aggressively, taking part in criminal activity and controlling the local drug culture are all tied up with how the Bad Lads uphold and proclaim themselves as 'valuable' to their own 'street society'.

As such, the research demonstrates that the Bad Lads believe themselves to be amongst the most powerful, influential and notorious crime and drugs networks and families throughout Newcastle upon Tyne. This chapter has outlined that violence and aggression are integral parts of the Bad Lad identity, and that many of the Bad Lads undertake a criminal career in the local neighbourhood. They legitimise their drug-dealing and offending behaviours by retreating into their marginality and justifying it as a way to make ends meet. This chapter has demonstrated that the cycle of risk, uncertainty and fear is vicious and the irony is that of course, as a defensive strategy, this tactic can never succeed. They will never be able to fully extinguish their fears through acting bad. Furthermore, the act of being bad means that they will always seek out, look for and attract trouble in asserting and maintaining

their Bad Lad status. The more aggressive and violent they are, the more at risk they place themselves towards violent and aggressive retaliation. In attempting to try to become Bad and fearless as a defensive tactic to alleviate their fears the more fearful they become. Drawing on the Bad Lad's narratives, this chapter has outlined the various ways in which paranoia, suspicion and the uncertainties related to fear are a dominant discourse in these young people's everyday lives. We have seen empirical evidence of the myriad of ways in which fear is experienced individually and the ways the Bad Lads deal with their fears.

Yet the chapter has also argued that bad as they are, there is texture to the Bad Lads code of ethics and they have actively invested in the area in a number of ways to try and protect little kids from drug culture. I would assert that in comparison to the other young people that I worked with, the Bad Lads have the most invested in terms of identifying with the local area and as such, they are tied to the estate in relation to their own specific sense of belonging. Indeed, how they are identified and how they self-identify as "the Bad Lads of the estate" is directly reliant on being associated to the neighbourhood. In this way there is complexity to the Bad Lad performance of masculinity. They are certainly not merely passive victims of the marginalisation process. The chapter has shown how they actively employ a number of other strategies in order to feel safe and get a handle on their fears.

The main argument of this chapter has been that the Bad Lads act in various ways to construct themselves as bad enough to become the main focus of fear in the neighbourhood. I have argued that these young men make active attempts to create a sense of toughness and being hard. They legitimise their criminal actions by retreating into their marginality, and creating a very specific particular style of masculinity, to which different groups of young people rea2ct and respond to in significant ways. In subsequent chapters of this thesis, we will see how a group of young women are impacted by the Bad Lad masculinity in personal, deeply felt ways. In the next chapter we will see how a mixed group of young people, the Elvis Club, seek to emulate the Bad Lad masculinity in an attempt to work through and deal with the everyday fears they face, but they are profoundly affected by well-founded fears of the Bad Lads too. Each chapter that follows, whilst dealing with one discrete group of young people, will emphasise their relations and the connections of their fears, outline how they interact or avoid, react and respond to the Bad Lads and their performances of masculinity more generally in the neighbourhood. As the thesis unfolds I will build upon and take forward the themes raised here. The initial findings outlined in this early chapter will thus be developed and

refined as we proceed through the thesis. At the same time I introduce the research that I undertook with new groups of young people and outline the ways in which we reflected on what life was like for them in particular and how this enabled new themes to emerge, casting shadows back onto this chapter. As well as being a frank account of how theory and practice played out, in dialogue through the research process the creative, iterative approach is deliberate.

As we shall see – as the thesis unfolds – my own conceptualisation of social citizenship was refined and developed as I worked with different groups in the area. In this way, the thesis attempts to build a more relational understanding of the nature of fear, safety and citizenship in the context of a north east, urban and disadvantaged neighbourhood.

Chapter 3: Elvis Club

3.1 Who are the Elvis Club?

- 6.50pm.

A hot and sticky Monday in August 2006. Westerhope schoolyard is deserted, caught in the stillness of summer. Just then, two young women appear, their laughter echoing, breaking the silence. Arm in arm, they amble up the drive, matching bracelets clinking and sparkling in the evening sun. Heads bent over a mobile phone, they giggle as a new text message arrives. Three young men run up behind the, pushing, jumping, running. They tease and taunt the girls, who shove the men back: "Get away!". It's a game they're used to playing and the group revel in flirtatious banter. All of a sudden everyone jumps! What's that?

BA-BAA-BA BAA BABA, DINGGGG! DING! DING! DING! DING! DING!

A grating ringtone kicks in and the group scoff: "Not 'the crazy frog' Johnny! You having a laugh?!". Johnny's in hysterics as he answers the phone "Hiya!". He's bent double and can barely breathe. "…yeah we're at the Elvis already… Haway man, you're gonna be late!"

- 7.15pm

The atmosphere is electric. More and more young people are arriving and start chatting, laughing and joking. A tin of Celebrations chocolates is opened and passed around. Everyone wants one, me first! No me! Noise and excitement rise, louder and louder. Some young people don't join in. They're on the edges, not part of the group. Some are alone and seem absorbed in their own thoughts. Others seem shy and are tentatively looking in. I make eye contact with two girls sitting quietly in the corner. They smile, then laugh and whisper to each other as I approach to say hello. Shy at first, I bring out the flapjacks and offer them as a 'peace offering'. "Hiya, I'm Cat". "I'm Jessica" she replies, "But you can call me Jess. This is Mary. Are you new?". Jess wants to know: "Do you want a want a mars or snickers? I like your shoes! Do you like mine?". As Jess chatters away, Mary smiles quietly to herself still not making eye contact with me.   "Oh no!" Jess groans, as music suddenly blurts out loudly. We

watch the commotion unfold over at the CD player. "Here we go again", she warns me. "What?" I ask. "They'll be trouble now. . . just you wait". Bickering breaks out: Caz wants Kylie. Linda says this week is her turn! She wants Pop Party. Jack and Johnny are aghast! "Kylie?! Pop Party?! Get a life! We've having Happy Hardcore 2!".

Carol-Ann sweeps in, turns off the music and claps her hands. Eventually noise and excitement begin to die down and Carol-Ann comes to sit next to me. "This is Catherine, and she's come today to meet you. She wants to talk to you about what it's like, living around here . . ."

BA-BAA-BA BAA BABA DING. . .!

"JOHNNY! WOULD YOU TURN OFF THAT BLASTED PHONE!"

The group breaks out in hysterics and Carol-Ann can't help laughing too. "Now come on, you lot, listen up!", she smiles.

Everyone looks at me.

Silence.

Oh No! I was supposed to blend into the background today . . . what will I say? What will the group want to do?

"What you got in that bag, miss?", Johnny yells to me.

I smile. The second 'peace offering'. Seems as good as any place to start? "Well I hope everyone likes Pringles?!"

"Course!"

"Are they for us?"

"You got the cheese and chive or just the vinegar shite?"

"Can I have one"

"Where's the celebrations"

"I've already had some flapjack!"

Snacks are passed around. Coke cans fizz, the crisps are crunched. Everyone munches.

Johnny burps. Mayhem ensues. . . everything's back to normal.

To be seen as normal is of upmost importance to the Elvis Club. This is in stark contrast to the other groups of young people I worked with. Understanding young people's lives is, quite rightly, hinged on a concept of individuality (Aitken, 2001). Youth subcultures, such as Emos and Goths for example, are inclined to see themselves as different from other youth cultures, and the cultures they experience at home (Kehily, 2007; Wyn and White, 1997). There are convincing arguments that young people intentionally mark out, read, interpret and respond to their bodies in a wide variety of ways. As Wyn and White (1997) observe "cultural formation is an active process which involves the participation of young people, and which marks out different relationships to the dominant ideologies and values of society" (p. 73). For many of the young people who participated in the research, their bodies are the locations where they express their identities through clothing choice, hairstyle and jewellery, tattoos and body piercings, make-up and other accessories. Yet, in talking to the young women featured at the start of this chapter, despite the fact that they do make conscious decisions to wear certain fashions and express their individuality through style and fashion, it became clear that they felt they were not recognized and identified for wearing, for example, shiny bracelets. These young people's individual choices in terms of clothing and accessories, their personal taste, fashion sense and style of dress are subsumed by the recognition of something very different; something more different than the visibility of wearing hooded tops, or dressing in a gothic style, for example. While the Elvis Club do have options on how they experience and identify themselves, this is cut across by one feature that is used by others to categorise and identify them. Despite attempting to dress like the neighbourhood Bad Lads, or the Goths and Emos, the Elvis Club are identified, categorised and recognised within the neighbourhood for being Young People with Learning Difficulties[10] (YPWLD).

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[10] In 2001, legislative advice concerning the current and future experience of YPWLD was provided by the White Paper Valuing People (Department of Health 2001). Valuing People characterised individuals who display a learning disability as the presence of "a significantly reduced ability to understand new or complex information, to learn new skills (impaired intelligence), with a reduced

The Elvis Club is a youth club for young people with varying kinds and extents of learning difficulties. The group was set up for adults aged 20 – 30, but some individuals as young as 15 are also attending. There are usually between 10 and 20 out of a possible 30 young people attending the club each week, which is held by 3 youth workers on Monday nights at a local school hall. The young people who predominantly took part in the research are twin brothers Johnny (21) and Jack (21), Jess (28), Mary (17), Caz (25), Linda (16) and Lisa (18).

3.2 Introduction

Throughout the chapter I interweave literature on the social geography of disability with my own empirical findings, to demonstrate how and why individuals in the Elvis Club are both feared and fearful and at the same time, how they are constructed as (dis)abled through fear-provoking practices in the local area. In order to maintain a strong sense of continuity, this chapter takes points of sameness as a starting point and explains how the young men in the Elvis Club share a range of similar experiences with the Bad Lads. In particular, this section focuses on how both groups utilise the same technologies such as mobile phones and the internet for keeping in touch in parallel ways in the neighbourhood.

The second section discusses how men in the Elvis Club strive to masquerade as Bad Lads, and mimic their particular performance of masculinity. The desire to be identified as a Bad Lad is ironic. In the previous chapter we witnessed how the Bad Lads themselves are marginalised and stigmatised and how, despite acting to the contrary, they themselves are fearful. As such, this section illuminates the constant struggle that young people with learning difficulties undertake on a daily basis, between how they self identify and how they are recognised by others.

I then go on to tease out exactly what processes are at work to categorise young people with learning difficulties as distinct from abled body / mind young people in the neighbourhood. This section describes how the Elvis Club are ultimately rejected and scorned by the very young people that they so aspire to be like. This leads into the fourth section, which offers a glimpse into the various ways that the Elvis Club suffer abuse and discrimination

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ability to cope independently (impaired social functioning) which started before adulthood, with a lasting affect on development" (Department of Health 2001: 14).

on the streets of the neighbourhood; in the public sphere. The fifth section points to the difficulties that many individuals experience in seeking out a safe space, even in their own homes, given the instances of abuse many also face in the private sphere. Young people with learning difficulties experience the neighbourhood as an environment so saturated with risk, fear and anxiety that it becomes a normal, accepted and routine part of their everyday lives. As such, the following section outlines why I consider young people from the Elvis Club to be the most vulnerable group that I worked with and explains why I conceptualise their lives as being the most regulated and controlled. In drawing the chapter together, I evaluate the strategies and practices that individuals employ for dealing with and handling their very real and deeply felt fears. In bringing into the analysis the second group that I worked with in the neighbourhood, this chapter illuminates the first of many intersections and begins to build upon the overall aim of the thesis: to develop a relational understanding of how fear works to limit experiences of citizenship.

3.3 Youth and disability

Disability can be viewed as a historically reiterated or repeated set of performances, which represent some bodies and minds as abnormal or disabled in relation to an ableist norm (Imrie, 1999). For the purposes of this chapter, I draw upon embodied geographies of disability, which aim to rejuvenate rather than replace social models of disability (Crow, 1996) by examining the experiences of disabled people within unequal 'able'/disabled societal relations. I employ the terms (dis)abled, disablist, disablement and young people with learning difficulties[11] (YPWLD) in my attempt to best represent the young peoples' own views and experiences.

Different organisations define learning difficulties in different ways and metrics vary. There is often no clear consensus, but to situate this chapter into context a study from the Institute for Health Research at Lancaster University estimated that in 2004 "about 985,000 people in England have a learning disability (which is 2% of the population), and that between 75,000 – 95,000 of these are children and young people" (Department of Health 2008: 92).

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[11] Strong arguments exist against considering all young people with learning difficulties as a social group in relation to the diversity and extent of the difficulty (Fine and Asch, 1988). However, my research demonstrates that this group of young people self-identified and referred to themselves as 'the Elvis Club', I feel it is important to acknowledge the exclusions they felt and experienced because of their learning difficulties they experienced, as the chapter argues, they very much pervade the way they see themselves, and are perceived in the local area.

Despite these significant and perhaps underestimated numbers and the inherent heterogeneity of these difficulties, YPWLD have remained largely invisible in representations of youth culture. This is hardly surprising when more generally the views of the general public with learning disabilities have also been greatly underrepresented even within social and cultural geography (Park et al,. 1998; Butler and Parr, 1999; Gleeson, 1999; Hall, 1994; 2004). Wolch and Philo (2000: 138) describe geographical research on learning disability as forming a 'small corpus' of work. Hall and Kearns (2001) argue that limited public and political presence largely explains this neglect.   The policy of protective care has certainly shaped public perception toward YPWLD.   Imagined historically within the institutions of the asylum and long-stay hospitals (Philo, 1987; Radford and Tipper 1988; Park and Radford 1999) and more recently within community contexts (Wolpert 1980; Radford and Phillips 1985; Metzel 1998) categorising YPWLD as disabled manifests itself as a normalised and deeply-embedded sense of mental difference.   As such, as Hall and Kearns (2001) observe, research to date incorporating the mind has generally focussed on mental ill-health rather than the experiences of people with learning difficulties: a gap which this chapter address. Parr and Butler (1999) argue that those without mental competence are the ultimate other, because of a presumed inability to reason, exert agency and so be part of a modernist civil society.   Importantly, in the context of this research in comparison to other young people of a similar age, "the transition process from dependent childhood to independent adulthood is one moment where such inequalities can become apparent" and "some social groups – disabled people, those with special needs, those in care – find these transitions especially difficult" (Valentine and Skelton, 2003: 301). For the Elvis Club, in addition to the difficulties and problems that they share with other young people growing up in East Thorpe, they are also subject to particular processes of marginalisation that can place them in more vulnerable positions (Coles, 1998).

My research illuminated that the Elvis Club actively seek to participate in the everyday life of civil society. To be seen as normal is of upmost importance to this group of young people. More than anything they want to be accepted, liked and treated just like everybody else. They want to fit in. Yet from very early on in the research the young people described that the ways in which they are spoken to, looked at, and perceived are always very different. They maintain that they are spoken down to, if they are spoken to at all. Over the period of the fieldwork, it became apparent to me that perceptions of abled young people in the area and the Bad Lads in particular, are of upmost importance to the Elvis Club. As such, this chapter will outline

some of the ways in which the fears and preconceptions of the abled public have been deeply internalised by the Elvis Club.

This chapter is concerned with the elision of mental ability with a lack of identity whereby the usual bodily markers of gender, age and class are subsumed. The majority of YPWLD are unable to break away from being seen primarily as disabled by everyone they come into contact with and they often do not possess the power or agency financially, mentally, physically or emotionally, to enable them to challenge these stereotypes. Those that do manage to contest categorizations find themselves faced with a constant struggle. They battle on an everyday basis to challenge disablist prejudices. Thus, this chapter will outline the subtle nuanced yet ever-present ways in which these young people are caught in the practice of disablement. I will argue that 'disablement' is a process whereby YPWLD both fear and are feared because of a perceived inability, impairment or illness that marks them out as different.

Therefore, this chapter is about a very different politics and practice of fear to that which I discussed in the context of the Bad Lads. It is perhaps of more importance to unpack the Elvis Club's hidden social geographies of fear using the method of narrative building and to prioritise their hidden voices. Having carefully listened to and taken seriously these young peoples' voices I argue that the fear of mainstream society inspires a number of everyday practices in the local area, which in turn serves to reproduce ablest norms of learning and bodily performance. Themes of vulnerability, abuse and citizenship are drawn upon to show that these young people are the most at risk group in the neighbourhood and that, for them, on an everyday basis, fear is a constant and omnipresent malaise that they have to deal with.

Box 3.1 Elvis Club: Methodological reflections

Over a period of 4 months I carried out 4 focus groups and 10 in-depth individual and paired interviews, as well as informal chats and time spent observing interactions at the Elvis Club. The above excerpt describes the first contact I had with the Elvis Club. I spent this session trying to chat with each of the young people and introduce myself individually and ask them if they were interested in taking part in a research project. Most of the young people were very keen and excited to meet me. Those who were keen to take part signed a consent form. At that first meeting we carried out some brainstorming about what the group thought about the local area.   I recorded the session, but between us, Alie and I had great difficulty in

hearing, understanding and recording everything that the young people were saying, as there were 10 young people at that first group, all with lots to say, often at the same time!

The first technique we used was a participatory diagram: a visual list of likes and dislikes about the neighborhood. Some of the young people engaged very well with the technique and were happy to suggest things for me to write down for them. It became apparent that others were much less confident or unable to write down their thoughts and feelings. I was torn and had mixed feelings about this, as some of the group were happy for me to participate on their behalf and to write things down for them, while others seemed intimidated and left out by the method. In attempting to be more inclusive, we chatted about different methods we could try out during subsequent sessions. Instead of always writing things down, we decided instead to use more verbal methods. During the second session, I chatted with smaller groups of 4 or 5 young people about their experiences of the neighbourhood. Some of these conversations were recorded on a Dictaphone. Other groups elected not to be recorded.

Throughout the research with the Elvis Club, the young people were generally very keen to take part in all of the methods we used and greatly appreciated being listened to and taken seriously. As we shall see in subsequent analysis this is not always the case for this group of young people who are not in the habit of being asked for their opinions. The participatory method of experimenting different techniques included brainstorming, drawing, group discussions and paired interviews. This worked particularly well with numerous individuals at different times over the course of the fieldwork. Johnny and Jack in particular were very engaged with the research and they were eager to suggest themes and methods to be used. As before, individuals were able to 'opt in and out' at any time, often at several points during each session. Yet I would hesitate to describe this research as fully participatory, as described in the introduction. The young people did not seem to have the ability to fully comprehend or remember things that we agreed as a group at earlier sessions and I was unsure about whether they all were aware of what they were agreeing to in signing the consent form. Because of the ethical considerations regarding this, some of the more vulnerable members, especially those with severe difficulties in communicating, have not been directly quoted. Their perspectives however have influenced the shape and the content of this chapter.

My sister has Down's Syndrome and so I have grown up and continue to grow in personal experience of grappling with issues of disability and empowerment. I feel that it is important for me to include reference to this here, only because I feel it has undoubtedly affected how I have perceived, related to, attempted to understand and ultimately written about the young people in the Elvis Club.

By far the richest and most detailed data were collected during individual and paired interviews with young women in the Elvis Club. These interviews took place in the last month of the research when I had had some time to try to 'get to know', 'break the ice' and 'become a familiar face'. These conversations were undertaken after the four initial 'focus group' discussions and so I was able to try to build on and take forward themes, comments and stories individuals had mentioned in prior months. In the individual interviews I was able to explore to a much greater extent how the Elvis Club's experience with (dis)ability had transformed their lives and affected their perspectives about what it is like to be a young person growing up in the West End of Newcastle. As with the rest of the thesis, the voices of the young people in this chapter are not intended to be representative of all young people in the local area. I chose to speak in more depth and detail to young people with whom I was able to establish rapport with and those individuals who expressed to me that they had a story to tell.

Throughout the fieldwork with this group of young people, we touched on very sensitive and personal instances of abuse and violence. The most difficult, challenging and sensitive interview was with Ruth (all names of the Elvis Club have been changed to protect their elected anynomonoty) and concerned her experience of incest. It is important to outline from this point that there was a process of protection and prosecutions in place before the start of the research. Ruth had been placed in the care of her Aunt. Ruth reassured me - along with her Aunt, and her youth workers – that she wanted her story to be included (though kept anonymous) in the research.

The research carried out with the Elvis Club was the most ethnically challenging. I carefully carried out ethical and sensitive negotiations – with constant communication with the young people, their carers, the youth workers, and my supervisors – as to what we all felt comfortable in terms of undertaking this sensitive research.

At times I wondered if the research was ethically acceptable, when very sensitive issues arose, and participants became visibly upset. At these points I ensured the young people were

comfortable and happy to continue with the research. At the end of these interviews, I tried to reassure the individuals involved and where necessary I provided them with leaflets with contact details of help-lines like RELATE and the Samaritans. This situation both made me uncomfortable and unsure about my responsibilities to the young people. Ultimately, I found it very hard to simply 'walk away' from this group and feel I have failed individuals in the group in important ways. This decision has deeply affected and continues to affect me and I have found writing this chapter very emotionally and mentally demanding. I feel very concerned and guilty about the extent to which my research may have been exploitative or upsetting for the young people involved. I returned to the youth club six months after this, but unfortunately the club had been closed down due to lack of funding and I was unable to re-establish contact with the youth worker or with any of the young people.

Over the period of fieldwork, I collected a series of diagrams, transcriptions of focus groups and interviews. I also kept a detailed field diary where I noted down my own thoughts and assumptions about individuals in the Elvis Club and how and why I came to these conclusions. Out of all the themes that emerged, vulnerability, abuse and citizenship struck me as the most important overarching concepts to the young people I worked with and I will draw on their narratives, literature and my own opinions to argue why these themes are the most important.

3.4 Mimicking masculinity: An anchor point for sameness

Many of the young men in the Elvis Club describe similar experiences to those that we saw with the Bad Lads. This is hardly surprising, given that individuals in both groups are young men who have, for the most part, been born into and spent their entire lives growing up and living within the same part of the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne. Both groups have often attended the same schools and utilised the same local shops and facilities. Both groups have fond memories of playing out as children on the gala [local park] and describe growing up in relation to specific areas and buildings of significance in the neighbourhood. They have often faced very similar practical problems in forming and maintaining friendships, in attempting to gain independence from their parents. In these and many other ways the issues related to 'growing up' were common to all of the young people who participated in the research.

During the research it became clear to me that the young men in the Elvis Club are striving to be the same as the Bad Lads. They attempt to perform a masculinity mimicking that that they have observed in the local area. It seemed to me that they had spent considerable time observing and looking up to the Bad Lads and had decided that they wanted to be just like them. The YPWLD are aware of the reaction of other groups towards the Bad Lads. They were respected and "got all the girls". The young men in the Elvis Club believed that "acting like a Bad Lad" was "the way to prove you're cool". As we saw in the opening extract, the flirtatious element, teasing and taunting of young women, the playful shoving banter, are all points of elusion in the performance of masculinity between the Bad Lads and the Elvis Club. Many of the young men in the Elvis Club also identify with the Bad Lads in terms of particular ways of dressing and styling their bodies. They prefer to wear the same brands of sportswear, baseball caps and trainers. They are just as passionate in their support of Newcastle United Football Club and wear their shirts with pride.

One of the most striking similarities I observed between both groups was the use of technology, which the Elvis Club employed strategically in mimicking the Bad Lads. Various different technologies were used in very similar ways. The Elvis Club were keen to let me know how good they were surfing the internet, whenever they got the chance, which wasn't often. They boasted that they used Facebook and Twitter, just like the "cool lads" which, it seemed to me, was how they perceived the Bad Lads. They were keen to point out that they could play the same games on the computer. Young men from both groups were passionate about playing video games and watching DVDs and, as we shall see later in this chapter, television and film were of particular importance for informing the Elvis Club about how they should be and also what the wider world was like. The mobile phone was of most significant in mimicking the Bad Lad masculinity. As we saw in the opening excerpt, the Elvis Club often utilized them in creating an image in front of their mates. The YPWLD spoke passionately of how their mobiles were used to help them to stay in contact with their friends and as we saw in the extract at the start of this paper, they also use them as tools for getting the attention of, and gaining social status amongst their friends.

Yet despite this strategic impersonation, it is ironic that YPWLD actively try to be like the Bad Lads given that the gender stereotype that they are trying to aspire to is deeply problematic. In the end, it is not possible for the YPWLD to become Bad Lads, due to the exclusionary practices that go with the Bad Lads style of masculinity, which again is ironic. The

Bad Lads bully the Elvis Club and actively exclude them to try and make themselves appear harder and more manly. As we shall see in the next section, other young people in the area outright reject the idea that the young men in the Elvis Club could ever be seen as Bad Lads.

The Elvis Clubs' current use of space is strictly regulated by the presence of the Bad Lads. Individuals in the Elvis Club describe vivid memories from their childhood of playing out with many other children on the Gala Field.   They describe how their parents and carers took them to parks and playgrounds where they had fun and felt safe. They vividly remember these instances of joy and freedom, playing without a care in the world. In their current everyday lives the Bad Lads, some of whom are the very children the YPWLD used to play with, hang around and intimidate the Elvis Club in these spaces. The YPWLD described being fearful of "the noise, the fighting, getting drunk and taking drugs" that the 'Bad Kids' got up to in these spaces. As such, over time, the carefree spaces of childhood play are no longer accessible to the Elvis Club and some individuals expressed confusion and sadness as to why they are no longer "taken to these places to play out". For YPWLD in general the research indicated that the way that they perceive, understand and feel about local space has altered dramatically, while the spaces they are permitted to visit alone, or even those they are taken to, have reduced significantly. Thus the actual geographical area in which the Elvis Club are allowed to move around is very limited and usually within only a short radius around their homes. Society dictates the ways in which people with learning difficulties are allowed to participate. The Elvis Club as a weekly youth club, exists as a place where they are permitted, allowed and accepted to go. It is one of the very few spaces where they are welcome and allowed to be themselves away from the unwelcoming 'gaze' of others. It is concerning and ironic, then that over the course of the fieldwork the Elvis Club was shut down, ever decreasing the area accessed by YPWLD.

The Bad Lads bullying combined with wider community in general, has curtailed the area in which the Elvis Club can use. This has both created and compounded YPWLD's fears and these mark out the lines of exclusion that create difference. The process of disablement curtails the Elvis Club's right to space and feelings of safety, as they move about the neighborhood.

3.5 Unconcealed and unashamed: Persecution and prejudice in public space

Individuals in the Elvis Club revealed that they felt self-conscious about being out in the neighbourhood because of worries that they would be "stared at". As a group, they felt that

they were unable to go about their everyday lives as they would like because their movements are monitored, observed and watched by their parents, guardians, teachers and youth workers. In this respect it would be easy to draw yet another comparison with the Bad Lads, in feeling subject to a similar level of scrutiny. Yet in this section I argue that 'the gaze' that YPWLD are subjected to is very different, more pervasive and in many ways, more sinister than that experienced by the Bad Lads.

I became aware that being 'looked at' was the cause of considerable concern for young women in particular in the Elvis Club. They were wary of 'double takes' or 'being stared at' for prolonged periods of time and they were aware of a potential threat to their personal safety when both inside and outside of the neighbourhood. Often the young women would express frustration that they attracted more unwanted attention as they walked down the street than the men in the group or other 'abled' young women in the neighbourhood. This is illustrated in the following exert from a conversation between myself and two young women in the Elvis Club:

Cat:	How do you find it when you go into town?
Lisa (18):	People stare, and call me names. It's not nice
Mary (17):	No. I don't like it.
Cat:	How does that make you feel?
Mary:	Horrible.
Lisa:	It's not nice. Not very safe. Everywhere I go. Always stalking me.
Mary:	It's horrible. If they're not careful I'll put them in prison.

(paired interview)

When she was out alone at night, Jess told that she is 'always making sure no one's following [her] home'. She felt particularly vulnerable to being watched by men. She told me that she had been subject to sexual attack by strangers twice when she was out alone. Jess's single voice and experience rings true and may be typical for many other women in the UK with learning difficulties. Throughout the fieldwork, I found these the most difficult, troubling, upsetting and challenging narratives of daily harassment.

Despite these and other experiences, I observed that any issues related to sexuality were generally ignored, denied or repressed by the young peoples' parents, carers and youth workers alike. The majority of people that they came into contact with seemed to view the young people as 'children' without the ability or autonomy to make a decision for themselves. As a group, I observed that the young people were often made fun of and were the butt of jokes of some youth workers. The Elvis Club were also discouraged from thinking, expressing, exploring or acting in a sexual way. This was in direct contrast to the Bad Lads, who, as we have seen, engaged in playful banter with the youth workers about their sexual conquests. This was an important part of their identity, which was denied the Elvis Club.

Feeling ignored or 'left out' was another common theme for this group of young people. Caz was upset, although she also in some ways seemed to have come to accept as fact, that when she is in public "people talk to my mum not me. It's like I'm not there at all. Sometimes people bump into me in the street and don't apologise at all! I don't like it. It's like they don't even see me". In a similar way, Jess told me about a time when Mary had tried to attend an aerobics class at her local leisure centre. Before the end of the class, she and her carer were asked to leave by the aerobics instructor, who instead of addressing her directly spoke instead to her carer that she posed a health and safety risk to herself and others in the class by not being able to keep up. I would argue that her very presence in the class disturbed or somehow disrupted the other members' enjoyment and Jess was quick to point out that "I've not heard of the old bids or fatties being asked to leave. She weren't as slow as some of them!". Jess also referred to "One time I was not allowed to sit in the window of a restaurant", and more frequently "people don't want to sit next to me on the bus". Jess became quite upset at this point, and said "it feels like I'm an alien or something".

Feeling like an observer of human interaction, rather than a participant in human experience permeated the lives of all the young people in the Elvis Club. Bernstein (1990) has shown that "the psychology of difference still dominates our society and when the differences are not racial or cultural but are handicaps, they bring to the fore our own fears of fragility. Most people are therefore eager to segregate the maimed and unsightly, just as there is a resistance to close association among many racial groups" (Bernstein, 1990: 54). These and other empirical examples demonstrate clearly how the process of exclusion works in the everyday lives of young people in the Elvis Club.

Every young person in this group had a similar story to tell about teasing, taunting and physical abuse. When they weren't being ignored, the young people told that "people call me names and talk about me when I walk down the street". All the young people I spoke to described that they have been called disableist, disabling names. Caz was distressed that: "they call me stupid, retard, mong, special. And spaz. That's a word for someone's who can't walk or talk.   I'm not any of those things. I don't know why they do it. It happens to me nearly every day and it really upsets me".

The Elvis Club described to me various ways in which they have endured abuse throughout their lives and this often peaked while they were at school. Occasionally the same individuals who had bullied them while at school continued to target them years later. I observed numerous instances where abuse had become a normalized and accepted feature of everyday life. Linda for example was targeted specifically by a group of young women who lived locally, to the extent that she had taken to referring to them as "my bullies". She explained to me that she had been bullied by these individuals while at school and so had decided to try and distance herself from them by getting her mother to enroll her at a different college. However, one of the bullies then followed her and began attending her new college. Linda felt that all she could do was drop out of her course to get away from them. She has taken to spending most of her time at home and yet describes how she is still terrorised and physically assaulted by the girls. Linda feels frustrated and powerlessness at her inability to "get away from my bullies". Her learning difficulties mean that she is unable to live alone and therefore is prevented from move away from her mother's house in the local area. I would assert that the restricted geographical area that Linda can access has magnified the extent and significance of her experience of harassment. She described to me that she continues to endure the same constant verbal and physical abuse which, over the years, has caused her so much stress that she has taken to tearing her hair out in chunks. When I met Linda she wore a cap at all times. I later learnt that this was actually to cover her baldness. She described to me that because of this choice of headwear, she has been harassed further and called a 'dyke' simply for wearing a baseball cap. Months later in my fieldwork I made the connection that one of Linda's bullies was a member of the Youth Justice Girls that we will meet later in the thesis.

In a similar vein, Caz was predominantly concerned with 'the charvers' who "whizz up and down on their scooters. All night. It's scary and dangerous someone might get hurt". I would suggest that some of the 'Bad Lads' are likely to be involved in these scooter-activities, which as we have seen in the previous chapter, they more than likely intended to be perceived by the Elvis Club and others in the neighbourhood, as intimidating. This is the key point that I take forward. Young people in the Elvis Club are unable to be seen as similar to, accepted or recognised as part of groups of abled young people in the local area because they are actively marked out as different, bullied and outright rejected by markers erected by the Bad Lads and as we shall see in the next chapter, a group of young women known as 'The Youth Justice Girls'.

3.6 Unseen and unheard: Emotional, all-encompassing abuse in private space

Jack and Johnny were keen to emphasise to me whenever we met that they were 'nearly 21'. They were twins who lived at home with their parents. They both felt that their parents were "totally overprotective, like! It's ridic!". Confidences and asides such as this made to me by both Jack and Johnny, were generally quickly followed by a need for reassurance that they "weren't going to get into trouble". It became clear to me that the twins are used to being 'told off' and 'disciplined' for 'being bad'. Whenever they are away from home be it at college or the youth club, all of the people they come into contact with including their teachers, classroom assistants or even the bus driver, have the option of reporting back to the twins' parents. Because of this Jack and Johnny are very much in the habit of 'getting into trouble' when they return home, as this conversation revealed:

Johnny: I'm sorry. Am I going to get into trouble?

Cat: No!

Johnny: You won't tell my mum on me?

Cat: Of course not!

Johnny: That's ok then.

Despite being legally classed as adult on account of their age, they were very much still treated as if they were children by everybody around them. They were embroiled in a system of being "told on", having their actions monitored and watched on a daily basis. I observed that their parents did not seem to have accepted the fact that their sons were in the process of

and were going to continue to grow into adulthood and aspired to live independently. Jack and Johnny are being constantly monitored in both the public and private spheres which results in even less freedom to develop their own identities. They are constantly adopting and adapting their behaviour in accordance with other people's expectations. Johnny described to me that if he has a disagreement at college or differs in opinion to his teacher, he is reprimanded not only at school, but also when he gets home. He is constantly anxious about "being told off".

Both twins expressed much frustration at "Having no privacy! Even at home!".   They felt resentful that their mother "knew everything about them" and I observed on several occasions that they were uncomfortable with the prospect of having to make a decision for themselves. They were in the habit of having the decision made for them. The twins were socialized into being told off, for being seen to be a problem, a difficulty or something that impeded their mother and father, that they were constantly apologizing for their own actions, even though they had not done anything actually wrong.

3.7 Self-acceptance and identity formation

The examples thus far illustrate the on-going battle that YPWLD face in the struggle to be recognized as they would choose to self-identify.   The stereotypes and perceptions of mainstream society relating to disability have been deeply internalized by many individuals and affected the way that the Elvis Club have been treated and perceived throughout their lives.   It is not surprising that many of the young people have learnt to self-identity, understand and accept their own bodies and capabilities as has been projected onto them, through the eyes and assumptions of the able bodied/minded. Being identified as YPWLD first and foremost meant that their bodies "may be less easy to shape into a socially acceptable image and also into an image that they themselves like and accept" (Butler, 1989: 24).   These young people are acutely aware of the fact that they are not seen as normal and this causes considerable frustrations and upset for themselves.   These young people's narratives reveal the ways that they feel they are treated differently and are seen to be different. To them and others, their learning difficulty is often a marker of difference, whether visible or invisible. What this research has overwhelmingly shown is that the young people interviewed felt very different and were acutely aware that life was very different for them in comparison to other able young people living in the neighbourhood.   Indeed, I observed several examples of

individuals in the group exercising active agency (see also: Holt, 2002, and Allen et al, 2002) mainly from Johnny and Jack. Their mother was in the habit of affectionately referring to her sons as "not quite right", which, when she wasn't around, they expressed to me as a cause of great frustration:

Johnny: My mum was mean to me today

Cat: Was she?

Johnny: She says I'm not quite right. Why does she say that?

Cat: I'm not sure. What do you think?

Johny: I don't know.

Jack: It's not fair – I am right! Am I not quite right?

I would assert that Johnny is able to contest and challenge these assumptions because he is constantly in the company of Jack which enables them to reassure each other that they're both 'ok'.

3.8 Physical, sexual, psychological and financial abuse in the home

The individual and paired interviews that I conducted with young women in the Elvis Club often threw up particularly troubling and upsetting detail. Over the course of fieldwork three of the young women described being victim of at least one incident of sexual abuse. The most disturbing and extreme case was Ruth who described how she had endured years of abuse from her father and brother.

During the time I spent analysing and writing up the data from my fieldwork with the Elvis Club I became more and more aware and passionate about the political importance of listening to these young people and despite some Youth Workers casting doubts as to the extent of Ruth's "tall tales" I decided I believed her story implicitly. 'Not being believed' invalidates a person's experience and this is especially magnified for a vulnerable person. This, in turn invalidates the reality of the doubted person. As an individual's reality is invalidated their experience becomes one of powerlessness, leaving self doubt, which reduces her self-worth as someone who should be given support and validation.

> You can find someone
> who will listen to you

> without judging you or doubting you or being afraid of you
>
> and you hear yourself perhaps
>
> for the first time

(Laura Hershney, 1993[12])

Ruth continues to suffer in multiple and various ways from her past abuse. The youth workers relayed to me the difficulties she faced in the local school. She was perceived as naughty, disruptive, disgusting and inappropriate in touching herself and other young people in the classroom. It transpired that Ruth was punished and penalised for her "inappropriate behavior" by teachers and classroom assistants, teased and tormented by other children at the school and then repremanded by her foster mother when she returned home. It seemed like the only place Ruth could "let off steam and be herself" was in the Elvis Club and interestingly, in the time I spent at the youth group I did not observe her engaging in behaviour that could be interpreted as inappropriate.

It is estimated that people with learning difficulties are sexually abused four times more often than those without. 70% of people with developmental delay are sexually abused by their eighteenth birthday. Relative to the extraordinarily high rates of sexual abuse of the population with learning difficulties, the number of sexual abuse cases that get reported is miniscule and we know little about the circumstance of the abuse experienced by those with learning difficulties (Stromsness, 1993: 140). Stromsness (1993) found that women with learning difficulties were much more likely to be victims of sexual abuse because they: a) often have poor social judgement; b) depend on others for care; c) are easily persuaded and made to feel guilty through enticement or entrapment; d) often lead socially isolated lives; e) are emotionally deprived; f) lack the necessary social/sexual education to distinguish between appropriate or exploitative behaviour, or to avoid sexual abuse; g) are more likely to trust strangers; h) have difficulty judging the motivation behind other people's behaviour; i) demonstrate and receive affection more freely; and j) often lack the ability to defend themselves. These combined factors make the young women in the Elvis Club especially vulnerable to being subjected to unwanted sexual advances in the neighbourhood. Stromsness (ibid) also asserts that, of particular concern for women with learning difficulties, is

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[12] See: http://www.laurahershey.com/

the fact that they often place themselves in high risk situations in order to obtain a male companion and tend to place a higher than usual value on having a boyfriend. I certainly observed this to be the case for Mary, who spent most days fantasising about her various husbands. The next section will discuss this role of fantasy in more detail.

The key point here is the role of vulnerability[13] and the significance of gender for this group of young people. In terms of the public/private dichotomy, whereby we often take for granted that 'home' is a safe haven to retreat to for the Elvis Club, home is not necessarily a safe refuge from community violence.

3.9 Regulation, restriction and dependency

As we have already seen in this chapter, the "everyday worlds of disability experience – and research about this – are deeply connected to the playing out of wider social, economic and political relations and distributions of power in particular places" (Dyck, 2000: 85). In other words, the everyday attitudes, practices and performances of people who the Elvis Club come into contact with on a regular basis: carers, youth workers, other young people, the woman on the till in Tescos, the bus driver, the usher in the cinema, the aerobics instructor, all reproduce disability within these young people's everyday lives. While youth workers, parents and carers all attempt to follow inclusive practices, their actions have reinforced disabling values about what is normal and how the young people in the Elvis Club were and are different to normal young people. Over the course of the fieldwork, I observed various ways in which the Elvis Club were regarded by others as inappropriate, unwelcome and restricted. The young people described how they are excluded on a regular basis from engaging in activities they would like to take part in and how their behaviour was regulated. They were often prevented from entering certain places such as pubs, bars and nightclubs, despite the fact that most of the group were over 18.

The group generally had fewer opportunities and less choice than other young people in the local area. Discrimination and abuse experienced by these young people was widespread,

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[13] Although we should approach the notion of 'vulnerability' with some caution, given that it implies a whole host of generalisations which have, quite rightly, been questioned. Nevertheless, I want to continue to develop the argument here for the increased vulnerability of the young people in the Elvis Club.

with all of the young people reporting a lack of control over the key decisions that affected their lives. As a consequence of this, young people in the Elvis Club lived in very dependent and controlled circumstances with restricted social networks and constrained connections within mainstream society with regards to housing, work and leisure (Hall, 2004; 2005).   All of the young people in the Elvis Club described a considerable degree of largely unwanted and contested dependency on others, be they family, carers or support staff. This dependency had positive benefits (protection, community, familiarity and security) and negative connotations (restriction, rules, routine, control and low self-confidence). Yet, on the whole the group expressed considerable frustration and disappointment at being unable to change the dependency and surveillance they were subject to.

The young people seemed curious and eager for new experiences, yet at the same time constantly sought reassurance and security from the people around them. For many, leaving the security of their daily routine to experience new situations was so daunting as to put the young people off attempting to make a change.   Some individuals told how all of their friends were at the Elvis Club and that they did not often get to meet new people. This lack of opportunity for interaction with others coupled with lack of confidence means that it is all the more difficult for these vulnerable young people to make new friends and so it is all the more difficult for them to break this cycle of isolation and loneliness.

There is an elaborate system that works to limit the decisions that people with learning difficulties can make for themselves. The limits are justified as ways to protect vulnerable people. Society remains caught in the dilemma of wanting people with learning difficulties to be as normal as possible, yet knowing that they are not. 16 years ago Stromsness (1993) suggested that this protective behaviour reflected society's fear and anxiety and not those of people with learning difficulties. I would assert that this remains very much the same today. As we have seen with the Elvis Club, relatives and carers can be knowingly or unknowingly compliant with this protectionistic system, from aiding and abetting it by unquestionly complying with it, to abusing the people they care for and then purposefully hiding behind the system.

As society attempts to protect people with learning difficulties from the sources of their fears documented above and prevent them from being taken advantage of in a wide variety of ways, at the same time it does not allow them to make decisions for themselves as fully

functioning members of society. The inconsistency of this resonates with the Elvis Club's recurrent feelings of frustration and increasing perception about themselves as people with learning difficulties who do not have rights and who know they are vulnerable. Although many young people in general feel disenfranchised in this sense, these feelings and vulnerabilities are often exacerbated and magnified for women with learning difficulties.

3.10 Handling fears: Recreating and retreating into different worlds

This section is concerned with the strategies the Elvis Club use in order to cope with their fears. Individuals in the group all mentioned to me at various times that they had been given a mobile phone by their parent or carer to make them feel safe. They were able to contact a parent, carer or friend. Many mentioned the possibility of contacting the police or one of the youth workers if they were ever in serious trouble. The following sections will outline other strategies that the young people employed to help them feel safe.

The space of the youth club was of upmost significance to the Elvis Club, more so than for any other group of young people in the area. All of the young people described in various different ways how the club added a different level of escapism and independence for them. I would argue that this group of young people did not have financial or networked access to alcohol, drugs or sexual experiences in the same way as other young people in the area. For these reasons the Elvis Club was of magnified importance in enabling the young people to engage with others socially in a protective environment where they felt safe enough to be themselves without attracting negative attention from others. So much so that they had taken to referring to themselves as the Elvis Club after the weekly youth group.

Johnny insisted that The Elvis Club was the only place where he could "enjoy myself" and "be my own person!". In much the same way as we saw with the group in the previous chapter, the youth club was an escape from the normal; a safe place where these young people can escape the pressures of everyday life. Yet for the Elvis Club the importance of the Youth Club is more; it is of paramount significance in their everyday lives. Their narratives reveal that the youth group is the most important place for them to hang out. Therefore, it was all the more distressing, unfortunate and ironic that the Elvis Club was eventually forced to close down due to a lack of funding.

3.11 Escaping into a world of make-believe: Day-dreaming

For some young people, just being at the youth club was not enough to escape their everyday reality. The research revealed that young people in the Elvis Club held a great deal of importance to the role of fantasy, using daydreaming and imagination as a way of coping with the anxieties of everyday life. It became apparent that many individuals in the youth group, Mary, Ruth, Linda, Caz and Johnny and Jack in particular, grasp tightly onto the possibility of imagining a different way to be; a totally different life filled with choice, power and control. America was the predominant place that the Elvis Club wanted to escape to. In the young people's imaginations of where would be a good place to live.

In conversations about where they would prefer to live given the choice of anywhere in the world, the majority of the Elvis Club answered 'America'. Linda was particularly certain that "I'd rather be in the OC!". The OC (Orange County) was Linda's favourite television programme, based in California. In much the same way as we saw with the Bad Lads, the Elvis Club were very much influenced by the American culture that they had picked up from television, magazines and films. In a very similar way they idolised everything American, which seemed to be what they ultimately aspired to. Popular television series like 'High School Musical', 'Ugly Betty' and 'Gossip Girl' were often quoted as how they knew what America was like. None of the group had actually been or knew anyone personally who had been to America.

Mary was interested to the point of obsession with 'the soaps' and religiously followed 'EastEnders', 'Coronation Street' and the Australian soaps 'Home and Away' and 'Neighbours'. She seemed to have difficulty separating these fictional programs from her everyday life. I observed that whenever anybody tried to engage her in a conversation, myself included, the only topic that she was prepared to talk about were these soaps. She was no doubt an expert and talked at length and great detail about characters in these programmes, describing them as 'her friends' and reiterating that several of the main male characters were 'her husbands'. If youth workers or other young people challenged this she became very upset and questioned why people would "say she wasn't married". She was unwilling, or unable, to talk about her everyday life and instead described events occurring in the soaps when asked about her everyday life. I would argue that, for Mary, this was a form of escapism from the boredom, depression and repetitiveness of her everyday life. As I spent more time getting to know her, it transpired that Mary saw herself very much as 'normal' and did not want to be associated

with the young people in the Elvis Club. Instead she very much wanted to engage with 'normal' people; she wanted a normal husband and normal friends.

As she did not get much opportunity to venture outside her house, selecting parts of different characters and daydreaming that she was living in various television programmes enabled her to experience things that she was not able to experience within the confines of her everyday life. As previous research has suggested the daily life experience of people with learning difficulties is often dominated by activities in the home environment that centre on television (McConkey et al, 1981; Atkinson, 1985; Saxby et al, 1986; Brown, 1995; Beart et al, 2001; Ryan, 2005). While a common interpretation of 'sitting in front of the TV' is that it is a waste of time, at some times and for some of the young people involved in the research, retreating into a world of television was a strategy for release and escape from limitations.

In her imaginary world, Mary had complete control of what she did: when and where in her imaginary life. She was able to escape to this safe place where she was not questioned or challenged; she was not victimized or harassed; a place that was safe. Nobody could take this away from her. It was a safe place she could retreat into whenever and wherever she needed to. Mary became very upset if people challenged her imaginary life and was often found chattering away to herself and her imaginary friends, which was often, cause for considerable concern for some of the youth workers. For Johnny and Jack, the imaginary world was a place they didn't get told what to do and they didn't get told off. It was a place they could escape to, play football for Newcastle United and get far away from the 'gaze' and censorship of their parents and youth workers.

3.12 Elvis Cub: Conclusion

It was only during – and after – working with this group of young people that I really began to challenge my own conceptions of citizenship. In the Bad Lad chapter, we saw the various ways in which the Bad Lads were excluded from participating fully as citizens in their own community. Yet during and after working with the Elvis Club, it became clear to me just how much more powerless, more excluded, more marginalised and more stigmatised that young people with learning difficulties were in the local neighbourhood. Instead of just going without the entitlements of citizenship like the Bad Lads, the Elvis Club also suffered and endured – as an additional layer of disadvantage to the Bad Lads, the cruelty and negligence of people around them on an everyday basis. Having learned at first hand from the experiences

of this group of young people with learning difficulties, I really began to re-think, re-define and re-conceptualise my own understandings of how citizenship. For the Elvis Club 'citizenship' is lived through - not only felt (as it is for everybody else) but it is something that has to bourne and endured – something to 'put up with', rather than something that citizenship should be. At this point in the research, I was beginning to realize the material realities of what that citizenship was not fulfilling for these young people – and what it should be. It should be something that provides a certain amount of reassurance to every citizen. Something tangible and solid that protects people. Something that ensures that a person receives their full rights to participate fully in the life of their community.

At the same time, the aim of this chapter has been to illustrate that fear plays a central role in the everyday lives of the young people in the Elvis Club. I have demonstrated the multiple ways in which the Elvis Club's lives are constrained and contained to make the argument that, for these young people, their environment is so saturated with risk, as such an embedded part of their everyday life, that fear is not just experienced and expressed as a series of one offs but is more or less a constant malaise for these young people, expressed as a sense of insecurity and/or vulnerability. These young people are socially and structurally vulnerable, as well as physically vulnerable. Fear is part of the everyday spaces and social life for these young people and it is therefore both inescapable and I argue far more damaging. Therefore these young people are more marginalised, more subject to control exerted over their everyday lives and they are more fearful. Fear has a much more pervasive effect on these young people. For them, the experience of being young in Newcastle upon Tyne is shaped in contexts that mark them as different or alien to other young people in the neighbourhood, and the finding of voice can be a difficult and solitary task.

This chapter has argued that fear works to dis-empower, prevent, limit and disable the Elvis Club from being able to live the life they would like to live. The Bad Lads create fear in the neighbourhood by intentionally intimidating other young people and making themselves an object to be feared. The irony is that they themselves are stereotyped and excluded in various ways because of creating these fears. The double irony is that some young men in the Elvis Club aspire to be like the Bad Lads and mimic their particular performance of identity. They want to claim this problematic, unsustainable identity, but they are prevented from claiming it as their own as they are categorised, constructed and classified as other, different

and disabled. This double marginalisation is particularly troubling and deeply internalised by young people in the Elvis Club.

Fear works to limit the participation of young people with learning difficulties. As we have seen in this chapter, fear marks out the boundaries of citizenship for these young people. As we have seen from the two groups we have met so far in the neighbourhood, fear is about enabling or disabling full participation in the life of society. By employing daydreaming and escaping into favourite television programmes, young people with learning difficulties can create an alternative reality for themselves. This can work as a strategy for some young people like Mary, Johnny and Jack to deal with their fear as watching TV enables them to escape. They use the technology to transport them to places they would otherwise be unable to go. It literally transports them into a different space and place. It creates a different possible future. For these individuals it opens a world of possibilities and opportunities only bounded by their imagination. This enables them to actively claim a safe space as their own; a place within which they can participate. This is the action of being a citizen, which in turn reduces fear. Thus there is a cyclic, synergetic relationship between reducing fear and increasing participation. In actively creating the opportunity to participate, the Elvis Club begin to challenge and contest these fears. This chapter has demonstrated that this is easier for some young people with learning difficulties than it is for others. Thus, individuals in the Elvis Club employ a range of different vehicles, methods and strategies for trying to participate in the same way as other young people in the local life of the neighbourhood.

This chapter has provided empirical, first hand evidence of some of the ways in which citizenship is made, challenged, contested and re-worked by young people with learning difficulties. The group is able to achieve citizenship in creative, innovative and very different ways, by overcoming barriers and enabling themselves to participate fully in the life of society. They are able to get a handle on this, and do something about it through their imaginations. It provides them with a platform to empowerment.

Chapter 4: Youth Justice Girls

4.1 Who are the Youth Justice Girls?

The Youth Justice Girls (YJG) are Charley (17), Kirsty (18), Colleen (18), Em (17) and Amy (15). They have all by their own definition been 'involved' in the Youth Justice System, or cautioned for committing criminal offences. Rather than go into specific detail recording the exact nature of each individual's engagement with offending, which I feel would merely contribute to a process of stigmatization and singling-out, the following paragraph is intended to provide the background context to the youth justice girls' engagement with the Youth Justice system. Each of the young women admitted to me at various points throughout the research having committed, been arrested for, being convicted for and 'serving time' for various different offences. Rather than attempt to recount these precisely, I feel it is most useful to summarise the general pattern I observed in the field.

Each of these young women admitted to having been arrested in the past year for theft and/or the handling of stolen goods. One of the women had been cautioned for violence against the person, and another had served a custodial service for causing actual bodily harm. Two of the young women described having been convicted of drug-related offences, and one had been convicted of criminal damage. All of the young women described being involved in fighting and other public order offences. At the same time, it is important to note, each of the young people reported having been the victim of a 'serious crime', having been burgled and they all felt that they were of significant risk of violence on a daily basis.

The group decided upon this name for themselves because of their overall aim in working with the local Youth Club, the D2 Youth Zone, to try and change how they are perceived and understood in the local area.
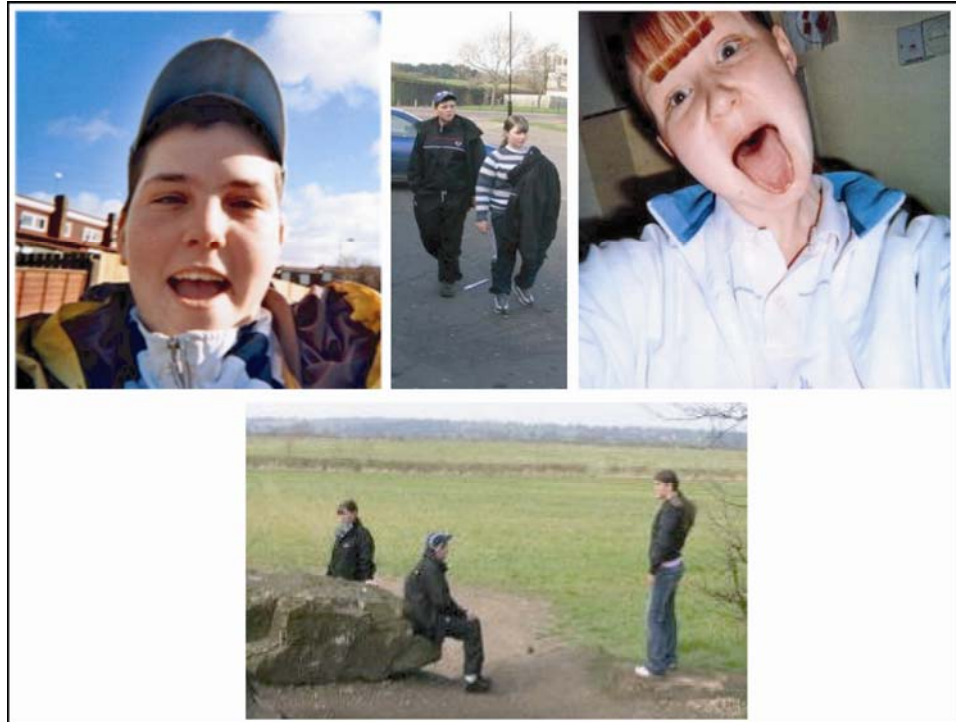
Figure 4.1 The Social Justice Girls. From top left to right: Charley; Charley and Em; Colleen; and below: Em, Charley and Kirsty.

4.2 Introduction

This chapter outlines how and why the Youth Justice Girls feel that they have been essentialised as 'deviant' through local media discourses and the reiterative practices of others in everyday life. Using their own words and frameworks of understanding, the chapter demonstrates how these young women are both emotionally and metaphorically marked, recognised and categorised. They described to me the ways in which they are conceived, imagined and understood as deviant by other people both within and outside of the local neighbourhood. Their narratives reveal: the way they often feel they have to dress; the way they sometimes feel they have to carry themselves; the people they can be forced to associate with, which all have significant impacts on how they are perceived and identified on an everyday basis. To my reading, there are a number of fractions which taken together work to stigmatise them, that in turn makes them more fearful. This essentialising of their identities is a vicious circle. The more they try to put on a front as a defensive tactic to alleviate their fears, the more full of fear they become. Ironically, the chapter will show how their experiences of the Youth Justice System, together with the stigmatising tendencies of the general public, make some individuals in the group more likely to re-offend thus re-circulating their criminality. Yet these young women are not merely passive victims of the essentialising

process. Instead, the chapter shows how they actively employ a number of other strategies in order to feel safe, and get a handle on their fears.

The social reaction to crime has always been profoundly influenced by perceptions of male and female roles (Holden and Richie, 1991; Hester et al, 1996; Hester et al, 2000). As we saw in Chapter 2, both formal and informal authority, control and fear, historically have been exclusively associated with what is masculine and male in the context of the local neighbourhood. As such, certain kinds of crime and victimisation are closely connected with the construction and affirmation of masculinities and femininities (Smith and McVie, 2003, p170). Research suggests that "men are more likely to violate their nearest and dearest and their neighbours" which is in contrast to the "types of offences typically committed by women" (Campbell, 1993: 211). A much higher proportion of women's offences are related to shop-lifting and stealing and it is estimated that 50% of the prosecutions made against women result in imprisonment, in comparison to 27% of men (Munchie, 2009: 41). In both Chapters 2 and 3, a theme that came out strongly is the frequency and extent to which men commit violence in the domestic sphere of East Thorpe.

This chapter draws on the public/private dichotomy and the ways in which it is spatialised in everyday life, to explain how individuals in the Youth Justice Girls have two distinct personas depending on whether they are in the public or private sphere. Empirical evidence will be drawn upon to illustrate this dichotomy and consequently to outlining why the group has struggled with how they are identified and perceived in the local area. I will demonstrate that in a similar way to the Bad Lads, the public space of the neighbourhood is experienced as a crimogenic environment for the Youth Justice Girls. Elements of the criminal are an everyday reality, as individuals both commit crime and have crimes committed against them. The young women convey that the very process of being marked out as criminal evokes in them anxiety and a significant sense of injustice. The uncertainties related to fear and the discrimination related to these stereotypes are a dominant discourse in these young peoples' everyday lives.

The chapter outlines the myriad ways in which fear is experienced in the public sphere and the ways the young women work together to deal with their fear on the street. Attempting to "look hard" was about engendering the feeling that "you can't mess with us". The group described to me that in response to their insecurities and fears they actively choose

to dress and act in hard and cool ways, specifically to "try to look like a bloke". Performing in a stereotypically masculine and aggressive way, these young women are able to take on a Bad Lad type of masculinity as a defensive strategy. I argue here that this is very different to that which we saw with the Elvis Club. The Youth Justice Girls are not vying for acceptance, nor are they attempting to mimic the Bad Lad brand. Rather, the chapter will demonstrate the ways in which they actively work to exclude and distance themselves from the Bad Lads. The Youth Justice Girls draw on masculinity in very strategic and purposeful ways in order to survive the everyday realities that they face and to handle their own fears. At the same time, by dressing and hanging out in the neighbourhood in particular ways they respond to their fears, but ironically these actions can at the same time work to inspire new fears in others living in the area (see: Pain, 2003a; Hopkins and Smith, 2008). This chapter illustrates one example of this, in drawing on empirical evidence of the various ways in which the Youth Justice Group actively bully individuals in the Elvis Club.

Paradoxically, I argue that each Youth Justice Girl also engenders herself as care-giver in various different ways within the private sphere. Charley is the sole long-term, full-time and unpaid carer for her elderly and infirm grandmother, Doreen. Em is a single mother who cares for her two young sons, Brandon and Brendan. As a group, the young women dedicate time to looking after each others' young children as well as making it a priority to individually "look after each other". This is in stark contrast to the Bad Lads who claim that they 'watch out for each other', but whose actions prove otherwise. The Youth Justice Girls have maintained close and supportive relationships with each other since they established their friendships with each other, usually from when they were born into the estate. The exception to this is Amy, who was temporarily re-housed into the neighbourhood before I met the group. Over the time I spent with the YJG, I observed how Amy transformed from an unknown stranger into an integral part of the group. The Youth Justice Girls accepted her and "took her in" as one of their own, to the extent that Kirsty provided a permanent address for both Amy and Colleen, who would otherwise be homeless. In this way, the chapter will demonstrate the various ways in which the Youth Justice Group inhabit much more stereotypically feminised, feminine and feminist spaces within their private lives.

In drawing attention to the complexity of the gendered division of space within the neighbourhood, the chapter explains the juxtaposition between a masculine public and a more feminine private life. It interrogates this disconnect and explains how individuals occupy that

divide. Drawing on a typical day in the life of Em, the chapter demonstrates the various ways in which the Youth Justice Girls deal with their split personalities and the difficulties that are encompassed by this.

Box 4.1 Youth Justice Girls: Methodological Reflections

A new youth worker in the area, Angela, had heard about the kind of research that I had undertaken with the Elvis Club. In September 2006 she got in touch with me to ask if I would be interested in working with the Youth Justice Group at her organization, the D2 Youth Zone. Before I first met the group Angela explained that the Youth Club had approached the girls on the streets of the estate with the aim of 'getting to know' the young women, find out what was important to them and then to work together to engage them in a 'positive way'. The intervention of the youth group was therefore an attempt to provide support and advice to the YJG. At this initial stage, I was not aware of how or to what extent individuals in the group had been 'involved' in the Youth Justice System and this was not important to me. As I already had gained a perspective into the everyday lives of a group of young men in the local area, it made sense to me to try to draw on the thoughts and views of young women too. Primarily, I wanted to get to know individuals, and find out what life on the estate was like for them.

When I first met the group I brought along a flipchart, paper, pens and I suggested a number of different techniques or methods we could use to find out what life was like for them in the neighbourhood. It became clear the group were not interested in any of these methods and instead suggested we should simply talk through what life was like for them. I met with the group regularly: every Thursday for six weeks. This eventually developed into a more in-depth and long term piece of research that involved other groups in the area and occurred on-and-off over a period of two years. However, this chapter is concerned with the preliminary research I conducted with the YJG in isolation. During this time, meeting the young women as a group naturally developed into a 'coffee morning update' style of meeting and I would always take along plenty of their favourite snacks and drinks.

In group conversations we all constantly negotiated 'acceptable boundaries' of what was deemed 'ok to talk about', for example, issues of crime, drug use, relationships with others, perceptions of the area and how they felt that they were perceived. Over time, I observed and learnt the best ways to interact and engage with the young women.

Occasionally, I recorded parts of our conversations with either via a Dictaphone or by jotting down notes. More often it was more fitting to just relax and interact in conversations and I made more detailed field notes after the sessions had taken place (Kindon et al, 2008).

Angela and the other youth workers at D2 were able to use me as an excuse to bring up difficult or sensitive subjects that they would not usually feel comfortable asking the young women. As a youth led charity working to tackle the problems most effecting young people in the estate, D2 were particularly interested in finding out what the issues underlying the Youth Justice Girls's criminal activities and drug use were in order to create and tailor a support network in response. This objective was obviously incredibly valuable and advantageous to me, given the research approach that I wanted to adopt in the local area. At the same time, it is important to note that the young women were also able to use the research session as a chance to participate in something different from the norm during the day. This was a way of developing their confidence and an excuse to meet more regularly at the youth group which in turn offered them an inconspicuous opportunity to gain advice, information and support regarding their drug use, personal relationships and participation in crime. When conversations turned to more pressing issues affecting these young women's' everyday lives, I was happy to fade into the background and let the issues, quite rightly, supersede the research. Equally, and as far as I am aware, I sensed when to leave, was asked to leave, or changed the subject whenever anybody felt it was inappropriate for me to be present in conversations surrounding particularly sensitive issues.

The flexible nature of the research meant that sometimes it was the young women, sometimes it was me, and sometimes the youth workers who would decide on the topic, direction and purpose of the meetings and of course we each had our own agenda behind attending. Through the process of getting to know each other, we worked together to determine the most important questions pertaining to the role that fear and resistance played in their everyday lives. I was able to build up and develop a picture of what life was like and what was fundamental to the survival of these young women on an everyday basis. For example, of more immediate importance to the young women was addressing the problems they experienced surrounding issues of child support, benefit advice and access to health care. The youth group also assisted the young women in providing job-related skills and references, in supporting them in establishing contact with solicitors and legal advice, or acting as character witnesses and attending court appearances when was required. The youth group

also intervened to get individuals, who had been turned down because of the negative connotations associated with their family name, onto the Housing Association's register and eventually succeeded in getting two of the women who were otherwise homeless housed on the estate. In these and other ways, I gained access into parts of these young women's everyday lives, fears, joys, challenges, frustrations and a wealth and richness of data that would not have been available had I undertaken a different methodological approach. I was able to get to know the women as individuals and we were able to share with each other about what impacted on all of us in the neighbourhood to make us feel vulnerable and insecure and how we dealt with this. In this way, there were a number of reasons and timely coincidences which brought about the more deeply engaged and participatory approach that the research with this group of young people followed, in comparison to that which we have seen for other groups so far in the thesis.

4.3 Constructing criminality

The young women described, in very similar ways to the Bad Lads, a great deal of frustration about how their bodies were read in the local area. Yet what was significant from the outset of working with this group of young people was that they appeared to have endured a great deal more specific and directly targeted forms of harassment than the young men and that these incidents were much more a part of these young women's everyday lives.

Cat:	How is it for you, living round here?
Kirsty:	I can't even walk the dog without them [the police] calling me: 'where you off to Kirsty? Show us your tag.' It's six months since it was taken off! They're always trying to, like, provoke me – even if I'm just off to the shops!

Kirsty felt she was judged wherever she went and on a daily basis treated with suspicion both inside and outside the neighbourhood. When spending time in the city centre, for example, she tells of feeling watched, monitored and surveyed: "Y'can see it [CCTV camera] in every shop, man. You can actually see it following us around everywhere! That's if they let us inside [the shop] in the first place, like." (Kirsty). It is worth noting that the young women are not passive victims of these surveillance practices either and that they work together to

support each other and at times to resist them. Kirsty explained that when she was 'tagged[14]', the police officer unknowingly failed to secure the device tightly enough and as a consequence she was able to slip it off her ankle and put it onto her dog, Snoopy, who was subsequently monitored pottering around her house for the rest of the evening.

In general however, the constant suspicion which these young women feel they are under became a second dominant theme in the research. They felt strongly that people only saw them in light of the criminal offences they had committed. In one example, Kirsty had actively been trying to get a job and made an appointment at the local Job Centre. On sight she felt discriminated against and was further deflated when she was informed by the adviser that her considerable experience in paid employment at the youth centre was 'worthless' and that 'there's no point putting that on your CV'. Having low self-esteem and lacking in confidence, Kirsty had found it difficult to attend the appointment in the first place and she told of how the event both devastated and de-motivated her from seeking future employment. Kirsty's narrative demonstrates that, despite her best efforts, she felt that people see her as 'criminal'; she was afraid that this was something she would never get past. "I can't get a job without my record. What's the point in trying' if you canna [can't] even get past the dole?" (Kirsty).

My research has indicated that the Youth Justice Girls were regularly harassed by people in public spaces, especially when they were in the town centre, where they felt they were particularly targeted by students. Em conveyed to me how she has been called 'Vicky Pollard[15]' on numerous occasions. The general public equating her with this popular media stereotype, to my reading, has had a powerful stigmatising effect on Em, which she has deeply internalised. These events happening in accumulation have an enormous impact and affect individuals in the Youth Justice Girls on a personal level. In subsequent sections of this chapter, I will demonstrate that through local media discourses, fear is cultivated and works to inform public perceptions of the group. Negative experiences such as these outside the neighbourhood have meant that everyday lives become much more localised for the Youth Justice Girls than we saw for the young men, which, to my reading is a defensive strategy.

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[14] Electronic tagging: an electronic device is attached to a person, usually around the ankle, allowing their whereabouts to be monitored by the police. Together with Anti-Social Behavior Orders, they form the Home Office 2003 Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Program (Goldson, 2000)

[15] 'Vicky Pollard' is one of the fictitious characters adopted by the BBC's popular comedy series *Little Britain* (2003–6). The character is depicted as an overweight, moody, teenage mother who is recognised in particular by a pink tracksuit and an incomprehensibly fast, regional (Midlands) accent.

Discussions with Colleen revealed: "It's my confidence. I struggle to talk to new people. Most people take one look at you and they jus divvn't [don't] wanna know. I canna [can't] be bothered with that. I'd rather just stay round here. Everyone knows me, I get nee bother." (Colleen).

The geographic locality and particular places in which the Youth Justice Girls spent the majority of their time was also very different to the Bad Lads. Their everyday lives were predominantly contained within the private sphere: their own homes, friend's and relative's houses and the local youth club. The young women described to me that were much less comfortable spending much time wandering around on the streets and instead tended to prefer to stay at home. While the young men told that they often went "off into toon" the young women admitted they were much more reluctant to venture very far away from their local neighbourhood.

<div style="text-align:center">Box 4.2 How the Research Became More Participatory</div>

As a group, the young women decided that they wanted to respond directly to the issues of stigmatisation and discrimination they felt in the neighbourhood. Together they planned, organised and delivered a 'Giving back' project which offers a range of services from gardening and odd jobs around the house, to painting and decorating derelict buildings. In this way, the Youth Justice Girls became actively involved in creating a 'Giving back' project that was designed to make the area better. The underlying aim of this was a decriminalising intervention, breaking the classed assemblage and offering new ways for these young people to practise their identity. As such, the project provided space for the young women to attempt to contest, challenge and ultimately change how they are perceived, processed and understood in the neighbourhood.

Figure 4.2 Photo montage of Giving back project on display in youth centre

In this way, more so than any other youth group that I worked with, these young people gave up their free time to volunteer to work towards making the area better. They have taken on more roles and responsibilities than many residents of the neighbourhood. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Giving back project designed by the Youth Justice Girls enabled them to develop a series of long-term inter-generational relationships, which further challenged practices of victimisation and stereotyping against them. The Giving back project also grew rapidly and engaged other groups of young people even after the Youth Justice Girls stopped attending the Youth Group. In fact the Giving back project still exists in the neighbourhood today. It continues to engage the youngest group of people that I worked with, the Pizza and Politics group, who we will meet in Chapter 6.

4.4 Local media effects on individuals

Members of the Youth Justice Girls have featured in local newspapers, due to reporting on their criminal activity.   With a readership approaching 32,000, The Newcastle Evening Chronicle is the biggest selling daily newspaper in the region and the second best performing regional newspaper in the UK. This section will outline how the local media are targeting the young women individually, which acts to keep their personal 'criminal record' vivid in the public imagination. One example of this is explored in the continual references to the names

and photographs of these young people published in the local newspaper. Some individuals are still undergoing the performance of punishment, with restrictions to their everyday lives in the form of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and electronic tagging (see: footnote 1) mapping a visible, material layer onto their already risky bodies. These echoes of their former offences are heard again and relayed sometimes many years after the events took place. They are powerful in cementing how these young women are understood as both offender and criminal.

In light of this, Angela specifically invited the Chronicle to publish a piece on the Youth Justice Girls' 'Giving back' project (see: Box 4.2), with the aim of representing the group in a more positive light. It was hoped that this would help to challenge the paper's prior negative stereotyping of individuals and help to raise the profile of the voluntary work the group had contributed to the area. Yet, the paper decided to publish the article alongside a recognisable photo of Charley, that had been printed repeatedly a year before. This therefore intentionally kept her criminal past in the forefront of people's minds in referring to her as an ex-'yob' (Figure 4.3).

I observed the devastating effect this reporting had on Charley. As with other sources, local media play a "pivotal role in moral panics by representing deviant groups or events and their effects in an exaggerated way" (Valentine, 2004: 181).   The young women themselves are left to suffer the back-lash of media representations of them, which when dealing with named individuals, are all the more personal, all the more specific and all the more damaging. In 2006, a particularly derogatory photo of Colleen, taken three years previously, was splashed across the front page, as part of a three page spread (Figure 4.4).

Angela:

"You were devastated by that article, weren't you, Charley? I've never seen her like that. Cried herself to sleep. They just don't think about the effect these articles have on the kids – you were just a bairn when that was written! They forget you've got feelings too."

Charley:

"I never believe what I read in newspapers since then. I thought they'd print what I said, but there was only, like, two lines. The rest was made up!"

Figure 4.3 'Giving Back' Article in Evening Chronicle, 2007

Figure 4.4 Front page of Evening Chronicle, March 2006

In the article, her personal details including the street where she lives was revealed. The article refers to her "yobbish behavior" and an incident when her mother beat her in the street. The newspaper continues to publish this particular photograph every time she is

involved in an incident in the local area. The Chronicle also uses a particularly interesting journalism tactic, by giving the names and photographs of the young women when reporting an incident they've not been involved in. One particularly high-profile unsolved crime, when a young mother was stabbed to death in the city, attracted considerable media coverage. The newspaper could not associate these young people to this event in any way other than spatially. Nonetheless in the article they included a reference to an occasion when Colleen was arrested 'with [a] blade in [her] pocket'. In fact, she was on her way to a youth group redecorating project and was carrying a small Stanley knife for use in the Giving back decorating project. This media juxtaposition associates these young women's' names with violent, unsolved crimes, and to my reading, perpetuates the stigmatising process. A year later, the same photo of Colleen and an equally stigmatising article was published in national newspaper, The Sun (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Page 29 of The Sun, February 2007

Since then, Colleen endured repeated verbal abuse and has received hate mail from residents in the neighbourhood. I can only describe the way in which the young people

reported to me their experience of repeatedly reading the words yob, criminal and notorious offender alongside derogatory pictures of themselves and the long-term effect this has had on their self esteem. When the Youth Justice Girls are identified in the North East more widely, because of their perpetual presence in newspaper reporting, a process occurs whereby: "the presence of these young women in the street materialises a body that signals criminality through moral euphemism, rarely naming it directly, hence relying on the process of interpretation to do the work of association" (Skeggs, 2005: 968). The Youth Justice Girls have expressed to me in powerful language exactly how these articles continue to affect them. The words they use and the sentiments expressed evoke a sense of marginalisation and the stigmatisation with which they are still addressed.

During my time spent with the youth justice girls, the idea of 'giving back', volunteering, caring for each other or somehow working together to make the area better, was a strong theme that resonated throughout the research. Most of these projects were both time and energy-consuming: and the equivalent material worth of these activities to the local state is significant. Yet it remains in the local area, that this broad range of voluntary activities undertaken by the youth justice girls which, importantly demonstrate a significant level of political and social engagement, go unrecognized. In terms of my own re-conceptualisation of citizenship, I would assert that an important constituent part would be for the full recognition of the value of volunteering work, in terms of the cost-benefit provided to the wider community. In my view, these services cannot and should not be guaranteed. Volunteer activities should be formally recognised in a more socially-acceptable conception of citizenship. I return to this point in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

This is in line with a number of feminist theorists, who have recently asserted that unpaid care should be acknowledged as an expression of citizenship responsibility alongside paid work (Knijn and Kremer, 1997; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Lister, 2003). In this way, Lister (2003) points to one group of children who could be said to have demonstrated at least some of the capabilities for citizenship through providing community care for a parent or relative. Yet, it remains that "their existence in a number of Western European countries has only recently been (partially) recognized" (Lister, 2003: 76).

In terms of my own re-conceptualisation of citizenship, I would assert that an important constituent part would be for the full recognition of the value of volunteering work – in terms

of the cost-benefit provided to the wider community. In my view, these services cannot and should not be guaranteed. Volunteer activities should be formally recognised in a more socially-acceptable conception of citizenship. I return to this point in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

4.5 The everyday lives of the Youth Justice Girls?

As outlined above, the Youth Justice Girls were angered and frustrated that their lives were unfairly portrayed in the local media. In response to this, we spent one fieldwork session analysing what a typical day on the estate might actually look like for Em:

<u>A Day in the Life of Em: Saturday, July 2007</u>

12.00pm	Gets the bairns [her children] Brendan (aged 3) and Brandon (aged 4) up. Watches TV, cooks beans on toast for breakfast. Gets txt from Colleen to come round to Kirsty's. Arranges to meet the lasses on the Gala.
2.00 pm:	Gets the boys ready in the buggy and goes out to meet Colleen at the Gala. Gets called on the street 'Lezzer' and 'Dyke' probably by a group of gadges [men] she doesn't know. Em would probably yell back something like 'Yer more of a girl than I'll ever be, mate', and 'stand her ground' to 'face them off'.

As we shall see in the next section of this chapter, the way in which men in the neighbourhood use their masculinity and exert control defines and polices how other young people are able to participate fully and enjoy life. As such, Bad Lad masculinity is the marker by which others in the neighbourhood are excluded, disempowered and disentitled. The way in which young men manage and handle themselves in the neighbourhood imposes impacts and constraints onto how the Youth Justice Girls act and react in the neighbourhood. The Bad Lads performances and actions impact directly on the Youth Justice Girls in a number of different ways. In the next instalment of "A Day in the Life of Em" we will see how Keith curbs Em's mobility in making her question where she feels comfortable spending time in case she might bump into him.   This is one example of the ways in which the Bad Lads impact on how

the Youth Justice Girls feel about and perceive the neighbourhood and this has the effect of producing and these women's concerns and fears about the likelihood of becoming victims of crime on an everyday basis. It is an established theory in Human Geography that the limitation of women's mobility, in terms both of using space and constructing identity, has been a crucial means of their subordination (Massey, 1994).

Yet it is important to note that, in response to this, the Youth Justice Girls are not "lying down and taking it". Instead, I would assert that they themselves employ a number of tactics to hijack Bad Lad masculinity, in certain ways at certain times. The young women told me that they purposefully dressed like a bloke and wore similar casual sportswear and baseball caps as the young men in an attempt to 'look hard' and engender a feeling that "you can't mess with us". Colleen had made the decision to shave her head in an attempt to look 'scary' and she said that she wore baggy clothing so that she wouldn't be seen as 'a girl' which, to her, implied personal weakness. Kirsty agreed: "It's safer if they think y'look hard. Nee one will bother you if y'carry yourself right". For this reason both young women describe how they are often mistaken for 'a bloke'. Browne (2004; 2005) has succinctly shown that women who are mistaken for men can contend the supposed natural links between sexes and how one's body is read. These moments of transgression may challenge the performative illusion of fixed sexes, yet importantly "the (re)formation of these categories can be painful, disconcerting and discriminatory for those whose embodiments do not 'fit' dichotomous gender norms" (Browne, 2005: 245).

Ironically, despite deploying these bodily comportments as a strategy for staying safe and avoiding confrontation, there is much evidence to show that people who fall outside of the common sense of the man/woman binary are all the more likely to experience discrimination and verbal and physical abuse (Butler, 1990; Halberstam, 1998). These young women's narratives were strikingly similar to the young men's, but if anything there was a much increased threat of physical violence often at the hands of Bad Lads in the neighbourhood. While the majority of the Youth Justice Girls self-identified as 'straight', Colleen referred to herself as openly gay and told me that she's been bullied about it since she came out about her sexuality when she was 15. During the fieldwork Colleen described how she had been "jumped on and punched in the face" by a man she didn't know and she assumed that this must have had something to do with her sexuality. Engaging with literatures on feminine masquerades and the instability of bodily signifiers, Browne (2004) has also

introduced the possibility of genderism to describe the subtle, nuanced, often unconscious and sometimes hostile readings of gender ambiguous bodies that "articulate often unnamed instances of discrimination based on the discontinuities between the sex/gender with which an individual identifies, and how others, in a variety of spaces, read their sex/gender" (p. 332). Feeling exposed and watched was another dominant theme for the young women and this is important as it can play a part in (re)forming the identities and embodiments of those who are viewed (Bornstein, 1995).

I would suggest that this criminalised assemblage is a space that the Youth Justice Girls put themselves into, as a way of coping and living with their anxieties and fears. In this way they retreat in a way that, for them, has become normalised into a Bad Lad norm as a defensive strategy. Ironically, the clothes they choose to wear to blend in, tracksuits, baseball caps and hooded tops, can mean that they are excluded further from mainstream society. As Nayak (2006) has outlined previously, Newcastle city centre has long targeted young people wearing this type of casual sportswear whereby trainers, tracksuits and baseball caps are banned from popular bars and clubs, specifically marketing itself as a "Charver free zone" (Nayak, 2006). Again, in the same way as the young men, there is an essentialising of their identities which plays out as a vicious circle; the more they try to put on a front as a defensive tactic to alleviate their fears, the more fearful they become. As we have seen, the Youth Justice Girls take on Bad Lad masculinity in the public space of the neighbourhood in order to survive and live through what they face and have to deal with in their everyday lives. Setting up this model offers a vehicle for understanding how the Bad Lads are, in a way, the gendered, sexualised, racialised, 'normalised' 'reference group' for the Youth Justice Girls.

| 2.15 pm: | Em goes to meet Colleen at the Gala, and finds her 'messing with the spazzy kids'. She relays: 'It's pure comedy watching the two of them trying to fight back!' Em joins in taking the mick: calling them 'mong' and 'spaz' while Colleen knocks one girls' baseball cap off, throws it about for a bit. They get a text from Kirsty asking them to pick up more Taurus [cider] from Aldi on the way round. |

I had to reconcile myself to the fact that some of the Youth Justice Girls may have been the bullies that individuals in the Elvis Club had endured years of abuse from. This was difficult to come to terms with, but I tried to probe Colleen and Em deeper to try to get to grips with why they perceived "messing with the spazzy kids" as being 'pure comedy': "I dunno, they're just 'special' aren't they. They don't get what we're saying they think we're their best mates, man! They're just mongs, man. They don't even know their own names if y'try to talk to them!" (Em).

As Valentine and Skelton (2003) have outlined, what counts as resistance or boldness can be both complex and contradictory whilst taking on a number of different forms. The Youth Justice Girls attempting to assert themselves in the public space by bullying the Elvis Club demonstrates that what 'resistance' means for one person or group may also act to restrict the citizenship of another (Gilling, 1997). This one example is drawn upon to demonstrate how the Youth Justice Girls attempt to appropriate and take control of space inspires a different fear in the neighbourhood, by actively bullying Linda who we met in Chapter 3. Fear is transferred and mapped onto the body of someone more vulnerable. Embedded and threaded through these complex networks of fear are emotional geographies of the most pronounced and deeply felt fears.

2.45 pm:	Arrive at Kirsty's. Em finally 'chil-laxes' and they all have a tab, Colleen smokes tac [cannabis] and updates her facebook page saying she aims to go out later and get off her face. Em describes how safe and secure she feels 'round Kirsty's' because 'nothing bad could happen here'.
5.00pm:	Em returns home; makes the tea and puts the kids to bed. She begins to text Keith, to see what he's up to. Their messages start out flirty, but soon turn aggressive when she turns him down when he asks to come around. They both enter into a drawn-out and abusive text conversation which eventually causes him to snap. He calls her up and goes mad, screaming down the phone.

Here we can see how Em's abusive exchange with Keith has transformed her home from a "safe, secure space" to a place where she feels anxious, upset and uneasy. I often observed at firsthand how Em suffered through her mobile phone: from the cruel, teasing and deeply hurtful text messages that passed between both herself and Keith. Despite all the support from her friends and the youth workers, Em had remained immersed in a long-term co-dependent and destructive relationship with Keith for 4 years. As we saw in the Bad Lads chapter, Keith initially denied that he was the father of Brandon and Brendan, a claim which was deeply distressing to Em.   A year later, when I met the Youth Justice Girls his paternity had been proven and by this time he had officially been forced to pay child support. During the fieldwork, all of the girls had fallen out with Em at one time or another and Charley in particular expressed that she had "washed their hands of her" in frustration when she refused to break up with Keith. In this way, her tempestuous relationship with Keith was ultimately destructive, in that it progressively marginalized her from her friends, family and her initial prospects for becoming more socially included in the neighborhood. Over the time that I spent talking to and getting to know Em and the other Youth Justice Girls and in watching them all struggle to cope with the fallout of Em immersing deeper and deeper into a destructive mode of living, in which she has descended into social and psychological depths, I witnessed an amazing commitment in response from the majority of the Youth Justice Girls to this friendship. Despite all the times she "sold out on them", or seemed to 'choose Keith over them', the Youth Justice Girls remained loyal and dedicated in their long-term support and commitment to Em.

7.15pm	Em jumps to loud banging at the front door. Keith's come around regardless and is threatening to break down the door and wants to see the kids. Em screams back at him – if he manages to get in she's worried that he might hit her.

Em admitted that she'd once been 'knocked about' by Keith, "But, he was like 'soz for being a dickhead, soz for scaring you, y'know. I went mad. It wasn't your fault. Swear down [I promise], I'll be sound' when he goes mad he's not himself - he doesn't mean it, you know?" The other Youth Justice Girls suggested that the situation was worse than Em made out and that her older son, Bandon (aged 4) had witnessed her being beaten by Keith. Colleen and

Charley were particularly worried that Keith might "turn on the kids and end up killing one of them". This narrative is indicative of the violence that always has been and continues to be a part of these young women's everyday lives. Equally important, in line with Smith and McVie (2003), my research concurs that "patterns of victimisation are substantially different for males and females: violent crimes against women, as compared with those against men, more often take place in private, in the framework of continuing, often intimate relationships, and more often form a repetitive pattern through which an imbalance of power is maintained" (Smith and McVie, 2003: 170).

Colleen spoke passionately about being deeply embedded in personal vendettas relating to associations with her own family members. As a consequence of this, the young people told me how personal disputes in the neighbourhood can escalate, and that they often get dragged in and are called on to "watch my back". These young women felt that sometimes they had to resort to violence as a survival strategy. This ironically serves to reinforce the everyday risks they face. They tend to hang out together as a group to form allegiances in the resistance of their everyday fears, yet remain very insecure generally as they move about the neighbourhood, which is a direct reflection of what we observed with the Bad Lads.

8.00pm	Em calls Colleen, who is straight round with Charley and Kirsty. They physically attack punch, scream and kick at Keith while Kirsty pretends to be calling the Police. Keith's on bail and this would see him locked up for years. Eventually Colleen gives Keith a 'proper mint right hook' as the only way she can see to get him 'off Em'. Eventually Keith storms off into the night, in a torrent of abuse calling the girls 'nought but a bunch of butch Lezzers'.

As we see above, the Youth Justice Girls do not merely submit and give in to the Bad Lads attempts at maintaining dominance and control of space in the neighbourhood. They are not lying down and submitting to the restrictive forces that are pressed upon them. They do not give in to this notion of curfew. Instead, they work together to make efforts to challenge and resist restrictive forces. This errs on the 'Bold Walk' side of the fear of crime literature arguing that women do not have to be fearful. Here boldness is associated with freedom, equality and a sense of control over and possession of space (Koskela, 1997). In the next section we will see how the Youth Justice Girls also attempt to appropriate the space of the neighbourhood in

new and significant ways. As Koskela (1997) has emphasised, women may respond to the threat of violence with boldness and defiance rather than fear and in the same way, women may lose the space of fearfulness though certain life experiences. What meant most to Em about the long-term support and protection from her friends was the protection and safety she felt in the company of the other Youth Justice Girls. More recently, the support of the Youth Justice Girls has helped her to build on the encouragement, safety and strength that she needed to try to stay away from Keith. Em's experience is an important example of resistance.

These young women are strategic and actively employ the tactic of hijacking the masculinity of the Bad Lads. They are actively staking a claim to the public space around them in acting aggressively and transgressing gender. As we can see here, this is not an attempt to try and become more like the young men. Rather I am carefully unpicking the complex ways in which these young women have worked to take on masculinity as a strategy to distance themselves from the men in their lives. On several occasions the young women described to me the ways they had forged bonds and alliances with each other that was indicative of their reaction to the challenging and difficult relationships that they have endured with the men in their lives. In distancing themselves from these fathers, brothers and boyfriends, these young women have chosen to provide continuous support for each other. Their long-term commitment to each other was palpable, from physically fighting against Keith when he tried to win Em back, to emotionally in providing everyday help in the home via childcare, support and kinship, they forged a place for themselves where they felt safe and felt they could belong. Despite her involvement in drugs and crime and the turbulent relationship she endured with Keith, Em was able to draw on the support of the Youth Justice Girls to make a change to her everyday life and to the worrying life course that she may have remained on had she not had the support of her close friendship group. During the period of the fieldwork, I observed the ways in which the Youth Justice Girls worked together to enact, take possession and change their future trajectories, by working together to overcome their fears.

4.6 The criminal justice system in youth transitions

Unavoidable circumstances meant that some individuals of the group were unable to sustain long-term and continuous access to the Youth Justice Girls support network. Inevitably, the realities of a life centered upon drugs and crime shaped Colleen's trajectory and meant that her contact with the Youth Justice Girls became illegal. During the fieldwork, Colleen was

imprisoned for a period of time and was placed under a restraining order which prohibited her from entering the neighborhood or from spending time with any residents of the local area. It has been established that spending time in custody disrupts the ability of young adults to complete the transition to adulthood that growing out of crime requires (MacDonald et al, 2007). For Colleen, I would suggest that the recurrent periods she spent in prison meant that her attempts of desisting from a life of drugs and crime were all the harder and all the more unlikely for her to achieve. The Barrow Cadbury Trust's (2005) 'Lost in Translation' report makes a compelling argument for reform of the criminal justice system for young adults over the age of 18 years. It argues for a re-balancing in favour of social rather than criminal justice priorities for young adults in transition, claiming that "Criminal justice policies . . . do unnecessary damage to the life chances of young adult offenders and often make them more, not less, likely to re-offend. They make it harder for young adults to lead crime-free lives and exacerbate the widespread problems of social exclusion" (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2005: 9).

Prior to engaging in the criminal activity for which Colleen was sentenced, Kirsty relayed to me that Colleen had announced on her Facebook page "she wants to go out into Newcastle and mug a student, bash them up, get high off coke and make sure she gets caught so that she'll be sent back to prison, because there are some really bonny lasses she wanted to get involved with inside [currently serving sentences in prison], so she figured she might as well go back inside". Recent research undertaken in Teesside found that the criminal justice system plays little more than a marginal and sometimes obstructive role in youth transition processes (MacDonald et al, 2007). For Colleen, I suspect that her recurrent imprisonment worked as a consequence of, and a response to, the disadvantages she experienced in her everyday life, and that in fact, her time spent in prison worked simply to further entrench those disadvantages. It made it much harder for her to make the very transitions necessary to move away from a life of drugs and crime. I would suggest that when the experience of rehabilitation works to make a life-without-freedom more attractive, then this raises questions about the effectiveness of the youth justice system in the local area. Webster (2007) sums up a central question in asking whether drug addiction, its control and treatment should primarily be understood as a moral, medical or criminal problem? In a similar vein, MacDonald et al (2007) strongly advocate that "a social understanding of drug dependency and its treatment is one that, therefore, assists in addressing the multiple, social needs of (ex)users" (MacDonald et al, 2007: 122). The young people who participated in my own research suggest that there

are numerous problems within the current criminal justice system in respect of treatment for young adults with drug and alcohol problems. I would advocate the need for a joined-up holistic-approach to desistance from crime. In the concluding chapter of this thesis, I develop and expand upon this argument, in demonstrating that employing a social and democratic conception of citizenship, as a means of critique, could be useful in conceptualizing these young people's rights to participate freely and fully in the life of their society.

4.7 Conclusion

In a variety of different ways most of the Youth Justice Girls are making difficult, surprising and successful attempts to change their life trajectories. This chapter has demonstrated that individuals are making genuine and progressive steps towards walking away from the long-standing careers of drug-related crime in the neighborhood. As we have seen thus far in the thesis, there are complex relationships of power at play in the neighbourhood. In gaining an insight into multiple different versions of youth perspectives in the local area, my research demonstrates in practice how and where citizenship entitlements are given out, rationed and policed. In previous chapters, we have witnessed varying degrees of how young people experience – and have put upon them - the power to exclude and to stigmatise. In this chapter, we have seen the power to name and to shame in the context of media portrayals of the youth justice girls. This tells us something **new** about the essence of citizenship for the young people living in the local area and the wider community in the neighbourhood. In this chapter I want to make the link between how fear and insecurity are shot through the fabric of these young women's everyday experiences and how these experiences translate into their entitlements and practices of citizenship. By this point in the research, I was beginning to incorporate a social and democratic conceptualization of citizenship. It lays the foundations for the Youth Justice Groups' abilities to participate in their local community. This chapter has argued that fear can work to mediate and shape young people's everyday lives, to compound exclusions and to limit the opportunity for the kinds of social participation on which active citizenship depends.

I would suggest that there is great complexity to the gendered division of space within the neighbourhood. The data that I have presented in this chapter are telling us something very specific about the difference between 'gender' and 'masculinity and femininity' within the neighbourhood. In Chapter 2 we learned that the Bad Lads only want to be associated with masculinity; all that they perceive to be tough, rough and aggressive. As a group, they contend

that to be seen as anything else would be 'weak'. The Bad Lads refuse to be perceived as 'weak' in any way as their reputation in the neighbourhood depends on it. This chapter however demonstrates that the Youth Justice Girls are much more subtle, tactical and strategic in their performances of both masculinity and femininity within the neighbourhood. They actively perform masculinity on the streets to look hard, but they are not trying to become more like the Bad Lads men. In fact, they have distanced themselves away from men and reject them on a daily basis. This ability to resist gender, or to shift and transgress between gender, raises a range of questions about the personal implications this poses for individuals and whether this ability makes them more coherent and adaptable as individuals, or whether it leaves them more schizophrenic and vulnerable. Despite their fears and insecurities, the young women actively take on roles and responsibilities on an unpaid and voluntary basis. In looking after each other the chapter has demonstrated the ways in which the Youth Justice Girls are able to feel safe and secure and free from risk, which is essential for a person to be able to engage with society. For these young women, being in an at-risk environment curtails the options available to them. Fear, insecurity and risk act to restrain and compromise the present and future contexts for this group of young women.

As summarised by Ruddick (2009) in a commentary on the findings from my research with the Youth Justice Girls (Alexander, 2009): "Strategies of contestation become complicated through multiple narratives – in this case of class and gender. Alexander's account reminds us that strategies of contestation can sometimes feed into the very structures they seek to challenge. Thus young women in Newcastle attempt to look hard; their challenge to the weakness implied in conventional gender roles, their adoption of a gender-ambiguous style, is precisely the strategy that contributes to their criminalisation as it intersects uneasily with a dominant narrative that disparages working class culture. These young women face a Catch-22: victimised in conventional gender roles and criminalised in attempts to circumvent them" (Ruddick, 2009: 102). As we shall see in the next chapter, for the Youth Justice Girls "their challenges are oblique rather than direct: new lines of flight if you will. They foster intergenerational contacts, collaborations with senior groups, and initiate projects to give back to the neighbourhood. They choose to re-script their image on their own terms, rather than capitulate to dominant structures" (Ruddick, 2009: 102).

Chapter 5: The Senior Action Group: Gender and Generation

"I'm a retired youth worker, local councillor and head teacher. I've lived in this house for nearly 40 years, but we weren't originally on Hadrian Road. I remember back before the estate was even here, when it was being planned in the 1960s. We watched it being built . . . In 1964 [my husband] Jim and I were one of the first [to move] in! We lived on Beadburn until [Jim got] promoted, and the next year I was made head teacher - then we could afford to move up to the posh end! Jim died 2 years ago, I've been on my own ever since. . . It gets lonely sometimes. It's my arthritis you see. It holds me back, I get a lot of pain with it. . . It's frustrating that I don't get much of a change to get out and about as much as I'd like these days.   For someone who's so used to be in the centre of things - I was on all committees in the area.

"It's the loss of a religious identity I blame for the problems [in the neighbourhood]. It would never have been like this today if they'd managed to keep the church going. Through the 70s and the 80s it was the Parish Vicar that made this area what it was. He was always orchestrating – like 'buy a brick' [which raised the funds to build] the church hall. That was the first 'community centre' we had, really. He was so dynamic, he made a huge difference to the neighbourhood. He had the whole community on the go. We used to go out to dances every week in that hall. It really brought the community together, there was a real sense of community spirit in those days!

That was all called to a halt when the community centre was burnt down. . ."

(Interview with Anne, aged 80)

5.1 Introduction

Thus far, this thesis has focused on how fear is assembled through the experiences of young people in the neighbourhood. Each chapter has taken the youth perspective as its starting point and worked to outline how fear works to mediate, shape and infuse the boundaries of citizenship for young people living in disadvantaged North East context. In focusing on some of the complexities inherent in youth identity politics, the research has uncovered a number of differences, divergences and disputes to demonstrate how young people draw on or distance themselves from each axis of identity and how this intersects with the way they come to define the local area, other groups of young people, and ultimately themselves. As such, my focus has quite implicitly conceptualised youth and young people as specific on the basis of their age. Pain and Hopkins (2009) demonstrate that, within social geography more generally, while age "is routinely added to identity checklists alongside gender, race, class and disability as traditional foci of interest in difference, there has been surprisingly little curiosity about age amongst social geographers" (p. 5). In contrast to those other foci of interest, age, it seems, has yet to "engender impassioned enthusiasm among geographers in seeking to understand and explore the complexity of the social world" (Pain and Hopkins, 2009: 5). Despite the dominant social constructivist perspective of such work, it quite rarely rejects the category it works within. As a consequence of this, much research, this thesis included, has unintentionally concreted and delimited understandings of older people or younger people through focusing concentration specifically onto these groups. Paradoxically, this is at odds with social geographies concerned with the fluidity and relatedness of individuals' spatial lives. Because of this, Bytheway (1995) suggests that 'age' can only be spoken about in relative rather than absolute terms; others have gone further to advocate giving up the language of age altogether, as even to talk about older people and children is to identify them as groups with common experiences, and imply that these experiences are shaped by a 'master identity' of age (Pain, 2001b: 146).

This chapter brings a new senior group to the analysis. This chapter employs the concept of generation as a new lens of focus, to demonstrate that the way in which fear is felt and resisted by women from different age cohorts in the local area. While still relying on the terms youth and older generation as loose descriptors, I nonetheless begin to problematise and call into question my own conceptualisation of age as understood up to this point in the thesis. I argue that a more relational understanding of age enables us to better explain and

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evaluate how fear circulates for different age cohorts, whether it circulates between different generations and whether people of different generations have different conceptualisations of fear. Within the complex relations of power operating within the neighbourhood, I will demonstrate that age, like the other markers of social difference we saw in previous chapters, can operate to produce and assemble anxiety, fear and injustice. The underlying aim of this is to demonstrate that the 'life stages' experienced by the women who participated in the research are fluid rather than fixed. I draw on empirical evidence and literature to show that women of different ages experience shared similarities with regard to the experience of fear, safety and citizenship throughout the different 'life stages' of their life-course.

I then go on to outline the intergenerational activities that the research initiated between this group of older women and the Youth justice Girls that we met in Chapter 4. I will outline how and why an intergenerational approach tells us something new and interesting about gender and fear of crime, and how this can work to limit the ability to participate. The next section of this chapter will start by outlining why I think it is important to re-conceptualise the way in which I talk about age up to this point.

5.2 A generation gap?

Previous chapters have alluded to some of the ways in which young people's narratives are suggestive of an attempt to challenge or fight against the authority of adults in the neighbourhood. The manifestation of this is arguably part of what makes them feared. This contention therefore is a point of cohesion that is woven throughout the narratives of the young people in the local area. A generational rift, in many ways would appear to be a bigger rift than those which I have evaluated thus far in that it cuts across all of the youth groups. Thus, this chapter takes its starting point from something which it would appear that each of the youth groups had in common: the fact that in various different ways, each of the young people described a generational gap, or rift in the area, a distinction of some kind between older and younger residents in the neighbourhood.

By way of summary in relation to the existence of a generational gap, in Chapter 2, the Bad Lads described how they know how to be bad from what they have observed, learnt and inherited their fathers and other notorious older men in the area. They were also keen to point out, however, that theirs was a more critical performance of badness as they were aware of the limitations and flaws in the older cohorts' badness and implied that as a consequence

they themselves were better at being bad.   The main point of distinction was "We won't go to prison: we're not stupid enough to get caught".   In general, the group described to me that they perceived themselves to be much craftier than older men.   The verification of how clever and cunning they were being drawn from their ability to pull the wool over adult (their parents, the police, youth psychologists') eyes.

More than any other group the Elvis Club (Chapter 3), were keen to gain independence and freedom over their own lives and to challenge the authority of and to establish autonomy from the adults in the neighbourhood. Acting in ways that could be interpreted as 'rebellious' towards their parents and older people more generally was a shared agenda amongst the Elvis Club. For example, in Chapter 3 Jess made reference to "the old bids", who she, like many others, associated with being fat or slow. Chapter 4 outlined that the Youth Justice Girls also experienced an interesting and complex relationship with older cohorts in the local area. Charley described a turbulent relationship with her grandmother, Doreen, who she loves deeply, but whom she also finds it extremely challenging to care for on a full-time and unpaid basis. Other young women spoke about becoming aware that embedded family vendettas were the source of most of their everyday fears and anxieties. In the previous chapter, the Youth Justice Girls conveyed that, with the support of the youth club, they are beginning to realise that they have been and continue to be drawn into arguments with deep roots originating from within the local area, sometimes initiated long before they were born. Thus, from what we have seen so far, it would be easy to assume that all young people in the area desire to be seen as distinct and different from older people.   However, this chapter problematises this assumption by introducing a further complexity into the analysis of generation in the neighbourhood in two ways.

Firstly, I introduce a new perspective on the experience of fear and citizenship in the neighbourhood, that of a different age cohort. The Senior Action Group, a group of 8 women aged 65-89 who originally met as a friendship club which over time developed into an alliance that actively campaigned for better conditions for older people in the local community and who organise regular events to involve all older people, particularly those who are the least mobile and most socially isolated. I draw on empirical evidence from my research with this group to explain how they as women have experienced the neighbourhood through time.

Secondly, I introduce empirical evidence drawn from a number of intergenerational initiatives between the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls. These are used to illustrate the shared experiences and similar difficulties that women from both cohorts have come into contact with at different times within the area. This chapter questions the validity of a conception of 'generational tensions' by illuminating that the women who participated in the research had more in common than not.

5.3 Rethinking age through the lens of generation

In recent years there has been a growing focus on generations across the social sciences (Edmunds and Turner, 2002a, 2002b). Generations, conceptualised as biological, psychological and/or historical/cultural phenomena (Biggs 2007), are considered by some as being a more appropriate division for defining and examining experiences at different life stages than chronological age. For Mannheim (1952) 'the unity of generations' is constituted by particular social and historical locations occupied by individuals born at a similar time. Glantz and Jamieson (2000) define a generation as a cohort born within a 20 year period. Generations themselves are not internally homogenous, but consist of generational units that can be differentiated based on factors including class and political philosophy. Drawing on and extending Mannheim's conception of generation, Alanen (2001) proposes thinking in terms of generationing which refers to "the complexity of social processes through which people become [are constructed as] 'children' while other people become [. . .] 'adults" (Alanen, 2001: 129).

In this chapter, I introduce the more holistic and relational view of 'social age', which holds that it is beliefs and attitudes about age, expressed through legislation, cultural forms and behaviour, that construct identities and govern people's social and spatial lives (Bytheway 1995). Perhaps the most important of these (certainly the central point of this thesis) is who is allowed to participate freely and fully in the life of society. This chapter introduces the concept that a shift to seeing age and generation as socially constructed categories rather than independent variables means that space and place gain significance (Harper and Laws 1995; Katz and Monk, 1993). In this way, Laws (1997) convincingly demonstrates that "where we are says a lot about who we are…aged identities are not only the product of particular spatialities but…they also constitute spaces and places" (Laws 1997: 93).

Box 5.1 Senior Action Group: Methodological Reflections I

The Senior Action Group are Pat (82), Betty (70), Madge (78), Shelia (76), Joan (75), Vera (85), Peggy (68) and Nora (66). They are a group of women who have lived in the most disadvantaged area of the estate for most, if not all of their lives. As the neighbourhood does not have an Age Concern network, the Senior Action Group have used their social capital and life experience to organise a weekly friendship group with a mini bus to collect less mobile neighbours, which is lifeblood to many isolated and vulnerable older people. The group actively campaign for better conditions for older people in the area in the local community.

Figure 5.1 a) Pat (second left); Betty (front right) and b) Madge (back right); Shelia (middle right) and Joan (front right)

Through contacts that I had established in the local area, I was invited to a Christmas Lunch Event, attended by 100 local people aged 66 – 85, which was organised by the Senior Action Group. The event lasted 4 hours, from 2pm on a Saturday in December. This was a valuable opportunity, as it provided an informal and relaxed introduction and first point of contact between myself and a large number of older people living in the area, especially as arrangements were made to enable less-able and less-mobile older-residents to attend. I was able to observe at first hand the way in which this cohort interacted with each other and I also valued the opportunity to be able to "get stuck in" with the bingo, quizzes and other interactions during such an important event. It was also constructive for me to bring a cake and a number of other tombola prizes, which worked to make myself more approachable and also enabled me to begin 'giving something back' in a practical way. I spend time talking to individuals and explaining the research I was hoping to carry out. Where appropriate, I gave

out leaflets providing more details about my proposed research to those interested in hearing more (Figure 5.1).
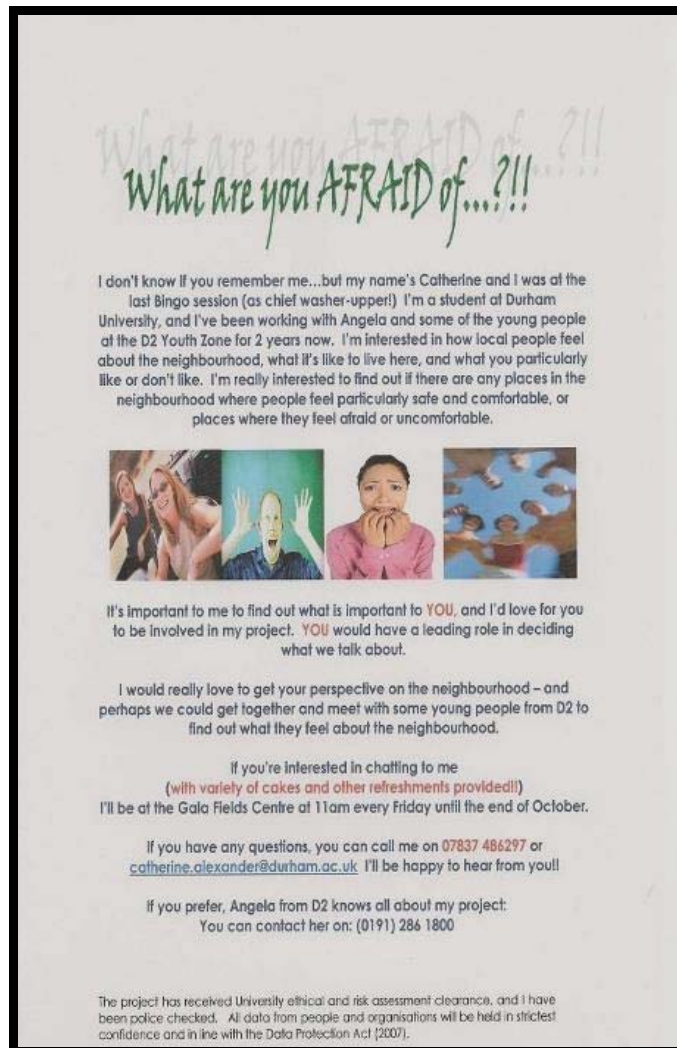
Figure 5.2 The leaflet distributed to potential research participants

The leaflet described the research as an opportunity for older people in the area to get together and have their say about the local area, for their opinions to be valued and to be heard. From a participatory perspective, I also hoped that those people who were interested in taking part might be interested in adopting a lead in the research, according to issues and matters that were of importance and interest to them. I carried out 4 initial focus groups with the Senior Action Group at their weekly meetings. Providing an information sheet (Figure 5.2) at the initial meeting outlined the kinds of methods we could experiment with and potentially use in more detail in subsequent research sessions.

Figure 5.3 Information sheet for the research participants

I conducted the research in much the same was as I have described for the other groups, by asking similar questions and trying to move the research in similar directions that were addressed in work with the younger people. At the same time, the older people were able to express to me what the main issues that were of concern to them and thus they influenced the way in which the research panned out.

Studies of old age in social geography are not as extensive, nor as fashionable, as work on childhood and youth. There have also been far fewer calls for older people's participation in research in order to shape the agendas and influence the outcomes of social geographical research (for an exception see: Ziegler, 2007). Instead, geographical research on older people has had a tendency to be "conceptually and methodologically mundane, preoccupied with old age as a social problem rather than a problematised identity" (Pain and Hopkins, 2009). Ironically, ideas about space and place are becoming better established in other disciplines that have an interest in gerontology (Andrews et al, 2007). A small body of work concerned with the critical geographies of older people's lives have viewed 'old age' as culturally variable

and underpinned by a range of social and economic processes, lived experiences and spatial practices (Harper, 1997; Harper and Laws, 1995; Laws, 1994; Mansvelt, 1997; Pain et al, 2000), and thus they have shown age to be fluid, connected and spatialised. In this way, spatial formations interplay with old age identities (see: Andrews and Phillips, 2005; Harper and Laws, 1995; Mansvelt, 1997; McHugh, 2003; Pain et al, 2000).

Within the situated context of the local neighbourhood and with sometimes 60 or more years of experience living in the area, some individuals in the older age cohort carry with them the knowledge, assumptions and specific experience related to the area acquired during their life trajectory (Vanderbeck, 2007). Later lifecourse transitions tend to have been overlooked (Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Teather, 1999). Bytheway (2005) identifies a number of important transitions for older people including grandparenthood, getting a bus pass, birthdays, adjusting to life on a pension, to life without a partner, to life in a smaller, more manageable home, or to receiving care services, all times of change that bring societal ageism more clearly into focus.

Suspicion towards the research

During   this initial meeting with the older cohort, I encountered much more hostility and suspicion in relation to the proposed research relative to the young people. At the Christmas Lunch, some of the older residents were very concerned as to my motives behind conducting the research and chose not to speak to me at all. At a later date, after I had contacted individuals who had elected to hear more about the research by providing me with their contact details, some individuals responded to me through anxious, suspicious and occasionally aggressive telephone calls. Having not recalled our initial meeting, these individuals were concerned with how I had obtained their personal details and also what I might do with them. I did my best to remind them of our prior contact and reassure them that I would delete them from my records. In hindsight, perhaps given the sheer number of individuals I did not explain myself fully enough to each individual. Or perhaps this is indicative of a sense of a 'culture of fear and suspicion' within the older cohort more generally, with concerns for potential breaches of security in relation to their personal data[16].

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[16] This is in line with a number of concerns, frustrations and anxieties that were expressed to me by older residents throughout the period of fieldwork, particularly in relation to a new electronic pension system which was implemented in the area during the research. The older cohort felt that this system made them more vulnerable to fraud; as it was much more difficult to manage and, means they are often unsure as to how to check if their funds are correct.

Despite this setback, I managed to forge a number of contacts and relationships with members of the older cohort, and conduct a number of successful research sessions in the area.

Individual in-depth interview with Anne

At the Christmas Lunch, I spoke to some individuals in more depth than would be the case in a more formal and orchestrated research context. This enabled me to begin to get a sense of what life was like for the older cohort, and I kept in touch with a number of individuals and conducted follow-up interviews with those who felt they had particular 'stories' to tell.

The reminder of this chapter will analyse, explain and evaluate the themes arising from research conducted with the older age cohort in the local area. It is worth at this point, outlining my focus on older women in the neighbourhood, which was very specifically intentional. Age and ageism are experienced very differently by men and women (Arber and Ginn, 1995). Old age in particular, and the problems constructed around it, are increasingly feminised (Pain et al, 2000). Many of the negative characteristics associated with older women are more commonly associated with women (Arber and Ginn, 1995). "Gender and ageing are inextricably intertwined in social life; each can only be fully understood with reference to the other" (Arber and Ginn, 1995: 1).

5.4 Old age and vulnerability

In old age, disposable income is "perhaps the most potent determinant of resources" (Biggs, 1993: 88). Two thirds of the older population in the UK live in poverty, compared to one fifth of the younger population. As a generation, older people in the United Kingdom are polarising economically. The majority of those in my research were dependent on state pensions and so are getting poorer in real and relative terms, which by extension, makes them increasingly liable to vulnerability (Pantazis, 2000).

In previous chapters, we saw how members of the Elvis Club are disabled by environments which reflect dominant and ablest ideologies (Imrie, 1996). Similarly, environments age people (Laws, 1994). Physical and mental disabilities are commonly, though wrongly, associated with older people (Bytheway, 1995). Only a quarter of people aged 60 and over have some form of disability and a smaller minority ever need any level of social care

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(McGlone, 1992). Yet much has been written about older people to suggest that as a group, they are socially, structurally and physically more vulnerable (Aitken and Griffin, 1996). As such, it could be assumed that older women's experiences in disadvantaged wards of Newcastle upon Tyne might be akin to those magnified exclusions and stigmatisation that we witnessed with the Elvis Club. In western society many women are consumed with anxieties related to the prospect of aging. We live in a culture hung up on physical attributes and physical appearance and, for women in particular, to be either old or disabled has conventionally been "associated with being rejected as valuable or productive by all the standards set out by western consumer society" (Healey, 1993: 70). Both women who have disabilities and/or those who are old have limited status in Western-European mainstream society. Healey (1993) has argued that this lack of respect subjects them to ridicule and attack. As we have seen in previous chapters, many young people frequently use throw away comments and terminology like "old biddy" and "old bag", which both have clear gendered dimensions in referring specifically to women. For those in the Elvis Club, whether their (dis)ability is visible in terms of visual difference, mobility difference, communication difference or not, as a group they all are objectified and subjected to unwanted attention due to the effects of their (dis)abilities. In a similar vein, women who are old and/or those who are disabled are subject to very similar stereotypes, in addition to whatever other discrimination they may face. As such, western society perceives both groups to be a burden on society. These are just some of the factors that help to explain why some find the prospect of aging and/or disability hard to come to terms with and thus why both groups are marginalised, stereotyped and stigmatised in the neighbourhood. The similarities outlined above would suggest that there is a strong basis between the two groups for bonding and for common struggle. Yet I did not notice any particular association or alliance between the Senior Action Group and the Elvis Club in the neighbourhood. Instead, it would seem that individuals in both groups were more aware and focused on the differences that divide, rather than a common agenda that might unite them.

5.5 Fears in the neighbourhood

The research did reveal instances of insecurity with the SAG. The group agreed that as they had got older they felt they had lost confidence in walking around on their own: "Even during the day", and instead generally liked to move around the area together: "we'll call for everyone along the way. That way nobody is left on their own" (Joan). When discussions

turned to what made them feel most uncomfortable, Joan reflected "It all depends on your state of mind at the time and what type of day you've had up till then. On New Year's Eve I felt safe walking home on my own even late on. It's not always like that".

Although admittedly very early on in discussions about concerns with the local area, the group brought up their awareness of the 'local media panic' concerning 'certain young people in this neighbourhood', they were more analytical in outlining exactly when or why they felt concern. Shelia conferred that she was more wary of young men in groups hanging out in the neighbourhood.   When I asked as to why this was, Shelia explained that she felt vulnerable because of the noise they made, which she equated with disturbance and fighting.   Betty considered this further and explained: "Actually, it's not the noise that bothers me so much – I love to hear them laughing and not fighting. It makes me happy to hear them laugh because then I know they're not -trouble making. But you're right; it is the lads that bother me more. I think it's because they're more likely to get out of hand, y'know?   With the girls you know they've got to get home to the bairns [children] or whatever. The girls might be twisting on [arguing] all of a sudden - but it will all be over pretty quick, too. They're the best of mates and it all blows over. With those lads it's different. They're not about much – but when they are, you know about it! Whizzing past on them scooters! They're the ones to hold a grudge – pull a knife. They don't hang about much – but when they do you know it's for something you don't want to be caught in the middle of."

It became clear during the research that the Senior Action Group were intimidated more by the Bad Lads than any other group in the neighbourhood.   However, the Senior Action Group were keen to point out that, in general they were unafraid and comfortable in later years as they thought that they might be: "When I got to 70 I thought 'Oh God, this is it, my life is over!' But then I got to 75 and I realised it was ok to be older … It was still me. And I got over the number … y'know the fear of getting old … I realised it was not as bad as I thought it would be … what do you young ones say? I 'felt the fear and did it anyway!'" (Madge).

I would assert that the above section contains some of the most critical points that I want to make in this chapter, with respect to the kinds of anxieties the older group experience, but equally about the negation of fear through an increase in 'confidence' of all kinds. As we shall see in the next chapter, it fits nicely into my argument that holds the thesis together: which is

that empowerment in its various guises is the key tool for getting a handle on and dealing with fear of crime in East Thorpe.

5.6 Perceptions of the Youth Justice Girls

As we saw in the last chapter, the young women in the YJG were identifiable in the neighbourhood for a number of reasons. The group spent a considerable amount of their daily lives within the local area and have also received a great deal of negative attention and stigmatisation in the widely circulated local press. Because of this, I expected the senior action group to have their own preconceptions about the young women, since the less contact there is "between generations, the greater the stereotyping of age groups and the greater the reliance on the media for an understanding of the age groups" (Moore and Statham 2006: 472). In contrast to my own preconceptions, the research indicated that the Senior Action Group were more reflexive, and thought more deeply about what their perceptions of the young people were and where they had come from and why they felt the way that they did about the local area. The Senior Action Group were, for the most part, open-minded in their opinions and their general consensus was, as Betty succinctly put it "I take them as I find them".

5.7 Mobility: Getting around neighbourhood

In the same way that the scooters were of huge significance to the Bad Lads, the local bus service was a lifeline to Senior Action Group as none of whom owned a car. Unlike the Bad Lads however, they very rarely ventured out to Newcastle city centre. In a similar way to the Youth Justice Girls, the Senior Action Groups' lives were localised, and they spent the majority of their time in the neighbourhood. Given the lack of facilities in the immediate area, the Senior Action Group relied heavily on the one local shop or they got the bus to Tesco at Kingston Park. Yet, because of their localised and spatially restricted lives, the Senior Action Group outlined to me how "The smallest things can have a massive effect on you" (Betty). They were aware that momentary interactions in the neighbourhood could have devastating effects and "Had the power to put you in a bad mood if you let it" (Betty). In particular, the group complained to me about a new bus driver who had caused the group "Nothing but bother". Madge told me how he always checked her ticket with unnecessary attention to detail. In response she would always tell him to "check theirs too" when he was less thorough with the other people in the queue behind her.

Given the amount of time they spent on the bus, the Senior Action Group agreed that the interactions they had with the bus drivers and their experience of the bus journey made a substantial difference to their quality of life. "If they drop you off at the 'cut through', you can go straight through home. Saves a good 20 minutes walk" (Madge). The group described how the older drivers knew this 'trick' and were more than happy to oblige. They described how some of the bus drivers recognised them and usually gave them a free ticket. "I'll always tell him to 'give us one for the old wife behind me'" told Betty, demonstrating that by using humour she had managed to establish an important friendship that made a huge difference to her well-being. These small resistances are indicative of the various ways in which they work together to make a difference and speak up for themselves.   In contrast, "if it's that miserable one, always puts you in a bad mood – there's never any crack [joviality] with him. When you get to know the drivers 3 out of 4 are very good. But you always get the odd one that'll make you walk the extra 20 minutes – even in the rain" (Betty). They all agreed they needed to "get him trained up" as to where they preferred the bus to stop. This was one example of how the group actively rallied together to achieve a shared goal: ". . . we'll organise amongst ourselves to go to events together – if the weathers terrible we'll get a taxi together. We make a real effort to go and see each other. You have to make a real effort when the evenings draw in. " (Shelia).

The Senior Action Group described the various ways in which they worked together to resist being 'dragged down and depressed' by bad weather. They explained that what they choose to wear could make a big difference to how they feel. They actively tried to wear bright colours to cheer themselves up and lift their spirits. It was interesting to me that these women were more concerned about how what they wore made them feel, whereas the Youth Justice Girls were more aware of how others perceived and read their bodies because of the clothes they wear. The group were however selective in whom they bestowed their alliance to and employed a policy of having "no sympathy for those who make no effort to help themselves. If they make no effort to get in touch we won't drive round to give them a lift. We don't want to give them bad habits – you have to do it for yourself" (Betty).

Box 5.2 Age and Class

It became apparent from the letters I exchanged with Anne that she was lonely and spent much time on her own. Because of this I encouraged Anne to come and join the discussion groups I had organised at a later date with the Senior Action Group.   Anne declined to come to any of the subsequent focus groups and she articulated to me that she saw herself as different to the individuals in the Senior Action Group. She explained to me that she has "not much in common with them old bids! Especially now with living up this end" (Anne). I interpreted this as a class-based distinction that Anne drew between Senior Action Group and herself. She perceived herself very much as belonging to 'the posh end'. In many ways, Anne actively chose to exclude herself from potential company and friendship networks by maintaining a distance between herself and the Senior Action Group. This points once again to the complexity and diversity of the older cohort in the area. This is an example of how she distances herself from the 'old bids' of the working class, whom she sees herself as above. Anne expressed a low opinion of what she perceives the Senior Action Group to be, suggesting "their bingo sessions are for the working classes". This attitude, relating old age to class is "one way in which people distance themselves not only from their working class contemporaries in the area; but also from the notion of being old" (Pain et al, 2000:386).

5.8 Conceptualising independence

During the group discussions a recurrent theme that emerged, despite different topics of conversation, was connected to independence, though interestingly their practices valorise inter-dependence. Because of my own preconceptions about older people in the neighbourhood, I initially assumed that the Senior Action Group would be very proud and want to maintain their independence, but interestingly however, their conceptions of 'independence' were not as straightforward. Shelia (78) felt that striving for independence was not always a good thing. She described how many of the older people she knew had maintained an 'image of independence' to their grown up children so as not to feel like a burden to them: "They have their own lives and you don't want to interfere with that. But they forget about you – and if something happens – like when Bill (82) fell off the bed trying to change that light bulb they say 'why didn't you just ask!'". Joyce agreed: "All families are like

that. They leave you to your own devices, encourage you to maintain your independence but then when things go wrong, then it's your fault for not asking!".

This made me reconsider my own conception of independence. I had assumed that in many ways, the Senior Action Group would strive to be independent in similar ways to the Elvis Club. The experience of getting to know individuals in this group revealed my own naive preconceptions and pointed to some of the complexity surrounding 'independence' as a concept in the neighbourhood. When talking about other older people in the neighbourhood there was a general consensus that men were particularly bad at asking for help and trying to keep up bravado of 'getting on ok' on their own. To my reading it seemed that the Senior Action Group would like more contact and help in their daily lives from their families, but at times were unable or unwilling to ask for it.

5.9 Belonging in the neighbourhood

It was apparent throughout the fieldwork that the Senior Action Group were much less fearful than the Elvis club and were not afraid to assert themselves and challenge young people when they felt that they were being aggressive. The group recalled instances of resistance and attempts to defend themselves if they felt they were being targeted. Betty maintained that she was certainly not afraid or intimidated by youths causing bother around the neighbourhood. If she ever experienced it she maintained "I'd answer them back! I'd go out and shout at them to make them move on if they're causing bother. It's always been in my nature to stand up for myself".

In much the same way as we have seen with the Bad Lads, the Senior Action Group felt it was their place; they spoke territorially about the area. They saw it as their place, their right and responsibility to maintain order in the neighbourhood, to look out for each other and intervene when they felt it necessary. Again, like the Bad Lads, they were highly critical of how the area was policed and managed, as illustrated in a discussion related to the way the police dealt with anti-social behaviour on a daily basis:

> Shelia: The other day I noticed one young lass being hassled and   harassed as she stood outside her own front door having a tab. That's not right, like.

> Betty: No, they shouldn't do that. I don't agree when the authorities take down their names when they've done nothing wrong.

The group felt that the police were not able to tackle the problems in the neighbourhood and implied that they had "First-hand experience [in] 'how useless the lot of 'em were'". Madge described how "8 months ago there was a break-in on the square. I saw who did it, and I phoned up to report it to the police, but they didn't recognise the name of the street or even the name of the area! I had to spell out the street name for them. So I asked him where he was based: in South Shields! No wonder he didn't know the local area! Then they didn't come till Thursday. Fat lot of good that was! When they came I gave a statement, but in the end I wouldn't go to court, because of the repercussions, y'know . . ."

5.10 Local community centre

A significant event in the history of the local area, one which derived a great deal of speculation from many different people who participated in the research, concerned the vandalism of the local community centre. The Senior Action Group spoke openly about how it had been deliberately burnt down 6 years previously. Their narratives implied that they were certain that it was the Bad Lads who were to blame: "Those buggers that burnt it down. They could only have been only 14 or 15 at the time, but they knew what they were doing. They have to be more than 20 now and they're still making trouble on the estate" (Shelia). Despite feeling angered at the injustice of the Bad Lads not having been prosecuted for crimes, that they allegedly committed, none of the Senior Action Group felt that there was any point in trying to challenge Bad Lad authority. This suggests to me that the 'Bad Lad reputation' is also at work to control and constrain how comfortable these older women feel about 'staking a claim' to the neighbourhood. Having learnt about the impact that the Bad Lads have had on the Youth Justice Girls, we are now able to compare this to the ways in which an older generation of women conceptualised the Bad Lads. I suggest that women from both age cohorts shared a similar sense of fear relating to the potential threat of crime posed by the Bad Lads. I would suggest that both groups of women had associated the Bad Lads with crime in the area for as long as they could remember. I return to this point in my analysis of the intergenerational research.

5.11 Senior Action Group reflections on the community centre

In group discussions, the Senior Action Group agreed that the loss of the community centre was responsible for the decline in a "sense of community spirit" (Betty) and the length of time it took the local council to replace the facility was a bone of considerable contention

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throughout the local area: "It took them 6 years to build a new one: nearly 7 years we've been without a local community centre! And all the money they spend down the Quayside and the Baltic! It's scandalous!" (Madge). Pat described that, when she moved to a different area temporarily in the 1980s "It just wasn't the same at all. I felt like an island out there all on my own, I was lost". She continued "People could sense it when they came to visit – do you remember? Ask anyone, they'll tell you its community spirit". All of the Senior Action Group agreed with Betty that their greatly revered community spirit was dying: "It takes an older person to drag the young ones in" (Shelia), which is perhaps further indication of their willingness to take part in future intergenerational initiatives in the area.

In the past five years, there have been substantial changes to the built environment of the local neighbourhood. In 2006 'Your Homes Newcastle' part of Newcastle City Council announced its Renovation Strategy for the neighbourhood. The report found that 85% of homes in the research area did not meet the UK Government's Decent Homes standard and that £27million would be required to bring homes in the Outer West up to that standard and that retention of Council Owned and Managed (COAM) housing services would fail to provide funding to meet these investment targets (Woolsington Sub Committee 2006). Having lived there longest, the next section outlines how the Senior Action Group revealed that older residents in the area were often at the sharp end of these changes.

Although the Senior Action Group spoke of the council having employed a 'consultation processes', they overwhelmingly felt that these had been more of an afterthought or an 'add on' initiative. Betty maintained she "had not been heard or taken seriously" in the consultation meetings. As a consequence, the group felt that they had had no power to intervene in the council's final decision: "It was too expensive to bring the homes up to the Decent Homes Standard and so 200 of our bungalows had been demolished" (Shelia). It transpired that those residents who had were evicted had been given a payment to "help them move". Interestingly, the group were all in agreement that the amount they were compensated was "far too much". To my reading this was perturbing, as it implied a low-self worth in terms of financial compensation. Yet, in spite of their satisfaction with the monetary incentives that older residents had been offered to move Betty explained that "The move was just too much" for many of the elderly residents. She drew on the example of Ian, who had been 86 at the time of relocation. He died 2 months after being re-housed. Shelia felt "He

took too much responsibility onto himself to be independent, to get things done. It was too much for him. He was too old for all that".

Madge linked her feelings of being in-control to her sense of safety in relation to changes that had occurred in the built environment. In particular, she drew attention to bus shelters which had the effect of making her feel uneasy: "I used to feel safe waiting for the bus. Y'could put your back against the wall and watch to see whose coming and going both ways. Now people can come from behind they can creep up on you in that new shelter. I don't like it". Anxieties relating to feeling vulnerable to becoming a victim of crime because of visual impairment, was a common concern for the Senior Action Group. Pat described it as intimidating and worrying that the streetlights had been removed from certain areas to deter young people from hanging around was also cause for concern: "My eyesight's not what it was and then they go and take away the lights! I just don't understand it" (Pat). This section suggests that, although the Senior Action Group have been involved in some level of consultation in the local area it seems to me that the 'add on' consultation is not nearly enough. In a much more sharply defined and more authoritative attitude to younger people in the area, individuals in the Senior Action Group felt angry and exasperated that they felt they had no control over what was happening around them. This reflects a key point in the wider fear literature, a sense that is often associated with fearfulness. They often spoke of how rapidly the area was changing and this had a negative impact on their feelings towards the local area. There is a long-standing interest in old age in the fear of crime literature, which often links fear in older people to perceptions of neighbourhood decline (Taub et al, 1984; Russell and Davey, 1993; Johnson et al, 2000). Older people are commonly stereotypically linked to paranoia and an over-exaggerated or invented sense of anxiety (Butler and Matthews, 1983). I undertake a more detailed analysis of this literature in the next chapter.

There have been significant implications from the council's insensitive, 'quick and dirty' research. In attempting to address this as a group, we worked together to brainstorm the best way that the Senior Action Group could work towards themselves developing a more sustainable sense of participant empowerment. We decided that a good way forward would be through the implementation of intergenerational initiatives. The Youth Justice Girls were keen to take part as a way of providing them something worthwhile to do in the local area. This was a new way to practice a different identity and to help them break the circularity of their criminalised assemblage. Having gained an insight into the opinions and fears of older

women in the group, in the next section of this chapter I move focus onto the intergenerational research undertaken between the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls.

5.12 Intergenerational geographies

As outlined in the introductory sections of this chapter, recent debates on the sociology and geography of childhood and youth have shifted towards conceptualising age as relational (Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Maxey, 2009), meaning that individuals cannot be understood outside of their relationships, which are constituted both within and between social groups. For the social geographies of identity, an emphasis on intergenerationality suggests that individuals' and groups' sense of self and others is partly on the basis of generational difference or sameness. Thus intergenerationality helps to dismantle rigid categories such as childhood and old-age, exposing their porosity and cultural specificity while being open to the same critiques. Hopkins and Pain (2008) have argued for taking account of the power that these relational aspects of people's lives have in shaping material and discursive geographies at different scales. As such, intergenerational relationships and the generational ordering of society are inherently geographical phenomena (Christensen and Prout, 2003).

While this research has convincingly demonstrated that the socially constructed and marginal positions of older and younger people are fundamentally linked (Vanderbeck, 2007), until very recently this relationship has not been explicitly analysed in geography and there have been few crossovers between work on older people and children or insights drawn from each other. Young people and older people are often seen to hold specific social positions which are defined in relation to each other, but importantly, these can be re-defined within specific social situations (Alanen and Mayall, 2001: 8). These understandings have "roots in time past, which throw long shadows forward, and importantly - they are re-negotiated and transformed through interactions between groups" (Alanen and Mayall 2001: 8). Here, it is the interactions between generations, themselves products of particular times, spaces and cultures, that have significant effects on a whole range of social issues, from wealth to health, from public space to meanings of the home (see for example: Antonucci et al, 2007; Costanzo and Hoy, 2007; Walker, 1996). Vanderbeck (2007) has argued for the centrality of intergenerational geographies: the many ways in which space facilitates or limits intergenerational contact, knowledge, conflict or cohesion (see also: Pain 2005). In the

context of my own research, I contend that employing this more relational understanding of age enables me to conceptualise a more comparative analysis of fear across generation. In the next section, I outline how observing intergenerational interactions enabled me to develop a more and spatially nuanced understanding of the ways in which fear works to limit the entitlement to citizenship in the local area.

5.13 Researching intergenerational geographies

The Standing Conference for Community Development (SCCD) states that community development "is about building active and sustainable communities based on social justice and mutual respect. It is about changing power structures to remove barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues which affect their lives" (SCCD, 2003). Intergenerational programmes provide an effective vehicle for learning in an informal environment. Recent research has indicated a need to engage younger and older people in local decision-making processes (Hatton-Yeo and Watkins, 2004). Within the UK context, improving the frequency and quality of intergenerational contacts has become a focus of some neighbourhood regeneration efforts intended to foster greater social cohesion and sustainability in local communities (Granville, 2002; Pain, 2005). In some local situations, older people's isolation has been linked to fears of young people in local areas (Pain et al, 2000). When considering fear of crime in particular, Hopkins and Pain (2007) have argued "without situating older people clearly within the social and political relations that connect them (and which they share) with the young, analysing issues such as the fear of crime runs the risk of imagining them as fearful, irrational victims" (Hopkins and Pain, 2007: 288). Important questions have been raised with regard to the effectiveness of intentional intergenerational efforts, "especially whether sustained interactions can be fostered, or if contact will have the desired impacts" (Vanderbeck, 2007). A commonly cited concern is that programmes based on shallow, quick and sporadic contact between people of different ages can be ineffective and counter-productive, inadvertently strengthening and reinforcing stereotypical notions generational groups have regarding one another (Vanderbeck, 2007).

Overcoming these concerns, a number of intergenerational programs have been created to support neighbourhood regeneration efforts, to promote community safety and to address tensions in local areas (Granville, 2002). Pain (2005) argues that intergenerational practices are most likely to be successful when they take a "bottom up" participatory approach

where members of different generational groups participate at all levels of decision making about the nature, content and method of programming (p. 30). Participatory methods also have great potential for both understanding the nature of intergenerational relations and, where necessary, for addressing tensions and conflicts (Pain, 2005). A number of methods are especially useful for drawing out the relational aspects of geographies of age. For example, Kesby (2007) has written of the potential for creative, playful and childish methods to "prove a powerful, if queer method for participants of all ages to research and re-imagine the worlds they inhabit" (p. 195). Importantly, as well as being aware of the differences, Vanderbeck (2007) asserted "research must also recognize the significant and complex ways in which members of different generational groups are (and can be) engaged in each other's lives" (Vanderbeck, 2007: 215).

Box 5.3 Senior Action Group: Methodological Reflections II

Sitting around a table in the Youth Zone, there were 4 people from the Youth Justice Girls and 4 members of the Senior Action Group, a youth worker and myself. At the start of the first session we each made a name badge to help encourage individuals to engage and interact with each other. We then made use of an introductory icebreaker; a method which has proved "valuable in ensuring that everyone involved felt confident about the skills required for the planned research" (Age Concern, 2003). Angela (Youth Worker for the Youth Justice Girls) was the key node of connection between us all. She started by introducing herself, describing her job, where she lived in the neighbourhood, what her hobbies were, her pets and also described a bit about her children. We each took a turn until everybody in the group had been introduced to one another. Discussions with older and younger participants revealed that both generations had similar ideas and concerns about the local community. Issues that we kept coming back to throughout the period of research were: safety issues; fear of crime; community policing; public transport; community spirit; citizenship; availability of and accessibility of shops, banks, post offices, doctors surgeries and chemists; safe places to meet.

At the first session, we sat around a large-scale map of the neighbourhood, and discussed

- the length of time participants had lived in the area

- changes to the neighbourhood

- access to public transport

- areas where individuals felt particularly comfortable or safe

I had brought along a variety of photographs of the local area to provoke discussion and to ensure that focus was on visual as well as written material. The group was able to discuss and debate their positive and negative conceptions of each photograph and explain how, where and why these opinions were formed. Each of these sessions was entirely voluntary and people dropped in and out of each session.

At the second session we discussed how we felt the area had changed over time and identified what the main problems associated with the neighbourhood were. The older people identified feeling lonely and not having much to do during the cold winter days, as a problem. They also knew of many older and infirm residents who needed help with 'odd jobs' around the house and gardening that they were no longer able to cope with. In addition, the Youth Justice Girls were also keen to find projects to get involved in during the day, to gain work experience and to have something to do. In this session both groups brainstormed various different activities and ways they could work together to address the problems they had identified in the local area. In the third and fourth session, we planned and organised a number of intergenerational events to tackle the problems that had been identified, focusing around matching up jobs and gardening with particular individuals at agreed times. A number of intergenerational afternoon tea sessions whereby the Youth Justice Girls would plan and prepare events for older residents to enjoy. Dates were fixed and each individual made aware of the tasks which they were responsible for.

As a group, we each had to negotiate a variety of different opinions and suggestions. We had to learn to listen to value everybody's comments. On several occasions we 'voted' to reach majority agreement and make formal decisions. At the end of each session, participants were able to opt in or out of completing a short evaluation form about how they had found the session, what they had found successful and what they would prefer to have changed. At the end of my time spent with the group, I conveyed my enthusiasm for what we had, and what they were continuing, to achieve. I supplied refreshments at each session. I valued individual opinions. I provided each member with my contact details, and urged them to contact me if they required any support they felt I was able to provide. Each individual was

awarded a certificate at the end of the research, and a small present to recognise their contribution and say thank you.

Clearly, not all issues could be addressed over the short period of fieldwork. However, at the time of writing, both groups are committed to partnerships in the future, to take forward key issues which were not addressed. The afternoon tea sessions and intergenerational group continue to arrange events between each other and they are hoping to arrange a special intergenerational day, where greater numbers of older and younger people can get together to talk about the key issues concerning their local community. They hope to invite representatives from the local council, police force, community groups and the press. The strategic aim of this session is to continue to challenge stereotypes and lasting preconceptions related to both groups in the local area. I witnessed an increase in understanding between both generations and their language moved from very stereotypical comments and preconceptions at the start of the program to more positive comments based around knowing individuals. The intergenerational community development approach as a whole has enabled group members to gain confidence and self esteem over the life of the research. Several individuals expressed to me that the experience of achieving something together as a group fostered a greater sense of empowerment.

The aim of these intergenerational meetings was the creation of this specific social situation. It provided the time, patience and respect so often missing from everyday circumstances where interaction between the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls was so often constituted merely of avoidance and suspicion. With both groups making some effort to leave their own preconceptions, stereotypes and fears of the other at the door, they came together to meet and attempt to get to know each other. It was during this time that I experienced at first-hand the potential of propinquity, that traditional theme in social geography. Bringing people into proximity with each other and seeing relationships develop illuminated the true power of participation to me at this point in the research. It allows hope and a shared sense of purpose to shrink 'otherness' and reduce fear and anxiety of the unknown hooded youth or old fogie. In this way, the research provided both groups with an opportunity to practice a different identity. It afforded the space for residents to get to grips with each other and to begin to break down the unknown other, finding shared ground between them and issues of relevance to both groups.

In the following section, I go on to reflect on some of the issues that were raised in the intergenerational research and to outline how these shaped my understanding of how fear works in the local area.

5.14 Intergenerational reflections on the community centre

As we have seen in this chapter, at several points throughout the period of fieldwork, the burning down of the community centre was a symbolic event in the history of the local area. It was the focus of a great deal of rumour and seen to symbolise a loss of power and heightening of fear. However, it was not until I undertook the intergenerational research outlined below, that I realised just how iconic this event was to residents of the local neighbourhood. Both groups of women maintained that the wider community, including the police, were convinced that the Bad Lads had burnt down the community centre. As such, they presented the fact that "they've never been cautioned or prosecuted" as evidence to prove the power and control of these men in the area. Repetition serves to create an 'urban legend' in the area, which I would suggest ignites more fear. Thus a vicious circle is created, whereby local residents come to expect and normalise the fact that "the Bad Lads will always get away with whatever they do, because the police are afraid of them and unable to control them" (Betty). In this way, the intergenerational research revealed that fear of Bad Lads combined with a loss of faith in the police, represented continuity for women in the local area that cut across differences regarding their age.

It was during the intergenerational discussions that I first learnt about the replacement of the community centre. In June 2006 a new centre was built in the area, which promised and generated a great deal of expectation towards increased inclusiveness and access for all. Both older and younger women found considerable irony at a leaflet which outlined the architect's description: "The Centre's entrance is dominated by striking metal and glass sculptured gates. The result is a building of which the Newbiggin Hall community are immensely proud. The building is on one level with curved walls leading visitors into the building and creating a welcoming and supportive, high quality modern environment quite different from that experienced by most of the community on a day to day basis. A calming neutral colour scheme is punctuated with areas of bold colour defining key areas of the building".

Figure 5.4 The new community centre, Gala Fields, Newbiggin Hall

Passing the leaflet between each other in disbelief inspired the following conversation between the women from both generations:

Angela:	What about the Gala?
Betty:	You're joking! It's like Fort Knox trying to get in there, like!
Em:	I know! Those doors are mental!
Cat:	Whys that?
Betty:	There's alarms and cameras watching you – you have to wait 15 mins before anyone comes to let you in. Then you have to sign in and they take you to the room. All the others are locked up
Charley:	It's like a prison!
Betty:	I dunno who y'hae to be in with t'get in there
Em:	Exactly. It's not exactly nice to drop Brendan off there. The alarm stresses him out.
Madge:	It's supposed to be a community centre. Not much use if the place's locked up all the time!

Problematic access to this new community resource was a recurrent theme and it arose in discussions with each group. Shelia referred to it as a "closed door" and had various examples of people who had wanted to access the centre, only to be knocked back. "The doors are always closed, it is not welcoming. It is too safety conscious, you have to be signed in – there is no sense of community spirit it just doesn't feel the same" (Shelia). She felt that the building was intimidating to all local people "They don't have the confidence to go inside – still now we don't feel like we can just pop in". I would suggest that the high levels of security surrounding the community centre have had the effect of making local residents feel excluded and locked out from being able to access this community resource. In response to this, it was agreed that future meetings between the two age cohorts would take place at the youth club: D2 Youth Zone premises. Although not a neutral space, this decision turned out to be beneficial. It meant that the older women were able to quell any mystery and intrigue that they had about "what the young ones do in that place". The younger people felt comfortable in their familiar environment and were more at ease for interacting with the Senior Action Group.

5.15 Similarities between the Youth Justice Girls and the Senior Action Group

In the second meeting between the two age cohorts, Em brought her four year old son, Brandon. The shared experience of bringing up young children helped 'break the ice' and generated a number of humorous stories. Interestingly, in simply talking about what it was like to live in the area, with no prompting from me, the subject of safety and fear came up naturally in discussions between the Youth Justice Girls and the Senior Action Group.

Joan:	Y'canna walk past the Gala neemore – y'never know who's behind there.
Em:	Yeah – I do feel scared sometimes there
Charley:	Its them druggies – they're up a height (high on drugs) half the time.
Betty:	Exactly – it's those few who go and spoil it for everyone. I remember when y'could be on that field any time – day or

night – and we were. It's where we'd go courting'! Trying t'catch ourselves a man!

Em: Courtin! Ye'd never catch us on there now!

Charley: Ye'd never know what y'might catch from them charvers!

(laughter)

As Valentine (2007) has demonstrated, our childhoods are present in all of us and remain something we all share. Our experiences as children and memories of this period can shape who we become (Valentine, 2007). Like the Youth Justice Girls, the majority of women in the Senior Action Group grew up in the neighbourhood. They were all "young women in the west end of Newcastle" at one point or another in the course of their socially constructed, overlapping life-phases. Therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the research revealed a close association based upon a number of similarities and shared experiences that developed between individuals in the Youth Justice Girls and members of the Senior Action Group. This illuminates the fact that 'youth' is defined and perceived in the area in ways that are very much space, place and context specific.

All young women who have grown up in the area, including the Senior Action Group, share something significant about the very essence of 'being a young woman', with specific relation to the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne. Therefore, this chapter explores a lifecourse perspective of what it means to 'be young' in the local area and focuses attention intentionally on generation and gender, concentrating on the intergenerational relationships that have developed between younger and older women in the neighbourhood. Thus, the older women's experiences of 'being young in the neighbourhood' remain with them. Retrospective discussions with older women in the neighbourhood provided insights into their own expereinces as young people, and their experiences of 'growing up' in the neighbourhood. The significance it had for the ways that their lives eventually mapped out was also explored (see: Valentine and Skelton, 2003 for similar).

In many ways there were many commonalities between the ways that to that which the Youth Justice Girls and the Senior Action Group spoke of support networks and reliance on their friends and neighbours. In discussions about what they particularly liked about the area, the older women overwhelmingly spoke about their good neighbours and longstanding

friendships in the area. Shelia remembered "Our kids were brought up together, we know each other's ways. We know the way we are and we just get on with it". Madge described in particular how the group rally around in difficult times "When my husband died four years ago, Betty called in everyday to help out. I don't know what I'd of done without her". It was felt that later life had provided them the opportunity to be even more committed and engaged with each other. They felt that they had fewer responsibilities like holding down a job or looking after young children and as such, they felt that they were more capable of investing time looking out for each other and keeping an eye on what is going on in the neighbourhood. During the intergenerational sessions there were many moments of recognition between the generations. Charley pointed to the close relationship between Betty and Madge and commented "That'll be us in 50 years babes!". Similarly, in the above section we saw Betty remember what 'being young' was like for her in making an active attempt to find common ground with the Youth Justice Girls.

My own empirical evidence collected from intergenerational research between the Youth Justice Girls and the Senior Action Group demonstrates that there are multiple spaces of similarity between women of different ages in the neighbourhood. Although "getting to know you" was a lengthy and difficult process, beset with sensitive issues and personal complexities, eventually, as more regular contact was established between the two groups, barriers were broken down as relations between the cohorts were fostered. The extract above reveals intent on behalf of both groups to find common ground, with Betty intentionally making the effort to make the younger women feel more relaxed by getting out of her comfort zone and usual character, in remembering and sharing tales of herself as having engaged in 'illicit courting' activities in her youth. The following field diary extract also demonstrates efforts both groups make to find common ground:

> "Charley (17) went very red, unsure of to what extent she should admit her (illegal) drinking habits. Betty broke the taboo, in telling the group about how she used to "pinch me Da's Newy Brown [Newcastle Brown Ale] and 'get mortal' [drunk] down by the gala [local field]". In many ways those first few focus groups were awkward – but somehow in these moments of joviality and loudness – in the sharing of embarrassing tales of getting drunk and running from the police – in the loud, good-humoured jokes and the eventual 'taking the mick' out of each other that comes only with feeling comfortable in one another's presence; something significant was

happening. The women (myself included) began to see each other as individuals – rather than as a group. Equally, much more was said in the moments of quietness, in the shy smiles that reached out and tentatively touched the void; the jovial gestures that bridged it, and the raised eyebrows that shared an unspoken understanding. Piece by piece acted to build upon these foundations; until in many ways the generational gap disappeared. Both groups were active in attempting to establish a kinship – in letting their guard down and sharing 'illicit past activities'; sharing 'the inadequacies of men' and sharing their experiences of childcare – created an immediate sense of closeness.

(Extract from my field diary following the second intergenerational meeting, March, '07)

Since then the Youth Justice Girls have implemented a number of intergenerational initiatives (e.g. Figure 5.6), the most popular and widely renowned of which were a number of afternoon tea sessions (Figure 5.5). I helped out at each of these sessions and a number of residents expressed to me how significant to them, both young and old, it was to be involved in something so worthwhile in the local area. The Youth Justice Girls in particular discerned a great sense of achievement, and of satisfaction from working towards such an immediately gratifying event.

Figure 5.5 Preparation for an afternoon tea session

Figure 5.6 Flier for the exercise classes that Senior Action Group established

Figure 5.7 The uniforms that that YJG choose to wear for the tea party

Figure 5.8 Senior Action Group and other older members of the neighbourhood at the Afternoon Tea Sessions

5.16 The gendering of care-giving in the north east

Kjørholt (2003) argues that there has been a marked tendency for social scientists to emphasize "Generational discreteness and difference such that disrupture and discontinuity between generations is stressed at the expense of continuity" (p268). Generally a language of intergenerational separation, conflict and difference permeates much of the geographical and other social science literature on youth (Vanderbeck, 2007). In line with recent geographical scholarship (see for example: Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Kesby, 2007; Maxey, 2009; Pain et al, 2001; Rawlins, 2006; Vanderbeck, 2007), my research highlights the similar experiences and issues that women from different age cohorts face in relation to the local (Pain et al, 2001). So far we have seen that despite their differences in age the women in the neighbourhood share something quite specific about being a woman, through time, in relation to fear and citizenship within the neighbourhood.

The Senior Action Group remembered having to work hard to maintain the tight community when the kids were growing up: "All our bairns were brought up together. If one of them went missing, we were all on the case" (Joan). This echoes Em's description of what it is like to bring up young children on the estate, which in current times of media panic around the safety of young children in public space and paranoid parenting, is a considerable continuity. In many ways, the Senior Action Group saw parallels or were reminded of their younger selves whenever they encountered the Youth Justice Girls. The Senior Action Group were very much aware of the value of the networks of trust and support amongst the Youth Justice Girls, especially those that lasted the test of time. They witnessed the caring roles the young women had towards both the old and young in the neighbourhood and the 'good work' they were doing as part of the 'Giving back' project.

Throughout the UK there are clear geographic variations in the proportion of the population providing informal care for 20 hours or more per week. Once other factors are accounted for, likelihood of care giving is highest in the north east of England and 80% of this care is provided by women (Young et al, 2005). These areas have both higher prevalence of limiting long-term illness (LTLI) and higher ratios of caregivers to people 80 years plus with an LTLI. Poor health and deprivation, both at the neighbourhood and at the individual level, are independently associated with increased propensity to provide care (Young et al, 2005). My research indicated that women of all ages in the north east have been socialised to recognise and attend to the feelings of others, to take care of others. It also seemed a recurrent theme

that women in their everyday lives took the majority of the responsibility for providing support and, as has been found elsewhere "fathers make much less effort . . . reflecting their generally modest levels of participation in everyday family life" (Valentine and Skelton, 2003: 305; Valentine, 1997). I would assert that undertaking the role of 'care-giver' can make it difficult to relay problems and ask for help. Women in both the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls experienced similar experiences of providing care. This is in line with the prevalence of care-giving in the north east in general. The Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls both associated the experience of having their own child as having secured their route to permanent housing and had concreted for both a sense that this was when they felt that they made the transition to adulthood. Interestingly, despite considerable changes in the political and cultural economy of the generation within which both cohorts brought up their children; neither group of women felt that they did, or would be able, to make a successful transition into the local labour market.

In addition, where generations were aware of differences and divergences between each other; these were not always conceptualised in negative terms. For example, the Senior Action Group were aware of a number of additional problems and responsibilities that the younger women were having to face, that had not been issues for them when they were of a similar age. The intergenerational meetings enabled the Senior Action Group to perceive at first hand the young women's turbulent housing situations, moving between various short-term and temporary accommodation and turbulent personal relationships with boyfriends, for example. As a consequence, the older women were sympathetic to being aware of the unstable, unsupported and fragmented experiences of the Youth Justice Girls and in particular they were incredibly impressed and delighted that Em had successfully managed to create a sense of 'home' for her two young children despite the difficulties she had faced in her own family home. As was found in similar research, it is often an under-recognised achievement when young people in disadvantaged circumstances make difficult transitions, when they clearly find it very hard to manage their own lives and adjust to a settled way of life (Valentine, 2003: 44). The older women expressed relief that they had not had to go through similarly challenging experiences: "bad as Ron was, at least I knew I always had a roof over my head" (Valentine, 2003: 86).

5.17 Segregation by gender

A recurrent theme in the research was that women in the area, regardless of their age or generation, had generally chosen to actively distance themselves from the men in their everyday lives. A key finding at this stage in the research was that women in the neighbourhood were, in important ways united and engaged with each other. The research enabled them to discover that they had more in common with each other and across the generations, than they had with the men within their own age cohort.

Many of those interviewed described having, or having had particularly distant relationships with their fathers. This reflects the literature that suggests that "in most households it is mothers who do the lion's share of the child-care and emotional work in families" (Valentine and Skelton, 2003: 305. See also: Dyck, 1990; Valentine, 1997). As this chapter has demonstrated, in these and many other ways, the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls detailed having remarkably similar experiences in the local area, particularly in their perceptions towards vulnerability, risk and crime. This chapter has provided evidence of considerable continuity in the conception of a Bad Lad culture of masculinity and control generating fear of crime in the local area.

5.18 Evidence of the success of the intergenerational initiatives

Over time, I noticed increasing incidences of the individuals from each age cohort relaying to me details from discussions they had had with individuals in the other cohort. Betty had bumped into Em and her children on the bus and reported to me how she was taking him to the doctor to treat Brandon's bad cough: "I don't know how she copes, poor thing, with that knacker Keith always on at her. The sooner she's rid of him the better". On a number of occasions such as this, I noticed that the Senior Action Group were under the conception that the Bad Lads were responsible for 'corrupting' the Youth Justice Girls.

The young people continue to organise social events with the older residents. More recently, Kirsty (18) has developed such a rapport with some of the older people that she has forged contacts which have helped her go on to gain full-time employment at the residential care home in the area. I initially found this out by 'word of mouth' when I bumped into Shelia in the neighbourhood. This is a significant achievement, given the considerable barriers to employment she experienced, as we saw in the previous chapter, which occurred 18 months earlier, including the hostility from the Job Centre, her 'irrelevant' work experience, her lack of

general qualifications and the insecurity she lived through before taking part in the 'Giving back' project. The underlying aim of these intergenerational programmes is beginning to materialise, by changing how individual bodies are read, processed and understood as relationships develop within, between and across these two generations.

Yet it is interesting to note that when presenting the 'Giving back' project to an academic audience, I included a number of photos of the Youth Justice Girls both 'hanging out' together; and in Figure 5.5 wearing smart black trousers with old-fashioned 'pinny' style aprons, a dress choice that they made themselves because they had decided to act as waitresses during the afternoon tea sessions. On sight, the audience however deemed the young people to be unrecognisable and interpreted them as having changed so much of themselves as the only way they could fit in and be accepted by the older group. This was not the case, but it would seem that, even within the most critical academic circles, these young people are imagined to have only one style of dress so that seeing them dressed in anything other than the hooded top, the baseball cap or the tracksuit is uncomfortable, unacceptable, unimaginable even.

Even when sessions were not implicitly intergenerational: as was the case in my individual interview with Anne, I was able to learn about area and gain insights into the historical and contextual perspective of both cohorts. As an example of this, it was through discussions with Anne that I learnt the most about the original, underpinning history of the D2 Youth Zone. Anne had been serving as a local councillor at the time and described that there had been "much controversy and animosity towards the young people securing funding on the estate - when there were many other groups who felt they were also in greater need" (Anne). Being an active member representative, Anne described to me how she "acted like a spokesperson communicating between them all. It broke down barriers, and that allowed different groups to learn a lot from each other. It took two years for the proposal for the youth group to get off the ground. The main problem they encountered initially was that they had no premises. They had a number of difficulties in securing a permanent council residence on the estate in 1998. It was around that time that the young people chose the name to D2. It's been so rewarding to witness them go from strength to strength".

I did not know until this point that 'D2' stood for 'Detached' and '2', for the 2 houses occupied by the premises. It was especially interesting to me that the young people didn't

know the original meaning of the name either; it was not important to them. D2, as an 'institution' had been there as long as they could remember and it was not something that they had ever had reason to question. It was therefore a welcome surprise and a powerful experience for me to learn so much about the Youth Group from Anne. I feel that it is important to illuminate this quite unexpected 'Intergenerational Twist' to the tale in this section, as it imparts a window into the depth, breadth and richness that research with the older cohort brought to the project.

5.19 Reflections from evaluation of intergenerational work

"Because a lot of the young people involved have been viewed very negatively it has been great to get them involved in some intergenerational work, which is narrowing the gap between generations really. Where young people were seen as a threat one time, some of them are now being asked for to do work on people's gardens or cook luncheons"

(Angela, 46, Youth Worker D2)

"I'm just going to just try and stay the way I am for now and hopefully not go back, just go up and up and up instead of down"

(Charley, 17, Youth Justice Girls)

"Its been great to learn new skills and get my Level 1 Youth Work certificate. I want to help people out, and obviously help D2 because they've done so much to help me"

(Kirsty,18, Youth Justice Girls)

"Its not just about developing those relationship it is also about seeing where those relationships can go. And when young people get that confidence it's amazing what can be achieved"

(Jim, 52, D2 Manager)

"Its making a massive and positive contribution to the life of the estate"

(Betty, 70, Senior Action Group)

"They made us see that old people aren't just grumpy, they're not much different to us."

(Em, 17, Youth Justice Girls)

The intergenerational initiatives that the Youth Justice Girls carried out with the Senior Action Group have in many ways challenged both groups' preconceptions of each other. In fact, the younger women that participated in the research were shocked to discover the extent of the commonalities and similarities that they shared with the Senior Action Group in comparison to other young people in the local area. Interestingly over time, this bore out with the Youth Justice Girls developing relationships with the Senior Action Group.

5.20 Senior Action Group: Conclusion

This chapter has implicitly focused on the social construction of age and outlined how this intersects with gender and fear in the everyday experiences of the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls. It demonstrates that the ways in which fear and disadvantage are experienced and have a key impacts upon the rights to citizenship for women of all ages in the local neighbourhood. I have argued that intergenerationality is a crucial concept in forging more relational geographies of age. I have contributed towards the call to "first connect, and ultimately get beyond, current interest in youth and old age" (Pain and Hopkins, 2009: 82). My own journey through the research process re-conceptualised and challenged my own preconceptions, stereotypes and understandings of age in relation to social identities. In this chapter, through a comparison and analysis of the similarities, engagements and continuinities that exist between the Senior Action Group and the Youth Justice Girls, I have moved towards a re-materalisation of fear and citizenship, as they interact with changing identities of age, linking these to wider processes of social, economic and spatial change.

The research has demonstrated that women in the area have very strong conceptions about support, independence and community spirit. They have a very clear understanding about their responsibilities towards each other, and what is required in return for their commitment. Some older residents are actively excluded from the support network if they don't make an effort to do it for themselves and yet this seems to sit uncomfortably with the acknowledgement that some older individuals should feel able to ask for help and stop trying to maintain an illusion of independence. As the research unfolded, it was interesting for me to observe the various ways in which the young women felt themselves more closely aligned and grouped together with the older women in the Senior Action Group than young men in the area. During the 3 months in which I worked together with both groups, it became apparent that the women in both groups distanced themselves from men in similar ways. Very quickly,

there formed a shared joke between the two groups concerned with the perceived uselessness of men. I would argue that there is something specific that connects and binds the Senior Action Group to the Youth Justice Girls, related to what it means to be a woman in this neighbourhood in Newcastle upon Tyne.

The intergenerational interaction has been an important part of both groups gaining confidence in moving around the area and in heightening their safety and feeling secure. Being safe is a very important part of their everyday lives, and this research contributes to this process in real and very important ways. The research indicated that women's lives were more centrally located and localised than men's. They spend more time moving around the local area, whereas the Bad Lads talked more of being further afield. The women in the neighbourhood describe being much more committed to their relationships with each other and these caring roles and responsibilities kept them more rooted to the local area. In these and many other ways, the women found common ground and connections between themselves onto which they could build relationships. I would assert that women in the neighbourhood seem to be the catalysts; the particular motivators to getting things done. I observed boldness in the ways that women from both generations outlined that they intentionally took on the role of keep an eye on the men in their lives; a small number of husbands and fathers who they felt that they could 'keep in line'. To a greater extent I also witnessed how fear worked to provoke both generations of women to turn a blind eye to the deviance and destruction caused by the Bad Lads, who made both groups of women feel powerless. Throughout the research I found examples of how women of all ages in the area were innovative, perceptive, adaptive, and strategic and that despite a generation gap they have a lot in common.

Addressing the issue of intergenerational conflict has also been a key part in beginning to resolve some of the fears expressed by older people about young people hanging about and engaging in what they defined as anti-social behaviour. The way young peoples' bodies are read by the older age cohort is slowly changing, and media stereotypes, which used to be the only source, come to be contested as 'word of mouth' spread alternative forms of 'news' throughout the neighbourhood. The research has provided a catalyst in encouraging local people to re-consider their preconceptions and former understandings of each other's views, behaviour and intent. We all learnt that it is often the same incidents, hotspots and social problems in the area which cause us all, both older and younger age cohorts, concern.

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In relation to the life-course of women in the local neighbourhood, individuals share the progression through different trajectories and continuities. The similarities relating to gender transcend age-related boundaries and challenge the assumption of the presence of a 'generation gap' that opened the chapter. Thus for both cohorts of women, this chapter points to the ways in which we are able to claim a new identity and construct ourselves differently according to when, where and how we put ourselves.

The participatory approach has been empowering to both groups of women, again in notably similar ways. Adding an age dimension introduces an intervention which is deliberately decriminalising for the Youth Justice Girls, whilst deliberately anti-ageist for the Senior Action Group. For both groups, the circularity of their discrete stereotype assemblages can be broken by the practice, manufacture and performance of another assemblage, in a different time and place. 'Deviance' and 'ageism' is thus challenged and contested as these local women go about their everyday lives. It is important to continue to recognise these strengths and diversities in disenfranchised neighbourhoods in order to resist and overcome stereotyping tendencies.

This chapter has taken everyday life seriously as a site of radical, transformative practice. It has laid the foundations for the next chapter, which will present a new juxtaposition in presenting data on the youngest individuals I worked with, having just outlined the data from the oldest. Also being the most participatory of all the research, the next chapter builds, develops and nurtures the argument that I have created here. In the next chapter, we will see the extent to which the research provided an opportunity for a resilience and hopefulness that ultimately led to the young people of the Pizza and Politics group addressing the problems for their generation in the local area that the thesis has uncovered.

Chapter 6: Pizza and Politics

Figure 6.1 Presentation script from lauch of Durham University's Centre for Social Justice and Community Action (CSJCA).

6.1 Excerpt

The above excerpt (Figure 6.1) is taken from a presentation made in summer 2009 by the Pizza and Politics group, who we meet later in this chapter, at the launch of Durham University's Centre for Social Justice and Community Action (CSJCA). The young people were specifically invited to present at the event; acting as an exemplar of the potential for future research collaborations between the University and other local community groups.   The presentation reached an audience in excess of 100, consisting of both academic and community-based organisations.

The motivation behind opening the chapter with this excerpt is threefold: it draws attention to the fact that the Pizza and Politics research remains in progress; it highlights one of the many indicators of success of this group collective; and, it also acts as a celebration of what these young people have achieved so far in the research project. Thus, the remainder of this chapter will tell the story of how the Pizza and Politics group arrived at this end-point. I outline how, as a group of young people, we grew in self-confidence and self-identification. How we matured together from novice to expert in conducting Participatory Action Research. And, perhaps most importantly, how the group have brought hope into being in the neighbourhood, by reaching out and engaging with the fears and problems associated with the area and in addressing these through their own individual and collective self-action.

6.2 Introduction

As we saw in the last chapter, age, experience and generation are all important in understanding how fear works in the neighbourhood. This chapter provides an interesting juxtaposition to the previous chapter, as it moves the focal point of the thesis from the oldest cohort to the youngest: those who were 13 and 14. The group were also temporally the last which I worked with. Critically though, I want to make clear that there is also a more strategic reason for placing this chapter last. In previous chapters we have seen fear and uncertainty go hand in hand. Each group has worked to reveal the myriad ways in which fear excludes by making people feel inhibited and can incapacitate them from being able to participate in their everyday lives. It produces aggression and violence in the Bad Lads as they set bins on fire, graffiti, drop litter and as I have argued, this is a means of asserting their authority, to show they feel they have ownership over the area. These young men are not afraid to be seen around the neighbourhood. Indeed, they are keen to leave their mark for others to see. Fear

and uncertainty produces detachment and isolation in the Elvis Club, as they withdraw into the group and sometimes even within themselves through daydreaming and imagination as a means of coping with the very real risks they face. Fear evokes affirmation, cooperative spirit and kinship in the Youth Justice Girls. Empirical evidence from the Gender and Generation chapter revealed the significant continuities of the gendered experience of fears for women in the area over time. We learned that adding an age dimension can help to break criminalised assemblages and that individuals from different generations can have much more in common than one might imagine.

In this chapter, there is something very different going on. In taking part in the research, the Pizza and Politics group demonstrate that taking control, feeling in control and the process of naming and placing your fear not only helps put fear in its place but also facilitates and combines with a politics of hope. This chapter will argue that the action of taking part in the research project inspired (their own words) the young people in a number of important ways. Before I progress to later sections, which will provide detail of all of the ways that this group of young people were inspired, I feel that it is important to make clear from the outset that the research acted as a catalyst (in the most accurate sense of the word) for this group of young people, in that it encouraged and accelerated an action that would eventually have occurred of its own accord. That is to say, the young people were fully responsible and accountable for creating their own agenda in the neighbourhood and they strategically drew on my PhD research project as and when it benefitted the progression of their own RESEARCH TRANSITION and to push forward their own agenda. As such, they progressed alone to develop their own Action Research Project that they themselves developed out of the initial data. I was lucky enough to benefit and continue to benefit, to be inspired and continue to be inspired, from the fact that they allow me to dip in and out of their research. The tables have well and truly turned! Because of this, it is important for me to admit from the outset that I cannot claim co-ownership to much of what has blossomed out of my initial PhD research with this group, nor indeed, do I claim to offer a full and complete explanation or evaluation within the confines of this chapter for all that the Pizza and Politics research generated in its entirety. My intention in this chapter is to merely give an impression of the Pizza and Politics' own wider Action Research Project. In this sense, rather than their capacity for action being created by me, the young people were already able and keen to act.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will demonstrate some of the ways in which a very specific range of factors were at work to enable the Pizza and Politics group to envision, enact and engender hope as the flip side to fear, to come through more powerfully in the neighbourhood compared to every other group that I worked with. The next section will outline the ways in which we experimented with different methods together in the initial stages of the research project.

6.3 Who are the Pizza and Politics group?

At time of writing, the pizza and politics group (Figure 2) included: Adam (13); Sophie (13); Steph (14); Sarah (14) and Louise (13). The young people were brought together by Angela and other youth workers from D2 Youth Zone, as part of the charity's street work engaging young people in the local area.

Figure 6.2 Top: The Pizza and Politics group (pictured in 2007), from left to right: Adam, Sophie, Steph, Sarah and Louise.

Most individuals in the group did not know each other before joining the group. Young people attended different schools; they lived in different parts of the area from each other. Some individuals had become isolated due to having been bullied and so were very keen to join a new friendship group. Some young people were new to the area and so used the newly formed group to develop inital points of contact. Having initially been brought together by the D2 Youth Zone, the young people decided that they wanted to form a group collective and get together on a weekly basis . Their specific intention was to regularly discuss matters of importance to them in the local area, which is their own definition of 'politics', and eat pizza! Thus the Pizza and Politics group came into being.

As is the nature of such a newly formed group of young people, the composition and 'turnover' of the group was large and dynamic. Nevertheless, there were individuals who, I would argue, were key nodes in collecting the group together and maintaining a sense of camaradarie. In the next section of this chapter, I demonstrate that 'group motivation' had a big impact on the Pizza and Politics group's ability to practice a politics of hope. More deeply than any other group, these young people are able to to challenge fear and prioritise hope because of the specificity the dynamics operating within this group. As outlined in the introduction there is something very specific to the Pizza and Politics group that enables them to take direct action.

Adam (13) feels that the Pizza and Politics group has enabled him to socialise and hang out more after school, which he feels has really helped his confidence. He has lived in the area for all of his life, but despite this did not know any of the group previously. Sarah (14) is the most dominant member of the group. She was born on the estate and has lived here all her life. She has been best friends with Sophie for as long as she can remember and they lived next door to one another until recently when Sophie moved to 'the posh end'. Sophie (13) has lived in the "posh end", Whorlton Grange, for 3½ years and prior to this she lived on the estate. Sophie also descibed being badly bullied at school. Sophie was very softly spoken and shy at the beginning of the project. She often whispered to Sarah her thoughts and opinions, and Sarah then conveyed these to the rest of the group. Steph (14) tends to dip 'in and out' of the group, depending on whether she has fallen out with her other friends at the Gala youth group. She has lived in the area for 10 years. Jess (13) is described by the group as 'the clever one'. She hopes one day to go to Newcastle University to study Psychology. She was born in Glasgow, where she lived until 2 years ago, when she moved to the estate.

6.4 The intersection of age, gender and class for the Pizza and Politics group

I have worked with this group of young people since December 2007, a period that saw the group grow from 13 to 15 years old. This chapter argues that there was something very specific about the 'place' this group of young people occupied at this time. At the start of the research, I observed that there was something inherent to "being 13" in this area at that particular time; which was very different to that which we have seen for other groups of young people in the area. I observed directly how, over the 24 months, the direct supervision by their parents impacted on them increasingly less and as such became less influential in forming their opinions and behaviour. Instead, the social bonds tied by reciprocal relationships within the close peer group of friends become more important to how they come to understand the neighbourhood, and more widely themselves. Recent research has demonstrated that a close friendship group and the dedication to sustaining them discourages young people from "the likelihood of engaging in anti-social behavior" (Smith and McVie, 2003: 172). I want to argue that, as a group collective, they also act to enable an empowerment that helps them face their fears.

When I met the group, they were beginning to challenge all that they know and part of this was the act of becoming more critical of 'how they know what they know'. Two years later, the group had experienced autonomy, moved away from the direct supervision of their parents and at the same time had grown massively in experience and in confidence. In this way, the life transitions that this group of young people made and are making during the life of the research project are significant. It is interesting to me to point out the way that this mirrors the research transitions that they have undertaken at the same time.

In an interesting contrast to the previous chapter concerning Gender and Generation, both young men and young women worked, interacted and negotiated for the most part harmoniously together as a team throughout the research project. I wondered if this could have been because they were 'too young' to have experienced some of the more challenging and problematic relationships with members of the opposite sex. Clearly this point requires careful unpicking, but I do tentatively assert that this might have something more to do with the fact that the Pizza and Politics group generally have a slightly different class background to the other young people who participated in the research in that they live towards or within the somewhat more affluent and 'posher' end of the neighbourhood.

This is a very exciting time, as there are a range of possible future trajectories for this group of young people. As a mixed group of young men and women they are working successfully together and as a team they are motivated to do something, to make a change for the better. What is interesting about this youth group is how they elaborate and accentuate the findings in previous chapters. This chapter will outline that this group of young people have something very new and specific to say about safety and citizenship; something that is new and innovative. As we shall see, these young people have been inspired to take action in a very particular way in the local area, which is something that I find inspiring and uplifting on a personal level. The Pizza and Politics group actively sought to conduct research with the aim of addressing the problems and issues that had already been identifed in earlier stages of research with the other groups of young people. Taking these youth insights and findings seriously, this chapter seeks to understand the descriptive and explanatory value of the concept 'citizenship' by taking this group of young people and their lived experiences and places that might best reveal the meaning of citizenship to them at this particular point in time. Using this new group of young people this chapter will build upon and exemplify the main argument and conclusion of the thesis. The Pizza and Polics group contribute towards a particular cohort of the neighbourhood. Their narratives will be employed to try to capture the changing, lived experience of the separate, substantive themes raised in earlier chapters and therefore begin to draw connections between issues of citizenship, safety and fear that have been separated out in preceding chapters.

6.5 Methodological reflections

Box 6.1 provides a brief summary of the methods undertaken and carried out with the Pizza and Politics group, organised by their inspirational potential. I will go into more analytical detail about these methods in the subsequent methodological reflection sections. As Box 1.1 illustrates, the research with the Pizza and Politics group introduced a range of new methods that I experimented with together with the young people. Taking this further, I theorise the participatory element of the research as moving through a spectrum of different depths that I refer to as levels.

Box 6.1 Moving through levels of Participation in the research project

PARTICPATORY LEVEL 1: We spent one 2 hour session per week for 4 consecutive weeks planning and creating 3 self taken photo montages about "what you like" and "don't like" in the neighbourhood. The group then interviewed the photos in answering questions about what particular photos meant or represented to them. They went on to democratically chose which ones best described how they felt about the neighbourhood. INSPIRATION 1: enabled a direct observation of the power of 'doing' and of taking ACTION. This chapter will focus mainly on this technique, and the implications it had for the Pizza and Politics group.

PARTICPATORY LEVEL 2: The group spent considerable time negotiating democratically what the next step in the research project should be. INSPIRATION 2: the participatory element encouraged them to be more imaginative and confident in selecting their own preferred methods and techniques themselves.

PARTICPATORY LEVEL 3: By this stage, the group had very much taken a leading role in the research, and had decided to create a participatory video describing what life was like for them in the neighbourhood. INSPIRATION 3: making the video enabled them to a) express their own fears; b) explore and interrogate other young people about what they thought about the area: and c) begin to transmit and convey this information to a wider audience.

PARTICPATORY LEVEL 4: The group organised a 'Fun Day BBQ' which enabled the wider neighbourhood to access essential information on issues of matter to them; it enabled D2 to 'reach out' to individuals who had not yet been in touch with the youth group. In that particular space and time, it transformed the neighbourhood into a safe, jovial, accessible and approachable space.

PARTICPATORY LEVEL 5: The information that the group gathered about the main problem facing the local neighbourhood indicated that bullying was the most significant problem. In response to this, they have designed a 'Bully Pack', which they hope to produce in mass and distribute to schools and youth groups in the local area.

PARTICPATORY LEVEL 6: Presenting the research at the CSJCA launch enabled the group to advertise their idea about a Bully Pack; and engender potential future

collaborations in setting up a website or a blog where young people could write down and read about different was metaphorically, emotionally and in reality the actual materialisation of the participatory ethic of the entire thesis. In 'speaking back to the academy', this group-action is the culmination of the what the Participatory Action Research has accomplished. It worked to disrupt the traditional boundaries, barriers and power relationships inherent between 'university' and 'young person from disadvantaged estate'.

Given the restrictions of the structure of the thesis, it would not be possible for me to analytically evaluate or do justice to all of the themes that came out of the research. As such, I focus particular attention to the Photomontages in demonstrating how this process was the very first step towards the young people being able to locate, name and place their fears. Creating photo montages of 'what you don't like' and 'what makes you feel uncomfortable' in the local area served to highlight the way that the research process itself has had an empowering function. It has enabled the young people to identify, name, visualise, capture and contain their fears.

6.6 Photo voice

Photo voice is a Participatory Action Research (PAR) method that enables local people to identity and assess the strength and concerns of their community (Krieg and Roberts, 2007; Wang, 1999). The technique has emerged as a potential tool for advancing knowledge around marginalisation (Strack et al, 2004).   Using photography to promote both individual and community change, photovoice allows participants to document their own worlds, and become active agents in social action (Wang and Burris, 1994).

When I first met the group, they were aware of the work I'd done with the Youth Justice Girls and were keen to be involved in the project. We talked about different techniques and methods we could use but they were not interested in focus groups or interviews. We talked about what would be the best way for them to show me what the area was like, and they suggested photography. More specifically, the group requested that they use a digital camera that way they would be able to see the images immediately and delete any that they were not happy with.   We agreed to this and set about planning the brief for the project. PARTICPATORY LEVEL 1 was the initial brainstorming of the research project itself. This was

my main intervention in getting them involved or starting them off in thinking about their local neighbourhood in a more critical way.

We designated a week for the young people take the photos together or individually and planned out who would be in charge of the camera on which days. We decided they would try to take 'good' photos of areas they felt happy, safe, comfortable or simply enjoyed hanging out. They would also take 'bad' photos of things they didn't like in the area; things that made them angry, upset, afraid or places they were uncomfortable or scared to go. The young people gave up their free time after school, and it was clear to me that they had put a great deal of effort into the project.

We printed the photos onto A4 paper, cut them out and each of the young people selected three photos which they felt best represented what was good, bad and how they would like it to be in the local area. As we shall see in the analysis below, there was some dispute and debate as to which photos eventually ended up in which category, but eventually a democratic decision was reached. The group decided they wanted to 'practice' the diagramming, to make sure that they knew what they were doing before they started working on the final, finished version. Their 'pilot' is shown in Figure 6.3.

To begin with, none of the young people were comfortable in noting down their thoughts and feelings and so initially I took on the role of annotating the diagram. Sarah was the first to select a photo, and took a lead in attaching it to the diagram. At the start, Adam, to the amusement of the rest of the group, pretended that he was not sure what to do, and copied Sarah by sticking a copy of the same photo onto the paper. This moment of humour enabled me, discretely under the veil of humour, to reiterate that there was no right or wrong answer, and that there was no need to worry about being neat. Taking conviction from this the group grew 'bold' and all gained confidence in annotating the selected photographs themselves. Steve stuck on a sign of 'Young Children's Play Area', which had been marked with graffiti and cigarette burns. He outlined that he felt this represented the lack of respect that some people had for the neighbourhood. "It's a disgrace, like. Those wasters have got nothing better to do than damage other people's property. The place is a huge mess since then. It's not nice for the little kids when there's broken glass and tiles and litter everywhere. It's bad – little kids could fall over and hurt themselves" (Steve).

Figure 6.3 Pilot photo montage of dislikes in area

The diagram demonstrates the disagreements some of the group had over certain photos. Adam and Jess agreed the majority of these bad photos showed scary places; while Sarah felt there was no reason to be afraid and argued that she felt the neighbourhood to be safe. Yet it is interesting that even at this early stage in the research project, the group were adamant that there were Bad people living in the estate. They were all in agreement about who these people were and used nicknames and codes between themselves to refer to these 'bad individuals' which I did not recognise. It is possible that these individuals were the very same Bad Lads we met in Chapter 2.

The diagram shows Steph describing how "Bad people destroy good walls" and "break glass which is bad as little kids could fall and hurt themselves". Sophie drew attention to the Simonside bus stop where "the Bad Lads hang out". This group referred to them as the "Scary boys with knives". Fairly soon, the group felt confident enough that they knew what they were doing and were keen to move on to working on the real diagram.

6.7 Diagramming 'What you don't like about the area'

This method and the subsequent interviewing of the photos (Figure 6.4), imparted a wealth of interesting commentary around the possibilities of problematic people and problematic places. This is an interesting point. At times, the Pizza and Politics group argued that it is only when certain people are in certain places or contexts that they become bad or scary. At other times the group were equally insistent that the neighbourhood itself was not to blame. Indeed it was the presence of scary people that made certain places or contexts bad or scary. This contradiction is difficult to theorize, yet I would argue that this reminds us of one of the key themes of the thesis: which is that such ambiguities can be explained through the concept of the assemblage. That is, a number of certain variables have to be in place: a person; circumstances in their personal life; drug use; being intoxicated; peer pressure; history of victimization; or wanting to appear cool, amongst others. Many different things crystallise at different times within the neighbourhood to materialise the 'criminalised assemblage' as we saw was the case for the Youth Justice Girls. To one degree or another in geography, whether identified as assemblage, network, or actor-network, this form of analysis seems to predominate in recent socio-material geography.

Figure 6.4 Photo montage of dislikes in the area

6.8 The ambiguity of space in the neighbourhood

In describing the area, the young people geographically differentiated between different parts of the neighbourhood, with "bottom shops" referring to the south of the neighbourhood.   The 'bottom shops' was also identified as a place they tended to avoid, especially late at night, as this was where there tended to be "drinking, weeing, alcohol selling, selling tabs to young kids". Sophie drew on a photo of an alleyway at the back of the 'bottom shops', discussions around which provided an interesting example of how the area felt very different to individuals, who could interpret and 'read' a specific area in very different ways.

Adam described an event that had occurred recently in the area: "These lads jumped on Nicola's boyfriend and they nearly killed him. They nearly ripped his ear off. They came at him from behind with a knife" (Adam). The group described how this event was part of an on-going vendetta between two local gangs: "It's easy to get dragged in. It's impossible not to when you live round here. Even if you just stay in and avoid it people think you're taking sides" (Steve and Sarah). This meant that Steve now felt worried and anxious in the alley, especially

at night.   As Jackson et al, (2006) have shown, such evaluative activity reveals how fear is culturally conditioned, and what one defines as dangerous depends on where one stands (Jackson et al, 2006).   It has been argued that "those who worry may interpret ambiguous environmental cues or situations as threatening. In a heightened emotional state one might more quickly see risk in ambiguity; one might more readily associate people, situations and environments with criminal intention and threat. Preoccupied with negative information and future unpleasant outcomes, worriers scan the environment for salient material relating to threat making ambiguous events more threatening"[17] (Butler & Mathews 1983, 1987; Russell & Davey 1993).

Yet Sophie countered this argument, by revealing that the alley to her was and always would be the place where she shared her first kiss: "y'can all laugh – but to me, that's what it [the alley] will always mean to me. Time stood still, it was like there was no body in the world but us" (Sophie). The process of attaching multiple meanings to a single image lead to the next phase of the process, codifying.   In the context of photovoice, Wang and Burris (1994) advocate participants selecting issues, themes or theories, through which to target action.   In the research with the Pizza and Politics group, the Photovoice process in our project was its ability to stimulate discussion and motivation for action in the local community.   Photovoice proved to be an effective means of shifting the local power balance, encouraging ordinary people to become advocates in their own reality.   Importantly, the technique presented the community quite literally through a new lens; one that no longer pathologised young people as deviant and criminal, but as resourceful and possessing the capacity to take action.

Neighbourhood-specific research into fear of crime found that once individuals decide that their area has begun to decline, they become "more generally helpless and more generally fearful, and they select the evidence around them that reinforces this view" (Taub et al, 1984: 16). In contrast, for individuals who view their neighbourhood as improving, crime rates, litter and the like are items either to be shrugged off or to be attacked through collective community action.   Once the collective commitment has been made and is supported by substantial resources, individuals are prepared to put the crime problem behind them (Taub et al, 1984). Taub et al, (1984) demonstrate that fear of crime strongly affects people's views on

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[17] http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/63/129

the likelihood of neighbourhood change. People who view their neighbourhood as unsafe are more likely than those who think it is safe to hold a lower estimation of the ability of the neighbourhood to resist change (Taub et al, 1984). The level of perceived threat is affected by victimisation, contextual rates of victimisation, vandalism, and reports of disorderly or "uncivil" conduct on the streets in the area (Taub et al, 1984: 170). This research demonstrates that people will tolerate high levels of threat if they find other aspects of the community to be a sufficiently gratifying compensation. They find that, in certain circumstances, neighbourhood amenities raise tolerance levels and thus maintain high levels of satisfaction even when the neighbourhood is perceived as a comparatively threatening place to live (Taub et al, 1984). The research found that satisfaction with the level of safety is the critical intervening variable explaining the relationship between the crimes problem and neighbourhood investment. Satisfaction with safety is the principal variable explaining the impact of crime (Taub et al, 1984).

6.9 Fear of crime and the power of rumour

Following on from this, Jess chose a photo of a nearby part of the neighbourhood, which lead to a secluded pathway covered with overgrown trees and hedges. "My Mam won't let me walk here late at night. On my way home I have to walk right around the estate instead of just going through the snicket. Its cause someone was raped there last year". Sarah, once again, hotly denied that the event ever happened "that's rubbish, man! Do you know who the girl was, or when it was supposed to have happened?". Jess retorted "It was my mate from school's best friend – her family moved away because they never caught who did it". Sarah refused to believe the story "Nah – it's always a friend of a friend when it's made up. If it happened it'd be all over the papers and the police would have been round. They'd of had to clean the bushes up and the council never bothers. It couldn't have happened. I'm not scared. I always go back that way – I'm not afraid of some stupid made up story".

As we have seen, Sarah was very dominant and well established in the group, often speaking over Jess who was the newest to the estate. I feel that these dynamics within the group are important to highlight at this point as they say something specific about the nature of the formation of youth identities; the negotiation and compromise that occurs even in the strongest friendship groups. The group often followed Sarah's lead, with the exception of Steve and Peter who usually tried to 'wind up' Sarah. Sarah chose a photo she had taken of

the path at the Lonen side and Adam annotated it with "Bad people destroy the path". Sarah used the photo to refer to the time that "the Bad Lads brought as much rubbish as they could carry, got 'up a height on cider and [acid] tabs, probably' then set fire to the lot". Sarah told of how she had heard a 'huge explosion' from her house and went out to see them burning spray cans and canisters. She decided to call the fire brigade when it got out of hand and she was worried the woods would burn down.

It was clear that the young people knew or suspected individuals who had been involved in these activities, but they did not volunteer this information to me, nor did I try to elicit it from them. They also decided to 'black out' the faces of the Bad Lads who they had photographed 'drinking at daytime' which they also felt was one of the main 'bad' things that happened in the neighbourhood. Conceptually, this point brought to my mind the power, control and dominance of masculinity that we have witnessed as inherent to the neighbourhood in a variety of different ways throughout the thesis. The Pizza and Politics group are wary of the Bad Lads. They believe this group to be responsible for the violence and aggression in the neighbourhood. They do not, however, aspire to be like this older group of young people: instead they seem to have decided that they want to make a change and be different to them. They have different aspirations and want to make more of a positive difference in the neighbourhood.

The girls also spoke about feeling uncomfortable and described how they tried to avoid having to go into "that paedo's shop". They told of how it was "widespread knowledge" that the man who owned the newsagents "was a convicted paedophile" who only employed girls of 11-15. The group claimed that they all knew girls who had worked there, and been subject to unwanted advances. The youth workers gave some weight to these suggestions, confirming that they also believed there was "something not quite right" about the owner of the shop, who readily sold alcohol and cigarettes to underage youth on the estate. One of the youth workers complained "How can you make a difference? When you try and get a message across to this lot, and then they just have to go over there to get it! (alcohol and cigarettes). It's bad for the whole estate. He doesn't have to deal with the fall out when they get addicted, or when the police get involved. It's scandalous" (Youth Worker).

This underlines the social, physical and sexual vulnerability of younger teenagers.   There is a wider argument to be made here about this age group, on their own terms and in relation to the other groups in the area. I will return to this point in the concluding section.

6.10 Symbols equated with crime in the neighbourhood

A week after the first diagramming session, we returned to the photo montage reflection, the group found it interesting that the 'Bad' photos they had taken were all darker in comparison to the 'Good' ones, which we will come to in the next section. The negative photos also focus close up on items like broken glass, rubbish, burnt out bins, bus stops, the tatters left by vandalism. They also focus on the architectures of the built environment that are designed to divide, demark and hem things in: walls; fences and paths; kerbs and roads; alleyways and devices designed to control and contain. This could signify that the group feel hemmed in, or trapped in some way. In discussions about the neighbourhood, the young people described in similar ways to all the other groups, how they feel they have no control and are not consulted about what happens in the area. Such tentative analyses move into the foreground the context and social meaning of fear, risk and danger. These "tatters left by vandalism" may generate the sense that the social order is in flux (Ferraro, 1995; Innes, 2004), that there has been a loss of authority over space. This lack of control is evoked in young people, making them unsure about how to read the situation around them, leading to a lack of trust.

Fear is linked with the state of the built and lived environment. The neighbourhood incivilities of broken glass, litter and graffiti tend to be interpreted as evidence of criminality (Smith, 1989). These can alert people to the prospect of deviance and may so heighten their sense of fear (Smith, 1989). Much criminology research (Ferraro, 1995; Innes, 2004; Jackson, 2004) has also demonstrated that fear of crime is a response to day-to-day encounters with symbols associated with crime. This literature demonstrates the ways in which people read fear into certain environmental cues. The interpretations of incivilities within a neighbourhood imbue judgments about the values, norms and morals of the people who make up the community. "These symbols generate a sense of the risk of crime: people make judgements about who commits crime and where it occurs; perceptions of the likelihood of victimisation

are shaped by these individual evaluations of the social and physical environment" (Jackson et al, 2006[18]).

As such, in identifying symbols such as graffiti, litter and burnt-out bins as being the focus of their fear of crime. The blame for demarking the area with these symbols is then projected onto individuals in the neighbourhood. In this way fear is given a face and a context; it is rooted and situated. As we have seen, in the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne the Bad Lads are stereotyped as the focus of fear. This is a distancing strategy for placing them as 'other'. A key process in assembling fear of crime is consequently the evaluative activity that links crime with the Bad Lads, who are associated with deviance and hostile intent and ultimately with a sense of unease in an unpredictable environment. As Goffman (1971: p85) describes: "… the minor incivilities of everyday life can function as an early warning system; conventional courtesies are seen as mere convention, but non-performance can cause alarm". Threat can be signalled by the presence of certain persons who act counter to the minor civilities of everyday life, who behave in ways that are improper or appear out of place". Such people or behaviours may signal an "absent, weakened or fragile local social order" (Innes, 2004: 341). In this way, fear of crime is used as a way of articulating evaluations of people, community conditions and social control. Here then, we are reminded of what we have seen earlier in the thesis, that fear of crime is a lens through which people living in the local neighbourhood understand their own social identity, as juxtaposed with the deviance and criminality of the Bad Lads. In this way fear is a "hinge concept" (Ewald, 2000), and the Bad lads come to embody all of the neighbourhood's social problems. As such, this chapter reiterates what has long been acknowledged in sociological literature: that "fear of crime does not always track very closely to either crime rates or probability of becoming a victim" (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981: 61). The situational nature of both the perceived importance of crime and the fear of it vary substantially from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. The next section will outline the Pizza and Politics' photo montage of 'what they like' in the neighbourhood. In accord with Taub et al's, (1984) findings in their study of Chicago, crime is not necessarily a deterrent to long-term community commitments, great community pride, and a willingness to make investments in other community housing.

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[18] http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/63/129

6.11 Diagramming 'What you like in the area'

In initial discussions about what was good in the area (Figure 6.5), the group agreed with Sarah's overall assertion: "Newbiggin's not proper bad. There's worse, like. Middlesbrough or Scotchy [Scotschwood] would be worse than round here". Jess agreed: "Benwell's loads worse – people get stabbed there all the time. That's why me Mam moved us out here".

At first glance, what is most interesting about this diagram is that half of the 'good' photos chosen are not actually of the estate itself, but of a different neighbouring area, the Whorlton Grange Estate. The group told that this was where Sophie lived, known colloquially as the 'posh end'. Much to her embarrassment, the group pointed out a photo of her semi-detached house with conservatory. The group used this to contrast to the terraced council flats that the majority of them lived in. Sophie jokingly pointed out that the only differences with her house and the estate was the presence of flowerbeds and a post box. At this point I questioned the group as to what they felt might be the reason behind the 'posh part' having more amenities like post boxes and telephone boxes. Sarah noticed "it seems so much emptier and full of crap when you compare us [the estate] with Whorlton". Steph agreed: "actually, for such a big estate there are no shops really apart from Gills'. There's no post office, no jobs – nothing to do locally". The group decided that there were plants in the neighbouring area because "potted plants don't get nicked, and signs don't get vandalised there". Sophie pointed out that she was happier when she lived next door to Sarah and that now it was harder for her to hang out with the group on a night time. But Jess was adamant "this is what the estate should look like. Then me Mam wouldn't be so gutted she'd moved us all away down from Glasgow."

Figure 6.5 Photo montage of likes in the area

Following on from this conversation, the group elected to choose many photos of Whorlton Grange, to represent what the estate could be like or should be like "if they were in charge". During the diagramming they decided that this should be a new category: what they hoped their estate could be like in the future, or what they felt it should aspire to be like. Interestingly, the Pizza and Politics group's kinds of suggestions for how the area could be 'made better' were very much aligned with how the Senior Action Group reminisced about "what the area used to be like"; in referring to "more flowers; more open green spaces; more events where everyone can go on a night time instead of getting mortal". Interestingly, despite the two groups being at opposite age cohorts, they both also generally believed that this would foster more of a sense of 'community spirit'.

When you enable a person to enact something they thought was not possible, you empower them to realise that change is possible and they have the ability to seek out that change for themselves. In this way, the diagramming techniques used with the Pizza and Politics group show that it is possible to be hopeful when you actively participate in something. The methodology has demonstrated, albeit metaphorically, how participation empowered these young people and enables them to envision how things can change. It enables us to interpret through the lens of citizenship the transformative power of change. in this way,

political participation in the broadest sense is employed by the Pizza and Politics group to manage fear, by actively shaping the context where fear is generated.

As we saw with many other young people in the neighbourhood, the diagramming 'what you like' exercise revealed that home was the most important place for these young people. Several photos of the outside of group members houses also made it onto the 'good' diagram. Sarah in particular spoke of her bedroom as being one of the sites where the girls spent most of their free time together. In contrast to the difficult and abusive experiences that the Elvis Club sometimes experienced as prisoners of home; the young people in the Pizza and Politics group spoke passionately about their bedrooms as being key for their own space where they were afforded valuable privacy and safety.

In contrast to the 'Bad photos' this, the 'Good' photos tend to be of a much wider and more distant focus, and included the horizon and skyline. These photos are much lighter in shade, and are mostly of nature, including plants, trees and wide, open green spaces. There is much more of a sense of freedom and space evoked by these pictures, which could be interpreted to represent how much the group enjoyed spending time outside. The young men more generally felt more of a sense of connection with outdoor spaces of the neighbourhood. Like the Bad Lads, they described much of their spare time as having been taken up playing football when they weren't at the youth club. Adam drew attention to the basketball courts, where he likes to play with his mates. He made sure that the 'good' photos included his mates playing basketball on the courts.

Interestingly, members of the group appear in three of the photos of 'what they like'. The majority of these photos depict the group enjoying the open outdoors, including pictures of how they like to spend their time and places where they feel safe, which demonstrates a significant sense of attachment, possession and belonging to the neighbourhood. These include more complete shots of buildings like the library, school and youth groups, rather than specific pieces of architecture like walls or fences, as was the case in the 'Bad' photos. It is interesting also that the woods feature on the things the group most like and Sarah spoke of trying to save them from being burned down by the Bad Lads.

The photos also tend to focus on things that the young people believe make an area better such as the flowerpots, flowerbeds, welcome signs and lights of Whorlton Grange. The group were aware that these items are provided and maintained by the local council and they

feel that this represents a reciprocal lack of interest the council have for Newbiggin Hall. They feel that these things are not provided to their estate because the council assume they will be stolen, vandalised and destroyed. The young people described that what frustrates them the most about living in the area is that this is probably a fair assumption and they provided plenty of evidence of this vandalism in the 'Bad' photos.

It is interesting that this group were always aware of the future and what they could do to change things. Although they were very aware of the most pressing problems and issues of the estate, there was not a sense of inevitability about the situation. Instead the group were keen to devise ways in which they could make a difference and try to make the neighbourhood more like Whorlton Grange:

Steve: The people in East Thorpe would hit you for nothing – even the girls. Even we're sometimes crossing the street in case we get beat up. There's never any police round there either. They're always hanging around here for no reason. People are hard there. They don't care how they look, they're always hanging around in their PJs. They're all single Mum's I think it's a generational thing. They've seen their Mam's do it so it's all they know. Then they have daughters who do the same and it goes on again"

Sarah: So how're you gonna change it?

Peter: We'll change it, man! Tell them it's not clever or hard to trap a gadge [man] n' get y'selves pregnant!

This aside was the first directly gendered conception I observed and it genuinely riled the young women in the group. This tension led to an in-depth discussion about the neighbourhood and problems associated with it. I was surprised at how much of a difference the young people felt they were empowered to make. They were highly observant and in-tune to the stark differences between their own area and nearby neighbourhoods. They told of how they preferred to hang out in other neighbourhoods that were posher as they felt safer here. They described how other local residents had worked together to react to this, and stop them from hanging out in neighbouring areas:

Steph: When there's a group of young people – and that can mean as little as 4

people – the police are called. It's awful. That's half the reason why there's a

bad atmosphere around here and bad feeling between young people and the

police. They're called for no reason and have a go at us even if we're doing

nothing wrong. That's half the reason why some of the lads think they might

as well mess up the estate – there's no one stopping you doing that.

It may only be in the metaphorical sense, but I would argue that from the example I
have described in depth, the photo montage methodology enabled the Pizza and Politics group
to envision and imagine a way that they could have a sense of control, which enables hope to
prevail over fear. In the next section, I suggest that these local knowledges and experiences
could be usefully applied in formulating a new and innovative grounded conception of
citizenship. The very act of naming and placing fear and hope is an empowering process for the
Pizza and Politics group. The main argument here is that it is not necessarily a big overarching
affect: the young people did not have to go out and influence urban policy for them to feel
that they have some say, some input, some control over what happens in the local area. Small
events like the diagramming sessions can make a big difference to these young people, to feel
that their opinion is valued, respected and sought after had a huge impact. Using Photovoice
to address the issues of marginalisation demonstrates how a PAR process can facilitate people
to use their knowledge and abilities to effect necessary changes at a variety of scales.
Photovoice emphasises the importance of community involvement and ownership and the
need for the end result of the process not simply to be knowledge for its own sake but action
on community issues.

6.12 Envisioning, enacting and engendering: practicing hope through 'doing'

In this chapter, we have seen that, as individuals and as a group the Pizza and Politics group
have grasped and made the most of a number of opportunities that have shaped them and
given them the confidence to hope for something else; something more than they have been
offered in the neighbourhood so far. I have suggested that this is a circular process of
feedbacks.   This chapter demonstrates that the very process of taking action in the

neighbourhood is empowering the young people that helps inspire hope. This acts to enable them to take further action: thus the cyclic, circling and re-circulating process.

As they identify with and come to own (literally) more hopeful visions of a future - visions whose practical realisation they believe they can be and have taken steps to become - involved with. In this chapter, I have connected the theoretical incivilities literature and fear, and empowerment and hope, to cutting edge research on citizenship. In doing so, I have illustrated that being uncertain makes people fearful, which in turn excludes them from participating as fully as they would like in everyday life. In explaining and analysing this in more detail, I take inspiration from Wright's (2008) writing on hope and move the focus of this chapter towards a question of why and how young people in the neighbourhood "attempt to meet fear with action and in doing so generate that most radical of responses: hope" (Wright, 2008: 223). The argument demonstrates that taking action fosters a sense of empowerment in the process of change (as distinct from feeling helpless as things change round you). In this chapter, I connected empirical evidence to literature on fear of crime; literature concerning incivilities and neighbourhood change; and literature concerning youth politics of hope. So doing, this chapter will contribute towards the interrogation and disruption of conventional understandings of political participation, involvement and action.

While the research with the Pizza and Politics group was not designed to focus on political participation, action and involvement specifically, these themes came out strongly in the research process, in discussing issues of safety, belonging and fear. The group were not asked specific questions about how they defined politics nor were they asked if they felt themselves to be in any way political. However, as has been argued before "asking a question about politics does not necessarily reveal a true representation of a person's political action or participation because of the dominant discourse around what constitutes 'politics'" (Henn et al, 2002: 169; Skelton and Valentine, 2003). In the two years that we worked together, we all changed in significant and important ways. We have grown in confidence of using participatory techniques. We all have, and are, learning important lessons, often without realising it. In the next section of this chapter I want to argue that this change happened in a process of us all working together through a range of different depths, intensities and levels of participation.

6.13 Moving forward: Creating action research

Having grown in confidence with their experience of participatory techniques, the group were keen to take forward the research themselves. Drawing inspiration from the popular reality television series 'Big Brother[19]', the Pizza and Politics group decided that they wanted to use the medium of video to tell the story of young people on the estate. So they elected to undertake a participatory video project (Figure 6.6). They designed the questions themselves, chose a pair of bright red curtains to act as a backdrop and an inflatable chair acted as the 'diary room' chair. In this way, the group created their own 'diary room'. They took it in turns to be interviewer, interviewee, camera-operator, lighting, producer and director.

Undertaking this video project enabled the group to move into PARTICPATORY LEVEL 3, in moving beyond their own individual concerns, fears and motivations in the neighbourhood, the group employed the technique the ask to same questions to young people in the wider area more generally, and to develop a more collective sense of what the overall problems were in the neighbourhood. I continued to observe, 'dip in', take part, give advice when asked, provide support and attend events organised by the Pizza and Politics group.

The Pizza and Politics group have been in touch with a design company, with whom they are currently in discussions with about how the Bully Pack could be produced and distributed. Figure 6.6 shows the pitch that the group brought to the launch for Durham's Centre for Social Justice to promote the concept. To date, a number of academics and the Parliamentary Outreach Officer for the North East of England have been in touch with the group to discuss possible future collaborations.

Moving through these different levels of participation in Action Research, the various methodologies and techniques employed by the Pizza and Politics group have worked to give them a sense that they could make a difference. It gave them the impetus to go out and do something to make things different. They then went on to organise an information fun day in the neighbourhood. This is a more sustainable model for dealing with fear and one that has the potential to and utility to be extended out to other groups like the Elvis Club. All young

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[19] *Big Brother* is a reality television show in which a group of people live together in a large house, isolated from the outside world but continuously watched by television cameras. The first Big Brother broadcast was in the Netherlands in 1999 on the Veronica TV channel. It has been a prime-time hit in almost 70 countries. The show's name comes from George Orwell's 1945 dystopian novel Nineteen Eighty-Four*.*

people have an equal right to be able to participate fully in the rhythms and routines of everyday life.
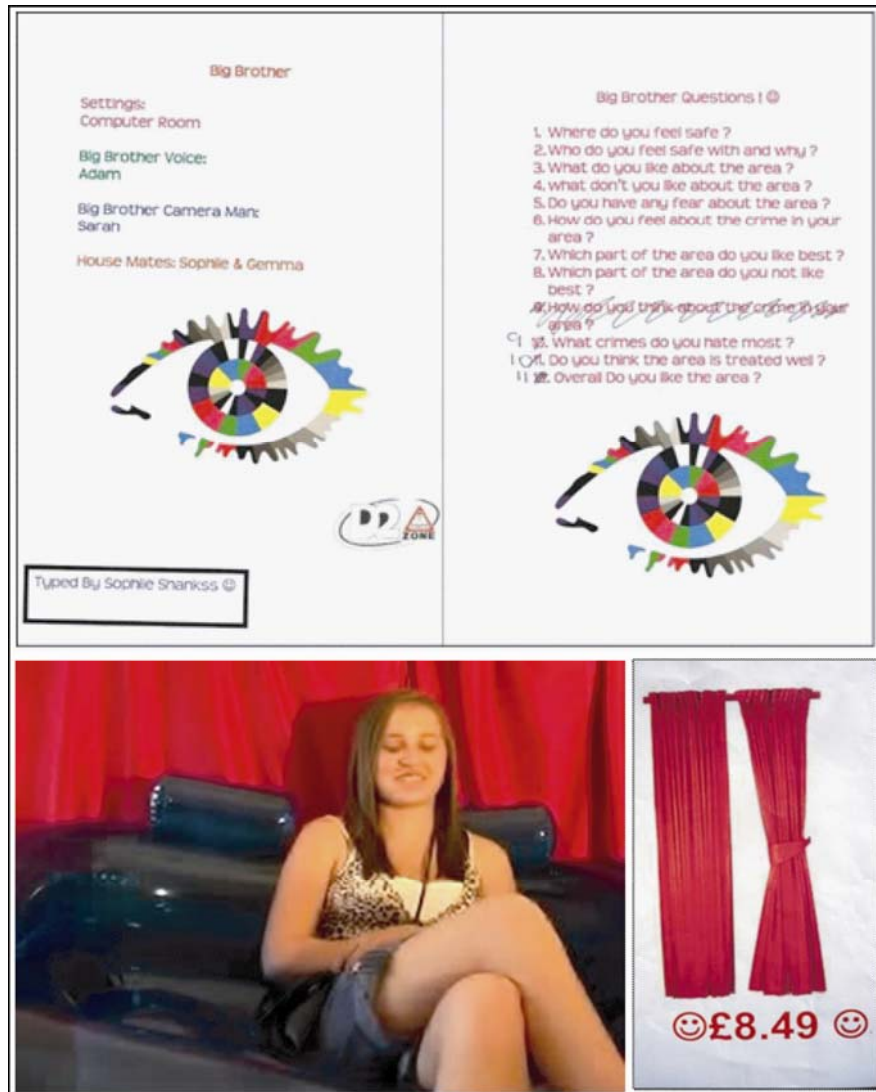
Figure 6.6 Pizza and Politics Group Big Brother project

6.14 Pizza and Politics: Conclusion

It is widely acknowledged that fear of crime is conceptualised as an expression of the sense of powerlessness and uncertainty that accompanies much of urban life (Smith, 1986). Investigating this problem of perceived powerlessness in the face of unpredictable local change, Lewis and Salem (1981) link high levels of fear directly with residents' limited capacity to control the future of their lives and environment. Their study found that "neighbourhoods

with political power, for example, appeared more capable of addressing local problems than did those without it; and this capacity often appeared to contribute to diminishing fear" (p415). They conclude: "the more debilitating effects of fear can be contained when local democracy is structured so as to provide the public with a sense of control over environmental improvements, social reforms, and so on" (p416).

These young people had a clear understanding of what is happening in the neighbourhood. They have a sense of their own political agenda and, as we have seen, are actively campaigning around these agendas. Sociology and social policy research has challenged the ways in which politics and citizenship are defined in relation to young people (see: Chapter 7), (also see: Roker et al, (1999); Smith et al, 2002). There have been a range of positive outcomes related to the Pizza and Politics volunteering and activism. They have experienced increased self confidence, a growing sense of agency, personal and social skills and increased social networks. Importantly their activities are also contributing to a change in how other individuals and groups in the neighbourhood come to view them. This all has positive implications for their future transitions and trajectories, as it is a positive influence upon their hopes and aspirations.

Active citizenship and political involvement have been linked with volunteerism (Kearns, 1995). In presenting at the Centre for Social Justice and Community Action and in campaigning for the development of an anti-bullying pack in their schools and youth groups, the Pizza and Politics group are doing something which connects with their identity of living in a socially excluded neighbourhood, and which also is about offering support and bringing about a change. As others have found before, this is part of what constitutes a political identity (Skelton and Valentine, 2003). The young people presenting at the University event could be seen to be a direct challenge to the negative and pitying stereotypes the Pizza and Politics group feel are often placed upon them. They were actively living out the process of speaking back to the academy - in producing their own knowledge and understanding, and in presenting this research in a way that they felt comfortable. Bickenback (1993) has argued that "counter-hegemonic politics is far more revolutionary than political agitation directed at specific legislative or political ends" (178-179).

In addition, in choosing not to immerse themselves in the crime and drug careers as the Bad Lads and Youth Justice Girls did when they reached this transitional age themselves,

nor in withdrawing and self excluding themselves as did the Elvis club. The very act of forming the Pizza and Politics group and in actively campaigning for the anti-bully pack, it could be argued that these acts in themselves are everyday forms of resistance: passive non-compliance and evasion from a crime and drug career. Just by being in the space of the University, when up until that point they had not been outside of the local area, these young people are participating in an everyday form of resistance. Presenting their research to a group of academics at Durham University is a tactic and hence a resistive and political act and is part of the formation of a political identity.

As Henn et al, (2002) have argued, careful attention to definition and a focus on young people's own interpretations about politics is essential if their political participation and action are to be genuinely captured and understood, as well as what this means for their political identities (also see: Skelton and Valentine, 2003). It is clear that the Pizza and Politics group demonstrate political participation and are agents of political action. They make political choices about their identities, are competent social actors making decisions and participating in ways which may have political influence and are certainly important in the formation of their political identities (Skelton and Valentine, 2003: 132).

I would argue that the influx of attention, support and on-going positive relationships from dedicated youth workers into the lives of the Pizza and Politics group at this particular time in their lives, could have far0reaching effecting on their futures. At time of writing – the group are two years away from having to face the possibility of having to make the same impoverished, economically marginal transitions from school into a collapsed local labour market that the Bad Lads and Youth Justice Girls have already made. These important relationships have the potential to make a change; they make possible a different transition, a range of different futures are possible for this group of young people. In short, a particular change in the nature and extent of interactions with the local youth club has enormous repercussions for the sorts of transitions possible for local youth and for the conditions of community life.

On sight, it would be easy to stereotype and to conceptionalize the Pizza and Politics group as particularly vulnerable because of their age. They are being exposed to the same exclusions, the same lack of opportunities, the same lack of resources and amenities in the local area. They share the same space and come into contact with many of the other young

people we have met in this thesis. It would be very easy for them to enter into the same life trajectories and have the same problems as the other groups we have looked at. One of the key general findings from the research with the Pizza and Politics group is, as found in a similar study "shared conditions of existence – uniform starting points amongst the dispossessed, white working class in the same streets and neighbourhoods and collective, persistent economic marginality and poverty in youth and young adulthood" – do not generate one, unchanging form of youth transition (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005: 145). In this sense, it is not inevitable that the Pizza and Politics group's life should turn out like the Bad Lads or Youth Justice Girls; other biographies had been possible for those groups and indeed are possible for the Pizza and Politics group. It would be easy to categorise the group and predict that they pursue careers of crime and drug use given the burden of crimogenic 'risk factors' they carry (Farrington, 1996). Yet, what this chapter has shown, is that there is nothing inevitable about the conditions of existence through which young people like the Pizza and Politics group carve out transitions. Likewise, MacDonald and Marsh (2005) assert "contrary to common (sense) representations of the singularity of problem youth in problem neighbourhoods, young people's lifestyles, transitions and experiences are diverse and heterogeneous. Within the same street we talked to people who were scratching a legitimate income through low-skill, low-paid 'poor-work' to young women who were living a socially circumscribed life as 'welfare dependent' single mothers – to young men who were fully embedded in long-term career criminality as burglars, drug dealers and shop lifters" (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005: 2). This draws attention to the alternative transitions and trajectories that are possible for the Pizza and Politics group.

In this way, I want to conclude on a positive note. With the Pizza and Politics group, the research process has provided a flavour of their participatory ethic. Through the methodology, the group were able to name and place their fears, which revealed also that they are hopeful enough to engage in attempting to engage in creating something better. The Pizza and Politics group were the most positive, hopeful and engaged group of young people that I worked with. In this chapter, I have argued that there is something very specific to the space and place that they occupy: the particular intersection of their age, gender, ability, drive and ambition which meant that they were able to diminish fear through taking collective action. The group have tactically drawn on their own strengths and collective abilities and they have strategically drawn on my research project as a platform from which they have

convincingly demonstrated that they are 'active citizens' by tirelessly engaging in political activity, despite the fact that it might not be defined as such by academics or the young people themselves.

What came through strongest from the research carried out by the pizza and politics group was that the over-riding political significance of their own understandings of citizenship. In thinking back to the chapter on the Elvis Club, it now becomes clear - as Young (1990) nicely has it:"a democratic public should provide mechanisms for the effective recognistion and representations of the distinct voices and perspectives of those of its constituent groups that are the most oppressed or disadvantaged" (1990, 184). The argument centres around the idea that to oppose exclusion also means providing the most-excluded or disadvantaged groups with the political opportunities necessary for participation in the definition of the values and procedures that contribute to their oppression. In other words, one way to promote social integration is to conceive public policies not for disadvantaged young people, but with the participation of the disadvantaged young people (Gutmann and Thompson, 1996). The past and present, and future political action of the pizza and politics group – outside of and far beyond the confines of this research project - demand that the conditions of the excluded be politically recognised.

In this way, the pizza and politics group self-empowerment (Phillips 1995) was a fundamental element in my re-conceptualisation of social citizenship: asserting the equal moral value of each citizen, linked to the liberal idea that freedom is based on self-determination. Moreover, "such recognition can lead to important changes in the practice of citizenship, because group rights will improve the political resources for social actors in order to be more involved in public space" (Cattacin et al, 1999, p60). As such, for young people in the west end of Newcastle to achieve full citizenship quite clearly requires the introduction of different kinds of political and social measures. In the concluding chapter, I assert that a well-conceived policy mix of measures affecting both the social and the political conditions of the least advantaged citizens in the local area is the most suitable way to confront social exclusion in the estate.

I contend that the Pizza and Politics are truly political in that that they have a sense that change is something they can intervene in; the future has to be made and they are part of that making, that really is what politics and participation, in the broadest sense of the concept,

is about and it does appear to be empowering. It brings hope even to young lives often cast under the shadow of fear.

As such, the action of participating in the research has inspired the Pizza and Politics group to continue to try to make a change in the neighbourhood. Wright (2008) demonstrates it is through the sense of potential agency, that they become motivated to instigate and maintain such movement. For Wright, "hope" is the sense of having a pathway and feeling that one could move along it if one so chose (Wright, 2008: 224). As the Pizza and Politics group imagine pathways and generate a sense of diverse possibilities, individuals are able to associate with a social and political project that takes them beyond themselves. Situating themselves within a set of dilemmas and alternatives allows the group to place themselves in an extended tapestry of connection and belonging (Zournazi, 2002). For the Pizza and Politics group then, hope is generated by, and generates, action. Hope then is both an act of living and an act of politics. It is also a call for action. Asserting the presence of alternative possible future trajectories, insisting on the existence of hope as the promise and inspirer of change (Wright, 2008: 231).

The research enabled this group of young people to identify, place and locate their own fears: and the fears of other groups of young people in the local area. The Pizza and Politics group have proved and continue to bear out, that they are committed to research that makes a difference beyond their own personal desires or needs, and as a group, they have worked impressively and tirelessly in their own spare time to address and tackle problems that have been identified within the area. Importantly, the chapter demonstrates that, as they themselves are galvanised into action, taking part in 'doing' the action empowers the young people to take further action. In this way they themselves are also the catalysts of their own empowerment. The methods served only to reveal the young people's underlying personal politics.

In the next chapter, I tie together the building blocks of the thesis, which I have set up in preceding chapters. The thesis so far has demonstrated some of the ways in which fear strips away the rights to full citizenship entitlements and we have seen the way it evokes different processes, responses and behaviours. I concrete the argument that citizenship is about extending rights to individuals, and about enabling them to fully participate in the lifeblood of their society.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

At the root of this thesis is the geography of fear. Fear is the focal point of an ongoing struggle for power; it is the medium through which identities are shaped; it is central to the control and use of space and to the production and management of uncertainty. Above all, fear mediates access to resources of all kinds; it sets the conditions for full participation in communities, societies and in life itself. This thesis has offered grounded insights, indicating that those most affected by these processes are those living in economically disadvantaged and stigmatised urban areas. I have suggested that young people in particular are amongst the hardest hit, and suffer the most, from the insecurities relating to unemployment, drug dependency and crime. Fear works to mediate and shape the everyday life of each young person who participated in the research.   This thesis has demonstrated some of the tangible ways in which fear compounds the exclusion already experienced by young people living within disadvantaged areas, undermining their basic entitlements to citizenship and preventing their full participation as active citizens. yet the research has also shown that they achieve citizenship in resilient, pervasive and often creative ways by overcoming barriers and enabling themselves to participate fully in the life of society.

   I begin by summing up the fears experienced by each group in the local area; outlining the themes arising that enable us to understand how fear work to inhibit and compromise the present and future context for individuals. I then go on to outline how fear sets the terms on which individuals participate in civic and social life. This prompts me to argue that ideas about citizenship, a concept embracing the conditions for full participation in society can be used to make sense of the empirical findings detailed in this thesis. I summarise the different theories of citizenship that have informed my own understanding of the concept; before outlining why i feel that the social and democratic concept of citizenship employed as a critique, a way of thinking about the differential availability of entitlements, and the uneven exercise of obligations is the most appropriate vehicle through which to further our understanding of how fear works in the local area.

I conclude the thesis on a hopeful note. The research has pointed to the ways in which local residents are able to forge feelings of safety and security for themselves; and so the research has enabled a politics of hope to emerge. In particular, the Participatory Action Research undertaken by the Pizza and Politics group provides empirical evidence of the way in which hope is enacted. As we have seen, practising hope contradicts fear, and is one route enabling individuals to feel that they are able participate more fully and freely; and to be inspired into taking action and positive steps towards contributing to the wider community.

7.1 The circulation of fear in the local area

The findings of this thesis add to a new body of research which has demonstrated that fear, as an emotional response to threats and uncertainties, is "more strongly rooted in local lives, local topographies and daily experiences of insecurity than representations of distant threats. Fear is embedded in and focused on complex places and identities" (Pain, 2008: 219). The young people involved in this research project all reported high levels of fear, crime, harassment and disorder. This research revealed that fear has a spectrum of effects on an individual; and concurs with that which was found in a similar study "while some young people's experiences of fear crime may be minor, trivial, part of growing up, real learning experiences: many others involved physical or psychological harm" (Pain, 2008: 217).

This research provides the more grounded analyses Pain (2008) has called for, which pay attention to social and political differences in fear, in demonstrating how fear works to dis-empower, limit and ultimately prevent each group in the neighbourhood from participating in the rhythms and routines of everyday life. A key finding is that fears relating to particular groups and places were overwhelmingly similar for all of the young people who participated in the research, in spite of differences in age, ability and gender. Each group reported considerable concern in relation to victimisation, being harassed on the street and becoming a victim of crime. The fear of violence was a significant and recurrent anxiety for all young people participating in the research. Importantly, in the following section I will describe how it was the extent of the impact of these fears that were felt very differently for each of these groups, which followed closely the lines of inequality as experienced by the identity politics of age, ability and gender.

In Chapter 2, we witnessed the Bad Lads performing a particular type of masculinity to create fear, making themselves intimidating and frightening to others to the extent that they became the focal point of fear in the neighbourhood. As we have seen - and as the irony is – as a defensive strategy, this can never work. In turn, it subjects them to more risk, which acts to re-circulate their fears. They suffer fear of being physically attacked and harassed on the streets, and most of all they fear losing their reputation and to be perceived as weak. The account of the Bad Lads, shows how fear is, in this particular context, bound into the power relations of gender: being feared by women is the vehicle this group of young men use to develop a sense of safety and belonging.

Chapter 3 demonstrated how young people with learning difficulties can be faced with significant fears of verbal, emotional, physical or sexual abuse in the private sphere. In public space too, we have seen these young people as feeling particularly vulnerable. In response to their very real and well founded fears, some young men in the Elvis Club attempt and often fail to mimic the Bad Lads' masculinity. They failed because this version of masculinity is also tied to ableism; they succeeded to the extent that disability was used as a marker of difference which in some contexts inspired fear in those 'other' than the Bad Lads. As a group the members of the Elvis Club group are both feared - and because they are constructed as (dis)abled through fear-provoking practices from others in the local area – fearful. For the Elvis Club, these fears have a segregating effect. Fear then, for this group of young people, has the most powerful effects. It is seen to impose the greatest limits on their everyday lives - in a variety of ways – spatially, socially and in terms of the potential possibilities for them to exert control over, and affect the trajectory of, their own futures.

In Chapter 4 we witnessed the various ways in which the Youth Justice Girls are grappling with fear, noting again the recourse, often in complex ways, to a version of masculinity. Again, on balance, the analysis shows how these fears work to reinforce social exclusion and stigmatisation in their lives. The public/private dichotomy and theme of gender transgression is employed in this chapter to demonstrate how these young women work tirelessly to challenge their perception as deviant. For the Youth Justice Girls this challenge works to reduce their fears, as it engenders a feeling that they are actively doing something about their fear. While challenging the perceived weakness associated with their gender – through

gender-transgression – this, ironically, serves to increase the victimisation and harassment experienced by this group of young women.

Chapter 5 introduced the themes of age, generation and intergenerationality to my argument. The data here express the shared experiences of fear and more hopeful responses to these fears, that both older and younger women in the neighbourhood have continued to draw upon and utilise through time. Through intergenerational initiatives, women living in the local area are able to challenge and contest ageist stereotypes. Adding an 'age' dimension to the study of fear of crime is deliberately decriminalising, in breaking the criminalised assemblage as previously experienced by the Youth Justice Girls. The process of admitting, naming, identifying and placing their fears was the first step for the Pizza and Politics group in challenging, contesting and dealing with their fears. Thus in this chapter, the theme of participation was utilised to show how hope can be created when we are motivated to take action to reduce or tackle our fears.

The research has offered a grounded insight into the significant fears of a specific community. Thus, I have argued that fear is the common thread that cuts through and features prominently in the landscapes of each of these young – and older – people's everyday lives. I have argued that networks of fear bind all people living in the local area. I want to conclude this section by emphasising that – though fear is the common thread that weaves through the fabric of everyday life in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods - how fear is felt and experienced is very different. To reiterate the argument, the particular and individual interactions of fear with place, age, gender and ability work together in slightly different ways for each group and in turn for each individual within each group, but that it all adds up to a specific type of exclusion for young people in East Thorpe. Each chapter has considered and apportioned a different foundation which dictates how fear works – and is felt – by different groups of people in the neighbourhood. Thus, in bringing several groups together into the analysis, I have illuminated some of the many complex intersections, through which I have developed a relational understanding of how fear works to limit people's lives – to restrict their capacity to enact and enjoy the entitlements of citizenship.

7.2 Fear in the context of structural disadvantage

Implicit in participants' narratives is the significance of the geographic and historical context of the west end of Newcastle. When crime is committed and people become afraid, it is people

close by who are blamed. This thesis has demonstrated some of the ways in which disempowerment makes fear-mongering more likely. Projecting a fearful image is the only kind of power people like the Bad Lads experience themselves as having. Ironically, disempowerment also makes fear more disabling. MacDonald and Marsh (2005) note the temptation provided by close-up, ethnographic interrogation of young people's lives to seek explanations of youth transitions at the level of individual agency and decision making. Habitually, "exclusion is (mis)recognised as almost purely volitional" (Melrose, 2004: 332) for many young people in similar situations to the Bad Lads. To more fully comprehend the life stories and individual choice making, MacDonald and Marsh (2005) argue that "proper understanding of the social and economic conditions through which those lives were made" (p171). Likewise, Roberts (1995) refers to "the structure of opportunities2 presented to young people and how individual transitions emerge out of the interplay between individual agency and the opportunities presented as possible to a young person growing up in a particular place and time. To understand the most socially excluded transitions they uncovered, MacDonald and Marsh (2005) added in consideration of the opportunities offered in local criminal and drug markets (see: Johnston et al, 2000). For them, this drew attention to the alternative transitions and trajectories that are possible for this group of young people. My point – building on this – is that, even in contexts where opportunities are limited, or the nudge is in a problematic direction, people can resist.

I am confident that the research I contributed to in the west end of Newcastle upon Tyne convincingly demonstrates that fear in the neighbourhood stems from the income poor, materially and economically disadvantaged structural position of the local area in the context of wider UK society. Yet I feel that it is important to highlight here one of the key, general findings as was found in a similar study – that the "shared conditions of existence – uniform starting points amongst the dispossessed, white working class in the same streets and neighbourhoods and collective, persistent economic marginality and poverty in youth and young adulthood – do not generate one, unchanging form of youth transition" (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005: 145). In this sense, it is not inevitable that the Pizza and Politics group's lives should turn out like the Bad Lads or Youth Justice Girls; other biographies had been possible for those groups – and indeed are possible for the Pizza and Politics group. It would be easy to categorise the group and predict that they pursue careers of crime and drug use given the burden of crimogenic risk factors that they carry (Farrington, 1996), because of where they

live. Yet, like others before me, I reiterate that there is nothing inevitable about the conditions of existence through which young people like the Pizza and Politics group can carve out transitions. In this way, "contrary to common (sense) representations of the singularity of 'problem youth' in 'problem neighbourhoods', young people's lifestyles, transitions and experiences are diverse and heterogeneous" (MacDonald and Marsh, 2005: 2).

7.3 Young People, political agency and citizenship

In this section of the conclusion, I re-assert why a concept of social and democratic citizenship – as critique - can help make sense of the empirical findings detailed in this thesis. The thesis has demonstrated that this set of ideas is helpful, precisely because the terminological and conceptual differences in the use of the idea of citizenship are not neutral: "there is an ideological struggle for control over the meaning of citizenship, and these meanings cannot be abstracted from the specific (geographically differentiated) political contexts in which the terms of citizenship are generated" (Smith, 1995: 192). As such, employing citizenship as critique is a useful way of taking this argument further; in enabling a more relational understanding of how fear works in the neighbourhood. I have refocused the lenses through which we seek to understand and critique formations of fear, power and participation – drawing upon the concept of citizenship as critique. The underlying argument here, is that fear mediates young people's experience of (and inclusion in) the entitlements and practices of citizenship. This thesis focuses specifically upon the local dynamics of these other fears, and their implications for the kinds of social participation upon which active citizenship depends.

Hörschelmann (2008) has recently challenged the state-centeredness of notions of current conceptions of geopolitics; and asks that young people's positioning in relation to politics be acknowledged and understood as geographically and historically situated. Similarly, researchers on youth citizenship argue that political agency needs to be seen as more varied than voting and party-membership and that there are a number of structural reasons for young people's apparent lack of participation (Bynner et al., 1997; Wallace and Kovacheva, 1998). In line with this, feminist political theorists advocate a gender-conscious, embodied perspective in order to understand how scales and spheres intersect and position subjects politically (Dowler and Sharpe, 2001; Enloe, 1993). As such, it is well-established that citizenship is well suited to the analysis of young people's engagements with the political. "Unmoored from state and international scales, the political can be relocated beyond the

dominant public sphere and reinterpreted as a process through which politicised identities and everyday spaces are created" (Secor, 2001: 193). These feminist approaches show how the "categories of public and private, global and local, formal and informal, ultimately blur, overlap and collapse into one another in the making of political life." (p193).

In this thesis, I have argued that political agency of young people needs to be understood more consistently in relation to intersecting identity politics. Empirical evidence and literature have been drawn upon to demonstrate how fear intersects with gender, age and ability to work as a social structure in the neighbourhood, which bestows both privileges and disadvantages. As such, the research concurs with findings that suggest "when young people do act politically they are, like many adults, disabled or rebuffed by organisational structures or by the fact that their demands cannot, within existing power and authority, be met" (Frazer & Emler, 1997: 188). In future research, I would argue for a broadened vision of political agency to consider age as a relevant influence on individuals and political actions.

So, on the surface of things, it might appear that my thesis has been about identifying how people are negotiating space in a fear filled environment but, in a similar vein, I also want to make the argument that it is about demonstrating how they are attempting to participate freely in an environment that is saturated with risk and fear. The limited literature relating specifically to fear of crime and citizenship is usually framed by other dimensions like race and immigration (Smith, 1989; Smith, 1986). In contrast, this thesis has contributed towards an understanding of fear and citizenship with a focus on the material, economic and financial setting; through these lenses we have seen exactly how the people who participated in the research are excluded, but in a different way. As far as my research thus far suggests, this thesis may be the first attempt to systematically make that link.

Thus, for each of the groups, we have seen how fear can work to mediate and shape young people's everyday lives. It can compound exclusions, and work to limit the opportunity for the kinds of social and democratic participation on which active citizenship depends. This data can thus be (re)considered in terms of the ways in which local residents utilise a number of different vehicles, methods and strategies that they employ for attempting to participate. The Bad Lads are stereotyped and excluded from society for the very reason that they are intimidating and frightening. The double irony here is that some individuals in the Elvis Club aspire to be like the Bad Lads. They want to claim this unsustainable identity because they are

unable to forge an independent identity for themselves – they are categorised, constructed and classified as other and different. Thus, the Elvis Club suffer this double marginalisation. Their health and (dis)ability reduce their capability to participate: the double marginalisation further reduces and underpins the extent to which that they can participate. The intergenerational research carried out between the Youth Justice Girls and the Senior Action Group demonstrates how the intersections of gender and age with space introduces further complexity into the extent to which they are able to participate. The Pizza and Politics group have demonstrated that the very act of identifying, naming and placing your fears are a big step towards reducing fear – inspiring hope – and enabling you to take positive action to make a change for the future.

This thesis has provided empirical, first hand evidence of how citizenship is made, disputed and re-worked on a daily basis in a local area; as a means of beginning to challenge and contest fear. As we have seen, this is easier for some young people than it is for others. In sum, the data have shown the potential considering what enables people to participate fully in the life of society. It has demonstrated how fear works to systematically limit participation and present barriers to this. I have highlighted the fact that by actively claiming a safe space as your own (whether in your imagination; in your possible future, in your bedroom, in your home, on your street, in your city) the ability to actively claim a space as your own enables you to participate. In this sense, the very act of doing and actively participating is the lived action of being a citizen, which itself works to reduce fear. In this way, there is a dual benefit and result to the process.

7.4 Reconceptualisation of social citizenship: from the ground up

This research has clearly demonstrated that each of the young people who participated in the study are marked and affected by different paths and layers of social exclusion which are complex and multi-faceted. As such, social integration requires differentiated measures of social policy. Importantly, not all of the young people who participated in the research are capable of developing autonomous initiatives. Hence, it is important that any future interventions in the area are implemented sensitively, and with provision for the possibility of a spectrum of social integration.

Time and again there was a call for more respect for the voices of young people to be listened to by urban planners and local politicians. An important component in achieving full citizenship is respect. Improvements in the local area in terms of social services and leisure opportunities can only be implemented if the voices of young people are prioritised, listened to and taken seriously.

This perspective conceives a multifaceted social citizenship. The guarantee of universal social rights expresses respect for the equal moral value of citizens who have multiple interests and social identities in life. Nevertheless, it is plausible to think that the phenomena of marginalization and exclusion entail the need to conceive of forms of differentiated treatments which are able to promote equality and social integration. This relies on the Aristotelian concept of justice, which consists of treating equal things equally, in turn implying treating different things differently (Young, 1990). From this perspective, with a differentiated treatment of people living on the edges of society, we can imagine the creation of a pluralistic social citizenship which recognises all forms or marginalisation in order to socially integrate all young people according to their own biographies. In this sense, my conception of citizenship is a more nuanced, individually informed and relational: such that we can no longer think about citizenship as a universal status, according to which all people must be treated the same way.

The conception of differentiated citizenship is based on the idea that social integration is an essential precondition for the achievement of full citizenship. The research has demonstrated that social policy alone does not provide all the solutions to the problems of exclusion.

According to Marshall, citizenship rights are divided into civic, political and social components. Following these lines of thinking, minimal social resources should be granted to all young people as a universal social right, which ought not be conditional on a duty to work. Throughout this thesis my aim has been to draw upon the everyday lived experiences of the young people who participated in the research to build upon, develop and refine Marshall's social and democratic conception of citizenship. In this concluding chapter, I want to argue that the heterogeneous youth experiences that I have illuminated throughout the thesis indicate that a pluralistic and multi-faceted conception of social citizenship is necessary: one that justifies differentiated measures of social policy, and takes into account an individual's own heterogeneous forms and paths of marginalisation and social exclusion.

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The heterogeneous nature of the various youth experiences in the research also point beyond a singular social and democratic conception of citizenship. Even if material poverty was somehow alleviated equally for all of the young people who participated in the study – this would not automatically enable full citizenship: poverty is not the only factor involved in social exclusion. As we have seen through this thesis, difference experienced along a social axis of physical and learning difficulties, sexual discrimination, drug and alcohol-addiction – to name but a few –all act to impact upon the way young people in the west end of Newcastle experience citizenship. As has been found in similar research, (Ferroni, 1991) I would suggest that a new and much more socially nuanced conception of citizenship demands much more complex and individualistic intervention.

My research suggests that for this to be achieved 'on the ground', a combination of measures would be necessary.   Discussions in the various youth centers reiterated the point that a lack of material wealth is by no means the only reason why young people in the area are excluded as citizens. Similarly, the research revealed that the most marginalised young people in this study – the Elvis Club – are often largely untouched by the benefit system, and felt powerless to change this. Thus any redistribution and improvements to the benefit system would not affect the most marginalised young people in the area.

7.5 Hope, safety and different possible futures

Following directly from the previous section, I want to present a practice that the research identified. While demonstrating that fear is damaging and exclusionary, the research also revealed that young people don't always submit to this. One model is that of the Bad Lads – make people afraid in order to feel safe yourself. But there are other tactics. The Elvis Club employ the use of daydreaming and are able to imagine, envision and achieve a different possible future trajectory. They are able to actively achieve a different reality and in this way, their imagination can work as a strategy for some people to deal with their fears. The Youth Justice Girls network together and support each other in the face of their fears. The Youth Justice Girls have been able to make difficult, surprising and successful attempts to change their life transitions. They are able to achieve alternative futures through making genuine and progressive steps towards walking away from long-standing and immediately available careers of drug-related crime in the neighbourhood. Women in the local area seek out connections and continuities, enabling them to challenge ageist and criminalising stereotypes. The Gender

and Generation chapter demonstrated how the act of bringing different groups of people into close proximity with each other, through local intergenerational programmes, can provoke a new sense of empowerment and ownership in both older and younger women in the area. This proved important in both groups gaining confidence in developing and expressing a sense of belonging in relation to the area and in heightening their sense of safety and security.

The Pizza and Politics group, however, find another route. They bring hope to bear and as this section suggests, in the face of fear this is a powerful thing to do. They remind us that accounts of fear must allow for seeing hope and resistance not just as a possible alternative to fear; but as always already a part of fear, a way of managing fear and making lives liveable. It is well documented that whom and what we fear, and how we express and act upon these fearings, are constitutive of who we are (Firth 1956; Smith 1982; Sparks et al., 2001). Furthermore, the Pizza and Politics group's ability to admit to, identify, name, place, talk through and rationalise their fears, develop resistances to these fears influences the formation of their sense of themselves, which connects to their wider, social and civic identity. In this way, this thesis has argued that active participation is instrumental in the quest for safety and resistance, when it is employed as a strategy for coping with fear, and working through it. Following on from this, the Pizza and Politics group are truly political in the sense that they have demonstrated that change is something that they can intervene in; the future has to be made and they are part of that making. That is really what politics and participation – in the broadest sense of the word – is about.

This links to the argument I have made about challenging stereotypes. We have seen that employing the assemblage as a concept begins to debunk the notion of stigmatisation alone and suggests the processes at work are more complicated. The thesis has demonstrated that certain parts of certain people at certain times materialise to create a particular assemblage. Thus we can employ the concept to challenging the notion that the whole person has inevitability. It allows for the possibility of more hopeful circumstances, where a young person is enabled to envision a different possible future trajectory. It can be seen that there are also certain assemblages of safety and belonging that may have an impact on an individual's behaviour within a particular space and time. Again, this allows for an understanding of why certain individuals are sometimes capable of thinking and acting in more hopeful ways at certain times. In this way, Robbins and Marks (2009)suggest that employing the concept of

the assemblage in this way is in line with 'the first rule of Latour's injunction for expansively reassembling social explanation'. "For him - and inherent in many understandings of assemblage geography – an effective assemblage requires that all the assembled players are active in the outcome and impinge upon the dynamics of the system" ((Robbins and Marks, 2009: 177). When describing the assemblage as a process, a good account: "is a narrative or a description or a proposition where all the actors do something and don't just sit there. Instead of merely transporting effects without transforming them, each of the points in the text may become a bifurcation, an event, or the origin of a new translation" (Latour 2005: 128, emphasis in original). In this sense, networks are not "things" in and of themselves but instead indicate the desirable qualities or characteristics of texts. As such, "the network does not designate a thing out there that would have roughly the shape of interconnected points, much like a telephone, a freeway, or a sewage network. It is nothing more than an indicator of the quality of a text about the topics at hand. It qualifies its objectivity, that is, the ability of each actor to make other actors do unexpected things" (Latour 2005: 129, emphasis in original).

In much the same way, the ability to feel safe and secure enables feelings of hope to emerge. These findings on safety and belonging are in line with recent research by social geographers, which confirms that young people have complex and specific knowledge of fear and safety in their communities, derived from their personal experiences of their neighbourhoods (Valentine, 1997; Skelton and Valentine, 1998; Cahill, 2002; Nayak, 2003b). In a similar way to that which we saw for the Bad Lads, recent research has demonstrated other communities with strong ties "exert informal social control, which is established and maintained via the implementation of norms to promote feelings of safety" (Palmer et al., 2005: 395), but this thesis has also problematised the conception of safety for whom; and at what cost? It has demonstrated that the Bad Lads forging a feeling of safety for themselves is premised on creating and inspiring fear in others. A growing body of research suggests that the ways in which people perceive their neighbourhood can affect the degree to which they participate and interact in their community (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2000; Austin et al., 2002; Ziersch et al., 2005). Much of this research indicates that there is a strong link between social interaction, local opportunity structures and perceptions of crime and safety within neighbourhoods (Palmer et al., 2005). The research indicated that hope inspires participation and meant that people can feel that they can make a change. This facilitates the potential to make a change for the better. For each group of young people that participated in the

research, feelings of safety, hope and positivity enables us to imagine, act out and bring into being different possible future trajectories. This, in turn, is a powerful strategy for reducing fear.

'Fear then, is not a singular experience, cut off in separate category from the range of other emotional responses. It is important to point to the fact that hope is also threaded through the chapters in this thesis, emerging especially powerfully in the Pizza and Politics chapter. Thus, while fear is a very real part of their everyday lives, there is considerable room for transgression in the imagination of alternatives. In this way, fear can be "recast as the generation of hope, of creating empowered subjects and of generating alternative realities that make fear, if not redundant, no longer central to the way that people live their lives" (Wright, 2008: 223). What emerges from the Participatory Action Research with the Pizza and Politics group is a local politics of hope. Hope that is generated through practice.

7.6 From participatory diagramming to action research: Making a difference

Throughout the period of research, a range of different participatory diagramming techniques were drawn upon with each of the groups of young people. While these techniques were employed to draw out issues, and to galvanise further discussion and analysis, I want to reiterate here that the extent to which the research could be termed participatory in the fullest sense differs considerably for each group. Thus the varying degrees of success (as outlined in Table 1.1) are summarised in the section below.

The participatory techniques that I attempted to engage the Bad Lads with did not, in themselves, work. As we saw in Chapter 2, the brainstorming activity did not to break the ice, and the Bad Lads declined to participate in the tables, flow charts or spider diagrams that I had prepared. However, through the process of doodling - when and of what he preferred – Luke succeeded in encouraging debate and securing deeper engagement around the subjects we were discussing. In this sense, I have termed this research shallow – in that the Bad Lads did engage with the research to an extent – but not so much as I would define it participatory.

In Chapter 3, we learned of the research carried out with the Elvis club. In a similar way to the Bad Lads, I would suggest that the right group dynamics were not in place in this research project. I was unable to click with either the Bad Lads nor the Elvis Club to the extent necessary to develop the mutual trust and respect necessary in Participatory Action Research.

Yet the Elvis Club did also engage to an extent with the research. They greatly enjoyed the diagramming techniques that we employed together, and were happy to engage in the research for four months.

With the Youth Justice Girls, we have seen the first indications of the research becoming more participatory. This was due, in part to my own growing confidence, knowledge and experience of conducting research with a participatory approach. More significantly, however, was the longer term period that I was able to engage with this group of women, We had time to 'get to know' each other, and thus to build up the relationships necessary for research to become participatory.

In much the same way, by the time I began the research with the Senior Action Group, the research I was conducting in the area was much more known, and I was more recognisable on the estate itself. The friendships and contacts I had developed through the D2 Youth Zone meant the Senior Action group were able to anchor me in many ways. Conducting intergenerational research with the Senior Action Group and Youth Justice Girls was also becoming significantly more participatory. As a group of women living in the west end of Newcastle, we found that we had more in common with each other than we might have imagined. Being more relaxed and able to place each other from the start of the intergenerational research, as a group we were really able to click together, and this enabled co-participants to be able to take the lead and move the research forward in the ways that they would like. In some ways, they felt more able to exert more of an influence and thus claim co-ownership to the research.

As we have seen with the Pizza and Politics group, there were a number of contributing factors as to why the project developed in to a piece of Participatory Action Research. Again, I was, by this stage, a recognisable presence in the D2 Youth Zone. As a group, they were able to approach me and ask if I was interested in working with them. The group had already come together around their own political motivations and interests in the local area. As very few of the members had pre-existing friendships before the period of research commenced, we were all able to claim a group identity together. In many ways, they do not define their actions as research. Their actions and motivations have been inspired by the research, and I in turn have been inspired by what their research has achieved. In this way, as a group we are able to ignite and inspire each other. While we are not currently conducting in-depth intensive

research together, we have remained in contact with each other, and meet up regularly to ensure that the actions and outputs of the research continue to be reaped. In this way, the Pizza and Politics group were able to take power and control of their own research. They drew on my knowledge and expertise as and when was necessary for them to achieve their own goals and aspirations.

It is important to reiterate at this point, then, that I do not seek to endorse the use of Participatory Action Research at all times or in all research situations. Rather, this thesis has shown the varying different ways participation can work. Importantly, as Cooke and Kothari (2001) have demonstrated, there are doubts about the utility and legitimacy of participatory and action-orientated approaches. These critiques engage with the negative power effects of participation and demonstrate how they can reinforce existing power hierarchies and retain researcher's control while masquerading as benign and neutral. In these contexts, I acknowledge that Participatory Action Research can be used to stifle young people, or romanticize marginalization and the local knowledge produced through participatory processes. In response to these critiques, a more nuanced understanding of power and empowerment within a Participatory Action Approach is given by Kindon et al, (2007), drawing on Allen's (2003) understanding of power's various modalities. As they assert "rather than condemning PAR as a form of power, we argue for a deployment of postructualism in the service of PAR. We suggest this because PAR effects governance and catalyses radical transformation" (Kindon et al, 2007: 24).

This thesis has been about – and has employed – the language of participation at all levels, in a range of guises. The thesis has outlined my own path of participation, which developed iteratively. This was not simply about me and my experiences of participation, nor about me just leading a research project. Although my successes, failures and lessons learnt along the way do reflect my own growing confidence. It was very much also about the young people doing what they wanted to do, and the different group dynamics playing out within each group. It was, in short, an effort at participation research, in the fullest sense of the words. Because of internal group dynamics; the various ways in which I was able to find common ground and click with different groups – and the priorities of each individual participant within that particular space and time – all contribute towards explaining how and why some groups took to the methods and techniques and others did not. The importance of space is

increasingly recognised in participatory development literature (Cornwall, 2002; 2004; Gaventa, 2004; Kesby, 2007). This thesis has demonstrated that space and place are important to participation as a political practice. Space is also important when trying to affect change beyond the immediate arenas of participatory research or intervention intervention (Cornwall, 2002; Kesby, 2007).

I would assert that the varying results of the participatory approach; the spectrum from the seeming failure of the techniques with the Bad Lads – to the resounding success of the Pizza and Politics group – in itself tells us a lot about how techniques vary according to different contexts. Participatory techniques cannot always be as successful as the outcomes of the Pizza and Politics project. I would contend that participation was so successful for this group and was able to develop spontaneously into a participatory Action Research project in particular because of their individual group dynamic, their age, how we interacted and 'clicked'; and their lack of inhibition with engaging in the participatory ethic. In this way, an understanding of the spatiality of participation is necessary when utilising it to inform theoretical understandings and the outcomes of social change.

Within the confines of this research project, the participatory approaches I utilised prioritised local neighbourhood-based scales. But as Kindon et al, (2007) have argued "with greater attention to space and scale, the local is understood as intimately connected to the global, regional, national, household and personal" (p26). In this way, Participatory Action Research, as we saw with the Pizza and Politics group, can "help to unpick the hierarchal scaling of events, things and processes, conceptually, practically and politically" (Klodawsky, 2007; Marston et al, 2005). As such, participatory work such as Cahill et al's (2004) provides a "powerful example of the transformation of fear and insecurity through research, into more positive action to challenge stereotypes about them and their neighbourhood in the face of global change" (Pain, 2008: 220). It is personally inspiring to me to conclude this section with a note on the potential for the Pizza and Politics group to continue taking their own research forwards. Undertaking future Participatory Action Research could help the Pizza and Politics group re-engage with wider structures and processes of inequality to effect change in the local area. It can also "involve and alter spaces of empowerment and action, when it contributes to policy, social or personal transformation" (Kindon, et al, 2007: 28).

7.7 Implications and possibilities for future research

The kinds of inclusion implicit in the idea of 'citizenship' have has different forms, and impact upon people in different ways, according to locality and situation. this chapter has demonstrated the central place of fear, in the current conception of citizenship and the potential that fear can bring to it. It underlines the need to weave together more complex accounts of the politics of citizenship. This thesis has demonstrated that fear of crime is the most powerful factor impacting on young people to create disadvantage and an inability to participate freely and benefit from the opportunities available to other citizens. Yet I have also demonstrated a number of ways that young people in Newcastle upon Tyne are resisting this disadvantage, in an attempt to feel more at home and foster a sense of belonging with the local area. In drawing attention to safety and fear as salient factors in young people's sense of identification with a local area, it is possible to consider that the ways in which they experience urban space contain the potential for strategies for feeling safe and acting out their sense of belonging.

It is acknowledged that this appropriation of space can have a negative effect and work to limit certain other groups of young people, and therefore the types of disadvantage and targeting felt, exerted and resisted at various times and places by both individuals and groups of young people in disadvantaged areas is complex and multi-faceted. More research is necessary to get to grips with this particular form of resistance and control of urban space. Further examination of the everyday lived experiences of young people is needed to understand how quality of life issues are represented, expressed and incorporated into their personal conceptions of citizenship. Thus, to make sense of young people's civic identities, these 'lived citizenship' experiences also need to be understood in fluid terms, cutting across fixed theoretical categories. New, emergent and fluid understandings are required to move towards an innovative and more spatially nuanced way of thinking about citizenship. Such possibilities pose a considerable challenge both to the theorisations and the politics of citizenship.

New times bring with them changes to the entitlements of residents in different nations, and but what has been neglected in the literature is exactly what these changes mean on a local and everyday level. Recent shifts both in how citizenship is conceived and practiced, and in particular, in the reconstruction of the citizen as autonomous and responsible, mean

different things to different people – especially at a local level. Critically, now more so than ever before, young people need to be accommodated in the city. Disadvantaged young people, especially, need to be "embraced as moral subjects, and provided with opportunities to participate in responsible community life" (Stratford 2002: 202). Yet the inherent tensions operating between those who live in disadvantaged urban areas may also be rooted in more general conflicts about the various ways in which civic life and behaviour are constituted. Given this complexity, it is surprising how little systematic work there is on the ways in which fear polices the boundaries of citizenship; on the character and meaning of victimisation and the long term effects it can have on the well-being of young people from disadvantaged areas; and on unpicking our understandings of 'the local yob', which are dense with metaphorical association, but rarely informed by patient empirical enquiry.

For me, this thesis is a starting point, and a call for further contributions to this project. Future work could build on employing citizenship as critique and utilising the assemblage as a process, to get to grips with the everyday realities faced in economically disadvantaged urban areas. This would add to the foundations of that I have so far laid, for developing more spatially nuanced understandings of fear of crime. If we wish to understand the filtration of generic social representations of crime into everyday sensibilities, and the very real and tangible affects these can have upon the individual experience of fear, hope and citizenship, we also need to comprehend the situated character of their reception and appropriation by people in the practical and mundane contexts of their daily life (Alexander, 2007; 2008).

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