Changing Contexts: Young People's Experiences of Growing Up in Regeneration Areas of Glasgow

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Abstract

Background and rationale:

Urban regeneration is an example of an intervention that seeks to address social and spatial inequalities that negatively affect the health and wellbeing of residents living in inner-city neighbourhoods (Thomson et al., 2006, Kearns, 2012). Although urban regeneration takes many forms, this thesis focuses on the policy of relocation. This policy is practiced across different countries including US, UK, and in Western Europe, and involves moving residents out of sub-standard housing. Post-relocation of resident population, the substandard housing is demolished and the neighbourhood is redeveloped. While previous studies regarding young people and relocation have focused on outcomes (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2005, Deluca and Rosenblatt, 2010, Zuberi, 2012) or young people's feelings of empowerment within the decision making process (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000); little is known about how young people experience the process of moving, or how they perceive and negotiate neighbourhood change. Therefore the aim of the thesis is to address this gap in knowledge.

Methods:

Using qualitative, longitudinal, mixed-method (semi-structured home interviews, go-along, and photo-elicitation) interviews, 15 participants between the ages of 11-18 were interviewed in 2011, with a subsample re-interviewed in 2012. Participants were recruited from two deprived neighbourhoods (in Glasgow, Scotland) that were undergoing similar programmes of regeneration and relocation. At wave one, all participants lived in a high-rise flat due for demolition, and were awaiting relocation.

Results:

Pre-relocation, most participants described witnessing change in the neighbourhood although, given the slow process of regeneration, it was unsurprising that the participants' everyday experiences of neighbourhood were inexplicably tied to their experience of regeneration. It was therefore difficult to separate the two, as one appeared to influence the other. For some, the slow progress of regeneration meant experiencing continuing (or worsening) physical and social problems in the neighbourhood. For example, participants who were

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Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution

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Chapter one: Introduction

This thesis examines how young people in two deprived neighbourhoods in Glasgow were affected by the urban policy of residential relocation, and how they negotiated these changes in their everyday lives. This includes not just their experience of relocation, but also their experience of regeneration within the neighbourhood, including demolition of buildings, closure of services, and redevelopment of land. This thesis also explores whether relocation can be perceived as a positive strategy for dealing with the physical and social problems associated with deprived neighbourhoods.

Previous studies exploring residents' experiences of regeneration and relocation in Glasgow include Jephcott (1971) and Damer (1989). Both studies examined neighbourhoods that were initially viewed as part of the solution to issues of slum housing in Glasgow, and explore both positive experiences of relocating to new housing and negative experiences, in terms of the physical and social environment.

Jephcott's study focuses on the introduction of, and relocation into, high-rise multistorey dwellings in Glasgow, and explores residents' expectations and experiences of both the relocation process and the high-rise. The current study can be seen to be the mirror image of this as, while Jephcott studies relocation into thigh-rise flats (HRFs), this thesis explores relocation out of HRFs. Both studies also explore policies of regeneration caused by regeneration housing policies. Initially, the HRF was seen as the solution of the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions of many of the inner-city slums that still existed in 1960s Glasgow. Often the HRF was the residents first experience of an internal toilet, electric heating and separate hot/cold water, and was viewed by many as the pinicle of modernity. However, Jephcott's study also highlighted that even in the early days of the high-rise in the 1960s, residents' experiences were mixed. While residents reported enjoying the internal home environment, some older residents felt isolated due to the lack of opportunities to talk to neighbours. Others complained about the frequency with which the lifts broke down. The external environment was also a source of complaint: some neighbourhoods were built beside graveyards or chemical works with little in the way of

amenities or transport links. Parents complained young children were not as easily monitored in the high-rise, leading to parental concerns regarding child safety.

Damer's study focuses on a longer period of time, and examines a housing estate from its introduction as a solution to urban poverty in 1930s to its problematic and stigmatised image in the 1980s. Similar to Damer's study, the two study neighbourhoods within this thesis also underwent a similar transition: from being a solution to urban poverty, to being a byword for urban poverty. Through participant interviews, Damer explored how residents understood the neighbourhood's decline. Rather than examining wider socio-economic, political, and historical factors (including war, economic downturn, and the laissez-faire attitudes of staff towards maintainance), residents focused on problem behaviours of antisocial tenants. The label of 'problem tenant' was given to those who did not socialise, were not local, were publically drunk, and did not take care of public spaces (littering, smashing glass). Damer highlighted that this explanation mimicked the attitudes of other neighbourhoods and officials regarding the entire neighbourhood population. The same individualization of the issues affecting the neighbourhood is also discussed by the participants in the current study. Another similarity is Damer's focus on the residents' experience of living in these deprived and stigmatised neighbourhoods. At various points, Damer highlighted the tenacity and resilience of residents to live normal lives despite of the challenges present in the neighbourhood. Part of this was their ability to be aware of problems, have ways of sharing this information and keep safe.

While the neighbourhoods examined in the above studies were initially introduced as a solution of problems of urban deprivation, they are now commonly seen as problem neighbourhoods that require regeneration. Similar to Jephcott, the current study examines two high-rise neighbourhoods. At the time of writing, these neighbourhoods were undergoing large scale change: demolition of buildings, relocation of residents, and redevelopment of land. Like Damer, the current study aims to explore residents' everyday lives, and how they perceive the problems, risks, and resources in the neighbourhood. However, while Jephcott and Damer's studies focused on the opinions of adults

(with passing mention to the impact on children); the current study focuses on the experiences of young people.

1.1 Young people and regeneration

Children and young people hold a conflicted position within urban planning and regeneration policy: they are viewed simultaneously as an at-risk population that requires protecting and nurturing, but also as an urban problem that needs to be controlled (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, Berg, 2013). The former relates to statistics highlighting the increased vulnerability of young people living in deprived areas to experience violence, poor health, poor school attainment, and unemployment as adults (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Brookmeyer et al., 2006, Abbott-Chapman et al., 2008a, Clampet-Lundquist et al., 2011, Galster, 2012, Brattbakk and Wessel, 2013). The latter relates to reports regarding youth crime and antisocial behaviour in deprived neighbourhoods (Mackenzie et al., 2010). This conflict can be seen in the Scottish Government's (2011) regeneration strategy "Achieving a Sustainable Future". In the report, young people are discussed in terms of the need to improve outcomes and post-school destinations (raising educational attainment and the need to increase training and employment opportunities for young school leavers), but also to reach out to young people to provide "positive alternatives to offending" (p14). Therefore are seen as vulnerable and as volatile. What is missing from this strategy is the positioning of young people as residents, and therefore the need to better engage with them in a decision making capacity.

Previous research regarding young people, regeneration and relocation has also focused on how young people's outcomes can be positively or negatively affected by relocation (Rosenbaum and Harris, 2001, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2004, Sanbonmatsu et al., 2006, Fortson and Sanbonmatsu, 2010, Goetz, 2010, Leventhal and Dupéré, 2011). However, there are a number of gaps in knowledge. For example, the majority of research examining young people and regeneration centres on US-relocation policy, comparatively little research has been conducted from a UK standpoint. Also, compared with evidence relating to how relocation influences outcomes, less is known about how young people

experience the process of moving, or how they perceive their neighbourhood changes (Clampet-Lundquist, 2007, Zuberi, 2010, Kraftl et al., 2013, Visser et al., 2014). As wider literature relating to young people and deprived neighbourhood contexts has highlighted the complex and often contradictory relationship between young people and urban spaces, and the ability of young people to utilise different resources to negotiate safe and positive experiences (Holland et al., 2007b, Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2008), it is important to understand how regeneration and relocation may influence these connections. As it is likely that these will change as a result of regeneration (i.e. moving away from peer support, informal social spaces changing), it is of interest to the current study to examine how young people actively manage these changes.

1.2 Key terminology

While definitions of the term "young people" differ and are debated within the literature (Wyn and White, 1997, Bynner, 2005, West, 2009, Worth, 2009), for the purposes of this thesis, the term "young people" refers to those between 11 and 18 years, unless otherwise stated.

Within the thesis, neighbourhood is viewed as a series of interacting proximal contexts including physical (home, public spaces of the neighbourhood), institutional (youth clubs and school) and social (family, peers, community members). The contexts overlap, influence, and inform one another: peer group attend same school, family live in the same home, neighbourhood is the location of the youth club. The social interactions within and between the contexts constitute young people's everyday experiences. These contexts are located within the wider macro-level socio-economic and political contexts. These contexts may not be directly observable to young people, but they influence young people's everyday interactions with the proximal contexts. For example, regeneration can be seen as a decision made at the macro-level has an impact on a range of young people's proximal contexts.

This thesis uses a framework of risk and resilience to better understand some of the interactions within the contexts of young people's everyday lives. For example, do positive social interactions provide protection (or *resilience*)

against some of the risks associated with living in deprived communities? Within the thesis, resilience is discussed as an interactive process, where identification with positive role models, social spaces, and close connections with family members can be seen as having a beneficial effect in contexts which may objectively pose a risk. While *risk* has been discussed in numerous ways, in terms of health behaviours, of outcomes, and of how individuals understand and make sense of danger in their personal lives. This thesis predominately uses the latter to understand how young people evaluate the physical and social environment in terms of keeping safe. However, at times, risk is discussed in terms of potentially health damaging environmental issues such as poor housing conditions, or living in areas with high crime rates; the issues that regeneration policy-makers wish to fix. These are discussed in terms of the participants' everyday experience of them.

By using the same framework, the thesis also examines how regeneration and relocation may affect young people's understanding of neighbourhood: does changing the physical environment change how safe young people feel in the neighbourhood or does it increase their feelings of vulnerability? It also raises the question, if relocation policies affect the proximal contexts of young people's lives (i.e. through relocation of peer group or self; through changes in public spaces, or through closure of services), will this have a negative effect on how young people experience resilience?

1.3 Aims and research questions

This thesis aims to add to this knowledge by understanding how young people construct, negotiate and experience everyday life within neighbourhoods that are undergoing large physical and social changes. Therefore, rather than focusing solely on their regeneration experience, it is of interest to better understand how young people's routines and knowledge of neighbourhood spaces are adapted to take account of these changes. Furthermore, as the neighbourhoods are currently, at the time of writing, being cleared and residents are being relocated; it is also of interest to policy-makers to understand how young people adapt to these changes.

On this basis, this thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

1) How do young people construct a "normal" narrative within risky contexts?
- What are the main contexts that provide support?
- How do young people negotiate risk within these contexts?
- How disruptive is regeneration to young people's everyday experience within the neighbourhood?

2) Does regeneration affect young people's everyday experience of the neighbourhood?
- Does regeneration affect young people's existing use of resources for resilience within the neighbourhood?
- Does regeneration add new resources for negotiating risk within the neighbourhood?
- Does regeneration introduce new risks within the neighbourhood?

3) Does relocation affect young people's everyday experience?
- Does relocation affect young people's social networks?
- What are the risks associated with relocation?
- How do young people negotiate these risks?

4) How do young people negotiate other change in their lives?
- What kind of changes do they experience?
- Are these changes associated with, or independent of, relocation?

1.3 Summary of thesis

Having introduced the broad interests, and research questions, of the study, this chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis:

The first literature chapter, Chapter two, begins by suggesting the need to engage with a theory of neighbourhood which takes account of both the objective and subjective nature of neighbourhood experience, and the multiple ways in which the neighbourhood can be experienced by young people. Chapter

two also outlines a way to understand everyday experience within deprived neighbourhoods, and the theoretical framework for the thesis: risk and resilience.

Chapter three examines how urban change, specifically regeneration and relocation, may affect experience of risk and resilience within deprived neighbourhoods. As one of the aims of urban policies of regeneration is to improve both the built environment and also the outcomes of residents, this chapter explores how this is theoretically possible. In addition, the chapter suggests it is important to recognise that biographical changes may also occur at the same time, and may interact with the experience of urban change.

Chapter four details the methodological approach taken. It begins by introducing the ontological and epistemological approach of the study, before detailing the qualitative methods chosen to explore young people's experiences within various contexts of the neighbourhood. The chapter goes on to discuss ethical procedures, recruitment strategies and data collection practices. It concludes with a discussion of analysis and interpretation.

The first results chapter, Chapter five, focuses on young people's experiences of living in high-rise flats (HRF) due for demolition. It is separated into two parts: experience of the home, and experience of the wider communal spaces. Using the framework of risk and resilience, the chapter explores the HRF as a 'risky' space and how these risks are normalised by the participants. It contrasts the experience of home within the HRF with the experience of risk within the less controlled communal spaces of the block. It concludes with a discussion of how the clearance of the HRFs may affect those who still live in the block.

Chapter six continues on from this, and examines what it feels like to live in a neighbourhood undergoing regeneration. This chapter has two aims, to describe the participants' everyday understanding of the neighbourhood in general, and to highlight the specific ways in which this changed as a result of regeneration.

While Chapters five and six focus on how participants experienced change occurring around them, Chapter seven examines how change is experienced

when it affects individual resources. This chapter has two aims, to describe participants' experiences of the relocation process, and to highlight any other specific biographical changes that occurred at the same time as they were experiencing these urban changes. The chapter concludes with a series of small case studies that focus on individual participants' experiences of biographical change. Using the concept of "critical moments" (Thomson et al, 2003), participants' experiences are examined to uncover elements of risk and resilience.

Chapter seven is the first of two discussion chapters. This chapter critically examines whether the chosen methods could be viewed as participatory and empowering, given the position of young people within society. By using examples taken from fieldwork diaries and excerpts from transcripts, it highlights issues of control, ethics, and power within the research setting.

Chapter eight provides an overall summary of the major findings of the thesis, and draws together the main ways in which young people living in deprived neighbourhoods experience risk and resilience. It also discusses the ways in which "normal" or "everyday" experiences, a common thread throughout this thesis, may in fact highlight the dynamic relationship between the individual, and the wider contexts within which their everyday life is framed. This chapter concludes with details of the strengths and limitations of the study, and suggestions for policy-makers and researchers who may wish to develop ideas in this field further.

Chapter two: Risk, resilience, and the neighbourhood

There is a widespread acknowledgement that social and spatial inequalities in urban areas negatively affect the social and economic dimensions of life for many residents in inner city neighbourhoods (Blackman et al., 2001, Macintyre et al., 2003, Atkinson and Carmichael, 2007, Ellaway and Macintyre, 2009). While much of this research focuses on adults, young people are also influenced by their neighbourhoods (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Sampson et al., 2002).

This chapter provides an overview of relevant literature concerning the multiple ways in which young people may be affected by, and may affect, the contexts they grow up in. The first and second sections introduce the conceptual framework that is used throughout the thesis: risk and resilience. The variations within these concepts, and how these pertain to youth experience, are discussed. Section three briefly explores how neighbourhoods have been defined by different academic disciplines, before stating how the neighbourhood is discussed within this thesis. Section four applies a risk and resilience framework to the deprived neighbourhood context and highlights the ways in which risk and resilience have been discussed in terms of young people living in deprived neighbourhood settings.

2.1 Risk

Risk can be defined in different ways; it can simultaneously be regarded as "a component of cultural narratives about society and … as an analytical term within the designation of social attitudes and behaviours" (Wilkinson, 2010:7). There are three main ways in which risk has been discussed within the literature. It has been used to describe how structural factors of society contribute to inequalities (Beck, 1992, Beck and Van Loon, 2000). It has also been used to examine the environmental or individual-level factors[1] associated with increased uptake of negative health behaviours including, but not limited to, alcohol consumption, smoking, drug use, teenage pregnancy[2] (Bond and

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[1] Known as risk factors

[2] Known as risk behaviours

Health, 2000, Blum et al., 2001, Sweeting and West, 2003). Finally, risk has been understood as a socio-cultural discussion of the ways in which communities or groups police their surroundings by drawing conceptual boundaries of "acceptable" behaviour (Lupton, 1999b, Lupton, 1999a, Douglas, 2002, Tulloch and Lupton, 2003). The section below introduces the different definitions of risk; with section 2.4 exploring how each risk type have been used to study young people in deprived neighbourhoods.

2.1.1 Structural understanding of risk

Theorists who discuss the structural nature of risk focus on the macro-level structural factors of society and highlight the risks embedded within late modernity that contributes to various aspects of inequality. Key to structural understandings of risk is the focus on political and economic changes in modern-western society, especially the erosion of social networks, decreasing predictability of economic security and employment, and increasing mistrust between individuals and those in power (Beck, 1992, Tulloch and Lupton, 2003, Wilkinson, 2010). These changes relate to the macro-level changes of market expansionism, as well as developments in global capitalism including technical, economic, political and cultural changes (Beck, 1992, Beck and Van Loon, 2000).

The result of these changes includes the fracturing of some of the social structures and institutions (such as the increasing privatisation of aspects of the welfare state and the decreasing availability of life-long careers and full employment) and likelihood that the explanations for entrenched social inequalities will be individualised and internalised (Beck, 1992, Furlong and Cartmel, 2007, Woodman, 2009, Wyn et al., 2010, Wyn et al., 2012). This leads to the consequences and risks in an unequal society being blamed on the individual rather than on the inherent societal problems (Lupton and Tulloch, 2002). For example, unemployment may be blamed on an individual's lack of motivation or skills rather than on the general decline of available jobs (Skivington, 2013).

In terms of how this affects young people, it has been argued that the weakening of links between institutions such as family, school, and employment,

in addition to the continuing social inequalities, has led to young people's transitions to adulthood being fragmented, protracted and insecure (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998, Te Riele, 2004, Furlong, 2006, Furlong et al., 2006, Turnbull and Spence, 2011).

This approach has been criticised in a number of ways. For example, given the focus on the impact of macro-level socio-economic and political forces on individuals' outcomes, the nuanced reality of individuals' lives may be lost. Also as the approach examines large-scale datasets, historical and geographic data, complex concepts are often diminished or over simplified. For example, 'neighbourhood' is referred to as a series of spatial or geographic coordinates (see section 2.3.1) rather than as a more complex series of socio-spatial and relational places (section 2.3.2).

In addition, while the approach has been used to highlight the ways in which some populations are more vulnerable to these forces than others, it does not take into account the ways in which support systems such as family, school, and peer groups may be utilised. Also, it has been used for investigating key transitional stages (i.e. moving from school to post-school destinations), but it may prove less useful for investigating events that may lead up to these transitions, or individuals' perceptions of social forces.

2.1.2 Risk factors and health behaviours

Within public health discourse, risk refers to factors that limit the likelihood of successful personal development (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996, Fitzpatrick and Lagory, 2003) and examines how context affects young people's development. Catalano and Hawkins (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996, Hawkins et al., 1999, Catalano et al., 2002) describe two levels of influential contexts: the wider *macro-level* (such as socio-economic context, or cultural norms) and the *interpersonal* or *proximal* level (such as school, family, peer group).

Public health researchers have examined how differences within these contexts may lead to young people becoming 'at risk' or vulnerable to poor health, for example through measuring participation in behaviours with negative long-term

health effects such as smoking, alcohol consumption, drug use, and unprotected sex (West et al., 1999, Karvonen et al., 2001, Jaccard et al., 2005, Sweeting et al., 2012). Furthermore, a key element of this school of thought is to examine the interrelated and interacting vulnerabilities that may influence one another (Warr et al., 2009, Stoddard et al., 2013) as it is within these interactions that individuals may experience particularly negative outcomes (Bond and Health, 2000, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

Critics of the risk factor approach have highlighted the contradictory ways in which risk factors have been used. Risk factors relate to young people's stage of development, their behaviour, as well as their immediate circumstances (i.e. family, living conditions). Similar to the critique of structural risk, this approach is also criticised for using a top-down approach to defining what risk is, with little regard paid to how those affected would perceive them. In addition, there is a tendency within this approach to implicitly focus more on the individual and interpersonal level while ignoring the wider structural barriers. This has two outcomes: individual rather than institutional factors shoulder the blame of poor health, and the social structures and social dynamics that frame these experiences are paid little regard. This critique is discussed in more detail in section 2.4.2.

2.1.3 Socio-cultural understanding of risk

Unlike the structural risk and risk factor literatures, socio-cultural understandings of risk focus on how the general population understand and negotiate risk in the context of their everyday lives (Mythen, 2004). These understandings tend to be highly localised and contextualised, and perceptions of risk often relate to gender, age, and social class (Lupton, 1999b, Tulloch and Lupton, 2003). This examination of risk does not discount the expert point of view regarding risk, but adds how these risks are experienced and perceived in conjunction with the lived reality of those seen to be "at-risk" (Douglas, 2013).

This view of risk also takes account of the importance of the wider community and can be viewed as a collaborative social construction, whereby the objective risks inherent within society are viewed through a context-specific lens which is

informed by experiences or beliefs of those most affected (Caplan, 2000, Douglas, 2002). The prioritisation of some factors as more 'risky', or more dangerous, than others may be shaped by the shared anxieties, unarticulated assumptions and moral values of the community (Lupton, 1999b, Douglas, 2013).

Connected with the moral values of the community are the construction of social rules and the ability of the community to govern its population based on these rules. Becker, in his 1963 book '*Outsiders*', states that:

> "Social rules define situations and the kinds of behaviour appropriate
> to them, specifying some actions as 'right' and forbidding others as
> 'wrong'. When a rule is enforced, the person who is supposed to
> have broken it may be seen as … one who cannot be trusted to live
> by the rules agreed on by the group. He is regarded as an outsider"
> (Becker, 2008, 1963:1)

According to Becker, the wider group treats rule-breaking individuals as being inherently different to them, and therefore is more likely to treat their behaviour as threatening and *risky* as it cannot be governed by the agreed norms. This distancing behaviour is also discussed by Douglas (Douglas, 2002, Douglas, 2013) who termed the outsider group as the 'Other'. This is a figure associated with anxiety and societal concern, culminating in sanctions being placed, specifically on their behaviour and presence, in order to maintain social order (O'malley, 1992, Garland, 1997, Lupton, 1999a, Lupton and Tulloch, 1999). In terms of the current study, examples of 'Others' may include those associated with antisocial behaviour (hereafter ASB): drug users, or those who drink in public.

However, if the focus is solely on the subjective experience of the individual, and the methods through which risk is socially constructed, there is a possibility that the objective reality of the situation is lost. Bolholm (2010) commented:

> If we focus exclusively on relativisim, that is to say, on 'subjective'
> socially constructed risk, we are unable to account for what is
> actually our problem, namely the juxtapositions and amalgamations
> of 'objective' and 'subjective' perspectives on risk (Bolholm, 2010:
> 175).

Bolham's argument is that the strength of risk literature may lie in creating a dual-perspective that acknowledges both the objective risk factors and the subjective socio-cultural risk perspective. To focus on one while ignoring the other may lead to a one-sided portrayal that does not properly acknowledge individuals' everyday reality.

2.2 Resilience

Similar to adults, children and young people may vary in their vulnerability to social and health problems despite exposure to similar socio-cultural conditions, and despite sharing similar biological characteristics and behaviours to others within the neighbourhood (Fraser et al., 2004, Jenson and Fraser, 2010). Some young people are seen to "survive" their surroundings, or "beat the odds" to go on to have successful and positive outcomes despite ongoing exposure to risk (Masten, 2001, Gorman-Smith et al., 2005, Carlton et al., 2006, Tiet et al., 2010, Chen et al., 2013). The study of resilience focuses on how this is possible.

Initially, it emerged as a by-product of the search for risk factors (Fraser et al., 2004). Reflecting this origin, it has been argued that the presence of resilience is contingent on the presence of risk (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000), and has been described as an opposing pole to the same phenomenon (Sameroff et al., 2003). There is a theoretical debate regarding the nature of resilience as it can be considered as both a trait and as a process (Lerner and Steinberg, 2004, Rutter, 2011, Ungar, 2011). These are discussed, with reference to studies examining resilience in childhood and adolescence, in more detail below.

2.2.1 Resilience as a trait

Initially resilience was labelled as an internal attribute of those individuals who attained successful or positive outcomes in the face of adversity. For example, early studies of resilience focused on personality traits of the individual such as intelligence, temperament, optimism, and sense of humour (Theron et al., 2011, Ungar, 2011). As a consequence of this, resilience was seen as the outcome of remarkable or special young people, who were defined using words such as "invincible" (Werner and Smith, 1982, Werner, 1996). More recently, the same traits have been discussed as being present in young people living in deprived

neighbourhoods (Buckner et al., 2003, Gerber and O'connell, 2011, Francois et al., 2012).

There are a number of criticisms of this approach. For example the trait approach suggested that those who were resilient were not affected by stress in their daily lives; it was later found that resilient young people *did* experience stress but were more able to adapt and recover than their less resilient peers (Fraser et al., 2004). However, their ability to recover was also hampered by the duration of the stress, with those exposed to adverse circumstances over an extended period of time less likely to recover (Garmezy, 1993). Furthermore, the approach also carried the pessimistic connotation that resilience was an inherent trait and therefore individuals would not be able to overcome their circumstances if they did not possess the trait.

The trait approach does not take account of the circumstances of young people's lives, and instead attributes any success to an internal attribute. As this situates individuals outside of the contexts of their everyday lives, it obscures the processes through which resilience arises (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000, Bottrell, 2009b, Bottrell, 2009a, Ungar, 2011). Furthermore, focusing on the individual also takes attention away from the adverse circumstances that are being 'survived' (Werner, 1996, Ungar, 2004, Bottrell, 2009b, Ungar, 2011).

2.2.2 Resilience as a process

In contrast to viewing resilience as a trait, it can also be defined as a process. Bronfenbrenner (1994) believed the environment could best be described as a series of interacting and embedded contexts (see section 2.3.3) and suggested child development occurred within the interaction of these contexts. Similarly, thinking of resilience as a process has highlighted the importance of personal and environmental resources that suppress and mediate risk (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000, Fraser et al., 2004, Lerner and Steinberg, 2004). The key to understanding resilience therefore lies in the interactions and resources present in the various contexts of individuals' lives.

Similar to the risk factor literature, researchers have discussed the presence of common resources for resilience[3] that may have a positive impact on child and youth development. These resources reflect the multi-faceted nature of resilience and include: positive attachment with at least one pro-social adult (Blum and Blum, 2009, Chen et al., 2013), close relationship to parents and extended family networks (Johnson et al., 1998, Outley and Floyd, 2002, Ungar, 2004, Li et al., 2007, Piko and Kovacs, 2010, Jain et al., 2012), supportive school based relations (Catalano et al., 2002, Brookmeyer et al., 2006, Williams and Bryan, 2013), and positive peer culture (Hawkins et al., 1999, Noble and Mcgrath, 2012). In addition, the presence of these resources in one context may have positive effects for experiences in another (Seidman and Pedersen, 2003). Understanding the complexity of these interactions highlights the complexity of resilience, and of the strength of interactions within different contexts (Brookmeyer et al., 2006, Bottrell, 2009a, Bottrell et al., 2010, Ungar, 2011).

The sustainability and accessibility of these resilience resources may help to protect child development against objective neighbourhood risk (Ungar, 2011). One of the assumptions behind understandings of resilience resources is that if neighbourhoods, via institutional and social conditions, have the power to affect development negatively, conversely they also may have the power to influence development in a positive manner (Jain et al., 2012). As young people's behaviours unfold simultaneously across and within multiple contexts, resilience cannot be fully understood by focusing on one aspect above others (Yoshikawa and Seidman, 2000, Seidman and Pedersen, 2003, Pedersen et al., 2005). Young people's resilience is a multi-dimensional construct that takes into account individual characteristics (such as attachment to parents, personal motivations), experiences in the home (parental monitoring, family environment), and characteristics of the external neighbourhood (including presence of adult role models, external support systems) and institutional resources (including school, and youth services) (Tiet et al., 2010).

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[3] Also known as protective factors

2.2.2.1 Resilience as a process and the role of social capital

Social capital has been associated with resilience in a number of ways, including resilience as an indicator of social capital (Cox and Caldwell, 2000), and social capital as process of resilience (Bottrell, 2009b). For the purpose of this chapter, social capital will be referred to as the latter. Reasons for this are discussed below.

Masten (2001) suggests that resilience does not come from rare and special qualities, but rather from the "everyday magic of ordinary, normative human resources in the minds, brains, and bodies of children, in their families and relationships and in their communities" (Masten, 2001:235). This can be seen as mirroring Field's definition of the central thesis of social capital: relationships matter (Field, 2008:1). Therefore one of the key similarities between social capital and resilience as a process is the importance of interactions with others. How individuals accrue social capital from interactions has been discussed by a number of theorists. Table 1 on the following page highlights the main ways social capital has been defined by three theorists, Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman, and also how they suggest it can be gained:

Theorist	Definition of social capital	Pathway that social capital can be gained through
Bourdieu	The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 2011: 86)	Group membership
Putnam	Trust, norms of co-operation and reciprocity, and networks that facilitate collective action and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995: 66)	Relationships with similar others (bonding social capital); relationships with different others (bridging social capital)
Coleman	Facilitating actions of actors within social structures, an embodiment of social relations. Social capital is productive, making possible the achievements of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988: S98)	Through intergenerational closure within and between families

Table 1: Summary of main social capital theorists

For Bourdieu, social capital was both the relationship that enabled access to resources, and the strength and amount of resources that were made available (Portes, 2000). These resources included economic, cultural and social capital. Bourdieu was interested in how these different forms of capital interact with wider social structures to reproduce social inequalities, and specifically how the behaviour of individuals also serves to reproduce these inequalities (Morrow, 2001).

Putnam's differentiation between bonding and bridging social capital is another example of resilience as a process. Bonding social capital is often defined as the ways in which people "get by" (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001) or the ways in which feelings of wellbeing are promoted within their current context (Sletten, 2011). Bonding social capital is based on exclusive ties of solidarity between "people like us" (Edwards et al., 2003:7) and strengthens community through inward-

focused mutual interests. On the other hand, bridging social capital is linked to dynamic relationships that are situated over a wide range of social areas or involve a diverse array of individuals or activities (Putnam, 2001). By facilitating relationships over a range of different networks (either geographically or socially), social capital enables individuals to 'get ahead' and gain resources that are unable to be found within their community (Putnam, 2001). While bonding social capital examines the homogeneous within-group experience, bridging social capital examines the heterogeneous across-group experience.

For Coleman, social capital is possessed and transferred to children and young people by adults within the family, which is integral to their development (1988). In addition, he argues that the norms within the family are reinforced by awareness of similar norms in other families, for example if parents in families A and B discuss their respective children's behaviour, they may also construct a shared norm in terms of behaviour expectations. For Coleman, children and young people are unable to create their own social capital, and it is therefore the responsibility of adults within the family to create and transfer it to them. Of specific relevance to this study, Coleman also discusses that multiple relocations may weaken access to social capital through a decline of associations with the wider community. This point is explored in more detail in section 3.3.2.1 in the following chapter.

In general, one of the key strengths of social capital is that it provides a way to link individual behaviour to wider socio-economic contexts which frame their everyday life (Morrow, 2001). Important to this study, social capital also enables a better understanding of how resilience can be gained within social settings. As will be discussed later in this chapter (section 2.4.2.2), individuals may gain access to resources that can help to negotiate risk through their membership to different groups. However, these social networks may also increase an individual's vulnerability to risk. For example, while some young men find belonging and a sense of family among groups of friends who participate in territorial fighting (loosely termed 'gangs'), this also carries the risk of physical injury or harm (Deuchar, 2009).

2.2.2.2 Resilience, social capital and young people

Despite the importance placed on social capital within the literature, research relating to the position and experience of children and young people with regards to social capital is relatively recent (Raffo and Reeves, 2000, Morrow, 2001, Schaefer-Mcdaniel, 2004, Weller, 2006, Weller and Bruegel, 2009). Critics of Bourdieu, Putnam, and Coleman have suggested that their positioning of children and young people within these social capital theories was as passive beneficiaries of their parents' social capital. By framing young people in this way, they ignore children and young people's active role in forging links and maintaining relationships away from the parental gaze (Holland et al., 2007b, Morrow, 2008b, France et al., 2012). This is further exacerbated by researchers overlooking young people's own views of relationships in favour of using parental or adult "proxies" during data collection (a criticism voiced by Morrow, 2002 and Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004).

On the other hand, over the past 20 years, research has highlighted the active role of young people in maintaining and creating social capital in ways that are not bound by family links or geographical ties (Morrow, 2001, Weller, 2006, Bassani, 2007, Weller and Bruegel, 2009). Also, several studies have highlighted the important role the Internet (especially social media) now plays in creating and maintaining bridging social capital (Jung et al., 2005, Mcmillan and Morrison, 2006, Ahn, 2012). Research from childhood and youth studies have examined the role of social capital in terms of transitions to adulthood, health and wellbeing, and belonging. For example social capital has been described as a useful concept to highlight how different resources and networks function to enable, or obstruct, young people's individual transitions to adulthood and also how these transitions can be understood in terms of class, gender, geography, and culture (Morrow and Richards, 1996b, Collins, 2001, Macdonald et al., 2001, Thomson et al., 2003, Macdonald et al., 2005, Furlong et al., 2006, Hall et al., 2009b, Roberts, 2010, Furlong et al., 2011, Wyn et al., 2012). A recent systematic review of the role of social capital in the lives of young people (Mcpherson et al., 2013) found that strong social support networks are associated with better mental health outcomes, more health-promoting

behaviours and fewer behavioural problems[4]. Social capital has also been linked to young people's sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and community (Schaefer-Mcdaniel, 2004, Holland et al., 2007b).

By positioning young people as both recipients, and as creators of social capital, an important point regarding resilience is highlighted: resilience should be viewed as a *dynamic* process (i.e. the product of interactions between individuals and their social networks). As young people grow older, their social networks may change and the importance placed on certain people or networks may shift, which may again change how social capital and resilience are experienced. For example, while younger children may rely more on parental support, as they grow older they may instead turn to their peers for support. How this affects resilience is addressed in section 2.4.1.

2.2.3 Summary of risk and resilience

In considering the everyday experience of young people living in deprived neighbourhoods that are undergoing regeneration, it is important to recognise interactions between young people's exposure to structural risk and to their embedded and contextual awareness of social risk as it affects their everyday life. Therefore, this thesis will explore both the objective risks that may exist within their neighbourhoods (and therefore utilise aspects of the structural and risk factor literature) but predominantly focus on the ways young people live within these confines and make sense of them in their everyday lives (Lupton, 1999a, Lupton and Tulloch, 2002).

In order to understand how young people may cope with, or make sense of, risks in their everyday lives, this thesis adopts 'resilience as process' approach. This approach, as detailed above, highlights the importance of relationships and interactions with various contexts and social groups. Specifically, resilience will be understood as an interactive process whereby identification and utilisation of

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[4] This review spanned studies conducted in the 1980s to 2011, and was informed by mainly US and UK based research although did include studies from mainland Europe, Australia, Asia among others.

resources (gained through positive place attachment, relationships with positive peer groups, family members or positive role-models) have a beneficial effect on individuals' experiences and outcomes in otherwise 'risky' situations or contexts (Bottrell, 2009b, Bottrell, 2009a).

By using this framework, the thesis aims to highlight different elements of young people's everyday lives in deprived neighbourhoods. It acknowledges that they may live in neighbourhoods with objective risk factors but also seeks to explore young people's agency within these areas: how do young people view risk, and how can young people negotiate, or adapt to, these risks with the help of supportive networks.

2.3 Defining the neighbourhood

Before moving on to discuss how risk and resilience has been discussed with relation to deprived neighbourhoods, it is important to define what is meant by neighbourhood, and to clarify how neighbourhood will be used within the context of this thesis.

Defining a neighbourhood is a complex task, and despite over 100 years of scholarly interest in the neighbourhood and its effects on residents, the question of what precisely constitutes a neighbourhood remains ambiguous (Aber and Nieto, 2000, Jenks and Dempsey, 2007, Lewicka, 2010). One of the issues in defining neighbourhoods is that they are both physical and social; attributes include environmental, social understandings, infrastructure, and demographic characteristics, as well as the characteristics of local politics and services (Galster, 2001, Jenks and Dempsey, 2007). As there is not a single, generalisable interpretation of the neighbourhood (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001: 2103), research that investigates outcomes and perceptions of neighbourhood uses multiple ways of measuring and examining the concept, often reflecting the discipline which the research was conducted in, the data available to the researcher, and the outcome of interest (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000). For example, while large epidemiological approaches may use large datasets in order to measure overall patterns within a geographically defined area, smaller sociological approaches may use qualitative interviews in order to understand

the lived experiences of living within the same area. Both measure the same geographic location, but are based on different responses in terms of what the neighbourhood is, and how the neighbourhood affects those who live within it. Broadly speaking, there are three ways in which the neighbourhood can be understood: as a spatial/functional space; as a subjective socially constructed space; and as a series of nested and interrelated contexts.

2.3.1 Spatial/functional definitions

The neighbourhood as a unit of study can be defined through physical geographical boundaries which are drawn at a relatively static and fixed scale (Dietz, 2002, Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004). Research that adopts this strategy to examine the neighbourhood context often uses administrative boundaries such as postcodes or census tract data in order to assign spatial units into statistically defined clusters (Jencks and Mayer, 1990, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Stafford and Marmot, 2003, Sampson, 2009). Neighbourhoods are often not defined by population size, as the number of inhabitants may vary, but instead may reflect natural borders such as presence of railways, parks, and roads (Sykes and Musterd, 2011). This view of the neighbourhood has mainly been adopted in order to document differences in terms of spatial or geographical concentrations of deprivation, and the role this plays in health (Lupton, 2003, Macintyre et al., 2008, Macdonald et al., 2011, Ellaway et al., 2012, Galster, 2012).

However, understanding the spatial element of a neighbourhood does not provide a comprehensive account of what a neighbourhood is, or how it affects the residents' outcomes. To understand the complexity of the neighbourhood is to highlight that the neighbourhood is both physical and social, with attributes including environmental, infrastructure, demographic attributes as well as the social conditions of inclusion and exclusion, community cohesion, social and ethnic diversity and community measures (Galster, 2001, Lepine et al., 2007).

2.3.2 Social/subjective definitions

Understanding the social context of the neighbourhood involves examining the networks and connections that individuals utilise in their everyday lives. In this

context, the neighbourhood's boundaries are fluid and dynamic, depending on the experience and perception of the individual (Massey, 2005, Cummins et al., 2007, Sullivan and Taylor, 2007, Leverentz, 2010). As individuals are situated in a variety of different social networks (i.e. as a family member, as an employee or student, as a resident) it is likely that these networks will overlap within the neighbourhood space. The implication of this approach is that individuals, rather than being passive receptors of the neighbourhood, are able to influence, and be influenced by, conditions in multiple contexts and places (Manzo, 2003, Cummins et al., 2007).

The social and subjective nature of the neighbourhood is of particular importance for children and young people as they spend the majority of their time in the neighbourhood (as their home, school, and peer group are often located within the neighbourhood boundary). Also, given their limited mobility, young people are more likely than other groups to spend social time within the neighbourhood, and therefore their creation of meaningful places is an important area of study. For example Childress (2004) commented that young people lack the ability to own property so therefore demonstrate ownership of place through their physical presence. This may lead to confrontation, resistance and subversion over the right to use the same space, as different groups have different perceptions of what the "correct" use of space is (Malone, 2002, Travlou, 2003, Woolley, 2006, Holland et al., 2007a, Kennelly and Watt, 2011). For example, young people may choose to use the public parks to hang out in the evenings, whereas adults may view these parks to be for the sole use of younger children. However, as discussed above in section 2.1.3, the dominant social group (in this case the adults) within a community setting may use their powers to police these spaces, and define what is seen as correct and orderly, and therefore control the behaviour of others in the space (Malone, 2002, Childress, 2004, Crawford, 2009).

Young people's interaction with public spaces in the neighbourhood may lead to the formation of bonding social capital and place attachment (Scahefer-McDaniel, 2004). While a sense of belonging is linked more to positive relationships with people rather than of physical spaces (Morrow, 2001), the association of positive interactions in neighbourhood spaces may lead young

people to become more positive in their assessment of an area (Reay, 2004, Weller and Bruegel, 2009). It is through these interactions that young people begin to gain a better understanding of social boundaries and risks and adopt risk negotiation strategies reflecting their knowledge (a point addressed further in section 2.4.2).

2.3.3 Nested-contexts definitions

Another way of examining the neighbourhood is to incorporate the structural and social, and to examine the various contexts of everyday life, the interactions of individuals within these contexts, and of the interactions between contexts. Bronfenbrenner (1994) in his work "*the ecology of human development*" suggested that the interactions between contexts are as important for understanding child development as events taking place within any given setting. Therefore rather than viewing the neighbourhood as a singular context, or studying one element of the neighbourhood in isolation, Bronfenbrenner and others (Morrow, 2001, Seidman and Pedersen, 2003, Cummins et al., 2007, Nicotera, 2008, Wen et al., 2009) suggest that the neighbourhood should be viewed as a complex network of different contexts which overlap and influence one another.

These include macro-level socio-economic and political contexts, which are not directly visible to individuals in their everyday lives, but are very influential with regards to the condition of the proximal contexts. Proximal contexts are nested within the macro-level socio-economic context and make up individuals' everyday experiences (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, Morrow, 2001, Seidman and Pedersen, 2003, Cummins et al., 2007, Nicotera, 2008, Wen et al., 2009). It has been suggested that for the 'typical' young person, important contexts in their everyday life include physical contexts (such as home, public spaces), institutional contexts (youth clubs, sports clubs, and school), as well as social contexts (family, peers, teachers, and friendly adults in the neighbourhood) as it is within these contexts that young people conduct their daily routines, socialise and learn social norms (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 1999, Duncan and Raudenbush, 1999, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Bowen and Richman, 2002,

Blum and Nelson-Mmari, 2004, Irwin, 2009, Wen et al., 2009, Theron et al., 2011). See Figure 1 below for illustration of contexts:
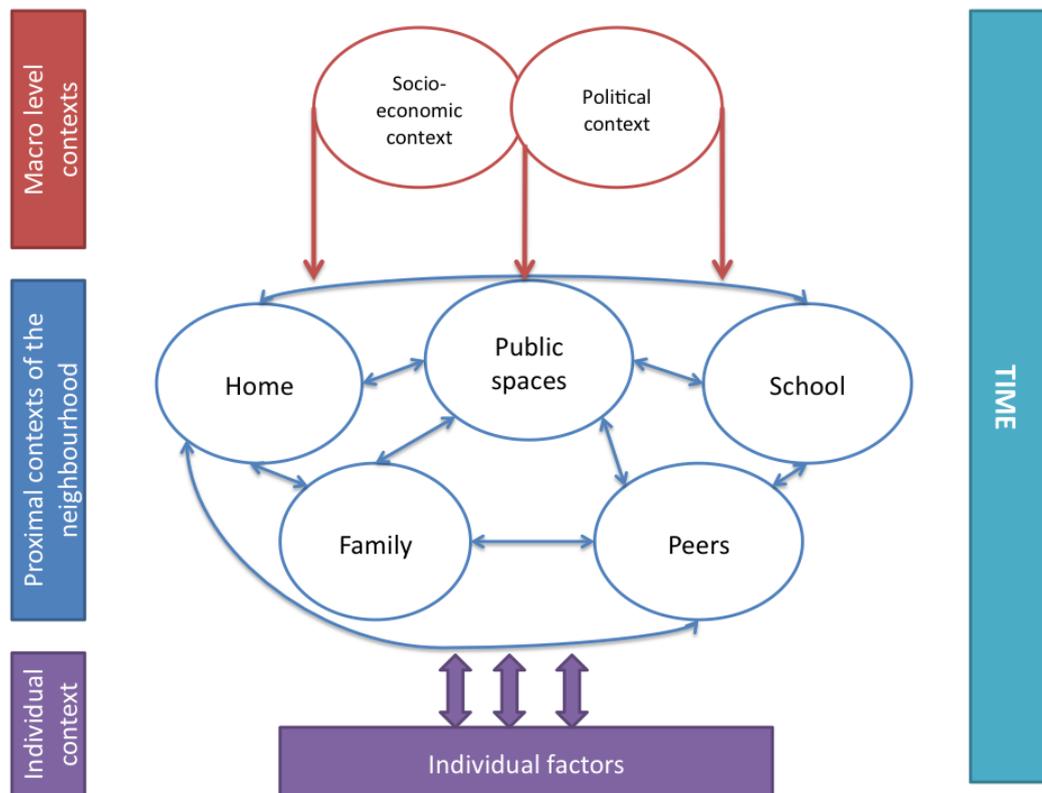
Figure 1: Illustration of nested contexts relevant to risk and resilience

As we can see in Figure 1, these contexts are also separated into different layers of influence: macro-level contexts (top layer), proximal contexts of the neighbourhood (middle layer), and individual context (including attributes such as age and gender and also behaviours) (bottom layer). For the purpose of the thesis, the middle layer, proximal contexts of the neighbourhood, will be the primary focus. The contexts contained within this layer were selected due to their prevalence within the literature relating to young people and neighbourhoods. These contexts are family, peers, physical environment/public space, school, and home.

Cutting through all of these contexts is *time*. Neale and Flowerdew suggest "it is through time that we can begin to grasp the nature of social change, the mechanisms and strategies used by individuals to generate and manage change in their personal lives, and the ways in which structural change impacts on the

lives of individuals...how the personal and the social, agency and structure are interconnected and how they come to be transformed" (2003: 1990).

There are a few observations that can be made using this diagram. First, individuals are more directly aware of the proximal contexts that represent much of their everyday interactions, and less aware of the macro-level contexts which influence their everyday. Second, macro-level contexts have an impact on the proximal contexts (e.g. government policies influence education provision, housing, public spaces, and also may impact on family life). Third, an individual is able to directly influence, and be influenced by, the proximal contexts of their everyday life, and less able to influence the wider macro-level contexts. Fourth, the proximal contexts may interact with each other, which may cause conditions of risk or resilience (e.g. relationships within family life may influence how home is experienced, but the environment of the home may also affect family interaction either through encouraging or discouraging young people to spend time there).

By examining the embedded social processes that exist within the nested contexts of the neighbourhood, it may be possible to view the nuanced lived experience of residents, including the conflicting positive and negative experiences of living in deprived neighbourhoods (Nicoreta, 2008). Furthermore, it highlights the active position of individuals within these different contexts, and suggests that while the contexts may influence individuals, individuals may also influence the different contexts. Lastly, it highlights that the nested contexts are framed by wider socio-economic and political contexts, and suggests that the everyday proximal contexts of the neighbourhood may serve as a pathway through which wider socio-economic risks are experienced (Bronfenbrenner, 2009, Sykes and Musterd, 2011). Therefore, it is possible to assess both the positive and negative resources that may interact with the structural risks inherent in neighbourhoods (Aber and Nieto, 2000, Seidman and Pedersen, 2003).

2.4 Neighbourhood, risk and resilience

This section brings together the literature on risk and resilience, and the literature on neighbourhood, to ask how neighbourhoods affect young people's behaviour, outcomes, and experiences. There is no clear answer to this question. It depends on how neighbourhood is measured, how risk is defined, and whether we are interested in how risk affects outcomes, behaviours, or everyday perceptions and interactions.

As discussed above, this thesis takes the viewpoint that young people's understanding of neighbourhood can be better examined in terms of the various nested proximal contexts which may make up their everyday experiences (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, Morrow, 2001, Seidman and Pedersen, 2003, Cummins et al., 2007, Nicotera, 2008, Wen et al., 2009). These contexts may be both physical and social, and can either promote or hinder positive experiences and outcomes within the wider neighbourhood setting. They are also framed by a wider socio-economic and political context that may further inform how the neighbourhood is experienced. For the purpose of this thesis, the proximal contexts of interest are the family, peer group, physical environment/public spaces of the neighbourhood, school, and home environment.

By examining the multiple contexts through which individuals operate, it may be possible to better understand the processes and interactions which occur between people, contexts, and time (Cummins et al., 2007). The nested-contexts model provides a way to assess the mechanisms and intervening variables through which the neighbourhood operates. By better understanding these interactions, it may be possible to create a more nuanced understanding of the causal pathways between place and health (Macintyre et al., 2002, Cummins et al., 2007).

Furthermore, by understanding the bi-directional interaction between individuals and the different contexts, it is possible to view both how young people may positively adapt to situations in different contexts, but also how the different contexts may change and provide support to help the young person (i.e. interactive resilience processes). For example, Ungar et al gives the

example of investigating the resilience of a child with additional support needs: "we can investigate…by asking not only 'how has the child adapted to his school environment…? But also 'how has the child's school and home adapted their structures to meet the needs of this child" (Ungar et al., 2013: 350).

The following section highlights the ways in which the different contexts within deprived neighbourhoods are discussed within the risk and resilience literature.

2.4.1 Neighbourhood, risk factors and resilience

The aim of this section is not to provide a systematic and comprehensive review of risk factors as they relate to deprived neighbourhoods. Instead, this section aims to highlight examples of how the proximal contexts introduced above may influence, positively or negatively, the health and well-being of young people. The section begins with a brief discussion of the macro-level socio-economic context, before discussing the proximal contexts of family, peers, public spaces, school, and home.

2.4.1.1 Wider socio-economic and political contexts

In terms of structural risk, it is possible to view elements of the risk society (erosion of social networks, decreasing predictability of economic security, and deindustrialisation) as more prevalent in deprived neighbourhoods than in more affluent neighbourhoods, as those places with a history of hard industry (including steel, iron, coal) and subsequent deindustrialisation, appear to be those places where unemployment and high levels of morbidity and mortality are located (Walsh et al., 2010a, Walsh et al., 2010b, Mccartney et al., 2012).

The wider socio-economic context may have an effect on young people's experiences of physical conditions, socio-economic composition, social organisation and culture within the proximal nested contexts of the neighbourhood (Arum, 2000, Archer and Yamashita, 2003, Shildrick and Macdonald, 2008, Hollingworth and Archer, 2010, Ingram, 2011). Therefore it is likely that these proximal contexts may serve as a pathway through which the influence of the neighbourhood may be transmitted (Sykes and Musterd, 2011: 1307). For example, for young people in deprived neighbourhoods, it is likely

that the socio-economic context may have a negative influence on their experience of more proximal nested contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, Cummins et al., 2007). This may include school quality, the physical environment, and housing quality (Arum, 2000, Fraser et al., 2004, Cummins et al., 2005, Tudge and Hogan, 2005, Brookmeyer et al., 2006, Anthony, 2008, Johnson, 2012, Felner and Devries, 2013).As socio-economic context can be seen to interact and influence the other proximal contexts of young people's lives, the following sections examine how each proximal context is influenced by, and can influence, the socio-economic context.

2.4.1.2 Family

The family has been discussed as the "single most influential of external influences, being the earliest, the most proximal, as well as the most enduring of children's social environments" (Luthar and Goldstein, 2004: 503). The main discussion of family as a context of risk or resilience focuses on the critical aspects of parenting styles and family environment in relation to young people's outcomes, including educational attainment, or participation in health risk behaviours (Blum et al., 2000, Piko and Kovacs, 2010, Razaz-Rahmati et al., 2012, Green et al., 2013). When discussing how family may affect these outcomes, Elliot et al (2006) suggest four pathways, illustrated in Table 2 below:

Pathway	Description
Family resources	• Formal resources: family income, employment status, and parental education attainment. • Informal resources: relationships, friends and family connections, relationship with local community groups such as schools, churches etc.
Family 'dysfunction'	• Parental: mental or physical (ill) health • Separation or divorce • Health behaviours such as alcohol consumption or smoking
Parenting practices	• Parental monitoring of friends or behaviours • Rules and discipline • Parental involvement in activities • Support for autonomy of individual
Normative and value climate	• Investment of parents towards educational attainment • Expectations regarding behaviour • Presence of role model

Table 2: Pathways of family influence (taken from Elliot et al, 2006)

Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn (2000) in their review of neighbourhood effects on children and young people defined neighbourhood resources as being able to both directly and indirectly affect children and young people through family income and through parents acting as "advocates or brokers for their children's receipt of community resources" (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000: 332). This relates to Coleman (1988)'s discussion of the role of parents in producing and sharing social capital with their children, and Bourdieu's discussion of children inheriting family cultural capital through parental practices (Morrow, 1999, Bourdieu, 2011). Families living in more disadvantaged areas are likely to rely on informal social resources (i.e. friends and family) than those in more affluent areas (Wager et al., 2010). These informal social resources are often relied upon to help with childcare, with emotional support, or with small financial problems (Macdonald et al., 2005). The use of this extensive, but contained, network ensures the sharing of responsibility in efforts to establish a positive environment for young people (Outley and Floyd, 2002). In addition, it has been argued that the extent to which a family is integrated into the neighbourhood is also positively associated with low levels of youth-reported violence (Kurlychek et al., 2012).

Studies of risk factors and health behaviours have highlighted the role of family (both in terms of parental characteristics and family relationships) in relation to low academic achievement, increased risk of substance use in adulthood, and smoking (although this was only found in single parent families) (Blum et al., 2000, Razaz-Rahmati et al., 2012, Green et al., 2013). These results appear to support Coleman's theory of the negative impact of single parent families. Described as a "structural deficiency" (Coleman, 1988:S111), young people from single-parent families, from families where one or both parents work outside the home are seen as vulnerable, or from families with one or more siblings, may be at risk of poorer access to social capital. In terms of the latter, Coleman (1988) argued that multiple child families diminish the care each child receives, leading to a deficiency in social capital. However, not all young people who live in single parent families are exposed to the same level of risk, with some families finding alternative support factors via network associations (e.g. extended family or friends) (Morrow, 2001, Seaman and Sweeting, 2004, Mcgonigal et al.,

2007). The "structural deficiency" theory has also been criticised for being ethno-centric as little attention was paid to the diversity of family structures or kinship obligations that exist in different minority groups (Morrow, 1999: 753).

Studies of resilience and health promoting behaviours have highlighted the relative importance of high levels of family bonding and communication, and also positive normative cultures within the home. The normative climate within the family is interwoven into young people's understanding of everyday life (Christensen, 2002). Although the mundane and reiterative activities of the home being taken for granted by many young people, they are key in understanding the underlying pathways to health and wellbeing and to the production or transmission of cultural capital (Turtiainen et al., 2007, Lahelma and Gordon, 2008). For example, regular shared mealtimes (Gillman et al., 2000, Videon and Manning, 2003, Fulkerson et al., 2006) or the encouragement of physical activity (Davison et al., 2003, Gustafson and Rhodes, 2006, Thompson et al., 2010, Fitzgerald et al., 2012) were both found to promote family cohesiveness and healthier lifestyles. The effect of normative family climate also appeared to work largely independently of family structure (Ely et al., 2000).

Missing from Elliot et al (2006)'s framework is the role of the sibling. While Coleman argued that families with more than one sibling might dilute the resources and attention given to the child and therefore have a negative effect on development (Coleman, 1988), other research has highlighted that siblings may in fact boost resources and social capital available within the family (Edwards et al., 2003). Older siblings may be a source of protection (Gillies and Lucey, 2006, Lucey, 2010), cultural information (e.g. about current trends), or a source of bridging social capital when younger siblings make the transition from primary to secondary school (Holland et al., 2007b). Lucey (2009) describes siblings as playing an important role as they often inhabit the same spaces as the peer group but also inhabit the private space of the home meaning they can observe and regulate behaviours in different contexts. In terms of how siblings may influence health, older siblings have also been found to be an important socialisation element in adolescents' health choices (Gossrau-Breen et al., 2010). This may lead to a protective relationship where the older sibling

becomes a role model for the younger sibling, or it may normalise health risk behaviours such as drinking alcohol or smoking. For example, young people who smoke, compared to those who do not smoke, are more likely to live at home with one parent who smoke daily and/or have a sibling who smoke daily (Black, 2011).

2.4.1.3 Peers

Discussion of peers in terms of young people's risk and resilience has mainly centred on the impact of normative culture (Baker et al., 2003, Rimal and Real, 2003, Brown et al., 2010) on health behaviours. Therefore when risk is discussed in terms of the peer group, it is generally in terms of the effects of the peer group on health behaviours.

The formation of peer group norms may encourage young people to engage in similar health behaviours as their friends (Engels and Ter Bogt, 2001, Fitzgerald et al., 2012). For example, if young people perceive that the majority of their peers engage in certain health risk behaviours, there is an increased likelihood that they believe engaging in the behaviour is normal (Rimal and Real, 2003) and that their own consumption pattern is also normal (Baker et al, 2003, Olds and Thombs, 2001). However it may also be likely that young people select a peer group who share a similar level of smoking, which in turn strengthens their membership in the group (Simons-Morton et al., 2004, Kiuru et al., 2010, Mercken et al., 2012).

Normative culture may also provide a resource for resilience. Socialising with a peer group with positive health behaviours may increase their perception that positive health behaviours are the norm. For example, a review of qualitative studies (Maturo and Cunningham, 2013) found that friends were described as motivators for young people to continue participation in sports. In addition, peer group effects have also been discussed in terms of mental health, in particular the role of the peer group in providing social support. Social support refers to the socio-emotional, practical or other assistance provided by significant others to the individual (House, 1987, Thoits, 1995, Rigby, 2000). Social support is linked to positive wellbeing, as the amount of support an

individual has is negatively associated with levels of stress (the so-called 'buffer hypothesis') (Cohen and Hoberman, 1983).

Peer group takes on new importance in adolescence, as young people are seen to spend more time with friends and interaction with family either remaining constant or decreasing (Helsen et al., 2000, Waters et al., 2014). However, there is a lack of evidence connecting peers with positive mental health (Dumont and Provost, 1999, Waters et al., 2014). For example, in a longitudinal study of adolescent health, Bond et al (2007) found good social connectedness (measured through questions of whether young people felt they had someone they could trust and confide in) was not independently predictive of later mental health. This may mean that the context of the peer group may work in conjunction with other contexts to provide a buffer for mental health, although Waters (2014) found that support from parents had a more long-lasting effect on mental health than support from peers.

2.4.1.4 Physical environment and public spaces

One way to explore associations between the physical environment and risk is to examine the impact of exposure to crime and ASB. The UK Antisocial Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act (2014) defines ASB as 'conduct that has caused, or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to any person, conduct capable of causing nuisance or annoyance to a person in relation to that person's occupation of residential premises, or conduct capable of causing housing-related nuisance or annoyance to any person', and defines housing-related as 'directly or indirectly relating to the housing management functions of housing provider or local authority'. This definition can be used to refer to a wide range of behaviours from low-level social incivilities to vandalism (Scott et al., 1998, Flint, 2002, Millie, 2008, Millie, 2009) but can also be seen as targeting deprived areas which have a higher percentage of housing stock controlled by the local authority.

A review of qualitative studies[5] found there were several factors in the physical and social environment of the neighbourhood that were perceived to impact on fear of crime, including inadequate street lighting, poor visibility, signs of neglect, lack of knowledge about an area, and presence of alcohol and drug users (Lorenc et al., 2013). Fear of crime appeared to have a negative effect on individuals' willingness to socialise with others in the neighbourhood or to engage with outside activities (such as walking or running) (Lorenc et al 2013). This therefore has the knock-on effect of reducing healthy behaviours and also decreases individuals' access to networks in the neighbourhood.

In terms of how young people in these areas are affected by ASB, they are more likely than young people in affluent areas to witness violent crime (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Katz et al., 2001, Galster, 2012), which may impact on their wellbeing (Galster, 2012, Lorenc et al., 2013). In addition, exposure to violence is linked with poor academic performance (Lord and Mahoney, 2007, Galster, 2012) and more aggressive behaviours (Guerra et al., 2003). Further discussion of young people's perceptions and experience of ASB is in section 2.4.3.1.

Other studies have focused on the role that youth-orientated services may play in limiting young people's exposure to neighbourhood risk. Often these groups charge no admission fee in deprived communities and have an underlying theme of ensuring youth safety and building self-confidence (Halpern, 2005, Gardner and Brooks-Gunn, 2009). A review of youth work in England for the Department for Education and Skills (Merton, 2004), highlighted that while there were positive gains for young people in terms of confidence and skills development, the negative influence of families, peers, and wider social norms within the community, in addition to difficulties securing funding, meant there were barriers to overcome.

2.4.1.5 School

The discussion of school in terms of risk and resilience has mainly centred on the impact of school culture (Thrupp et al., 2002, Sykes and Musterd, 2011). It has

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[5] Predominantly studies of adult experiences

been argued that neighbourhood resources contribute to the school environment both in terms of quality, organisational climate, culture, and demographics, with the composition of schools in deprived neighbourhoods reflecting the composition of the wider neighbourhood (Arum, 2000, Brännström, 2008, Sykes and Musterd, 2011). Aspects of school culture associated with poorer outcomes include larger class sizes leading to less one-to-one teacher interaction, a lower expectation of attending university after school, a more disruptive classroom dynamic leading to teacher instruction being more authoritative than diplomatic (Thrupp et al., 2002, Sykes and Musterd, 2011). Furthermore, the poor reputation of a school may also negatively influence young people's future aspirations (Archer and Yamashita, 2003, Hollingworth and Archer, 2010).

Another potential way in which school may influence young people is through school connectedness. School connectedness can be defined as the belief of young people that the adults in the educational setting care about their learning as well as about them as individuals (Resnick et al., 1993, Mcneely et al., 2002, Blum et al., 2004, Brookmeyer et al., 2006, Blum and Blum, 2009). Low school connectedness is associated with greater risk of peer victimisation (O'brennan and Furlong, 2010), depressive symptoms in adolescence (Shochet et al., 2006) and increased risk of smoking (Bond et al., 2007). In contrast, young people with high levels of school connectivity have been shown to have higher levels of self-esteem, academic achievement, motivation and engagement with the school lessons (Bond et al., 2007, Tiet et al., 2010). Young people with high school connectedness were likely to view their school as a positive place, have positive relationships with teachers and felt there was an understanding adult within the school who they could trust (Williams and Bryan, 2013).

2.4.1.5 Home

Dorling et al (2007) suggested a range of elements within the home environment that may be risk factors for health, including homes that are located above the fifth floor of a building (i.e. high-rise flats), and overcrowded conditions. Other risk factors include the presence of toxins (lead piping, lead paint, and carbon monoxide), structural problems leading to damp or draughts, and excess indoor moisture (Thomson and Petticrew, 2005, Thomson et al., 2009, Gibson et al., 2011a). Exposure to these risk factors was significantly associated with higher

rates of depression and anxiety, injuries in the home, death from house fires, respiratory problems such as asthma, and coronary problems (Ellaway and Macintyre, 1998, Keall et al., 2010).

However, the home may also be viewed as a protective environment, especially for those individuals who live in deprived neighbourhoods (Michael and Gaver, 2009). The sense of belonging or safety gathered from the home environment may reflect positive interactions and routines that form the backdrop of everyday life (Lefebvre, 2002). For children and young people, their understanding of the home may be connected with understandings of family, and the habitual and reiterative behaviours that one does as a member of a family (including family meal times, or hanging out with siblings). Therefore the autonomy and structure of family relations within the home may provide an insight into how the meanings of home are constructed (White, 2002).

2.4.1.6 High-rise flat as a risky environment

As discussed by Dorling et al (2007) living in a high-rise flat (HRF) may also provide an additional constellation of risk factors which is often not experienced by residents in different housing types, especially when the HRF was located within a deprived area. This is of particular importance as the participants recruited for this study all lived in HRFs at the time of the fieldwork period (2011-2012). A review of recent evidence relating to the HRF (Kearns et al., 2012) described three dimensions of issues that may relate to the negative experience of the building type: built form, estate context, and management. Table 3 on the following page summarises the main issues concerned with living in HRFs:

Dimension	Negative Issue
Built form	• Poor construction • Damp • Poor sound insulation • Lack of internal space • Lack of privacy
Estate context	• Large number of residents leading to inability to know neighbours and exercise social control • High turnover of neighbours • Lack of sufficient amenities on the estate
Management	• Building often home to poor and vulnerable households with multiple social needs • High concentration of poverty

Table 3: Summary of negative dimensions of high-rise dwellings (adapted from Kearns et al, 2012)

Physical and psycho-social outcomes are often worse for residents living in HRFs in deprived contexts, especially regarding frequency of contact with neighbours and a perceived low level of control even after adjusting for personal characteristics and area deprivation (Warr et al., 2007, Warr et al., 2009, Gibson et al., 2011b, Kearns et al., 2012).

One aspect of HRFs which repeatedly appears in the literature is problems concerning lack of social space and issues of perceived lack of social control within the home (e.g. residents reporting feeling unable to avoid the habits and behaviours of others in close proximity) (Warr et al., 2007). A lack of social interaction outside the home, high residential turnover in HRFs and inability to regulate social interaction within the communal areas of the building can lead to feelings of social isolation, social withdrawal and greater feelings of anonymity among residents (Evans, 2003, Musterd and Van Kempen, 2005).There is less evidence in relation to associations between physical health and high-rise flat living 'because many studies of housing conditions and health do not specifically isolate the effects of high-rise from those of other dwellings' (Kearns et al., 2012: 103), However, a review of evidence relating to the link between housing and health found poor ventilation, inadequate building quality, overcrowding and dampness are linked with poorer physical health- all of which are prevalent in high-rise dwellings (Thomson et al., 2009).

The HRF poses four inter-related challenges to family life: flats tend to be smaller with less storage space than single family dwellings; overcrowding may lead to a lack of privacy and increase in stress; there may be difficulty in supervising children if they go outside; and movement may be inconvenienced (e.g. in order to leave the block, families may have to negotiate stairways or elevators) (Reay and Lucey, 2000, Appold and Yuen, 2007, Gifford, 2007). These issues may lead to a higher prevalence of stress or anxiety in residents of high-rise accommodation compared with residents of other housing types (Evans et al., 2002, Evans, 2003, Gibson et al., 2011a, Gibson et al., 2011b), although this may be affected by interlinked factors such as social class or neighbourhood characteristics (Evans, 2003). Residents who live in houses rather than HRFs are more likely to derive a greater sense of autonomy and other psychosocial benefits compared with those who live in HRFs (Kearns et al., 2000, Hiscock et al., 2003, Gibson et al., 2011a).

2.4.2 Summary

This section has highlighted that when discussing experiences of 'the neighbourhood', there are multiple proximal contexts within this. Table 4 summarises some of the main points regarding how each context may affect physical and mental health and health behaviours.

	Risk-factors	Resources for resilience
Family	-Family behaviour and structure Poor access to resources -Participation of family member (parent/sibling) in health risk behaviour	-High levels of family bonding -Positive lifestyles within family (e.g. promotion of physical activity) -Sibling assisting with childcare
Peers	-Participation in risk-behaviours as "norm" within social group (e.g. smoking)	-Participation in healthy activities as "norm" within social group (e.g. physical activity) -Socio-emotional support
Public spaces	-Crime and ASB -Lack of maintenance of green spaces	-Presence of recreational opportunities -Opportunities for social engagement -Participation in youth club

School	-Large class sizes -Disruptive environment -Authoritative teacher dynamic -Poor levels of school connectedness	-Identification of teacher as positive role-model -Positive relationship with teachers -High levels of school connectivity
Home	-Presence of toxins -Structural problems (e.g. dampness) -Living above 5th floor -Poor social control -Lack of internal space -Poor relationships with neighbours	-Positive interactions with family in home -Perceiving that the home is a place that is "controllable"

Table 4: Summary of risk and resilience factors as they relate to nested contexts

However, as mentioned in section 2.1.2, there are a number of criticisms regarding the risk factor literature. One criticism concerns the reductionism inherent in the approach. Susser (1998: 609) argued that, given the strong biological and psychological influence of risk factor analysis, it appeared to have "little regard for the social structures and social dynamics that encompass them". This can be seen in two main ways: how neighbourhood is defined, and the focus on the individual.

In studies concerning risk factors, neighbourhood is categorised using spatial/functional definitions, with little attention paid to the more complex and dualistic definitions that may better describe neighbourhood use by young people (Armstrong, 2004). As this chapter has demonstrated, different people can view the same neighbourhood in different ways, and using simplistic geographical locations may conceal a more complex system of relationships. Furthermore, the approach has been criticised for focusing on, what this thesis has defined as, the proximal contexts of the neighbourhood and ignoring the wider political and historical contexts that may frame individuals' vulnerability to risk. This may result in the pathologisation of certain families and individuals (Ginwright et al., 2005, Te Riele, 2006, Turnbull and Spence, 2011). This may further result in risk factor studies providing a justification for pre-emptive intervention or surveillance (Turnbull and Spence, 2011). The last criticism concerns the lack of agency accredited to young people. Turnbull and Spence argue that this approach serves to dehumanise young people, removing any understanding of the lived experiences of them, their rights and agency or how government social policy and changing social context shapes 'youth' (p955).

Therefore, while the risk factor literature highlights a range of vulnerabilities that young people in deprived neighbourhoods may be exposed to, it does not adequately illustrate how young people interpret, construct, negotiate and experience their lives within these contexts. Therefore, the final section uses literature from sociology, youth studies, and children's geographies to discuss how risk is understood and negotiated by young people in their everyday lives as "it is those immediate day-to-day experiences that most directly shape the adaption of youth" (Skeggs, 1997, Felner and Devries, 2013:107). It also examines how social interactions within the neighbourhood may promote social capital, an important resource for resilience. The concept of "everyday" resilience is introduced, and its links with how young people perceive risk as part of their everyday understanding of the neighbourhood are explored.

2.4.3 Neighbourhood, socio-cultural risk, and "everyday" resilience

When individuals are asked for their opinions of the neighbourhood, many find it difficult to "compress the multiple facets of neighbourhood into one overall judgement" (Lupton and Power, 2004: 14). It may prove difficult for individuals to summarise years of experience, place attachment and social connections into a singular assessment of "good" or "bad". To understand how individuals assess their neighbourhood is to understand the multiple contexts that they interact with, as well as understanding how these have been shaped and changed over time. Assessments of the neighbourhood may therefore simultaneously refer, for example, to declining physical environments, supportive social relationships, and changing service provision, as well as concerns regarding risk in public spaces (Aber and Nieto, 2000, Lupton and Power, 2004, Lim and Barton, 2010, Teitelman et al., 2010).

2.4.3.1 Young people's understanding of socio-spatial risk in the neighbourhood

This section examines how socio-cultural risk is experienced in a neighbourhood context; therefore the term socio-spatial risk is used to denote this particular risk location.

Examining social risk in the neighbourhood from young people's point of view is relatively recent (Valentine, 1997, Harden et al., 2000, Turner et al., 2006, Bromley and Stacey, 2012, Van Der Burgt, 2013) as earlier studies would examine young people's perception of risk through parental report, or would not factor in their opinions at all. Young people's perception of socio-spatial risk encompasses feelings of vulnerability within certain spaces, or being aware of environmental ASB (e.g. graffiti, broken glass, abandoned needles) in the places where they hang out or play (Cahill, 2000, Morrow, 2000, Elsley, 2004).

When studies have examined socio-spatial risk from young people's point of view, they have found that young people's concept of risk within the neighbourhood is dynamic and fluid, and that understandings of risk are constantly negotiated and modified in relation to the contexts and shared meanings of their everyday lives (Harden et al., 2000, Backett-Milburn and Harden, 2004). Young people's understanding of risk is also contingent on a range of contextual factors including spaces and people. As a result, their assessment of social risk within their neighbourhood considers not only what, but also *where* and *who*.

One socio-spatial risk prevalent in deprived communities is territoriality. Kintrea et al (2008) described territoriality as being connected with bonding social capital as it promotes within-neighbourhood connections and may inhibit interaction with those outside of the neighbourhood. Those outside of the neighbourhood are treated as the 'risky other' (see section 2.1.3) who are perceived to pose a risk to the neighbourhood. The boundaries of territories are often defined by physical features of neighbourhoods such as roads and represent an "invisible wall" (Pickering et al., 2012) which dictate to some young people where they are "safe" and "unsafe" from the threat of physical violence from a rival area. In terms of young people's perception of socio-spatial risk, the issue of territoriality in deprived communities (especially from an urban Scottish standpoint) appears to be one of the dominant themes within the literature (Kintrea et al., 2008, Batchelor, 2009, Deuchar, 2009, Deuchar and Holligan, 2010, Pickering et al., 2012). For those who do not fight, there appears to still be a concern that they will be misidentified as fighters and therefore they also follow the territorial boundaries of the neighbourhood.

Other 'risky others' that are often identified by young people include "junkies" or drug users (Backett-Milburn and Harden, 2004, Turner et al., 2006, Davidson, 2013), violent gangs (Ralphs et al., 2009, Conolly and Parkes, 2012, Johansson et al., 2012), and paedophiles (Pain, 2006, Turner et al., 2006). Paralleling the discussion of socially constructed risk in section 2.1.3, these "risky others" often reflect the concerns of the wider community and the representation of risk in the media (Caplan, 2000, Douglas, 2002). The ability to create 'out-groups' (Becker, 2008, 1963) within the neighbourhood may highlight the behaviours of these individuals that are seen as non-conforming and therefore 'risky' (Hall et al., 1999, Hollingworth and Williams, 2009).

For young people, common sources of knowledge about risk within the neighbourhood include family members, such as older siblings or parents; for children or younger teenagers their assessment of risk is linked with parental boundary setting of when and where they were "safe" to go to (Spilsbury, 2005, Teitelman et al., 2010, Neary et al., 2013, Foster et al., 2014). For some young people, the socially constructed knowledge of risk in the neighbourhood may involve a combination of parental boundary setting ("I can't go to the park at night") and the wider fears of the community ("because there are drunk people there"). This use of sources to ensure young people are able to safely "read" the neighbourhood also highlights the socially and locally constructed nature of risk.

Young people's assessment of risk is often contingent and context specific, and reflects a temporal understanding of risk. For example, studies of young people's understandings of spatial or social risk have also highlighted that night-time is when they feel most vulnerable (Harden et al., 2000, Elsley, 2004, Deuchar, 2009). Understanding of risk may also differ depending on gender; girls are more concerned with the risk of sexual violence (Deakin, 2006, Cops and Pleysier, 2011, Johansson et al., 2012, Clark, 2013b), and boys with the risk of physical violence (Kintrea et al., 2008, Ralphs et al., 2009, Johansson et al., 2012). These fears may translate into gender differences in use of public space. Negotiation of social risk often involves being aware of what risks are present in the neighbourhood, where they are, and when they are likely to occur (Turner et al., 2006, Teitelman et al., 2010).

2.4.3.2 Social capital, everyday resilience and negotiating socio-spatial risk in the neighbourhood

Being able to identify positive resources which enable young people to negotiate risk within the different proximal contexts of their everyday life may 'carry some political point and theoretical legitimacy' (Macdonald, 2011: 438) as it highlights both the subjective experience and the structural constraints that frame these experiences (Furlong et al., 2011). This chapter has shown how young people living in deprived neighbourhoods experience a range of different risks within the contexts of family, peer group, school, public spaces, home, and also at the wider socio-economic and political level. However, relatively little is known about how young people experience resilience to negotiate these risks within their everyday lives. As discussed in section 2.2.2.1, as individuals are nested within various contexts, social capital is a valuable tool to discuss how social interactions within different contexts and social networks may enable individuals to experience resilience.

One way to examine young people's everyday resilience in deprived neighbourhood contexts is to consider how social capital has been used to limit the risks of social exclusion and the structural effects of deprivation. One of the central findings of many studies in this area relates to the importance of positive social relations with peer groups, parents, and other supportive adults (Morrow, 2001, Backett-Milburn and Harden, 2004, Turner et al., 2006, Nicotera, 2008, Wyn et al., 2012). Young people are likely to refer to friends as being good at providing socio-emotional support, and opportunities to play and engage in activities, as well as standing up for them (Abbott-Chapman et al., 2008b, Weller and Bruegel, 2009, Kissane and Clampet-Lundquist, 2012). Parents are referred to in terms of practical or socio-emotional support (Seaman and Sweeting, 2004, Shildrick and Macdonald, 2008).

What is of interest in terms of everyday experience of resilience is the way that these relationships interact with perception of risk. While young people are able to comment upon social risks and experiences of vulnerability in certain places at certain times, the dominant discussion of the everyday concerns positive interactions with members of their social network (Reay and Lucey, 2000, Seaman et al., 2006, Turner et al., 2006) with "familiar social relations central

to their perception of their neighbourhood" (Turner et al., 2006:454). Shildrick and MacDonald's Teesside studies (Macdonald et al., 2001, Macdonald and Marsh, 2005, Macdonald et al., 2005, Shildrick and Macdonald, 2008) highlight the juxtaposition between the participants' positive feelings of belonging in the community with their open acknowledgement of the physical and social problems of the neighbourhood.

Feelings of belonging in the neighbourhood are often linked with strong bonding social capital and a feeling that there is a strong network of people within close proximity who recognise each other and can be relied upon for help (Reay and Lucey, 2000, Macdonald et al., 2005, Turner et al., 2006, Watt, 2006). This may include needing practical help in the neighbourhood, but also feeling as though they can trade on their position as a neighbourhood insider to ensure they are not physically threatened (Reay, 2004). Young people who feel they are part of the neighbourhood may spend more time in the neighbourhood and less time travelling to different locations and therefore may be more aware of socio-spatial risk, and have different ways of negotiating these issues (Cahill, 2000, Turner et al., 2006, Van Der Burgt, 2013).

In terms of negotiating risk, two main strategies have been identified within the literature: avoiding exposure to risk and managing risk (Turner et al., 2006). Both of these strategies rely on young people's knowledge of the neighbourhood, their social connections, and interactions with different contexts. To avoid exposure to risk, young people may use their knowledge of spatial and temporal elements of social risk to adapt their use of the neighbourhood, for example not going out after a certain time of night, or not going to the park if they think there will be people there who may pose a risk to them (Elsley, 2004, Leonard, 2006, Ralphs et al., 2009, Deuchar, 2010). In some instances, socio-spatial risk cannot be minimised and therefore risk management techniques are also needed. One key method within the literature is the technique of 'keeping yourself to yourself' (Casey and Flint, 2008). This involves dissociation with those in the community that are deemed risky. It can be done through social distancing (i.e. not befriending those who may be involved in risk behaviours), physical distancing (i.e. crossing the road to avoid them) or through social cues (i.e. not making eye-contact). Other risk management techniques used by young

people include walking in groups to ensure they are not perceived as vulnerable (Valentine, 1997, Spilsbury, 2002, Pain et al., 2005), or carrying a mobile phone so they can call for help (Pain et al., 2005, Conolly and Parkes, 2012).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided evidence relating to the multiple ways in which young people may be influenced by where they live. It has suggested that the neighbourhood, far from being a singular location, can instead be discussed in terms of the various proximal contexts which frame young people's experience, including home, school, public spaces, family, and peer groups. It is through these contexts that the wider socio-economic context is experienced.

The chapter has also introduced the thesis framework: risk and resilience. It initially examined what is meant by these terms and how this has changed over time (e.g. how resilience has moved from being an inherent trait to being the product of interactions between individuals and their environment). It also discussed some of the conflicts in the literature regarding these terms, especially regarding risk factor literature and socio-cultural risk. For the purpose of the thesis, some risk factors will be examined (i.e. poor housing conditions, crime rates) but through the lens of youth experience. It has highlighted that young people have a complex and multi-layered understanding of the neighbourhood, and that their time is spent in both private and public spaces. Consequently, their understanding, and negotiation, of risk may reflect this. Therefore the aim of the thesis is not to objectively measure the risk posed by these risk factors, but rather examine how young people experience and perceive of risk.

Connected to this is the question of how young people utilise resources within their proximal contexts to negotiate risk. Therefore, resilience is not discussed as "overcoming the odds" but rather as a term that encompasses how young people use social capital, positive interactions and place attachments within the various contexts of their lives in order to negotiate risk. While resilience may exist without the presence of risk, for the purpose of this thesis, resilience is used to understand risk negotiation.

Finally, this chapter suggested that young people's negotiations of risk and safety appeared to form part of their "everyday" routine within the neighbourhood contexts, with individual behaviours appearing to be well-practiced and developed through the years of their residency (e.g. avoiding certain places at certain times, keeping their phone on, or walking in groups). It argued that it is within these routine behaviours that "everyday resilience" may be investigated.

The following chapter goes on to ask what happens when one, or more, of the contexts that provide resilience, changes? Change will be discussed in terms of neighbourhood level change (i.e. regeneration), and change as it affects the individual.

Chapter three: Experience of regeneration, relocation, and individual level change

One policy solution to address the risks associated with deprived neighbourhoods (as discussed in the previous chapter) is urban regeneration (Mcdonald et al., 2009, Macgregor, 2010). Policies of regeneration anticipate that by changing the deprived contexts of the neighbourhood, the outcomes for residents may also change. For the purposes of this thesis, the regeneration policies of interest include demolition of housing, redevelopment of land, and relocation of residents to better quality accommodation either within or outside of the neighbourhood. However, evidence related to understanding how regeneration affects young people is fragmented, and is made more difficult as policies of regeneration differ substantially between different countries (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, Lawless, 2006, Atkinson and Carmichael, 2007, Beider, 2009, Dekker and Varady, 2011, Kearns, 2012, Matthews, 2013). This chapter provides an overview of relevant literature concerning young people and regeneration, and in particular the multiple ways in which young people's experience of neighbourhood risk and resilience may be influenced by wider social policies of neighbourhood regeneration.

The first section defines what is meant by regeneration and relocation. The second and third section details what is known about young people and regeneration: focusing on their position within regeneration and relocation policy, and, through using the risk and resilience framework introduced in the previous chapter, their experiences and outcomes related to regeneration-led relocation. Section four discusses an area of regeneration literature that is relatively less investigated: young people's experience of living amongst regeneration (i.e. living near demolition sites and building works). Section five concludes the chapter with a discussion of the need to acknowledge the holistic everyday world of individuals, especially how biographical change may occur during the regeneration period.

3.1 Defining regeneration

Policies of regeneration seek to combat levels of social exclusion and ill health in areas that have experienced social and economic decline (Mcdonald et al.,

2009, Macgregor, 2010). This can be done in a number of ways, but often include restoration or redevelopment of physical and social environments (MacGregor, 2010) seeking to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area (Roberts, 2000: 17).

Policies of regeneration have changed significantly over time, often corresponding to what policy-makers in the period deemed to be the root cause of urban problems (Mcdonald et al., 2009). To highlight the difference in regeneration styles, while initial regeneration strategies in the 1930-1950s focused on a physical "bricks and mortar" approach to solving the physical issues of slum housing (e.g. introducing internal plumbing and heating without changing the social environment) (Damer, 1989, Abrams and Fleming, 2010); for the past 25 years, regeneration policy has aimed to improve both the physical and social environment of the neighbourhood, reduce inequalities in health and disease, and therefore address the social determinants of health (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, Kearns et al., 2009, Warr et al., 2009, Baum et al., 2010, Marmot et al., 2010).

There are numerous types of regeneration, including improving the residential mix of those who own property and those who rent from the local authority or housing agency, also known as "mixed tenure", with the anticipation that the social renters will gain important contacts for employment and form bridging social capital with more affluent neighbours (Galster, 2012, Kearns, 2012) (although there is little concrete evidence as to how effective this is in reality (Bond et al., 2011)). However, this chapter focuses on regeneration policies that include large-scale demolition and redevelopment programmes, and also those which relocate or 'displace' residents as a result of wider demolition programmes (Kleinhans, 2003, Goetz, 2010, Goetz and Chapple, 2010).

This form of regeneration is of interest due to the critique that large-scale physical regeneration and relocation of residents may increase exposure to risk. As residents cannot all move at the same time, some remaining residents may experience diminished access to resources while they are waiting to move. For example, closure of amenities such as schools, shops, and community centres, decreased access to social capital through relocation of within-neighbourhood friends, which in turn may increase feelings of vulnerability or isolation (Lawson

and Egan, 2012, Mason and Kearns, 2012, Egan et al., 2013a, Kearns and Mason, 2013).

3.2 Defining regeneration-led relocation

One of the key policies of this type of regeneration, which can be seen in both US and European policies, is relocation. Unlike other forms of relocation, where the decision to move is viewed as the outcome of dissatisfaction with the home in relation to the requirements of the householder, or due to significant changes in family context (Tucker et al., 1998, Edwards and Steinglass, 2002, Elrod, 2006, Aronson et al., 2011), relocation due to regeneration (hereafter referred to as regeneration-led relocation) is the consequence of demolition of unfit-for-purpose social housing (Goetz, 2010, Goetz and Chapple, 2010) which aims to improve residents' living conditions by decreasing their exposure to some of the housing related risks discussed in the previous chapter (Clampet-Lundquist et al., 2011, Leventhal and Dupéré, 2011, Kearns, 2012). This is not a new policy solution; policies of regeneration-led relocation have been a feature of urban policy in the UK and US since the 1930s with a surge in relocation in the 1950s due to post-war legislation calling on the demolition of "slum housing" (Damer, 1989, Roberts and Sykes, 2000, Kearns and Mason, 2013).

One important aspect of regeneration-led relocation is that each country engaging in programmes of regeneration may do so in different ways. For example, US studies of regeneration-led relocation have found some residents were offered the option to choose their own destination location (see box one) (Rosenbaum and Harris, 2001, Orr et al., 2003, Jackson et al., 2009, Stal and Zuberi, 2010). In contrast, UK studies of regeneration-led relocation generally found that landlords were given the responsibility of finding residents new homes, albeit after resident consultations (Kearns and Mason, 2013). Therefore while the policies of regeneration-led relocation in different countries may all have the same aim, to remove residents from neighbourhood risk, their methods of doing so differ, which may mean the transferability of findings may be limited (Cento Bull and Jones, 2006, Cadell et al., 2008, Bolt and Van Kempen, 2010, Dekker and Varady, 2011, Kearns, 2012).

Gautreaux

Gautreaux was developed in 1976 by a US Supreme Court mandate to cease the discriminatory practice of placing public housing in predominately African American areas in Chicago (Rubinwotiz and Rosenbaum (2000). Under Gautreaux, residents from these public housing areas could choose to move to predominately white neighbourhoods (or into suburbs where 70% of the population was white). Families with large debts, and those with more than four children were ineligible (Goetz and Chapple, 2010).

Moving to Opportunity (MTO)

MTO was inspired by Gautreaux, and was authorised by the US Department of Housing and Community Development Act of 1992. It was introduced in five cities: Boston, Los Angeles, Baltimore, New York and Chicago. MTO randomly allocated residents (who met the eligibility criteria) into one of three conditions: experimental, standard relocation, or control. Both the experimental and standard relocation groups received housing vouchers to help subsidise rent. The control group was not given housing vouchers. The experimental group could only spend their voucher in "low-poverty" neighbourhoods (poverty rate<10%) whereas the standard and control group were not limited as to where they could move.

HOPE VI

HOPE VI was introduced in 1992 and provides funds for local housing authorities to redevelop public housing in deprived neighbourhoods (Goetz and Chapple, 2010). HOPE VI is larger in size than Gautreaux or MTO as it serves the entire country, and is seen to target the whole neighbourhood, rather than only those who move, as all public housing is demolished and replaced with new housing (Popkin, 2006). HOPE VI involves the relocation of residents from poor quality public housing into better neighbourhoods while the original neighbourhood is redeveloped (into a mixed tenure, mixed income neighbourhood). Rather than applying to be included in the project, relocation is mandatory but there are no restrictions in destination.

Box 1: summary of regeneration-led relocation policies in US

However, the evidence relating to whether relocation can be a positive intervention for health and wellbeing is mixed. Thomson and colleagues in a series of systematic reviews[6] found that while there was some evidence to suggest that relocation had a positive impact on general health outcomes, this was not reported in all studies (Thomson and Petticrew, 2005, Thomson et al., 2006, Thomson, 2008). They also found that policies of regeneration and regeneration-led relocation might help reduce fear of crime, although this was based on UK studies and not all the studies found a reduction in fear of crime post-relocation (Lorenc et al., 2013). In addition, due to improved physical conditions in the new neighbourhood, some residents also increased their participation in physical activity (Gibson et al., 2011b) and discussed feeling motivated to quit some of their negative health behaviours such as smoking, although the evidence for this was mixed (Blackman et al., 2001, Bond et al., 2012). In terms of health benefits connected to improving the physical environment of the home, while exposure to domestic allergens, mould, and damp conditions decreased after moving (which, as discussed in Chapter two, is linked to poor physical health), relocation appeared to have little to no effect on any health outcome (Thomson et al., 2006, Thomson, 2008).

3.3 Regeneration and young people

This section brings together literature pertaining to young people and regeneration. Similar to studies of the neighbourhood (Valentine, 1997, Harden et al., 2000, Turner et al., 2006, Bromley and Stacey, 2012, Van Der Burgt, 2013), examining regeneration in the neighbourhood from young people's point of view is relatively recent (Goldson, 2003, Kraftl et al., 2013, Visser et al., 2014). Given the amount of time young people spend in the neighbourhood, and given their nuanced understanding of social risk within these spaces, it is important to understand how young people can be included in the process of regeneration, but also how regeneration affects their experiences and outcomes. The following sections discuss regeneration and relocation as they affect young

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[6] The systematic reviews predominantly examined UK studies of relocation interventions, although Thomson et al (2013) also included studies from US and Hungary but found them to be of a lower standard

people. These sections cover the position of young people within the regeneration planning process, regeneration-led relocation in terms of the risk and resilience framework introduced in the previous chapter, young people's experience of physical and social regeneration, and the importance of understanding regeneration-led relocation as only one of many changes which young people may experience.

3.3.1 Regeneration policy and young people

Over the past 20 years, there has been an increased attention on young people within regeneration policy (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). While many policy-makers view the involvement of young people as key to improving the sustainability of regeneration of deprived communities (Hancock, 2006, Berg, 2013, Taylor, 2013), the policy discourse surrounding young people is conflicted. Young people appear to be awkwardly balanced between policy rhetoric of protection and control; on one hand young people are seen as vulnerable and 'at risk' from negative aspects of the neighbourhood, but on the other hand they are seen as dangerous and as 'a risk' which exists within the neighbourhood (Fitzpatrick et al, 2000, Berg, 2013). This creates a clear tension between policies designed to ensure young people benefit from regeneration, and those designed to control ASB (Percy-Smith and Malone, 2001, Hancock, 2006, Percy-Smith, 2006, Percy-Smith, 2010). This has the effect of excluding young people from discussions concerning regeneration policy, strategy, or process (Mayo, 2001, Goldson, 2003, Frank, 2006, Rogers, 2006, Percy-Smith, 2010), leading Measor and Squires (2000) to observe that while young people are spoken *about*, they are rarely spoken *to* and seldom engaged *with*, which mirrors the lack of youth engagement in other areas of civic life (Muncie et al., 2002, Phillips, 2004).

When young people are consulted, the process is often perceived as tokenistic or based on planners' perceptions of the homogenous experience of youth: asking young people's opinions on "youth spaces" rather than on their experience of the wider neighbourhood context (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, Mayo, 2001, Rogers, 2006, Day et al., 2011, Goodwin and Young, 2013). Examples of "youth spaces" consultation may include: design of the local playground, location of skate-parks, or the need for more youth services (Speak, 2000, Percy-Smith and

Malone, 2001, Goldson, 2003, Rogers, 2006, O'brien and Moules, 2007). These types of consultation may be perceived as inappropriate for older young people who may not use the traditional youth spaces of their younger peers (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, Goldson, 2003).

Despite this raised awareness regarding the important role young people could play in regeneration policy, engagement with young people regarding non-youth specific issues is often absent in wider policy circles; instead adults (e.g. parents, teachers, or youth workers) are given the responsibility to speak on their behalf, which has the effect of positioning young people as passive in the process. Matthews (2001a) highlighted three main barriers to engaging young people with planning: the nature of regeneration programmes (and the presence of jargon which may alienate young people); attitudes of adults (and their perception of young people's lack of competency); and lack of coherence as to how planners should reach out to young people in a meaningful way.

3.3.2 Regeneration-led relocation and young people

In terms of examining young people's experience of relocation, there are two main strands of research: examining how young people's outcomes change post-relocation, and examining how young people's access to resources changes post-relocation. Table 5 below highlights some of the anticipated positive changes that may occur as a result of relocation:

Physical	Social	Behavioural
-Better building quality -Less overcrowding -Improved utilities at home -Improved green spaces in public spaces	-Less stressful environment at home -Improved perception of safety in public spaces -More exposure to socially diverse peers	-Encouraging healthier behaviours -More space at home for play/homework -Less exposure to antisocial peers at school -Improved aspirations

Table 5: Anticipated positive changes for young people as a result of relocation (adapted from Egan, 2010)

The anticipated changes associated with relocation can be seen to affect experience of risk and resilience within a range of the nested contexts discussed in the previous chapter. Egan (2010)'s full logic model relating to the effect of regeneration on young people can be found in Appendix A. Figure 2 below

adapts the model of proximal contexts introduced in the previous chapter to highlight how relocation may change these contexts:
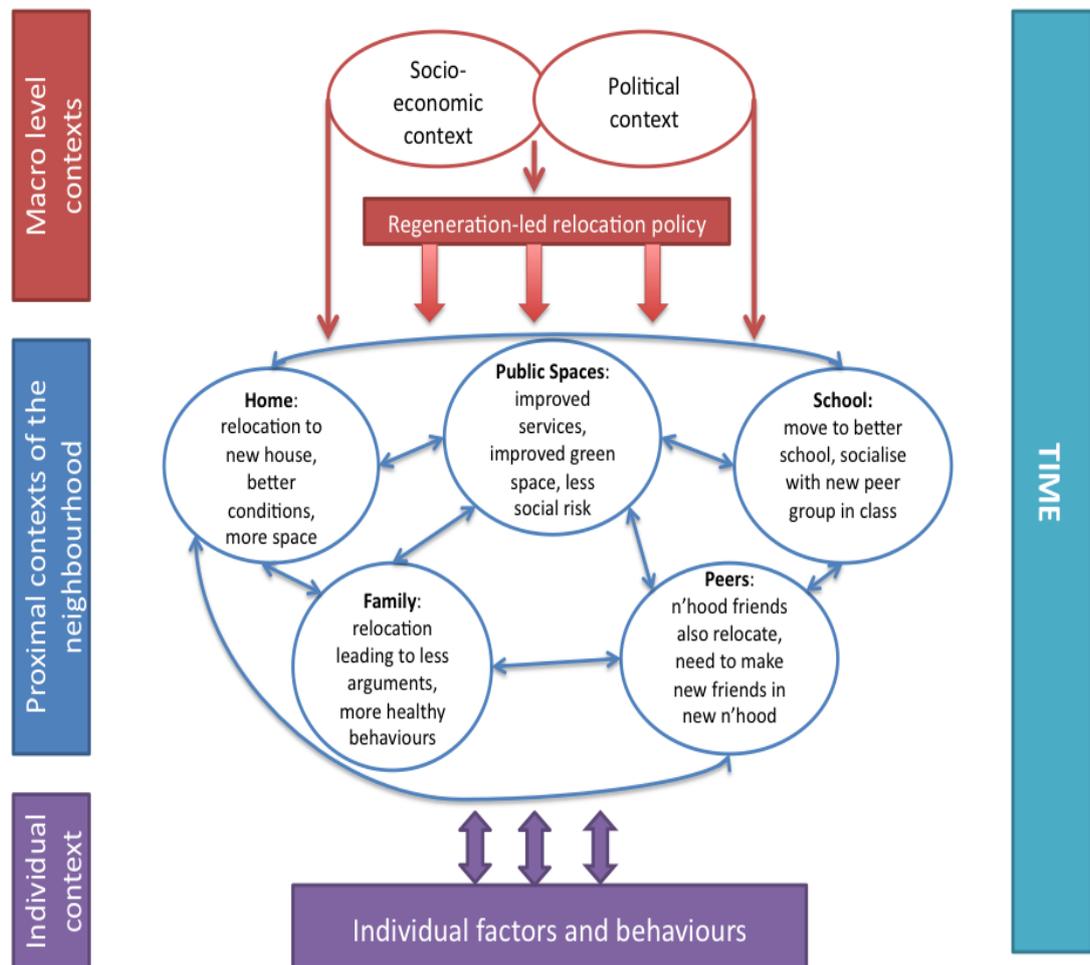
Figure 2: Potential ways regeneration-led relocation may change proximal contexts of young people's lives

In terms of the home context, relocation to a new house offers better building quality (decreasing the physical risk of dampness and draughts), less overcrowding (decreasing the risk of stress), more space for play and healthier behaviours (increasing positive normative behaviour at home which in turn may increase resilience resources). In terms of family, relocation offers the potential for less stressful environments at home (due to less overcrowding) and healthier family behaviours (due to family being inspired by new surroundings to break bad health habits such as smoking) (Lawson and Egan, 2012, Egan et al., 2013b). In terms of peer groups, relocation to a new neighbourhood may offer exposure to more socially diverse peers from different social backgrounds and decreased exposure to antisocial peers, thus increasing positive normative culture and

social capital resources. On the other hand, it may sever existing resources that young people relied upon. Relocation may also offer better quality physical spaces in terms of improved utilities and green spaces. Perception of safety within the neighbourhood may increase, resulting in greater neighbourhood attachment, more physical activity outside, and less stress. However, for some young people, relocation might increase the experience of risk: moving away from social networks may decrease social capital, and if the relocation is to a neighbourhood where peers are from a different social background, it may be difficult to find common ground, therefore risking social isolation.

Literature regarding young people and relocation due to urban regeneration is predominantly US-focused (see box one) (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2004, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2005, Leventhal and Dupéré, 2011). Overall, the literature relating to young people and the effects of relocation is mixed, with some evidence highlighting a positive impact on everyday experiences, some a negative impact, and some little impact at all. The section below discusses the experience of relocation in terms of risk and resilience.

3.3.2.1 Relocation and risk

In general, relocation (not related specifically to regeneration) during adolescence is associated with a range of negative outcomes when compared with non-mobile peers, (Edwards and Steinglass, 2002, Haynie et al., 2006) with much of what is known about relocation and risk focuses on educational performance and health behaviours. For example, residential mobility is linked with lower academic performance, dropping out of school (Astone and Mclanahan, 1994, Pribesh and Downey, 1999, South et al., 2007), and increased physical and sexual risk taking behaviour (South and Haynie, 2004, Mcleer and Dehart, 2013).

Coleman (1988) described residential mobility as problematic or risky for young people in terms of social capital as it disrupts the social relations that bind children and young people with parents, teachers and other adults within the wider community. This may lead to young people feeling more vulnerable within their new neighbourhood and less supported by those around them (Raviv et al., 1990, Edwards and Steinglass, 2002, South and Haynie, 2004, Mcleer and Dehart,

2013). In addition, Coleman argued that relocation diminishes parental involvement in young people's school career, which may lead to decreased feelings of belonging in school. There is also evidence to suggest those who move multiple times are at increased risk, due in part to weaker social connections in the neighbourhood and poor school connectivity (Haynie and South, 2005, Haynie et al., 2006, South et al., 2007).

Similar to general experience of relocation, regeneration-led relocation also often entails the disruption of social networks in original neighbourhoods and potential difficulties in integrating to the new neighbourhood (Tucker et al., 1998, Clampet-Lundquist, 2004, Goetz and Chapple, 2010, Visser et al., 2014). As US regeneration-led relocation often involves moving young people from deprived to more affluent neighbourhoods, (e.g. HOPE VI and MTO) this may further increase the difficulty for young people in making new friends due to the different normative cultures and unknown social spaces (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2005, Clampet-Lundquist, 2007, Deluca and Rosenblatt, 2010). This illustrates two risks, social isolation and non-participation in various community activities, through which young people may make friends, due to lack of knowledge.

Studies of relocation due to regeneration have also found that changing neighbourhood may increase the risk of low school attainment. Thus US studies found that relocated young people were at greater risk of achieving lower school grades and had a decreased engagement with the school community when compared with peers who remained in the original high-deprivation neighbourhood (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2005, Leventhal et al., 2005, Fauth et al., 2007). Reflecting on the risk and resilience patterns above, there are a number of reasons for such findings. These include decreased support available to young people in their new neighbourhood, lower levels of school attachment, decreased involvement by parents in young people's school career, or socialising with a peer group who are equally disengaged with school life (Ladd and Ludwig, 1997, South and Haynie, 2004, Casciano and Massey, 2012). In addition, residents who move to more affluent neighbourhoods may find the services and amenities available are outside of their budget, which may provide a risk in terms of how young people experience the neighbourhood. In terms of young people, this may

include after-school clubs or activities that require families to pay for equipment or an entrance fee. An inability to pay for these additional costs may create a barrier to young people making friends in the new neighbourhood (Pettit, 2004, Zuberi, 2010).

In addition, there is a reported decrease in intergenerational social capital post-relocation, with young people reporting little more than passing interactions with adults in new neighbourhoods (Clampet-Lundquist, 2007, Clampet-Lundquist et al., 2011). This lack of intergenerational relationship formation may lead to less informal social monitoring within new neighbourhoods, as adult residents may feel less inclined to become involved with children they are not related to (De Souza Briggs, 1998, De Souza Briggs et al., 2008). This in turn may lead to a decrease in trust by adults, as they are less likely to understand why young people are behaving in certain ways (e.g. hanging out in public spaces) leading to their use of public space being viewed as risky and therefore needing to be tighter controlled.

However, relocation also has the potential to decrease risk within the neighbourhood, especially with regards to experience of crime and perception of safety. For young people living in pre-relocation neighbourhoods with high crime rates, moving to a new neighbourhood may offer improvements in terms of social context. For example, prior to moving, the experimental MTO group lived in neighbourhoods with high rates of drug use, violence, and gun crime (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2004). Moving to a low-poverty neighbourhood had positive effects on young people's exposure to crime and drug activity (Zuberi, 2010). Some research suggests that some aspects of relocation are more beneficial to girls than boys (e.g. perception of neighbourhood safety). Findings by MTO researchers found girls reported feeling less anxious about being attacked in their new neighbourhood than boys and their overall perception of danger significantly reduced (Popkin, 2008, Popkin et al., 2010, Zuberi, 2010, Zuberi, 2012).

3.3.2.2 Relocation and resilience

As discussed in the previous chapter, it is important not to view young people as passive receptors of risks, but instead to understand the ways in which they may

actively negotiate risks. It is therefore likely that when young people are relocated to their new neighbourhood, they will form new relationships and access new resources to ensure they are able to negotiate risks associated with the relocation process, and also the new risks in their new neighbourhood.

Examining the general literature regarding how young people negotiate relocation, young people who make friends easily in their new neighbourhood are more likely to report that a move has been straightforward (Edwards and Steinglass, 2002). It is also possible that these mobile populations already have contacts within the new area, for example friends or relatives (South and Haynie, 2004). Existing bridging social capital between neighbourhoods may provide young people with a sense of normality among the change, or may facilitate making friends in their new neighbourhood. In addition, while young people may move geographical location and may change social groups, they remain within the same family group. Therefore, negative effects of relocation may be buffered by a positive emotional climate within the family before and following a move (Edwards and Steinglass, 2002). This may involve including children and young people in some aspects of the decision making process such whether to move at all, where they wanted to live, or having a say as to how their new bedroom would look (Raviv et al., 1990).

Similarly, studies relating to regeneration-led relocation have also found that if young people are able to make friends in their new neighbourhoods, this leads to the creation of bonding social capital and perceived increases of social support within their new location (Pettit and Mclanahan, 2003). Furthermore, young people are also likely to maintain friendships from their original pre-relocation neighbourhoods (De Souza Briggs, 1998, De Souza Briggs et al., 2008, De Souza Briggs et al., 2010, Visser et al., 2014), enabling them to feel less isolated in their new neighbourhood. For example, Visser et al (2013) commented that with improvements in accessibility to the internet and other technology, one of the best ways of maintaining contact was through internet chat-rooms and texting friends which bridged the physical space between friendship groups post-relocation.

As mentioned above, young people moving due to regeneration are likely to live in neighbourhoods with high crime and deprivation, so relocating away from these neighbourhoods has a positive effect on perception of safety (Zuberi, 2010, Zuberi, 2012). This perception of a safer social environment may, in turn, increase the perception of available social spaces for young people to make friends and therefore develop new neighbourhood bonds. Clampet-Lundquist (2007) attempted to investigate the impact of relocation on young people's social connections by interviewing a small sample that had been relocated between two to three years previously in Philadelphia. She reported that the participants found socialising within the new neighbourhood easy, as they met friends on the street, at school and at local basketball courts. This was similar to a study of relocation in the Netherlands, where some of the young people interviewed described feeling "in control" of the situation, took up neighbourhood activities and formed new friendship groups. This was made easier by socialising in neighbourhood youth spaces such as on the street, or on the basketball court (Visser et al, 2013).

In summary, examining experiences of regeneration-led relocation within the framework of risk and resilience, we see a number of different interactions within the proximal everyday contexts of the neighbourhood. For example, one of the biggest risks for young people in moving is the disruption of social networks, including a weakening of intergenerational social capital that may lead to feelings of isolation and loneliness. However, through engagement with other contexts, young people may be able to lessen feelings of isolation. For example, using public spaces in the new neighbourhood or participating in neighbourhood-organised youth activities could be a way to increase exposure to new social networks. Using the public spaces of the new neighbourhood may also increase their knowledge of local socio-spatial risk, and therefore begin to understand how to navigate their new environment safely which in turn may decrease feelings of vulnerability.

An important factor in resilience as it relates to relocation is that not all contexts change. As detailed in the literature above, we see that young people rely on other members of their household (i.e. parents and siblings) to provide stability through the transition to their new home. In addition, while their

existing peer group may fracture due to relocation, this does not equate to young people losing touch with their friends- there is some evidence to suggest that young people continue to rely on existing friendship groups for support during and post-relocation, especially if the relocation is over a short distance.

3.3.3 Experience of physical neighbourhood change

While the literature above highlights a range of ways in which young people are able to access resources to enable positive outcomes with regards to relocation, less is known about the process behind how young people understand or adapt to these changes (Burton and Jarrett, 2000, Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, Clampet-Lundquist, 2007), and even less about how young people negotiate these changes prior to their own relocation.

As it is impossible to relocate an entire neighbourhood simultaneously, some residents will move before others (Sullivan and Lietz, 2008, Lawson and Egan, 2012, Mason and Kearns, 2012). Those who remain in the neighbourhood may experience a period of insecurity (Goetz and Chapple, 2010). Furthermore, as more residents move out, the social environment of the neighbourhood will change as there are fewer residents to exercise informal social control (Lawson and Egan, 2012, Egan et al., 2013a) and this may have a negative effect on how young people perceive their own personal safety. For example, when previous studies asked young people what aspects of the neighbourhood they hoped would change due to regeneration, their responses often reflected a wider understanding of the problems associated with the neighbourhood: safety in the neighbourhood (Chawla et al., 2005, Clements, 2005); presence of rubbish and vandalism (O'brien, 2002, Elsley, 2004, Laughlin and Johnson, 2011); and the need for improved pedestrian walkways (O'brien, 2002).

In terms of lived experience of regeneration as a background to their everyday negotiations of space, it is likely that as young people spend a large proportion of their time within the various contexts of the neighbourhood, they will likely incorporate the physical changes into their existing knowledge (Percy-Smith, 2006, Hall, 2009a). Living in areas where there is a large amount of physical redevelopment may lead to the disruption of routines and emergence of new

practices. Kraftl et al (2013) found that young people may adopt new spaces as their own, (e.g. using construction sites or derelict ground as part of their informal play-spaces) or may perceive these same spaces as a new environmental risk. From literature relating to young people's experience of processes of gentrification[7], we see that there are able to adapt to physical and social changes to the neighbourhood. For example, Kennelly (2012)'s study of North East London gentrification found that young people experienced "marginalised consumption", describing being less able to shop in their neighbourhood due to the closure of affordable shops to make way for services that catered to the middle-class clientele who were moving in. Cahill's (2000) study of young people living in a gentrified neighbourhood in New York found they were likely to travel further distances in order to find less expensive shops and cafes rather than use the new amenities, but when they did use these amenities they felt unwelcome as they did not belong.

3.3.4 Understanding individual level change

Another gap in the literature exists in respect of placing neighbourhood regeneration within wider understandings of what else is occurring in individuals' lives at the time of neighbourhood change. As Hall et al (2009b) comment "places and people do rather more than 'undergo' economic restructuring or regeneration: they live with and through such processes, engaging actively and purposively with them, questioning and countering where they can, while at the same time accomplishing a work of accommodation and reconciliation...this is a process in which change and continuity align and combine" (p551). The slow process of regeneration means young people may spend the majority of their adolescence within a neighbourhood that can be categorised as a building site. Therefore changes within their personal lives occur at the same time as changes within the neighbourhood. Significantly, while some of these changes may occur as a result of the regeneration and relocation processes of the neighbourhood (e.g. moving to a bigger house), other individual level changes occur regardless of these. Examples of the latter include leaving school, getting a job, going to

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[7] While Gentrification relates to "the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle class neighbourhood" Atkinson, R. 2000. The hidden costs of gentrification: Displacement in central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment,* 15**,** 307-326.

further/higher education, moving out of the family home for the first time (Furlong and Cartmel, 2003, Thomson et al., 2003, Furlong et al., 2006, Wyn and Woodman, 2006, Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

Due to large-scale shifts in the macro-level socio-economic and political contexts, young people in the early 21st century are often faced with negotiating these changes within a framework of contradictory demands and guidelines. Young people need to accommodate these demands at an inter-personal level as there is no longer a guarantee of support from the ever-changing state (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998, Maguire et al., 2001, Te Riele, 2004, Furlong et al., 2006), although how 'new' these challenges are to the young people's transitions to adulthood are is debated within the literature (Goodwin and O'connor, 2005). While a full discussion of transitions to adulthood is outwith the scope of the thesis, this section examines how transitions manifest as incremental, and iterative everyday experiences. Similar to the experience of change as it relates to regeneration and regeneration-led relocation, change as it relates to young people's individual transitions does not happen overnight, but rather is a slow process that interacts with different contexts of young people's everyday lives.

Over the past 25 years, academics began to examine the complexities within young people's lives and focus on how the macro-level socio-economic and political context interacts with the proximal contexts of their everyday life to frame young people's everyday behaviours and attitudes (Gordon and Lahelma, 2002, Skelton, 2002, Lahelma and Gordon, 2008, Heinz, 2009). Reflecting on the way in which individual motivations, structural mechanisms and opportunities are interrelated (Skeggs, 1997, Skelton, 2002, Heinz, 2009), this approach focuses on the iterative and complex nature of transition and may reveal more about how different social contexts mediate success and failure (Wyn et al., 2012). As young people's movements and everyday experiences within these contexts can be seen as a complicated web of social interactions, their differing use of resources may lead to a range of different outcomes, with a weakness in one context leading to a potentially different trajectory (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000, Tolonen, 2008, Blum and Blum, 2009).

Focusing on young people's everyday experiences of individual level change enables a discussion on how 'change' often manifests itself as a series of smaller iterative and incremental changes within various proximal contexts (Morrow, 2001, Thomson et al., 2003, Shildrick and Macdonald, 2008, Wyn et al., 2012). Therefore while the eventual outcome of transitions may signify a major life event (e.g. leaving school, leaving home, getting married), the incremental steps leading up to this are imbedded in the "mundane present" (Hall et al., 2009b: 556). McCullough et al (2000:287) discussed that these "daily events in young people's lives contribute a unique variance to adolescent wellbeing over and above major life events".

One way to understand the incremental and cumulative effect of minor events is to adopt Thomson et al's "critical moments" concept (Thomson et al., 2002, Thomson et al., 2003). Similar to Elder (1998)'s "turning points", or Giddens (1991)'s "fateful moments", Thomson et al's discussion of "critical moments" highlighted one way to understand how often unplanned biographical moments may uncover important details regarding young people's overall transitions. Thomson and colleagues suggested that in order to understand the structural barriers and constraints affecting young people's everyday lives, it was important to observe interactions between different contexts and between different transitions in order to understand different life events. These critical moments were seen to include both minor events and also unexpected changes in their life that went on to influence overall transitions. Also similar to Giddens work, Thomson and colleagues discussed the position of internal and external locus of control within the different events. For example, decisions made by parents to move to a new house would be external as they occur outside of the control of parents, but changes in interpersonal relationships (e.g. breaking up with a boyfriend) could be seen as both internal and external (especially if the other person's actions caused the breakup).

Table 6 on the following page illustrates some examples of what Thomson et al's critical moments:

Family	• Being kicked out • Parental divorce • Parental unemployment
Death and Illness	• Death of a relative • Diagnosis of chronic illness • Diagnosis of depression
Education	• Sitting exams • Leaving school • Conflict with teacher
Relationships	• Falling out with best friend • Breaking up with partner • Changing friendship group
Leisure and Consumption	• Going clubbing • Getting a car • Joining drama society
Trouble	• Getting into drugs • Getting arrested • Father going to jail
Moving	• Moving house • Moving town • Moving country

Table 6: Examples of critical moments (adapted from Thomson et al, 2003)

Thomson et al's study asked young adults to reflect back on their lives and suggest different critical moments that created new opportunities for them, or increased their exposure to risk. The identification of these critical moments enabled Thomson et al to examine the ways in which young people's life chances and resources were shaped by the socio-economic and cultural environment within which they live (Skeggs, 1997, Furlong and Cartmel, 2007, Henderson, 2007, Aaltonen, 2012). They also examined the ways in which young people reacted to these changes, and whether they were able to use the proximal contexts and resources in their lives to enable a positive negotiation of change. Their study involved asking older young people to reflect on their teenage years and suggest life events that were important, and also how they adapted to these changes.

This thesis examines one critical moment that will affect all young people involved in the fieldwork: moving house. While this critical moment is an external event, and therefore outside of the control of the young people interviewed, it is of interest to examine how young people navigate this change.

As has been discussed previously, it is possible for young people to be exposed to the same event but negotiate it in different ways, resulting in differing perceptions of the experience (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998, Thomson et al., 2002, Thomson et al., 2003). Furthermore, it is also important to understand relocation within the other changes occurring in other proximal contexts and whether these changes interact or occur separately. How young people understand and negotiate these changes may depend on their access to resilience resources. In addition, their experience of other critical moments may influence how they perceive moving home.

3.4 Discussion

While the previous chapter discussed young people's experience of the neighbourhood, the current chapter discussed young people's experience of change within the neighbourhood. The chapter discussed change as a multi-faceted concept that may affect young people, and particularly the young people of this study, in a number of ways and in a number of different contexts.

Initially, change was discussed in terms of regeneration and relocation. The chapter highlighted that, despite the fact young people have a nuanced experience of their neighbourhoods (as evidenced in the previous chapter), there is generally a lack of consultation between regeneration policy-makers and young people regarding regeneration strategy. This means that in terms of regeneration, young people are disenfranchised and passive within decision making, although their daily experience of the neighbourhood highlights their active role in place making. However, while they may be passive within the decision making process, previous studies have pointed to the multiple ways young people negotiate both movement between neighbourhoods and also change *within* the neighbourhood.

In terms of movement between neighbourhoods, the chapter discussed that while young people's experience of relocation may disrupt social connections and therefore decrease availability of social support, they may also actively respond to this by relying on existing resources such as parental relationships, friendships within the new neighbourhood, or social media to maintain older

friendships. The section on change within the neighbourhood examined two topics which are less discussed: young people's experience of regeneration as a process (i.e. what it is like to live among urban change) and also what it is like to grow up in an area undergoing physical change. This section highlighted that while the expected outcome of regeneration is a new safer community, the interim period may involve similar or increased risks such as crime, poor service provision, or marginalised consumption that mean young people may have to adapt their understanding of the neighbourhood to acknowledge these new aspects. Lastly, the chapter underlined the importance of being aware that regeneration is unlikely to be the only change young people will be experiencing at this time, and that other changes may also involve a series of negotiations which may influence how regeneration and relocation are experienced.

3.5 Focus of the thesis

This thesis aims to add to existing literature regarding how young people experience regeneration. It focuses on regeneration as a process, and also examines their experience of relocation occurring at the same time as other biographical changes. The thesis adopts a risk and resilience framework to begin to uncover both how young people perceive their original (i.e. pre-relocation) home and also how their experience of neighbourhood change and relocation are mediated by the various contexts and resources in their everyday lives.

The thesis is also interested in how young people explain their neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood changes, by using the "everyday" narrative. As neighbourhood regeneration takes a considerable amount of time, it is likely that the participants' everyday interactions within the neighbourhood contexts will be affected. The thesis examines experience of changes in terms of social resources, physical spaces, and institutional resources of the neighbourhood as friends and family begin to move out, buildings begin to be demolished, and youth clubs or shops close down. This may have a negative effect on how young people perceive their neighbourhood as their resources for resilience diminish, and their everyday experience becomes more impinged upon by the slow churn of urban change. Therefore it is of interest to understand how young people

manage these changes, and how they use their everyday contexts and resources to manage and negotiate change.

Finally, as the majority of research concerning relocation is US-based; relatively little is known about UK-based young people's experiences of relocation. While relocation in the US often cover a relatively large geographical distance, within the context of this study, Glasgow, relocation generally spans a short geographical distance, with many residents moving less than two miles away from their original neighbourhood (Kearns et al, 2013). This therefore raises a question regarding how much 'change' young people in Glasgow experience post-relocation, as their social networks, school affiliation, and bridging social capital may remain the same.

Chapter four: Methods

This chapter provides an account of the methods employed in this study. As the thesis seeks to answer questions regarding young people's experience, perception, and negotiation of neighbourhood change, and of change in their own life, a range of qualitative methods were chosen. The chapter has four aims: to discuss developments regarding research with children and young people; to discuss the use of ethnography as a methodology; to discuss the longitudinal qualitative multi-method approach; and to detail the research procedures and fieldwork undertaken.

4.1 Researching young people

Research involving young people requires thinking about power, consent and confidentiality. These three concepts have been central to the ways in which ethical debates regarding working with young people have been structured (Morrow and Richards, 1996a, Punch, 2002, Gallagher, 2009, Tisdall et al., 2009). Prior to the 1980s, the role of young people within research was often either passive or missing entirely (Morrow and Richards, 1996a). However, the recognition of young people as active agents in their own life has developed over the past twenty years (Valentine, 1999, Christensen and Prout, 2002, Hill, 2006, Heath et al., 2007, Packard, 2008). Furthermore, the ratification of the United Nations Convention for Rights of the Child (UNCRC) also promoted the role of children and young people in decisions that affect their lives and wellbeing. The UNCRC details 41 rights that each child should be guaranteed, with article 12 of the UNCRC stating that young people who are capable of forming their own views have the right to express these views in all matters affecting them. It has been argued that "matters affecting them" could include political and legal rights as well as aspects of their everyday lives such as health, education, social contexts (family and friends) and environmental factors (Morrow and Richards, 1996a, Harden et al., 2000, Christensen and Prout, 2002, Christensen, 2004, Morrow, 2008a, Skelton, 2008, Beazley et al., 2009).

Development in the sociology of childhood and youth studies has promoted young people's active role within the research setting and led to the development of good practice guidelines (Alderson, 1995, Morrow and Richards,

1996a, Alderson, 2007, Medical Research Council, 2007, Shaw et al., 2011). Three main developments in this area relate to issues of power within the research setting, issues of consent, and also issues of confidentiality.

4.1.1 Power in the research setting

The relationship between the adult researcher and young participant has been of great interest in the social sciences; especially with regards to the way that 'power' is managed within the research process (Mayall, 1995, Morrow and Richards, 1996a, Matthews, 2001b). While power imbalances also occur within adult research (e.g. the expert researcher and the lay respondent), power imbalances within youth research occur over a wide range of dimensions including age, legal status, and social class (Matthews 2001). Punch (2002) describes three approaches that are important to keep in mind when conducting research with young people: how young people perceive adults (often as authority figures rather than as peers); how adults perceive young people (including stereotypes and assumptions about young people) and the differences between young people and adults (including physical, language, experiential, emotional and attainment differences).

The research setting also has the potential to empower the researcher and disempower the participant, especially if the data collection takes place on campus. To negotiate this, and to empower young people, there has been a move to situate research within young people's own everyday contexts: the home, the neighbourhood, the youth club, and the school. While there are still power imbalances within these contexts (for example the researcher may be of a similar age to parents in the home, teachers in the classroom, or youth workers in the youth club, and therefore treated as such) these contexts are known to the participant and are therefore more likely to be a comfortable research environment.

4.1.2 Issues of consent

The importance of informed consent is one of the main elements of the ethics process. All participants, regardless of age, should be given details relating to the time commitment required (especially if the study or procedure has a

longitudinal aspect), the aims of the research and the intended outcomes (in terms of social research, this may include how the research will be disseminated) (Alderson, 1995, Morrow and Richards, 1996a, Hill, 2005).

Children's and young people's right to consent, or to withhold consent, within clinical and medical areas is protected by legal rulings such as "Gillick competency" or the "mature minor principle" (England, Wales, and Northern Ireland) (Alderson, 2007), "Marion's Case" (Australia) (Sanci et al., 2004, Sanci et al., 2005) or in the case of Scotland, the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (2014). These rulings are based on the assumption that a child who has sufficient understanding of what is involved can provide consent (Alderson, 2007), and are seen to override the judgement of parents, except in cases of necessary medical treatment (Heath et al., 2007). Despite this, the "notion of children as competent and social actors is watered down somewhat when it comes to the rules around consent" in social research (Skelton, 2008:27).

Within social research, right to consent appears to be based on age rather than individual competencies (Heath et al., 2007) as young people are required to have parental consent until the age of 16. In addition to parental consent, to interview a young person in a youth-based institution (such as a youth club or school), there is also the need to negotiate adult gatekeepers (David et al., 2001, Valentine et al., 2001, Skelton, 2008). The decision of an adult, either parent or gatekeeper, of whether or not to allow access to young people under their care can be likened to a decision of consent by proxy and may lead to passive assent rather than active consent of young people as they may agree to participate on the basis that their parent, teacher or youth worker has agreed, rather that due to their own understanding of the requirements of the study (David et al., 2001, Alderson, 2007).

4.1.3 Issues of Confidentiality

When considering young people's rights to informed consent, it is also important to consider the place of confidentiality within the research process. Within research, the concept of confidentiality is linked with young people's

understandings of their role as a 'mature minor' to understand that any decision they make has a connected outcome. The mature minor principle is seen as more straight-forward in clinical practice, as the risks of agreeing, or not agreeing, to a procedure are known in advance (Sanci et al., 2004). In social science, the risks of consenting to participate in a study are less clear (David et al., 2001, Duncan et al., 2009).

This is viewed to be more of an issue within qualitative than quantitative social research, as spontaneous utterances cannot be controlled or predicted in the same way as responses in surveys. When responses hint at involvement in a situation that places the young person at risk (for example, if participants report being the victim/perpetrator of a serious crime, or are being physically or sexually abused), the agreement of confidentiality between the researcher and participant is challenged (Bostock, 2002, Wiles et al., 2008a). One way to approach this is to work with the young person to provide a safe route in order to disclose their behaviour to another adult or to provide an information sheet with details of telephone help-lines and websites which may be able to provide further assistance (Lothen-Kline et al., 2003, Duncan et al., 2009).

Connected to confidentiality is the need for anonymity in research. Ethical guidelines discuss the importance of providing pseudonyms as a way to guarantee anonymity, and to further guarantee the confidentiality of their interviews as their story will be used but any identifiable information will be changed (British Sociological Association, 2002, Wiles et al., 2008b). However, some young people may wish to be identified and recognised for their participation in the study (Morrow, 2008a, Skelton, 2008). One approach to this is to ask participants to choose their own pseudonym or to agree a pseudonym together. In this way, they are able to identify themselves, but without risking being identified by others.

4.2 Epistemological and methodological background

The previous section emphasised the need to ensure young people are listened to and respected within social research, and therefore to represent young people as competent social actors who contribute to their experience of the

social world, and so can be viewed as "experts" in their own context (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008). Social constructionism, or the belief that everyday knowledge is derived from social interactions, appeared to be the 'best fit' epistemology in terms of the current study. By using a social constructionist approach, this study rejects the framing of young people as vulnerable and passive within their own contexts and acknowledges the active role of young people in shaping their own social world (Prout and James, 1997, Morrow, 2001, Macdonald et al., 2005). However, as stated in Chapter two, the contexts that young people interact with to shape their own social world are influenced by the wider socio-political context. Being aware of the multiple contexts within which young people actively negotiate their everyday lives, the study also aims to understand young people's experiences using a bottom-up inductive approach rather than applying potentially flawed assumptions regarding young people in deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. young people as dangerous or feckless). Using a bottom-up inductive approach to examine young people's experience of regeneration and relocation meant the fieldwork did not begin with a set of assumptions regarding the impact of regeneration and relocation, but instead was led by the responses of young people, with some questions being adapted over the course of the fieldwork period.

Using social constructionism, it is also possible to understand how young people discuss the presence of risk in the neighbourhood, and what resources are used to gain information regarding safe and unsafe spaces. For example, in terms of younger children, their perception of reality may be shaped by parents' attitudes or the presence of parental boundaries that govern use of space. As the children grow older, this perception of reality develops due to increased interactions with different physical and social resources. This, in turn, may have a positive effect on their risk avoidance and negotiation strategies as their knowledge of the everyday contexts of their lives becomes more nuanced. As the physical and social contexts of the neighbourhood were changing due to regeneration, understanding how young people negotiate risk or perceive changes in risk is important. To study this social constructionist view of young people within the neighbourhood, an ethnographic methodology was adopted. Ethnography seeks to understand what participants' daily lives are like, including the physical and socio-emotional contexts (Eder and Corsaro, 1999). In order to

achieve this, ethnographies involve 'close-up, on-the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds themselves near (or within) the phenomena so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do' (Wacquant, 2003:5). Therefore, by observing participants' interactions with different contexts, or different people, it is possible to better understand the taken for granted way that resources may be accessed or used in everyday life.

Ethnographic research has also been viewed as a way to challenge preconceived ideas, especially those surrounding marginalised groups. Within ethnographic studies there is also the ability to provide a reflexive awareness regarding the ways in which the various structures which frame individuals' lives impact on their behaviours and life choices (Skeggs, 1997, Jones, 2009). Linked to this is the potential for ethnographies to challenge the dominant negative discourse that surrounds marginalised groups. Many ethnographies aim to do just that through illustrating the complexities of life for socially marginalised groups, for example homeless populations (Barker, 2012, Jackson, 2012, Perry, 2012), drug users (Bourgois, 1998, Page and Singer, 2010), or youth gangs (Alexander, 2000, Aldridge et al., 2011, Fraser, 2013). Other ethnographies focus on shedding light on socially excluded neighbourhoods; highlighting the everyday life for those on the fringes of society (Willis, 1977, Charlesworth, 2000, Macdonald and Marsh, 2005).

Often these studies highlight the resilience of individuals and their use of informal resources in order to negotiate the multiple risks present in their lives. The fieldwork conducted for the thesis was not a traditional ethnographic study, as it did not involve an extended period of participant observation and interaction with the wider community. Instead, the fieldwork was informed by three aspects of ethnographic practice: the importance of the everyday in discussing structural complexities within the participants' lives; the importance of documenting change (and therefore the importance of time within the research process); and the power dynamics which are present within participants' lives but also manifest within the research process. These three aspects are discussed in more detail below.

4.2.1 Examining the everyday

In ethnography, importance is placed on understanding behaviour in its habitual context, seeking to interpret how people give meaning to the phenomena they experience within this (Bray, 2009). As young people have access to different resources within the neighbourhood, it is possible that the same geographic location can be experienced in a number of ways, with different outcomes, for different individuals (Reay and Lucey, 2000, Elliott et al., 2006, Popkin et al., 2010, Mcpherson et al., 2013). Young people interact with different contexts simultaneously, and their everyday experience can be framed as a complicated web of social interactions, cultural and economic capital and motivation. As discussed in Chapter two, important proximal contexts in young people's everyday life include public spaces of the neighbourhood, school, the home, family, and their peer group (although it is possible for a young person to be a member of more than one peer group). Understanding the interaction between these contexts in everyday life highlights the multiple and contradictory ways young people experience neighbourhood processes (Panelli et al., 2002) and also how these experiences shape their identities (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2001, Worth, 2009, Hollingworth and Archer, 2010, Bannister et al., 2012).

Examining the everyday may also reflect the interaction between individual agency and the social structures of the neighbourhood (Mcgrellis, 2009), and therefore show how the participants make sense of the contradictions that occur. Highlighting these contradictions also helps to challenge preconceived ideas regarding vulnerable or demonized groups. For example Thomson (2013)'s study of NEET (not in education, employment, or training) young people found that, rather than enjoying being unemployed (as is often the discourse surrounding 'skiving' young people), participants in the study were in a cycle of low or no-pay/voluntary jobs and were trying to find paid employment through various means. Thomson's participants viewed their lack of ability to be in full employment as a personal failure, and their social networks were unable to facilitate better prospects.

In terms of the current study, as many of the everyday contexts of the participants were changing due to regeneration (e.g. demolition of buildings,

changing resident population, relocation to new home in different neighbourhood, friends also relocating), it was of interest to examine how these changes were viewed at an everyday level, and whether these changes affected the interactions with different contexts. For example, whether physical changes to public spaces influenced young people's everyday spatial behaviour (e.g. walking to school, hanging out), and how they explain these changes.

4.2.2 Documenting change over time

In order to examine young people's responses to contradictions and the structural boundaries which exist within their everyday lives, it is also important to reflect upon how these phenomena change over time, and therefore a longitudinal research design is often sought. Bryman (Bryman and Teevan, 2004) defined longitudinal research as a design whereby data are collected on at least two occasions. The use of a qualitative longitudinal design within ethnographic methodological studies ensures experiences of change and continuity can be captured (Thomson et al., 2002, Flowerdew and Neale, 2003, Neale and Flowerdew, 2003, Macdonald et al., 2005, Farrall, 2006, Weller, 2012). Within longitudinal ethnographic studies, there is a need to include cultural practices, transitional pathways, and personal identities as these may interact with the individual's experience of temporal and spatial elements of everyday life (Neale and Flowerdew, 2000).

The inclusion of these elements may improve the understanding of how participants respond to change. Furthermore, as longitudinal ethnographic research enables researchers to 'see beyond the immediate and monitor change over time' (Weller, 2012, Simmons et al., 2013:10), it is likely that changes both with regards to the young people's personal lives and also the wider contexts which frame their everyday may also be captured. Capturing the latter is important to this thesis as the two study neighbourhoods are undergoing considerable urban change that will affect how young people access resources in the neighbourhood. This may increase awareness of the support mechanisms, challenges, and structural barriers in place for young people and of their capacity to navigate changes (Neale and Flowerdew, 2003).

Rather than studying change as an objective phenomenon, it is of interest to study the pace and cumulative nature of change, and the ways in which individuals attempt to experience consistency or a sense of normality throughout these changes (Flowerdew and Neale, 2003, Holland et al., 2006). To do this, they may attempt to avoid, manage, or adapt to the change, with the decision often reflecting the resources that the individual has available (Thomson et al., 2002). Therefore for the current study, it is of interest to examine the different contexts of the participants' lives and examine how their interactions within these contexts help navigation of change, but also how they navigate changes in the contexts themselves. By understanding the mechanisms through which the participants navigate change, it may be possible to provide a better account of resilience within the neighbourhood (Neale and Flowerdew, 2003, Thomson et al., 2003).

4.2.3 Power dynamics and representations

The focus on the individual and their own situated realities and contexts also illustrates the importance of reflecting on power differences between participants and researchers. Rather than viewing power within social research as a static and binary force which can be viewed in terms of the 'haves' and 'have nots', it may be more useful to view it as a fluid relationship; it is produced and negotiated in the local settings of the research through social interactions (Christensen, 2004). While researchers are often seen to be the powerful element in the research context, it is also important to identify the ways in which participants may exercise their own power within the research context. For example, their choices of whether or not to answer a question, to "tell the truth", or to behave appropriately during an interview all reflect their ability to gain control and exercise power (Blackman, 2007, Duncan et al., 2009).

Furthermore, research which aims to empower participants to take control of a research project must also see the interviewer surrender some of their control. If this is done incorrectly, it may lead to the interview feeling "out of control" but if the research is planned with clear objectives, it may allow for the

participants to give insights that may not occur in other research settings (Morrow, 2000, Spilsbury, 2002).

However, there is a fine line between promoting the nuanced life of the participants and ignoring the wider context of their lives. The latter has two main risks: promoting the participant as infallible, and promoting a sanitised view of their everyday context. In a review of ethnographic research (Wacquant, 2002) it was suggested that within this form of qualitative research, it is possible for researchers to suspend analytical judgement and conclude that the participant is virtuous within their own context, especially when the study involves a degree of criminality. Wacquant argues that some of these conclusions are unsupported by the evidence supplied and risks replacing one stereotype with an "invert cardboard cut-out issued out of the same symbolic frame" (Wacquant, 2002: 1520).

Related to this is the sanitisation of the everyday contexts of the participants and that although participants may refer to their lives as normal or ordinary, there may be objective risks or structural constraints which frame their everyday lives. While it is possible for the participants to rely on resources or different contexts in order to experience positive outcomes, a failure to acknowledge the wider structural context of their lives risks "romanticis[ing] everyday life in these neighbourhoods" (Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006: 878). An example from Shildrick and MacDonald's work suggested that while their participants utilised social connections in close-knit communities for informal childcare and to help with small loans if they could not afford something, their lives were bound within a neighbourhood with high crime, drug, and unemployment figures. To take the participants' positive narratives of bonding social capital at face value may have provided a one-sided and inaccurate view of their lives, offering again an inverted one-dimensional view of life in the neighbourhood.

The current study seeks to examine young people's experience of objective risk (e.g. housing conditions), subjective risk (perceptions of ASB) as well as their resources of resilience (including positive family interactions, peer support, and school connectivity). Therefore, similar to Shildrick and MacDonald, it is likely

that their normal everyday will be bound by objective risk, and a careful balance must be made.

4.3 Methods

In choosing an ethnographic methodology, the research is grounded in the perceptions, experiences and resources of the participants. The methods chosen, semi-structured home interviews, photo-elicitation, and go-alongs, reflect the emphasis on everyday contexts and experiences, and aim to enable participants to have more control within the research process. This section introduces the three methods.

4.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews have been used in respect of a variety of different research topics, and are also seen as especially useful for gaining in-depth knowledge on a one-to-one basis. In semi-structured interviews, researchers have a number of pre-planned or key questions that must be asked, but there is also flexibility to allow for further probing of interesting responses (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003). There is also a greater flexibility within the sequence of questions and there is scope to explore participant-led tangents (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003, Bryman and Teevan, 2004). However, there is a risk of not returning to the interview schedule; the researcher may end up with rich, participant-led data that are potentially too diverse to analyse due to the lack of commonalities between participants.

Conducting semi-structured interviews *in-situ* has been discussed as a way to ensure participants are more comfortable and in control of the interview setting. These take place in a community setting where the participant feels comfortable. In the case of interviewing younger participants, this may include school or youth club settings (Barker and Weller, 2003, Skelton, 2008, Davidson, 2013). In relation to the current study, the decision was made to conduct the semi-structured interviews in participants' homes. The decision to use the home as one of the research contexts of the thesis reflected my interest in gaining a better understanding of the experiences in the condemned HRFs and to

understand how 'home' is experienced among the many objective risks of the building type.

Using the home as a research context has been discussed as a way to observe behaviours within usually private settings that may uncover more detail about their everyday experiences, either through reacting to participants' belongings or by observing interactions with family members (Nilsen and Rogers, 2005, Bushin, 2007, Lincoln, 2013). However, as the home cannot be controlled in the same way as an interview room, an empty classroom, or a youth club, it is likely that interviews at home may involve the spontaneous participation of other members of the family. While the presence of parents or other siblings may allow young people to feel more supported and relaxed during the interview process, (Valentine, 1999, Irwin, 2009, Harden et al., 2010), parents may also act as gatekeepers and may change topics or control the version of events that young people may wish to put forward (Harden et al., 2010).

In relation to the current study, while it was envisioned that this research method would involve one-to-one interviews, it quickly became apparent that due to the limited space available in participants' homes that this was not possible. Instead, participants were interviewed in the communal space of the living room where at least one other person was present (see section 4.6.1 for further details). The practicalities of using this method will be discussed below in section 4.6.1.1.

4.3.2 Photo-elicitation interview

Photo-elicitation involves taking photographs, a behaviour which is embedded in social and cultural practices (Mirzoeff, 2009, Rose, 2013). Therefore one of the advantages of visual methods is the use of a normal everyday practice in the participants' lives. Photo-elicitation can be conducted on a group or one-to-one basis. Participants are given a camera and asked to photograph elements of their lives. These images are then used to structure a follow-up interview in a similar format to a semi-structured interview (for individual participants) or focus group (for more than one participant). They are asked about the images taken, with the photographs rather than the researcher's questions as the focus of discussion (Belin, 2005, Mannay, 2010). Mizen (2005:129) suggested that the presence of

photographs enabled his young participants to expand on the details of their everyday contexts "which familiarity had rendered inconsequential to [traditional] interview".

Visual methods have been discussed as a way to "make the familiar strange" (Mannay, 2010) and provide a way to partially suspend preconceptions of the study context and further facilitate understandings of a participant's point of view. This is of particular importance if the study context is already "known" or has been labelled as risky or problematic, as this may have a negative consequence on how the population in this context is perceived. Using visual methods may enable the researcher to reflect on these preconceived notions in ways that are not possible in textual forms of interview.

In relation to the current study, it was envisaged that being able to use the photographs as a participant-generated interview prompt and also to provide visual data regarding the nature of the participant's everyday contexts would help in understanding the contexts of each participant but also to understand what elements of the contexts were most important to them. Furthermore, as participants were in control of what images are produced, they were more in control over this element of the fieldwork. The practicalities of using this method will be discussed below in section 4.6.1.2.

4.3.3 Go-along interviews

Go-along interviews (henceforth referred to as 'go-along') are a combination of participant observation, as they are conducted 'in the field, and traditional interview techniques, which can include either unstructured or semi-structured questions, or a mixture of the two (Carpiano, 2009). The go-along is a mobile method, as it involves interviewing participants while walking through their environments (often neighbourhoods). By observing participants as they interact with the socio-spatial environment of the neighbourhood, it is possible to develop a better understanding of participants socially construct knowledge (Kusenbach, 2003, Anderson, 2004, Clark, 2009). Furthermore, it is possible for the researcher to use the neighbourhood environment as a series of interview prompts. For this reason the go-along has been described as a three-way

discussion between place, the participant and the researcher (Hall, 2009a). Therefore, the context of the neighbourhood moves away from being a geographic location, or an unseen reference in a standard interview, and becomes a dynamic place where personal landmarks and biographies overlap. There are two ways in which the go-along can be conducted: ask the participants to choose the route (as in Kusenbach, 2003) or prescribe a standard route for all participants to follow (as in Jones et al, 2008). In the context of the current study, the former was chosen. This was because one of the main interests of the study was the participants' experiences of their neighbourhoods, therefore by asking them to choose the route and encouraging them to point out elements of the neighbourhood they used the most, it would be more likely that their everyday routines and resources could be uncovered.

During a go-along, the questions are often led by what the researcher or participant can see during the walk (Kusenbach, 2003, Jones et al., 2008). While the interviewer may have pre-planned questions, the participants have more opportunity to control the interview by discussing their memories of the locations, or the ways that their own use of a space potentially subverted its original purpose. This method may also enable participants to discuss memories of what used to be in the neighbourhood, both in terms of residents and places (Jones et al., 2008, Kraftl et al., 2013). Jones et al (2008) describes a go-along participant telling a story about their family history and its links to an old factory which was due to be demolished due to regeneration strategies, Jones et al remarked "it is often the spaces themselves that prompt these personal histories meaning that it will be the stories as well as spaces which are lost as regeneration strategies change these areas beyond all recognition" (p7).

In relation to the current study, it was envisaged that being able to use the neighbourhood as an interview prompt and also to discuss both previous and present use of the neighbourhood would increase understanding of both the contexts of the participant, but also in understanding how time has affected these experiences. Furthermore, as the participants were able to guide the walk, this meant they had more control over this element of the fieldwork. The practicalities of this method will be discussed below in section 4.6.1.3.

4.3.4 Overview of methods in relation to current study

The aim of this PhD was to better understand the everyday lives and experiences of young people living within the context of neighbourhoods that were in the process of being regenerated during the fieldwork period (2011-2012). To achieve this, an ethnographic methodology was chosen, which focuses on the importance of context and the everyday life of participants, as well as addressing some issues regarding power dynamics within the research setting. The methods (semi-structured home interviews, photo-elicitation, and go-alongs) complemented the methodology. Table 7 summarises the ways in which the ethnographic methodology could be seen to inform the three methods chosen:

	CONTEXT OF INTERVIEW	FOCUS ON THE EVERYDAY	REPRESENTATION AND POWER DYNAMICS
Semi-structured home interview	Interview takes place in participant's home, an everyday context of the participant. Interview is structured around different resources and contexts of participant's life.	Interview enables an observation of the family dynamic in the home, particularly regarding how different members of the family interact both before and during the interview.	As interview takes place in participant's home, it was anticipated that they would feel more comfortable with the research.
Photo-elicitation interview	Participants are required to take photographs of different aspects and contexts of their lives, and are interviewed about different elements of these images.	Due to the focus of the photography task, images reflect important resources for participants (e.g. belongings, friends).	The interview is structured around the participant's images enabling them to have more control over the interview.
Go-along Interviews	Interview takes place while walking around participant's neighbourhood. The interview is structured around what can be seen, as well as past and previous use of neighbourhood.	Interview explores daily routine within the neighbourhood social spaces Participant may come into contact with others in the neighbourhood, enabling observation of interactions.	Participant leads the go-along. The discussion of the neighbourhood and subsequent representation of the neighbourhood is guided by what aspects were shown during the go-along.

Table 7: Summary of how the three methods chosen are informed by ethnographic methodology

Each method chosen provided a different opportunity to explore varying everyday contexts in the participants' lives. For example, the home in the semi-structured interviews, the neighbourhood in the go-along interviews, and the participants' social and private lives in the photo-elicitation interview. The photo-elicitation interview also provides an opportunity to look at different temporal contexts that the other methods do not allow for. Each method involved a different way to examine the everyday experience of participants within these contexts. For example, interviewing in the home may highlight different family dynamics or routines, the go-along may highlight different spatial practices in the neighbourhood, and photo-elicitation may highlight different important symbolic places or items. Finally, due to the participatory nature of the go-along and photo-elicitation interviews, participants will be more able to take control of the content of the interview and show their own reality in the neighbourhood.

In order to further examine the everyday contexts and experiences of the participants, a longitudinal approach was taken to fieldwork. Interviews were repeated after a twelve-month period and enabling change and continuities in terms of experience and everyday contexts to be documented. Description of how the methods were carried out during the second wave of fieldwork is discussed in section 4.6.2. Reflective experiences associated with doing the fieldwork and the interactions with participants are discussed in Chapter Eight.

4.4 Study areas

Two neighbourhoods were selected for investigation: Sighthill in the North of the city, and Shawbridge in the South of the city. The decision to focus on Sighthill and Shawbridge was linked my studentship being associated with GoWell. GoWell was a ten-year longitudinal mixed-method evaluation of regeneration in 15 deprived areas of Glasgow that began in 2005 and consisted of academics and practitioners from Glasgow University, and Glasgow Centre for Population Health and is sponsored by Glasgow Housing Association, Scottish Government and NHS Scotland. The GoWell team aimed to investigate the impact of investment in

housing, neighbourhood renewal and regeneration on the health and wellbeing of residents, at the individual, family, and community level (Egan et al., 2010).
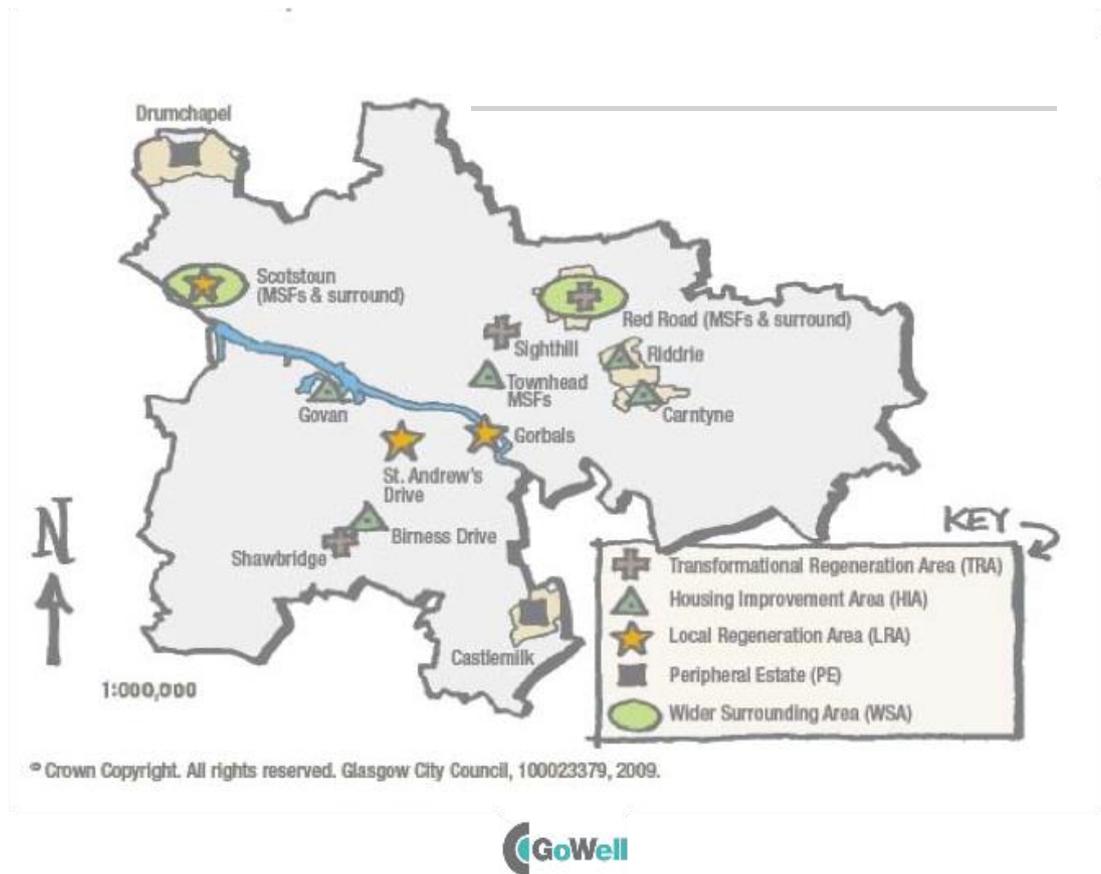
Figure 3: Map of GoWell study areas (taken from GoWellonline.com)

4.4.1 Details of the neighbourhoods

This study focused on those GoWell study areas undergoing transformational regeneration. This regeneration type includes the demolition of HRFs, the relocation of residents, and the regeneration of the neighbourhood to include new housing and community spaces. Therefore three potential neighbourhoods were identified: Red Road, Sighthill, and Shawbridge. However, as Red Road was perceived as too far into the relocation process, it was not viewed as a viable study location.

In addition to both neighbourhoods being in the lowest 15% of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation, both neighbourhoods had a number of demographic commonalities. The following were taken from initial GoWell surveys of the

areas, as these provided some of the most up to date measurements of population size, health, and outcomes.

In both neighbourhods, the ratio of children to adults was 1:1 (Gowell, 2007). Also, both neighbourhoods had a higher number of families compared with national averages. Table 8 illustrates this.

	Sighthill	Shawbridge	Glasgow	Scotland
Single adult	12	10	21	16
Single parent	23	14	8	6
Small family (one or two children)	22	24	10	14
Large family (three or more children)	14	28	20	16

Table 8: household structure (%) of resident population (adapted from GoWell, 2007)

Sighthill and Shawbridge also had a significantly higher population of Asylum Seekers and Regugees than the Glasgow city average due to the substantial minorities of first-generation immigrants from African and Middle Eastern countries who settled in the neighbourhoods in part due to Glasgow's involvement in the National Asylum-seeker Programme (Gowell, 2009).

In terms of education and employment, around 75% of adults, and 50% of 18-24 year olds in both neighbourhoods had no qualifications (GoWell, 2007). Compared to other regeneration neighbourhoods (e.g. Drumchapel, Gorbals), 18-24 year olds in these neighbourhoods were also more likely to be NEET (not in employment, education or training) (GoWell, 2007). Sighthill and Shawbridge also had a higher than average population of the adult population not in work, or economically inactive (44%).

In terms of the physical environment of the neighbourhoods, there were a number of similarities and differences. For example, both neighbourhoods were post-war communities and contained a combination of HRFs and other property types (including tenement and deck-access flats). However, in terms of layout, the neighbourhoods differed. Shawbridge was a straight corridor, surrounded by

more affluent areas and looked onto one of Glasgow's large country park, whereas Sighthill was more closed-off, surrounded by other areas of deprivation, and hemmed in by a motorway junction, railway track, and a 40 acre Victorian cemetery. Birds-eye images of both neighbourhoods can be found in appendix B.

4.4.2 Regeneration in the neighbourhoods

The regeneration strategy for both neighbourhoods was similar: demolition of HRFs, redevelopment of land, and relocation of residents. The regeneration of both neighbourhoods began in 2006 (Gowell, 2014). Therefore by the time fieldwork began in 2011, both neighbourhoods were five years into the regeneration process. Table 9 below illustrates both the clearance/demolition targets and progress of clearance/demolition in mid-2011.

Neighbourhood	Total housing stock (2005)	Clearance and demolition target	Clearance progress		Demolition progress	
			N=	%	N=	%
Sighthill	2,517	2,456	1,950	79	1,203	49
Shawbridge	1,379	1,288	1,072	83	483	35

Table 9: Clearance and demolition targets of study neighbourhoods in mid-2011 (adapted from GoWell, 2014)

The table above illustrates the total number of homes[8] in each area prior to regeneration occurring in 2005, the target for number of homes cleared and demolished, and how far along the clearance and demolition were mid-2011. As the period of time taken to relocate residents and demolish buildings was lengthy, many households remained in the neighbourhood while the regeneration process began.

In terms of the current study, I sought to recruit participants who were part of a small neighbourhood population witnessing physical and urban change while they themselves were waiting to be relocated. The section below discusses the research procedures followed, before detailing the study uptake.

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[8] Individual homes within the high-rise/low-rise/tenement buildings in the neighbourhoods

4.5 Research procedures

The aim of this PhD was to better understand the everyday lives and experiences of young people living within the context of regenerated neighbourhoods. Therefore the main sample group for the study was young people, defined as those between 11 and 18 years. Within the study, young people from early adolescence (11-13 years), mid adolescence (14-16 years) and late adolescence (17-18 years) were interviewed as a way to reflect on the diverse experiences contained within the label of "young people", some of which were detailed in Chapter two. While the study aims to gain a wide range of experiences rather than a representative sample of young people, it was of interest to examine how young people from these different age brackets viewed both the neighbourhood and neighbourhood change.

This section details the research procedures followed in the study, beginning with the ethical and recruitment strategies, then a brief description of the sample group of the study. This is followed by a description of the fieldwork undertaken. Due to the longitudinal nature of the study, this is discussed in chronological order. Finally, there is a description of the analysis of the data.

4.5.1 Ethical procedures

Before beginning fieldwork, there were two ethics procedures I had to follow: obtaining Enhanced Disclosure clearance and also obtaining Glasgow University Ethical clearance.

As my fieldwork involved interviewing young people under the age of 18 years, I was required to apply for an Enhanced Disclosure. The Enhanced Disclosure is a background check conducted by Disclosure Scotland, a Government run agency which checks all conviction information, both spent and unspent, and any other non-conviction information considered relevant by the police or other Government bodies[9] for individuals seeking to work with children or vulnerable adults.

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[9] http://www.disclosurescotland.co.uk/what-is-disclosure/

After gaining Enhanced Disclosure, I applied to the University of Glasgow Social Science Ethics Board. Application for ethical approval involved justifying the research, detailing research methods (including recruitment, informed consent practices, duration of interviews and compensation given), agreements regarding data-access and dissemination of findings (see appendix C). As the research involved young people, I was also required to detail the safeguards in place to ensure the research process was seen as positive and that the participants were not at risk of harm during the fieldwork period.

Part of the University of Glasgow ethics application was to detail the consent procedure that would be undertaken. In order to reflect the changing legal position of young people between the age of 11 and 18, two consent procedures were used: opt-in and opt-out (see appendix D). The first, opt-in consent was used for young people between 11-15 years. This required the parent or guardian of the young person to explicitly state they wished their child to participate in the research. The second, opt-out consent was used for young people between 16-18 years. This required the young person to state whether they wished to take part in the research before parents were contacted. Parents were given the opportunity to state whether they accepted or rejected this.

4.5.2 Recruitment strategies

A number of different recruitment strategies were utilised in an attempt to access as many potential participants as possible for the study. These can be categorised as one of two types: recruiting through gatekeepers or direct contact with young people. Table 10 illustrates the different recruitment strategies utilised in this study:

Recruitment strategy type	Recruitment method employed
Recruiting through gatekeepers	• Contacting existing GoWell participants who have children between 11-18 • Writing letters to parents via housing officer contact • Recruiting through youth agencies
Direct contact with young people	• Displaying posters with my mobile phone number • Opportunistic sampling when walking around the neighbourhood

Table 10: Recruitment strategies and methods

These two strategy types are discussed below, with the recruitment uptake discussed in section 4.5.2.3.

4.5.2.1 Recruiting through gatekeepers

GoWell

Using Go-Well as an initial gatekeeper, I was able to contact adult residents who lived in the two study areas, who had previously participated in GoWell research and had consented to be contacted in the future. Selecting those who had families with children who were between 11 and 18 years, I sent a plain English information sheet that introduced the study and provided a contact number for families to call if they wished to hear more about the study (see appendix E). Letters were delivered either by post, or by hand. Alternatively, if they left a contact telephone number, I phoned them to introduce the study and ask if they would talk to their son/daughter about it. If they agreed, an information letter was posted out.

I also worked in conjunction with another GoWell study, Lived Realities (Lawson and Egan, 2012) as my supervisor (LL) was one of the lead researchers. Lived Realities sought to understand adults' everyday experiences of living in regeneration neighbourhoods (Sighthill, Red Road, and Shawbridge). If the participants of Lived Realities had children within my study's age range (11-18 years), they were given an information letter (one for them and one for their children) and asked to speak to their children about taking part in my study. Those who agreed for their children to be contacted were phoned to arrange a meeting.

Housing Officers

I was also able to meet with housing officers who worked in the study areas and were aware of the wider GoWell study. The aims of the PhD were explained to them and they were invited to be gatekeepers for the project. If they agreed to act as a gatekeeper, they talked to tenants from the local area and distributed information sheets relating to the study. If the residents gave consent to be contacted, I sent them a letter introducing myself and providing contact details for them to get in touch.

Youth agencies

A representative of Young Scot (a Scottish youth information agency) was contacted in order to gain a better understanding of what youth agencies were still active in the neighbourhood. They suggested that many of the formal youth agencies had closed down due to relocation, but suggested the Sighthill youth club and the youth drop-in at the Shawbridge library. I contacted these groups by phone call and email (Sighthill youth club), or attempted to drop in to talk to a worker if I was in the neighbourhood (Shawbridge library). I also contacted youth employment centres that were situated either within or near the neighbourhood that specialised in getting local NEET young people into further education, employment or training.

4.5.2.2. Direct contact with young people

Posters

Posters were produced which detailed the main aim of the study, the relevant ages I wished to talk to, and also a departmental mobile phone contact number. My decision to not use my personal number was to ensure that as the number would be displayed in public, any misuse of it (i.e. prank phone calls) would be restricted. Efforts were made to ensure that plain English[10] was used at all times, with words like 'regeneration' replaced with 'changes where you live'. The poster was brightly coloured and was given clearance by the ethics committee. Appendix F illustrates the poster used.

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[10] http://www.sec.gov/pdf/handbook.pdf

Opportunistic sampling

Due to the small number of participants garnered from other recruitment methods, opportunistic sampling was also used. In an attempt to recruit more young people around 16 years, young people walking home from school in friendship groups were approached to discuss the project. Young people who agreed to stop were given an information sheet, and the main points of the study were explained verbally. In total, six opportunistic recruitment walks were conducted: three in Sighthill and three in Shawbridge. These were conducted either at 3.30 (when the local high schools finish) or mid-afternoon on Saturday and Sunday. I introduced myself as a researcher from the University who was interested in finding out their opinions on their neighbourhood and what was happening with it.

Snowballing

During interviews with participants, if they mentioned a school friend who also lived in the neighbourhood, participants were asked if they could pass on the information sheet for the study. This was done in the belief that as the participant had experienced the interview process, they would be able to communicate this with their friends.

4.5.2.3 Study uptake

In total the recruitment for wave one lasted nine months (March to December 2011), for a return of 15 young people from the two neighbourhoods. Despite multiple attempts and methods to gain more participants, including asking existing participants to ask their friends to take part (a snowballing method which no one wanted to do) there was little more I could do in terms of recruitment. Table 11 below illustrates the success rate of recruitment techniques:

	Recruiting via gatekeepers			Direct contact with young people		
	GoWell	Housing Officers	Youth agencies	Posters	Opportunistic sampling	Snowballing
Sighthill	9	0	0	1	0	0
Shawbridge	4	0	0	0	1	0
Total	**13**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**

Table 11: Success rates of recruitment methods (by neighbourhood)

Re-contacting previous GoWell participants proved to be the most useful recruitment technique, although while only 13 participants were recruited via this method, approximately 60 families were contacted either through post or phone call (30 in Sighthill, 30 in Shawbridge). Some of the participants' parents participated in Lived Realities (Lawson and Egan, 2012), which accounted for five participants in Sighthill and four participants in Shawbridge.

The least useful method proved to be the youth agencies, which was partially due to the relocation process: as more young people moved out of the neighbourhood, there were less young people using the neighbourhood youth services. Similar poor response rates were found using snowballing and housing officers. One reason behind the poor success rate with housing officers was due to an overlap between the addresses held by GoWell and those held by the Housing Officer. Therefore, often the Housing Officer would suggest addresses or names that had previously been contacted.

The area differences in uptake for the study may have reflected the advanced progress of regeneration in Shawbridge (see Table 9), leading to less young people living in the neighbourhood to begin with. Often information letters were returned as the block had been cleared or the family relocated with no forwarding address given.

4.6 Sample

In total, 15 participants were interviewed for this study, 10 from Sighthill and 5 from Shawbridge. The young people recruited for the study represented a range of ages and ethnicities[11]. Table 12 illustrates this:

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[11] Ethnicity classification taken from the Scottish 2011 Census

	Age			Gender		Ethnicity		
	11-13	14-16	17-18	M	F	White	African	Other
Sighthill	3	6	1	3	7	7	2	1
Shawbridge	3	2	0	4	1	4	0	1
Total	6	8	1	7	8	11	2	2

Table 12: Demographic information of participants (by neighbourhood)

The largest participant group was those aged 14-16 years old, with the oldest group only being represented by one participant. While reasons for the low level of older young people involvement can only be assumed, it may be that they did not identify themselves as being in the target group so ignored the posters, or did not socialise within the neighbourhood as much as younger people so did not feel they could be involved. Alternatively, they may have just been less interested in participating.

While the total number of girls and boys interviewed was almost equal, it is interesting that only one girl participated in Shawbridge and she was recruited through opportunistic sampling. While it was never an aim of this study to generalise findings to the wider population of young people in the neighbourhood, it was with regret that more girls in Shawbridge were not recruited. The majority of the participants were White Scottish/White British (10 participants), one was White European (originally from South Europe), two participants were African, one was South Asian, and another was Asian Scottish. On average, the participants who were White Scottish/British did not describe themselves as religious, although eight participants attended a local denominational/Christian primary or secondary school. On the other hand, the participants who were African or Asian mentioned a high level of religiosity, although this is not explored within this thesis. The participant group also lived in a diverse range of households, with some being related to others in the group. Table 13 illustrates these family contexts:

	Family	Participants[12]	Connection to other participant	Parents/ Guardians	Other siblings (non-participants)
Sighthill	Family One	Claire (16), Paul (14)	Siblings	Two parents (mum/dad)	One older brother
	Family Two	Shelly (14), Christina (12)	Siblings	Two parents (mum/dad)	Three younger sisters, one younger brother
	Family Three	Shona (18), Martin (16), Nicola (11)	Siblings	One parent (mum)	/
	Family Four	Theo (11)	/	Two parents (mum/dad)	Two younger brothers, one younger sister
	Family Five	Janet (14)	/	One parent (mum)	/
	Family Six	Deena (14)	/	Two parents (mum/dad)	/
Shawbridge	Family Seven	Adam (11), Patrick (16)	Cousins	One parent/ guardian (mum to Adam/ aunt to Patrick)	One older sister
	Family Eight	Mark (11)	/	One parent (mum)	/
	Family Nine	Johnny (11)	/	One parent (dad)	/
	Family Ten	Jenny (15)	/	Two parents (mum/dad)	One younger sister, two younger brothers

Table 13: Participants' family relationships within the home (by neighbourhood)

Of the 15 participants, six were interviewed as solo participants, and nine were interviewed as part of a family group (i.e. a participant was brother/sister of another participant). There was also an even split between participants who lived in a two-parent and one-parent home. Interviewing sibling participants enabled a better understanding of the family dynamic and the family routine as multiple perspectives of the same phenomena could be sought. While recruiting siblings was not an original intention of the study, it is viewed as a retrospective

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[12] All names given are pseudonyms, age correct at wave one (2011)

strength of the study. Appendix G contains a brief character sketch of each participant.

4.7 Fieldwork

Details of fieldwork are discussed in chronological order. This is to illustrate the two waves of data collection and the differences in how the methods were conducted at the two waves.

4.7.1 Wave one data collection

Fieldwork for wave one was conducted between March and December 2011, which included recruiting and interviews. After young people agreed to take part, a time was arranged to visit them at home. The home visit was intended to ensure the participants had read the information sheets are were happy to take part, therefore ensuring informed consent. Consent forms were signed by parents (see appendix D) and participants (see appendix H).

Before conducting the interview, the interview process was explained, ensuring they understood that their participation was voluntary and they could stop the interview at any time. They were also informed that they were offered partial confidentiality (Punch, 2007). This meant that while their responses were confidential, if there was an indication that either they or someone they knew was at risk, as an adult I was required to tell someone to ensure their safety. Three methods were used at wave one: semi-structured home interviews, photo-elicitation interviews, and go-alongs. The interview period for each participant was approximately one week. Figure 4 illustrates the order in which the interviews were conducted for each participant:
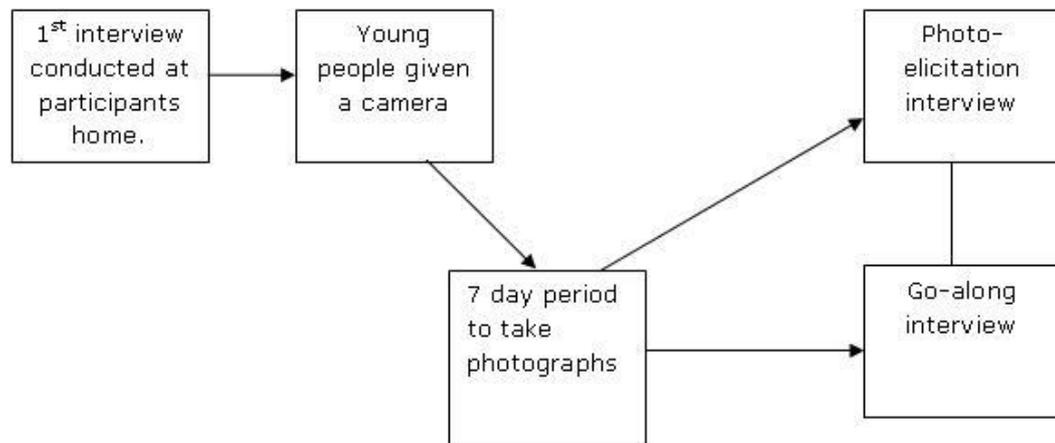
Figure 4: Order in which fieldwork was conducted at wave one

While it was intended that each participant would take part in all three interviews, some did not. Table 14 illustrates the numbers of participants who took part in each method:

	Home interview	Go-along interview	Photo-elicitation interview
Sighthill (n=10)	10	8	9
Shawbridge (n=5)	5	5	5

Table 14: Rate of participation per method in wave one (by neighbourhood)

All participants took part in the first semi-structured home-interview, and most took part in the photo-elicitation interview. For the participant who did not wish to participate in the photo-elicitation interview, their reason was that they were not interested in taking photographs. Reasons for declining to participate in the go-along included not using the neighbourhood, or not being interested in the method.

One unexpected element of the interviews conducted in the home (semi-structured and photo-elicitation interviews) was the presence of other family members. This reflected the lack of physical space in the home. The majority of participants were interviewed in the living room of their home, with at least one family member sitting in on the interviews.

Table 15 reflects whether there was a family member present during each interview, with the column to the furthest right detailing what family member was present. This often reflected the restricted space in the home, with larger

families having less ability to leave the interview space (often their living room).

	Family	Participants[13]	Was a family member present during...?			What family member was present
			Home interview	Photo interview	Go-along	
Sighthill	Family One	Claire (16), Paul (14)	✓	✓	x	Dad and Claire/Paul (home/photo)
	Family Two	Shelly (14), Christina (12)	✓	✓	✓	Mum, Shelly/Christina, younger sisters (home/photo), Shelly/Christina (go-along)
	Family Three	Shona (18), Martin (16), Nicola (11)	✓	✓	✓	Mum and Shona/Martin/ Nicola (home/photo) Shona/Martin/ Nicola (go-along)
	Family Four	Theo (11)	✓	✓	✓	Mum and younger siblings (home/photo) and mum (go-along)
	Family Five	Janet (14)	x	x	x	
	Family Six	Deena (14)	✓	✓	x	Mum (home/photo)
Shawbridge	Family Seven	Adam (11), Patrick (16)	✓	✓	✓	Mum, older sister, Adam/Patrick (home/photo), Adam/Patrick and younger cousin (go-along)
	Family Eight	Mark (11)	x	x	x	
	Family Nine	Johnny (11)	x	x	x	
	Family Ten	Jenny (15)	✓	✓	x	Mum, younger sister and younger brothers (home/photo)

Table 15: Family members present during interviews at wave one

[13] All names given are pseudonyms, age correct at wave one (2011)

Participants from one-child, one-parent families were more likely to not have a parent present during their home interview, than those from larger families. The presence of family members in the interview context often led to parental interruptions, where family members sought to clarify, change, or adapt the narrative of the participant (see section 4.7.1.1 and Chapter eight, section 8.3.2).Younger participants were also more likely, if they had an older sibling participating in the study, to ask to be interviewed for the go-along together (e.g. Nicola in Sighthill, Adam in Shawbridge). Older siblings were less likely to interrupt younger participants' narratives, but rather co-develop a joint narrative of the neighbourhood.

All interviews were digitally recorded, although in three interviews notes were taken as the participant chose to not be recorded (see Chapter eight for brief discussion of this). After each interview, participants received a £10 shopping voucher to spend in various high-street stores. If they participated in three interviews, they received the maximum of £30. Each step of the fieldwork process will be explained below.

4.7.1.1 Semi-structured home interview

The home interview was structured to reflect the contexts of young people's lives, and aimed to provide background regarding who and where was important to the participants (see Appendix I for the interview guide). Questions related to five main contexts: the family, peer group, public spaces, school, and the home. Participants were asked to reflect on the past, present, and their anticipated future within these contexts. As the interviews were semi-structured in nature, while there were several questions which I planned to ask, especially those regarding experience of regeneration, these were not introduced in a rigid order, and if another issue came up in natural conversation, this would be explored before returning to the questions. Each home interview lasted 30-60 minutes. While some interviews were conducted in the participants' bedroom, the majority took place in the shared space of the living room. Due to lack of space in the home, it was difficult to gain privacy to do the interview and therefore there was often at least one other member of the family present. Having other members of the family in the same room as the interview (see

Table 14) often led to interruptions, as family members tried to help the participant with their answer.

4.7.1.2 Photo-elicitation interview

The photo-elicitation interview was introduced after the semi-structured home interview was conducted. The task was verbally explained to the participants, and an information sheet was given (Appendix J) which explained the task. They were told that I was interested in seeing some of the places and things that make up their everyday lives, and that they could take pictures of anything they wanted as long as they had permission to take the photo and it was not an image of something that they could get in trouble for taking. If the participant consented, they were given a digital camera for one week to photograph things or places in their neighbourhood that they liked, things they wanted to change, or things that summarised their everyday life in the neighbourhood. After participants were given a camera, a follow-up interview was arranged, approximately seven days after the first interview.

The photo-elicitation interview lasted approximately 25 minutes, with questions guided by the images participants had taken. As digital cameras were used, we were able to look at the photos on the camera's display screen. Also, participants chose the speed at which they looked through their photographs, either quickly scrolling past photographs which were seen as incidental or stopping to examine and explain the photographs which were more meaningful to them.

Additional images
During the fieldwork period, I also photographed various aspects of the neighbourhoods. Initially this was done to remind myself of some of the objective physical issues of the neighbourhoods and HRFs: broken glass, litter, and semi-demolished buildings. As this was an ad-hoc addition to the methods used, I did not use a digital camera. Instead, I used my own mobile phone camera, and emailed images from my phone to my work computer.
When comparing my images with those taken by the participants, there was a divide between my objective view of the neighbourhood and their subjective view of the neighbourhood. I was more likely than the participants to take

photographs of what they termed the "ugly" parts of the neighbourhood. While the participants discussed these elements, they were rarely photographed. Therefore I began ensuring there was some visual record of the areas the participants discussed but did not photograph. This enabled me to provide additional visual context to support some of the participants' discussions of issues within the neighbourhood. Several of these images appear in the thesis, and are accredited to me rather than the participant. My reflections of adding to, or confounding, the visual understanding of the study neighbourhoods, and the ways in which this may be seen as an issue of power dynamics will be discussed in Chapter eight (section 8.3.1).

4.7.1.3 Go-along interview

The go-along was either conducted on the same day as the photo-elicitation interview (if the weather permitted[14]) or was arranged for another day that week. Participants were told I was interested in walking with them around the neighbourhood because I wanted to learn more about the places they spoke about during their home interview and also to see some of the places that have changed due to regeneration. If the participant did not understand, or required more prompting, suggestions included "show me where you go for fun" or "show me what has changed recently". Participants were also reminded not to go anywhere dangerous where either the environment or the people in the environment may cause risk or harm.

The go-along took approximately 20 minutes. The route started and ended at the young person's home. Both study neighbourhoods were small and therefore the routes, while chosen by the participants, were often similar in nature. This provided opportunities to compare and contrast participants' views on the same landmark without having to take control of the walk. While the walk was led by the participant, I had pre-planned questions relating to safety ("do you feel safe walking here at night"), leisure time ("do you or anyone you know go here?"), and the impact of regeneration ("what used to be here"). Often walking between locations gave opportunities to talk to the participant more generally: young people would talk about where they play (or if the participant was older,

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[14] Common reasons for cancelling go-alongs included high winds, snow, or heavy rain.

where they used to play), their aspirations for the future and their plans for the week. All go-alongs were digitally recorded, although the recording of some of the participants was hampered by high traffic volume that could be heard over our voices. If this was a noticeable problem during the interview, I repeated what the participant had said and asked "is that correct?" to ensure I had some record of the utterance. I also took fieldnotes directly after the interview that attempted to recall any potentially "missing" data, or generally feelings regarding the route taken.

4.7.2 Wave two data collection

Fieldwork for wave two was conducted between April and September 2012. Participants who took part in wave one were contacted either with a phone-call, or by letter inviting them to take part in the second wave. See Appendix K for an example of a letter sent. Table 16 illustrates the uptake for wave two:

	Family	Participants [15]	Had they relocated ?	Forwarding address given?	Did they participate at W2?	Reason
Sighthill	Family One	Claire (16), Paul (14)	Yes	Yes	No	No response
	Family Two	Shelly (14), Christina (12)	No	/	Shelly-No, Nicola-Yes	Shelly had moved in with other relative
	Family Three	Shona (18), Martin (16), Nicola (11)	Relocated in 2010	/	Yes	/
	Family Four	Theo (11)	Unknown	No	No	No response
	Family Five	Janet (14)	Moved within Sighthill	No	No	Found interview in 2011 "boring"
	Family Six	Deena (14)	Unknown	No	No	No response
Shawbridge	Family Seven	Adam (11), Patrick (16)	Yes	Yes	No	No response

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[15] All names given are pseudonyms, age correct at wave one (2011)

Family Eight	Mark (11)	Yes	Yes	Yes	/
Family Nine	Johnny (11)	Yes	Yes	Yes	/
Family Ten	Jenny (15)	Relocated in 2010	/	Yes	/

Table 16: Participant retention at wave two

In total, seven out of a possible 15 participated in wave two. Out of those who did not participate, seven could not be contacted and one declined. Reasons for non-contact could include: participants relocating without leaving forwarding address, participants changing phone numbers, or a disinterest in participation. While several participants in wave one gave a forwarding address (if they knew where they were to be relocated to), some did not respond to multiple invitations to participate. I chose to take their silence as their wish to not be included in the second wave of the interview process. Only one participant directly declined to participate in wave two, Janet (Sighthill). Prior to wave two, I phoned her mobile to ask if she would like to participate, and described that it would be the same kind of interview, with a walk and a chat with me. Janet replied that she found the wave one interviews boring and did not want to do them again. Respecting her wishes, I did not contact her again.

As Sighthill participants Janet, Theo, and Deena did not participate in wave two, some of the narratives about moving to Glasgow from another country and then having to move within Glasgow due to regeneration, were lost. This meant that at wave two, Sighthill participants were all White Scottish young people who were all long-term residents of the neighbourhood.

If the participant was happy to participate in wave two, a time was arranged to visit them at home. Participants were given information sheets reminding them of the aims of the study, and of their rights within the interview context. Two methods were used at wave two: semi-structured home interviews, and go-alongs. The interview period for each participant was approximately one week. Similar to wave one, participants were given a £10 gift voucher for every

interview they took part in. Table 17 below illustrates rates of participation per method in wave two:

	Home interview	Go-along interview
Sighthill (n=4)	4	3
Shawbridge (n=3)	3	2

Table 17: Rate of participation per method in wave two

The majority of wave two participants took part in both interviews except Shona (Sighthill) who felt that since relocation, she did not have any associations with her new neighbourhood so could not participate in another go-along, and Jenny (Shawbridge) who had not moved in the interim period so felt it was not worthwhile showing me the same neighbourhood again. Details of wave two methods are discussed below, as will the decision to not use photo-elicitation interviews.

4.7.2.1 Semi-structured home interviews

Two days prior to the wave two home interviews, I read over each participant's wave one transcripts and began to look for common themes within them. I wrote small case studies of each participant where I attempted to look for what I believed would be elements of their life that may have changed in the interim period. This process was to ensure that I was sensitised to each participant's narrative and everyday contexts. A summary grid was devised for each participant, which reflected the main themes of their wave one interview (see appendix J). The grid was divided into four quarters, each representing a proximal context: home, family, school, and public spaces. As friends were made in both school and public spaces, it was decided that the peer group context would not have its own separate quarter. Using the case studies of participants, each quarter contained both positive (e.g. "I like hanging out with friends in my neighbourhood") and negative (e.g. "I am scared to go out at night") answers, but also contained elements of their life that I felt may have changed in the interim period. For example, if a participant repeatedly mentioned hating school at wave one; this was included in the summary grid as it was of interest to see if their experience of school had changed within the year, and to enable them to reflect on why they said they hated school in the previous interview.

The first ten minutes of the wave two home interviews were spent discussing what was on the grid and clarifying any errors. Errors were often due to mishearing place names or relationships to other members of the family. The grid was also useful for mapping changes in participant identity or lifestyle, with most participants discussing what had changed between "then" and "now". Participants were asked follow-up questions relating to these changes, ensuring the time-line and their reactions following these changes were captured. Therefore the wave two home interviews were more in-depth than the wave one interviews, as each interview was tailored to what was already known about the participants, and was guided by the changes they had experienced.

4.7.2.2 Go-along interviews

The decision to conduct go-alongs in wave two was twofold: if the participant had been relocated in the interim period, the go-along was used to discuss the relocation and settling process; if the participant had not been relocated in the interim period, the go-along was used to discuss the continuing regeneration of their wave one neighbourhood. Similar to wave one, participants were met at their home and the go-along was explained to them. The go-along interview took between 20 to 40 minutes.

Two relocated participants declined to participate because they did not use their new neighbourhood. Another participant chose to show me a different neighbourhood where his friends lived rather than the neighbourhood where his family was relocated. Therefore, compared to knowledge displayed in the wave one go-alongs, the wave two go-along displayed a relative lack of knowledge or neighbourhood attachment in the new relocation neighbourhood, leading to less in-depth interviews.

4.7.2.3 Photo-elicitation interviews

Unlike the home interview and the go-along, I decided not to continue the photo-elicitation interview element of the fieldwork into wave two. Analysis of the visual data in wave one proved difficult (see section 4.7.2). Therefore, it was decided that, for the purpose of the thesis, the images gathered were to be

used as illustrative examples of participants' narratives. Due to this shift in analysis technique, I felt that asking participants to take more photographs would not add anything to the project other than further illustrative examples. While it may be possible that the wave two participants may have changed what they photographed, the analysis of these images and the comparison between those produced at wave one and wave two would have been time-consuming and risked illustrative snap-shots being over intellectualised and the true meaning of the image being lost.

4.8 Analysis

In total, 52 audio files and approximately 200 images were collected from the multiple interviews conducted during the fieldwork period. All audio files were securely sent to a transcription service used by MRC SPHSU and upon receipt of the transcriptions, they were checked for inaccuracies and stored on NVivo 9 (software designed to manage and store transcripts, memos, visual data for use in qualitative analysis). Details of transcript and visual analysis are found below.

4.8.1 Analysis of transcripts

In early textual coding, a descriptive framework was utilised. I was interested in coding based on what I could see, and therefore be able to ensure that the participants' own accounts were being represented rather than imposing prescribed categories (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001). As coding was unstructured, some nodes only contained one participant or only one utterance. This reflected the specific nature of some of the participants' stories (e.g. individual narratives about moving from a different country, or individual aspirations for the future). The second stage of coding examined whether the different methods used produced different accounts by the participants. Therefore nodes were created which examined participants' responses to the interview questions, but also examined the experience of conducting each interview type. While this proved to be useful in terms of discussing the relative merits of the interview methods, it was not useful in terms of generating substantive codes. However, coding in this way enabled a more considered discussion of the ways in which power relations manifested in the different research methods, and the experience of

ethics as an ongoing process during fieldwork. These discussions can be found in Chapter eight.

The third stage coded across interview types and reflected participants' discussion of spatial use, relationships with others, discussion of risk, and elements of change (both in terms of individual and neighbourhood level change). In terms of spatial coding, I coded based on the different physical contexts of the neighbourhood, the ways in which they were used, the time of day they were used, and any difficulties in using them. This often connected with their discussion of risk (another node). Coding for risk included socio-spatial understandings of risk (including questions of 'who', 'when', and 'where'), and participants' strategies to manage risk. Coding for relationships included family dynamics, friends in school and in the neighbourhood, but also coding for instances where young people discussed change in their social group due to relocation. Change was coded in terms of regeneration, relocation (of themselves and/or their social networks) and individual changes within their personal lives. These codes often overlapped (Spencer et al., 2003, Bryman and Teevan, 2004), but this was seen as reflecting their everyday behaviours in the different proximal contexts of the neighbourhood. Observing these overlaps enabled a better understanding of how resources in one context may influence experiences in another. Coding framework used in analysis can be found in appendix M.

4.8.1.1 Managing and coding parental interruptions

Initially, parental interruptions were coded as a methodological consideration as it enabled an examination of power dynamics within the home environment (see Chapter eight, section 8.3). These occurred predominately during the semi-structured home interview and often reflected the lack of private space in the home. When reading the transcripts, it became clear that the parental interruptions during the home interviews were often interwoven with the responses of participants. Therefore without including parental interruptions, the responses of participants appeared odd and ignored the process that led them to their answer. Furthermore, there was also evidence of participants managing parental interruptions, which often led to parent-child negotiations and co-constructions of what the 'truth' was in a particular situation (Harden et

al, 2012, Morris, 2001). While the majority of quotations used in the following results chapters are participant generated, there are some examples of parent-child interactions. These were included as the point raised was important, but it was impossible to extract the participant's answer without also crediting the parent.

4.8.2 Visual analysis

Initially, visual analysis was attempted by asking participants to describe or explain their motivations for taking each image (Morrow, 2001, Belin, 2005, Darbyshire et al., 2005, Hodgetts et al., 2007, Mannay, 2010) as an attempt to uncover the implicit knowledge in everyday practices (Liebenberg, 2009, Rose, 2013). It was anticipated that asking the participants to reflect on their own actions would enable a deeper understanding of the wider structural issues of the neighbourhood (Hodgetts et al., 2007, Kaplan, 2013). Furthermore, images taken of the "everyday" may also provide understandings of the wider resources available to the participant (Yates et al, 2010; Kaplan, 2013).

However, given the everyday nature of the photographs, many participants did not have any further comment to make about the images, and questioned my motivations for asking follow-up questions. This led to a need to attempt other analysis techniques. A content analysis of the images was trialled. This involved objectively counting different elements of the image. For example, counting for whether there were people in the image, how many photographs were taken in the home/neighbourhood/youth club/school, how many were taken at night or daytime. However, this technique became problematic when I tried to create more specific codes relating to the environment, as they became less objective and more value-laden, and reflected my own perceptions rather than the motivations of participants. Therefore unless the participant was sitting with me as I coded these images, there was no fair way to complete this coding. Consequently, the decision was made to use the images gathered in the fieldwork period as illustrative examples of their wider interview narratives. While this decision moved away from the original intention of the method, using images provided an excellent way to illustrate their point of view.

4.8.3 Maintaining anonymity and confidentiality

In terms of maintaining anonymity and confidentiality, the decision was made to use pseudonyms to protect young people's identities. The decision to use pseudonyms was explained to young people, and that the focus of the study was on their stories of living in neighbourhoods undergoing change but not their specific identities. Third parties (e.g. friends, family members, or teachers) were also given pseudonyms but relationships with participants remained the same (e.g. parent, neighbour, teacher).

The decision to name the neighbourhoods rather than providing an area-based pseudonym relates to the position of my thesis within the wider publication practice of GoWell. In briefing papers and in presentations to policy-makers, GoWell researchers name the individual study neighbourhoods, but gives neighbourhood pseudonyms when presenting findings in peer-review papers or conference presentation. Therefore, while Sighthill and Shawbridge are named in the body of the thesis, any peer-review publication or conference presentation will use neighbourhood pseudonyms.

All other place names (including other neighbourhoods in Glasgow and other countries) have been anonymised. Instead of giving specific names, generalised geographic locations are used instead (for example, Central Africa, South East Europe, or North East Glasgow).

4.8.3.1 Maintaining anonymity and confidentiality with visual data

Given the visual nature of photography, it was difficult to ensure anonymity and confidentiality as many of the participants chose to photograph faces (either of themselves or of family members) or recognisable landmarks of particular places. By making the active choice to identify themselves (e.g. by photograph faces) participants appeared to 'explicitly and voluntarily waive their right to confidentiality and anonymity' (Prosser et al., 2010: 11), which was at odds with one of the underlying tenets of ethical guidelines: to preserve the anonymity of the participant (Wiles et al., 2008b, Clark, 2013a).

This presented an ethical dilemma regarding how to use images and acknowledge the input of participants, but maintain the promise to Glasgow

University's ethics board to ensure confidentiality. While other research outputs (such as conference papers, seminars, and eventual peer-reviewed articles) explore these issues in more detail (Neary, 2012, Neary, 2013), for the purpose of the thesis, the decision was taken to not use images displaying faces, and instead to focus on the images of the environment both within the home and within the neighbourhood. This decision enabled participants' discussions to be illustrated while also maintaining the relative anonymity of participants' identities.

4.9 Summary

This chapter described the theoretical and methodological background that underpins this study. This involved positioning the study with previous work that promotes the active position of young people within their own lives, and suggests an ethnographic methodology to ensure their own point of view and experiences can be taken into consideration. This chapter also suggested that by using an ethnographic methodology (rather than using ethnography as a method) the nuances of the everyday experience and the power relations within the research setting might be reflected upon.

This chapter also outlined the interview methods chosen (semi-structured, photo-elicitation, and go-along). These interviews were conducted *in-situ*, with semi-structured and photo-elicitation interviews conducted in participants' homes, and go-alongs conducted in the public spaces of the neighbourhood. It was anticipated that using these spaces as a backdrop to the fieldwork would enable a better understanding of spatial references made by young people (e.g. when discussing socio-spatial risk, or identification of change). The chapter also detailed fieldwork processes, including neighbourhood selection and recruitment, and data analysis techniques. Participants were also introduced in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, and family background.

The next three chapters move on to discuss the results of the study. The following chapter will discuss living in HRFs. It is separated into two parts: the HRF as a home, and the wider HRF context. In both sections, considerations of risk and resilience are examined. Following this, Chapter six discusses the

experience of living in a regeneration neighbourhood. This chapter examines the pre-relocation neighbourhood of the participants, and asks how their everyday experience was influenced by the urban changes going on around them. Finally Chapter seven examines the longitudinal element of the study, and asks how the participants' lives changed during the fieldwork period, and whether these changes were a direct result of regeneration or if other elements of their life were more influential.

Chapter five: Experiences of risk and resilience in a high-rise flat

One of the main elements of the regeneration process in the two study neighbourhoods is the demolition of HRFs and relocation of residents to other accommodation. The aim of this chapter is to provide an account of the participants' objective and subjective experiences of living in the HRFs prior to relocation.

The HRF was the dominant housing type in both Sighthill and Shawbridge, dominant in that it was the building type that housed the most residents but also dominant in its physical presence of the skyline of the two neighbourhoods. The HRF blocks in Shawbridge (figure 5) could be observed to be more orderly, with the buildings following the line of the street, whereas the HRFs in Sighthill (figure 6) were less so. Perhaps due to the larger geographic area of Sighthill, or the physical structure of the neighbourhood, the HRF blocks in Sighthill appeared, to an outsider, to be in a confusing order with some blocks facing different ways to others (see appendix B).

Figure 5: Photograph by Jenny (15 years, Shawbridge) of HRFs

Figure 6: Photograph by Deena (14 years, Sighthill) of HRFs

However, while the HRF was the main housing type, there were a number of differences between the Sighthill and Shawbridge HRFs. For example, all of Sighthill's HRFs were the same height and consisted of the same number of floors, whereas Shawbridge's HRFs differed in size and number of homes. While all of Sighthill's eight blocks were 20 storeys in height, Shawbride had four blocks of 15 storeys, one of 19 storeys and three of 23 storeys (Jephcott, 1971). In addition, while Shawbridge HRFs had balcony access, which meant some residents could sit outside, and get some fresh air without having to leave the building, Sighthill HRFs did not.

At wave one, the majority of participants lived in HRFs that were in the middle of the resident relocation, or clearance, process. Some of the participants had already moved prior to the wave one interview, and therefore were asked to reflect on their experiences of living in the HRF. Participants' discussions of everyday life within the HRFs took account of their home life within the block, and also their experiences of the communal spaces in the HRF (i.e. stairwells, lifts, and hallways). For some, their experiences within the block were affected by the relocation of other residents.

Using the framework of risk and resilience introduced in Chapter two, this chapter explores how participants' discussed the presence of objective and subjective risks and resources for resilience in the HRFs, and whether the clearance process had an effect on their experiences in the HRF. The chapter is divided into two. First, the chapter examines risk and resilience within the private space of the home, before examining risk and resilience within the semi-public spaces of the communal areas.

5.1 Home in the HRF

As outlined in Chapter two, the HRF is often viewed within the literature as being one of the riskiest housing types, in terms of both physical and psychosocial outcomes (Warr et al., 2007, Thomson et al., 2009, Gibson et al., 2011b, Kearns et al., 2012). Within the home setting, objective risks associated with poor health outcomes included poor building quality leading to poor ventilation, damp, mould, and also problems of overcrowding (Thomson et al, 2009). However, when participants were first asked to describe their home and the conditions and behaviours that existed within it, they often described it in neutral terms such as "okay", "fine", and "normal". This section first examines the experience of risk within the home before examining participants' mundane day-to-day experiences within the home in an attempt to uncover resources for resilience (Burton and Jarrett, 2000, Morrow, 2001, Christensen, 2002, Blunt and Varley, 2004, Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009, Wyn et al., 2012).

5.1.1 Risk in the home

When discussing risk in the home, the majority of participants discussed physical or structural problems in keeping with the wider literature regarding the objective risks of the HRF: inadequate heating, dampness and poor ventilation, and overcrowding (Kearns et al, 2010).

5.1.1.1 Inadequate heating

This was not a universal problem, as some participants discussed living in warm flats with no heating problems. However, for those who did discuss concerns

with heating, it was one of the most negative elements of their home, and described taking additional measures to combat the cold conditions.

Some of the participants, like Claire and Paul (Sighthill) had lived in more than one HRF[16], and therefore when asked to describe their housing conditions, reflected on the differences between their previous and current HRF:

> **Claire**: In here it's mair colder and, don't really know. I don't know …[our old flat was] just- it was mair cosier than…
>
> **Paul**: There was mair people at the top had their heating on than the bottom so...
>
> **Claire**: aye like the heating's on for rooms, it was just heating everywhere up but here it's just cold (laughter)
>
> [Claire, 16 years; Paul, 14 years; Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Claire and Paul had lived in two different homes within the same HRF block; one on the fifth floor and another on the seventh. However, their comparison of housing conditions suggested their experience of home within the two places was entirely different. Their previous home was described in more positive terms, mainly due to its physical attributes, as it was larger in size and warmer. The word cosy, as well as denoting warmth, also implied a more homely atmosphere, which may highlight the negative effect of housing conditions on Claire's sense of belonging to the home.

When asked about the cause of heating issues, participants discussed two main issues: the clearance process in their respective blocks, and faulty windows. As the relocation process continued, there were fewer flats within the block with heating on, meaning that the maintenance of heat was more difficult. Therefore, it was likely that part of the reason Claire and Paul's positive experience of their previous home was due to them living there during the early stages of clearance, so more residents lived in the block. It was clear that as more homes became empty, it was more difficult to heat the building. Claire and Paul's problem in their current home appeared to be that while their

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[16] This is discussed in more detail in chapter seven, section 7.1.

heating was on, the surrounding homes were cold. Shelly and Christina's mum also mentioned this:

> **Mum:** Because everyone is moving out, there's no heat coming up anymore y'know?
>
> [Shelly and Christina's mum, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Therefore while the relocation of residents was done to ensure they received better housing, for those who remained in the HRFs waiting to move, their housing conditions may have worsened as a result.

In addition to the relocation of other residents, faulty windows within some of the flats were also seen as a direct cause of the heating problems. The windows were one of the most important physical elements of the HRF as, given the height and position of some of the homes; an open window was one of the only ways to have fresh air in the home. However, if the windows were faulty, this may lead to draughty conditions.

Shona, Martin and Nicola had relocated the month before the wave one interview, but all described recent memories of living in the HRF. During a home interview with Shona, her mum began to describe problems with the faulty windows in their HRF home. This led to an argument between Shona and her mum about the heating in the flat:

> **Shona's mum**: *I could only shut the bedroom window if I put my haund under it and put the seal back up all the way alang…*
>
> **Shona**: (interrupts and talks over her mum) I know but you could- the heating was all right, but. Like there was nothing wrang with the heating.
>
> **Shona's mum**: … *(referring to the bedroom window) couldn't get it shut properly. Couldn't get the kitchen window properly. Something wrang wi' that as well.*
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Despite her mum having to manually fix the broken window seals each time she wanted to close the bedroom and kitchen window, Shona did not perceive this as

a problem, or an issue which may have led to other physical problems in the home (such as inadequate heating). In fact, Shona explicitly stated that while the window seal was broken, it did not affect the heating. It appeared that the normalisation of risk manifested itself in Shona's mum including the manual positioning of the broken seal in her everyday routine of opening or closing the windows. Perhaps because this was something that Shona's mum adopted, Shona herself did not feel troubled by these actions and took them for granted (indicated by her initial "I know" response to her mum). Shona also described the family fighting over the use of plug-in heaters in the winter, again suggesting that additional steps to combat the poor heating in the home were part of the family's routine and therefore part of everyday life in the HRF. While fixing the window seals was a free, but potentially time intensive remedy, the use of plug-in electric heaters would have increased the family's electricity bill, a costly remedy to the problem.

5.1.1.2 Dampness

Connected to problems with heating, were problems with dampness and mould. During Paul's home interview, he described the circular nature of the risks in his home:

> **Paul**: you get hardly any air in the room and that. It's all sorts of dampness and that, so it's gonna be cauld.
>
> **JN: Is there any rooms that are quite damp or is that just in the one bit?**
>
> **Paul**: Aye, well the corner ower there in the kitchen and that, that's a' damp…the windaes get a' like wet, you need to open the windae.
>
> [Paul, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Paul and his sister Claire appeared to be in a catch-22 with regards to the physical condition of their home. Their home was cold due to the advanced stage of clearance of the block so they often kept the windows shut. However, their home also had a problem with dampness, which could be seen on some of the walls, ceilings, and inside of the windows in their home. One way to stop the

damp conditions worsening was to open the windows, leading to the flat becoming colder.

Different rooms of the participants' homes were affected by dampness. For some, it was the kitchen, for others it was the bathroom:

> **Janet:** The way they make the bathroom, it's not nice...sometimes there's like black stuff on the wall and all that but it's not that good.
>
> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

The bathrooms in the HRFs appeared to be inadequate ventilation, which meant after a hot bath, it was a likely location for mould to develop. While Janet does not explicitly refer to the "black stuff" on her bathroom wall as mould, this would be a logical explanation for what the "black stuff" was. Christina (Sighthill) also discussed the presence of dampness and mould in her photo-elicitation interview:

Figure 7: Photographs taken by Christina (12 years, Sighthill) of her bedroom

The two images above were from Christina's bedroom. Both images were taken of the surrounding of the window, one of the wall next to her window and the other of the window-sill. The dampness in the room had led to the wallpaper peeling off the wall, and exposing the plaster underneath. Christina explained that her bed and her two sisters' beds were just below the damp patches. Sleeping in such close proximity to damp conditions may have put the family at risk of respiratory health problems (Thomson et al, 2009). Similar to the

problems with heating, Christina suggested the presence of dampness was getting worse as the relocation of residents continued.

For others, dampness was a seasonal problem and not related to the clearance process:

> **Adam:** When it's during the winter, the living room floods, the ceiling drips
>
> **JN: It drips? What do you do when that happens?**
>
> **Adam**: get a bucket or a basin and put it under where the drips are dripping and do that til it stops then it starts again. It's because we have cracks in the ceiling, it's mostly when its heavy rain or when it's snowing it happens
>
> [Adam, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

A physical problem with the structure of Adam and Patrick's HRF meant that there were cracks in the ceiling of their living room that let in water during the wet weather. While this meant this was a temporal or seasonal risk, the dampness present on the ceiling was visible all year round. Like Shona's mum, Adam described the steps taken by his family manage the risk. As there was no long-term solution, Adam's family tried to find ways to alleviate the problem (i.e. catching the water in buckets before it damaged the floor and carpets). While the acts of buying a plug-in heater, fixing draughty windows, or catching water in buckets cannot be termed "resilient acts", it does highlight how the physical problems of the building enter into family life. This can also be seen with the issue of lack of space.

5.1.1.3 Lack of space

Lack of space or overcrowded conditions is viewed as one of the main indicators of disadvantage (Dorling et al., 2007) and seen as one of the pathways which influence poor health (Thomson et al., 2009, Gibson et al., 2011a, Gibson et al., 2011b). In terms of the current study, the lack of space was mainly discussed in terms of the difficulties of sharing bedroom space. Table 18 illustrates how many of the participants shared a bedroom:

	Participants	Housing type	Share a bedroom
SIGHTHILL	Claire, Paul	HRF	Yes (with each other)
	Shelly, Christina	HRF	Yes (with each other and one other younger sister)
	Shona, Martin, Nicola	Relocated from HRF to townhouse in North Glasgow	No (but Shona and Nicola used to share in HRF)
	Theo	HRF	No
	Janet	HRF	No
	Deena	HRF	Yes (with parents)
SHAWBRIDGE	Adam, Patrick	HRF	Yes (with each other)
	Mark	HRF	No
	Johnny	HRF	Yes (with father)
	Jenny[17]	Relocated from HRF to four-storey flat	Yes (with sister)

Table 18: Participants that shared a bedroom

While sharing a bedroom is not of itself a sign of overcrowding in a home, the experiences of the participants' appear to suggest an underlying problem of overcrowding. For example in Shawbridge, Adam and Patrick shared a bedroom while Adam's older sister slept on the couch in the living room due to lack of space. Christina also discussed a lack of space:

> **Christina:** It's my ma, my da, the wean [a toddler], the wean [a baby] in the wan room, then its me, her [Shelly] and my wee sister in the other room but my wee brother gets his own room because he's the only boy
>
> [Christina, 12 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Shelly and Christina's mum and dad shared their bedroom with two children (one infant and one toddler), while they shared with each other and one sibling. Interestingly, their younger brother gets his own room because he was the only boy in the family. His room was therefore used as a storage room for toys and clothes that could not be stored in other bedrooms. Again returning to Claire and

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[17] While Jenny and her family relocated from the HRF prior to wave one, the size of their new flat was still not adequate for their housing needs and therefore she and her sister remained sharing a bedroom

Paul, the damp conditions in their home meant they shared a bedroom while their older brother took the bedroom with the worst damp problem. As their brother often stayed at friends' homes, he was able to manage the risk through avoidance. Two of the participants shared bedrooms with parents. In both cases, this was due to an unpredicted change of circumstances: Johnny was 'thrown out' of his mum's home and moved in to his dad's one bedroom home, and Deena's family invited a guest to stay for 12 months. This required Deena to give up her bedroom to enable the guest to sleep comfortably.

Common sleeping arrangements in the shared bedrooms included: bunk-beds (Patrick and Adam; Jenny and her sister) or single beds next to each other (Claire and Paul; Shelly, Christina and their sister). For the participants who shared with parents, the families negotiated the space in different ways: Deena slept in a bunk-bed above her parents' double bed, and Johnny slept in the same bed as his dad.

Within the wider literature, the bedroom is discussed as one of the places within the home where young people can claim control, providing a sense of safety, security, and privacy, but also a place which is integral for the practice of identity (Mcrobbie, 2000, Lincoln, 2004, Lincoln, 2013). Sharing this space means a decrease in control and privacy, and also a decreased ability to conduct their daily routines.

Participants described using different techniques to manage the lack of space, including marking out their own defendable territories within a shared space (James, 2001, Lincoln, 2013). This often involved displaying their interests on the walls of the bedroom. This appeared to be a gendered behaviour: the girls used photographs of their friends or pop bands; the boys used posters of football teams. While it was easy to display ownership of different areas of the room, differences in daily routines often led to arguments:

> **Claire:** We can have the odd fight but nothing big. Just when he tries to be annoying at night and I'm trying to sleep…he'll just sit on the Playstation. And try I've to get sleep o'er him [the noise of playing games]
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

> **Paul:** Right when I want the lamp on and I'm playing my Playstation, she always moans to go to sleep. So I need to sit in the dark, when I'm trying to see to play my Playstation.
>
> [Paul, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

The example above describes the same two activities (going to sleep and playing the Playstation) from two different points of view. In both interviews, they both think that they were slighted by the actions of the other sibling not respecting the boundaries and informal social rules of the bedroom. These informal social rules, governing acceptable behaviour at different times of the day, differ for Claire and Paul and reflect their individual routines. Their sense of normalcy in their bedroom routines was challenged by another conflicting routine invading the same area. For example, Claire's need to go to sleep early conflicted with Paul's need to relax and play computer games. Their routines also appeared to clash in the morning, as Claire described having to wake up earlier than her brother in order to get ready for school. She has to do this in another room, as there was no private place in her bedroom to get changed.

Nicola (Sighthill) also reflected on the arguments that she and her older sister Shona would have when they shared a room in the HRF:

> **Nicola:** Sometimes at night, my big sister would- she'd be going somewhere the next day, and I could get up later for school, cause the school's right next to me, then I'd want to watch the telly until half ten, but she'd watch it till ten and then I couldnae watch it.
>
> [Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Similar to Claire and Paul, Nicola and Shona's boundaries were social in nature. While the change from watching television from half past ten to ten is only a 30 minute decrease, for Nicola it was a frustration and challenged what she wanted to do within her own bedroom space.

5.1.2 Resources for resilience at home

Despite some of the physical issues relating to the home, most participants discussed having a positive and supportive home life. As highlighted in Chapter two, the presence of family resources such as emotional support, routine, and

positive adult role models may provide resources for resilience for young people living in risky contexts (White, 2002, Day et al., 2011, Fitzgerald et al., 2012). Therefore the proximal context of family can be seen as influential in the experience of their home context. In the section below, aspects of participants' home life are discussed including family routine, family support and the importance of time on their own.

5.1.2.1 Family routine

When asked what the participants did within the family home, responses were often related to commonplace everyday behaviours which occurred in the living room of their home such as watching TV, eating dinner, or *"just sitting about"* (Adam, 11 years, Shawbridge):

> **Patrick**: We all just sit and chat
>
> **Aunt Maggie**: *Very seldom would you come into the house and the TV would be up loud, it's just background noise. We have a lot of family time…family dinners*
>
> [Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

The everyday nature of the family home, and of family interactions in general often mean that it is difficult to understand what it is about the family that may promote resilience. These behaviours were seen by participants as being incidental or "nothing" activities, those which were part of everyday routine and therefore barely worth commenting on. This was in contrast to the view of parents who perceived this as quality time together as a family. This can also be seen in the quote below when the same question was asked to Martin:

> **Martin**: We just watch telly really don't we?
>
> **Martin's Mum**: *Gang up on other people.*
>
> **Martin**: you get days when it's like it could be me and Tam [Martin's step-dad] versus mum, Shona, and Nicola. Then it could turn into me, mum, Shona, Tam versus Nicola [laughs]. And she's the youngest and she gets picked on. Like aw depends on what somebody's done i'nt it? If they've done something daft, they can get picked on for it for days in here couldn't they?

> **Martin's Mum**: *You know [addressing me] what it's like.*
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Patrick and Martin denote their family behaviour as ordinary with the word "just": they *just* sit and chat or they *just* watch TV. Their view of the behaviour is that it is boring and everyday. However, in both examples, a parent or guardian interrupts in order to clarify what else happens when they watch TV together. The interruption can be viewed as their mums presenting a positive representation of the family, one that gets on and enjoy spending quality time together (rather than one that sits in silence watching TV). Sitting in the living room and watching TV appeared to be one of the main times where the families gathered together to talk or to entertain each other.

The practice of "picking on" or "ganging up on" other members of the family can be seen as a way to strengthen within-family bonds. It requires a shared sense of humour and well-established social norms, and involves the light-hearted teasing of one family member who has either acted out of character or has done something embarrassing. This behaviour also requires all of the family to understand the social rules of the game so as not to accidently insult or hurt someone's feelings. This was a behaviour that was seen most among participants from larger families, and therefore may also be seen as a positive, and entertaining, way to manage the lack of space within the home. Other examples of shared family time within the home included playing computer games (Patrick and Adam, Mark, in Shawbridge, Theo in Sighthill), playing card games (Jenny in Shawbridge), or watching football on TV (Claire and Paul in Sighthill). The participants who suggested they had positive family time were also likely to describe feeling close to another member of their family.

5.1.2.2 Family support

The presence of an adult role model within the family, or the perception that there is someone in the family who can be depended upon, is important in terms of resilience. Participants' rules regarding who could be relied upon for support included the perceived level of competence of the person, the existing relationship that the participant had with the family member, and the likelihood

that the family member was be able to understand the participant's point of view, as this ensured problem would be treated seriously.

In matters of educational support, having questions relating to homework or relating to an issue at school, participants discussed relying on older siblings:

> **Patrick**: Dunno, probably Jemma [Patrick's cousin/Adam's older sister], she's been recently at my level so she knows what it's like
>
> [Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

The recency to which the older sibling was at the participants' stage of school was seen as one of the key elements in the decision making process. Jemma was two years older than Patrick, so her experience of school was still relevant for Patrick. The skill level of the sibling was also evaluated; for example as Shona left school with good grades, she was viewed as a reliable resource for her sister Nicola.

Parents/guardians were viewed as more useful in terms of social or emotional support, although this had some caveats:

> **Deena:** you can tell like personal things to her [Deena's mum] and like, your Dad, some stuff you don't wanna tell him. Like personal things, so since your Mum's been through it and all, you can like tell her.
>
> [Deena, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Similar to the support given by siblings in issues of education, parents were seen as being more of an expert if they had experienced the same problems as the participant. Comparing her mum and dad's competence and ability to understand things from Deena's point of view, she chose her mum as she was someone who has "been through it". This may refer to Deena wishing to confide in older women who had experienced growing up, and may have had similar problems with friends, relationships etc. However, as her family moved from South Asia when Deena was younger, it was unlikely that Deena's mum would have experienced these problems within the Glasgow context, but Deena trusted her mum's experiences and therefore her guidance on different matters.

For participants who lived in homes where there were only two residents (i.e. the participant and a parent), they described finding social support within the

family or home setting more difficult. Mark describes his mum *"moaning a lot…because I'm the only one in the house to talk to"* (11 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along), and Janet (14 years, Sighthill) describes her mum not being interested with most of the issues in her life and being told to leave her mum alone. It is not realistic to accredit poor parent-child relationships solely to the fact they were in a single-parent, single-child family, as others like Johnny, had positive experiences. Instead, Mark and Janet described their mums as having limited local support networks, which may have put additional stress on their relationships when their parents experienced problems. Both Mark and Janet described, as a result of tense family relationships, relying more on social support outside of their home (e.g. other relatives, neighbours, and friends) and less on their parent. Mark's relationship with his mum is discussed in more detail in Chapter seven.

5.1.2.3 Importance of time on their own

As well as positive family time, most of the participants also enjoyed spending time alone, specifically time away from their parents. While some did this outside (discussed in the following chapter), others described enjoying spending time alone in their bedroom, even if this was a shared space. While some described traditional solitary activities such as reading, drawing (e.g. Jenny in Shawbridge), watching TV, or reading comics (e.g. Mark in Shawbridge), the majority described going online using their mobile phone/laptop/computer/games console. For the older girls, this meant using social media:

> **JN: What kind of things do you do in the bedroom?**
>
> **Claire**: Just go on my laptop and listen to music and that…MSN, Facebook…cause all my dad's family live in England, I talk to quite a lot o' them on it.
>
> **JN: Oh cool.**
>
> **Claire**: It's the only way I can talk to them sort of thing. And just- there's quite a lot o' people talk to there. Some o' ma friends like, quite a lot o' them stay in [nearby neighbourhood in North Glasgow], but some stay further up. So I don't see them as much as see everybody else, so I just talk to them on there.

[Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

The use of the internet in their bedroom often blurred the line between private/individual activities and social activities (Pain et al., 2005, Subrahmanyam and Greenfield, 2008, Subrahmanyam et al., 2008, Reich et al., 2012, Cahir and Werner, 2013). While young people were physically alone in their bedrooms, they were able to go online to talk and socially engage with people who lived in other neighbourhoods, cities, or countries. This enabled them to maintain social relationships with others without physical proximity. For Janet (14 years, Sighthill), going online in her bedroom was also seen to a way of maintaining contact with family from other countries, and to access resources associated with maintaining her cultural identity:

> **JN: So what kind of movies do you like to watch [on the computer]?**
>
> **Janet**: African movies.
>
> **JN: So, is it quite easy?**
>
> **Janet**: Yeah, it is. You just go to YouTube and then you click 'African movies' … it comes in a lot of movies so you just pick which one.
>
> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

While Janet's music tastes reflected UK and American artists such as Nicki Minaj and One Direction, she also described preferring to watch African movies. As Janet moved from West Africa to Sighthill within the last 5 years, many of her activities were associated with African culture, including attending African church services in East Glasgow and watching African movies in her bedroom. As these movies were not available in shops or shown on television, Janet used YouTube to find them. As YouTube is free to use, she was able to watch as many movies as she was able to find online with little cost.

5.1.3 Summary of risk and resources for resilience at home

There were a number of physical and objective risks within the home context, and were associated with the high-rise building type introduced in chapter two,

(section 2.4.1.6). These risks included damp conditions and poor heating affected some of the participants' homes, and the overcrowded conditions meant some participants shared bedrooms with parents, and/or with more than one sibling. However, this was not the reality for all participants, and some described having normal experiences in the home with no structural or physical problems.

When the objective risks were mentioned, they were often described as long-term problems with no real solution. Instead, the participants described how their family copes with these problems either by taking additional steps (e.g. buying an electric heater to combat cold temperatures) or adapting routines (e.g. ensuring the window seal is attached when they close a window). More problematic for the participants was the lack of space and privacy afforded by sharing a bedroom. Clashing routines and territorial disputes were seen as stressful and something that the participants looked forward to being resolved after they moved to a new home.

However, the home is not only the physical environment and goes beyond the four walls. When discussing home, the majority of participants described the activities that take place there: watching tv, talking to family, doing homework. For some, the discussion of home revealed the importance of strong family bonds within the home as a resource for resilience. As previously mentioned, the ability to pinpoint what exactly it is about family dynamics that provides resilience is difficult as the behaviours of families are entrenched within daily routine of the home environment. However, the majority of the participants discussed at least one communal activity within the home, whether this was eating together as a family, or watching TV and were able to discuss at least one family member who they felt they could rely upon for help in difficult situations. These behaviours and attitudes illustrate positive relationships and pro-social behaviours that may have a positive impact on wellbeing.

For others, the family provided both positive and negative interactions (i.e. siblings fighting over space in the bedroom). These participants discussed the importance of having time on their own, or having time online. The increasing affordability of new technology (smart-phones, iPods, laptops) provided a new

resource for participants. Being online appeared to represent a private space for the participants where they could control their surroundings and gain privacy, something that was often missing for those who shared a bedroom. The Internet also represented a way to communicate with friends, maintain social networks and access peer socio-emotional support without leaving their front door. Therefore the Internet may be additional resource for resilience.

5.2 Communal spaces of the high-rise block

If the participants lived in a regular front and back door house, that would be the end of the discussion of risk and resilience within the home context. However, these participants lived in a HRF. The block not only contains the home of the participants, but also the home of many others: each block had approximately 18 floors, with every floor containing six homes. Also unlike living in a house, where residents can move from the public spaces of the neighbourhood to the private space of the home, living in a HRF has an intermediary stage: communal spaces (see Figure 8):

Exiting home (private to public space)

Home environment

Private space

Communal spaces of the block

Semi-public spaces

External neighbourhood

Public space

Entering home (public to private space)
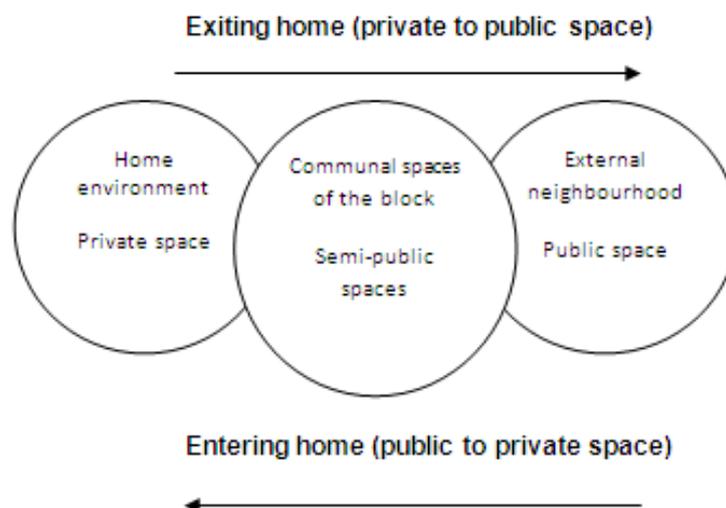
Figure 8: Illustration of moving from home to external environment via communal spaces

Examples of communal spaces of the block are the lift, the staircase, the fire escape door, the landing of each floor, and the foyer of the building connecting the front security door to the lifts. The communal spaces were only accessible to residents of the block, or for those people who knew a resident. Compared to the home, these spaces were relatively uncontrolled and unsupervised, although

there was a concierge (similar to a caretaker) and CCTV facilities within each block. Concierges were split between every two blocks, with access to keys for flats and CCTV.

Similar to the public spaces of the external neighbourhood, these semi-public communal spaces represent both risk and resources for resilience for those who use them. For some of the participants, risk and resilience within these spaces was associated with levels of social control. Low social control was associated with risk, whereas high social control was associated with accessible resources for resilience. These are examined below, in addition to a discussion of participants' perceptions regarding the clearance of their block.

5.2.1 Risk in communal spaces

While participants' discussion of risk in the home was mainly concerned with physical or structural problems (dampness, mould, inadequate heating, and overcrowding), their discussion of risk in the communal spaces of the HRF block was predominately socio-spatial in nature. These included discussion of risky places, and risky people.

5.2.1.1 Risky places and signs of ASB

To exit from the home to the neighbourhood, there were two routes: take the lift, or the stairs. Participants described both of these as potentially dangerous. While the lift was the quickest way to go to their flat, or go out, it was often broken. Two of the participants (Janet in Sighthill, and Adam in Shawbridge) discussed being trapped in the lift when it broke, and others discussed spending ten minutes waiting for the lift to arrive at their floor. When the lift did arrive, it was often one of the 'risky' places in the HRF block:

> **Nicola:** In the old flats there wis like… a no smoking sign would go up an' then it would get ripped doon and then a couple o' month later another wan wud go up an then get ripped doon. Just kept rippin doon.
>
> [Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, photo-elicitation interview]
>
> **Johnny:** sometimes the camera doesnae work [in the lift] and dogs pee in them and jobby in them and all that

[Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Both participants suggested these problems were commonplace and circular. Their descriptions indicated a lack of shared responsibility by some of the residents of their block, or perhaps a lack of authority by the concierge in stopping the behaviours. In Johnny's example, the CCTV installed in the lift which was meant to monitor behaviours in the lift was broken, leading some residents to continue their negative behaviours undetected. This in turn had a negative effect on Nicola and Johnny's overall perception of the communal spaces.

However, it was not only the lift of the HRF block that was seen as 'risky'. Of all the communal areas within the HRF, the stairways were seen to be the worst and most risky places. The stairways of the HRFs were also the fire escape route, and therefore at the bottom of the stairs there was a fire-escape door that provided access to the neighbourhood. Unlike the main entrance, the fire-escape door was unsupervised. While this door and stairway were supposed to only be used for emergencies, many of the participants described needing to use these when the lift broke down. The unsupervised stairway was seen as a risky space, with many participants describing a range of observable environmental markers of ASB including vandalism on the walls, broken glass, discarded needles and the smell of urine:

> **JN: So what are the stairs like?**
>
> **Shelly:** Smellin'.
>
> **JN: What does it smell like?**
>
> **Shelly:** Pee.
>
> **JN: Have you ever seen anyone do anything like that?**
>
> **Shelly:** Naw, you just smell it.
>
> [Shelly, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

While Shelly had never witnessed anyone urinating in the stairway of her building, the strong smell of urine when you first walked up the stairs was

unmistakable. Participants described linking their everyday observations of environmental signs of ASB in the stairwells with their understanding that these spaces were used by antisocial "others" (Hollingworth and Williams, 2009).

5.2.1.2 Experience of risky people and risky events

When participants discussed the presence of antisocial others within the communal spaces of the HRF block, they often described "junkies" or "noisy neighbours". The meaning associated with "junkie" differed depending on participants' age or background. Older participants or participants from White-Scottish backgrounds associated "junkies" with drug use; younger participants or participants from other countries used the term to describe someone behaving anti-socially:

> **JN: what do you mean when you say "junkie"?**
>
> **Janet:** They're like… smokes, drinks, behave badly among neighbourhood and everything.
>
> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

While Janet was probably aware of the risk of "junkies" as one of the most prevalent antisocial others within her block, she did not associate the label with drug use. Instead it was a catch-all socially undesirable label for any antisocial action (Caplan, 2000, Douglas, 2013). These antisocial or risky people were also sometimes residents of the participants' HRF blocks. This meant they were likely to come into contact in the communal spaces. This was seen as a cause for concern for some participants, especially in the unsupervised stairways:

> **Johnny:** Sometimes, if you've got, like, go oot on the stairs, somebody daeing the toilet and all that, all the way doon. 'cause I was sitting doon at the bottom once, and doon at the very bottom, sitting on the stairs, and somebody daeing the toilet and it nearly hit me. A close inch…
>
> [Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

In this example, Johnny described using the unsupervised stairway as a place to hangout with friends, rather than to use it as a way to get from A to B. However, this made him vulnerable to activities of "others" in the block. Nicola (Sighthill)

also discussed coming into direct contact with "antisocial others" on the stairway:

> **Nicola:** I walked in [through the fire escape door] an' there wis these two people smoking an' takin' drugs an' I jist…
>
> **JN: How did you feel when you saw these people?**
>
> **Nicola:** I just screamed an' slammed the door an' ran away.
>
> **Shona:** They probably wouldnae harm you, they're just sorta trying to find somewhere to take their drugs. You just get a fright because they could jist attack you or rob you or anything.
>
> [Nicola, 11 years; Shona, 18 years; Sighthill, w1, go-along interview]

Like other participants, Nicola sometimes used the stairs to get from the outside neighbourhood to her home. However, other people also used this unsecure and uncontrolled space. Similar to Johnny in Shawbridge's story, the experience of using this space was negative, and had a lasting effect on how Nicola used the space. Nicola's reaction to coming face to face with this risk was to create physical distance between herself and the people she was afraid of, slamming the fire door and walking to the other entrance. Shona's rationalisation of the experience is interesting, as she suggested that the people were probably not a direct risk to Nicola, but also that she was aware of the risk that Nicola perceived herself to be under. As the antisocial 'others' were unknown to Nicola (e.g. she could not tell if they were residents of the building or if they were strangers who had seen an open door), their intentions (beyond taking drugs) were unknown, and it was also unknown whether they were physically dangerous. This interaction between Nicola and Shona also illustrates a potential resource for Nicola: her older sister's knowledge of the motivations of these 'others'. This may enable Nicola to better frame her experience, and to use this knowledge to better negotiate space in the future. Nicola's strong bonds with her family were often described as helping her to negotiate the communal spaces of the neighbourhood. For example, her mum would often stand at the top landing and wait for Nicola to call up that she had reached the bottom. Therefore family support is not contained within the home, but rather can be

utilised in different ways and in different contexts (including, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the public spaces of the neighbourhood).

5.2.1.3 Increased risk due to clearance process

Participants felt that as the regeneration process continued, and more residents were relocated out of their block, there were significant changes to the social environment of the communal spaces. For some of the participants, it meant that the risks decreased as the relocation process continued, but for others, the risk increased.

The perception of increased risk was in part due to the relocation of their old neighbours, and the introduction of short-term leases in the building:

> **Shona:** Everybody moved. Like see when I wis younger, aw the family… I could probably tell you… know where everybody lived oan maist o' the flairs up there an' then they aw moved. An' now you don't know anyone…it could be anyone.
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

The ability to know or call on neighbours is seen as one way to build resilience within risky environments, especially when there is strong bonding social capital and intergenerational connections. However, as long-term residents moved out, and new short-term residents moved in, this changed the social environment. The phrase "it could be anyone" was repeated several times throughout Shona's interviews, highlighting her feelings of uncertainty, and unfamiliarity towards her new neighbours.

Furthermore, some of the participants suggested that the new residents were more likely to be from an at-risk population. For example, Adam and Patrick's family were the only long-term residents on their floor. Other residents on their floor included a family who had recently been homeless, an asylum seeking family, and a single man with alcohol problems. Adam's mum described how the social control of the HRF decreased as more short-term tenants were introduced into the block, and that there was a greater likelihood of people being drunk within the communal areas.

Two of the Sighthill participants, Shelly and Christina, lived in the HRF block that was furthest on in the clearance process. The only residents left in their block were those who were difficult to re-house: large families (like Shelly and Christina's), single people, and antisocial residents. While there was a decreased population, there appeared to be an increase in the risk associated with the communal areas. They described an incident where someone broke into an empty flat in the floor above them to steal the copper pipes to sell them for scrap metal. While Shelly or Christina did not directly observe this act, they experienced the consequences of the upstairs flat flooding when the water pipes were taken, which exacerbated the damp conditions in their flat.

To stop these acts of vandalism and criminality putting residents at further risk, the Housing Association took action. First of all, they reduced access to the building (Figure 9) and sealed off areas of building that were cleared (Figure 10):

Figure 9: Photograph by JN of sign on HRF main entrance door

Figure 10: Photograph by JN of steel wall in a Sighthill HRF block

Both methods appeared to control the flow of individuals within the block. By taking away the ability for residents to enable entry for friends, the concierge becomes solely responsible for access to the HRF (figure 9). However, the ambiguity of the sign also suggests that the "vandalism" may also have broken the entry system. By taking away the ability of residents to visit places in the building that were vacated (figure 10) it could also be seen as a measure to ensure there were no break-ins in the flats that had been cleared. While the participants did not discuss this, and instead focused on the lack of social contact when residents left, seeing steel doors during my recruitment phase was a bleak sight (see Chapter eight).

5.2.2 Resources for resilience in the communal areas

To leave the discussion of the HRF at this would present the participants as victims of their circumstances, suggesting that while many had positive home lives, they had to run a gauntlet between their front door and the front door of the HRF, avoiding or coming face to face with risks involving alcohol, drugs, and violence. However, similar to the discussion of the home, participants also mentioned positive elements of the communal spaces, and reported feeling happy in their block.

To examine why this is the case requires examining the resources available to participants within the wider environment of the block, and also the perception of social control and respectability within their individual blocks.

5.2.2.1 Social support in communal spaces

Not all stories about neighbours within the HRF involved drug taking, drunken adults, vandalism or theft. A large number of the participants discussed having friends who lived near to them:

> **Johnny:** He's on [floor] number five. It's like, I'm [on floor] eleven, and he's on number five. All I have to dae is go in the exact same lift and press five and that's it.
>
> [Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Many of the participants described enjoying the close proximity of their friends within the building, and reported that not living next to their friends was the thing they were least looking forward to when they moved. For the participants, being in close proximity to people in their social network that lived a few doors, or floors, away from them meant their perception of the HRF was more positive. Younger participants described visiting friends in other flats within the building, meeting them in the communal area to walk to school together as part of their everyday routine in the HRF block. For those who had recently moved to the neighbourhood, meeting similar aged peers outside the block or in the communal areas was one of the main ways to begin making social connections in the neighbourhood:

> **Patrick:** When I was younger, I used to talk to Craig and Matt from across the landing and when I started hanging out wi' them on the landing then started going around with them and then meeting more people. It was mainly through Craig and Matt that I met other people like Mike at the park across the road
>
> [Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Prior to moving into Shawbridge with his aunt Maggie and Cousin Adam (11 years), Patrick lived in another part of Glasgow but would visit Shawbridge from time to time. During these visits, he started building friendships with young residents his age. They lived on the same floor as his aunt, and he suggested that the shared hallway became a social space where they hung out. Craig and Matt became Patrick's source of bridging social capital before he lived in Shawbridge, and then of bonding social capital when he moved to the neighbourhood.

Participants also discussed the importance of interactions with positive adults in their block. Janet described bonding with her neighbours over different African cultures:

> **Janet:** Yeah, my neighbour over there, this is fifteen-two, this is fifteen-three, my neighbours in fifteen-three, they're like a family to us, not really a family but they're [Central African] and we're [West African]. One of them used to go to our church all the times and then he stopped. So it's like, we talked to them and then they talked to us.

[Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Their shared interests, and the close friendships, were described as being almost family-like. Later in the same interview she describes one of the neighbours coming over to cut her hair, and to eat dinner with them. These social interactions provided a source of intergeneration social connection and enabled Janet to form positive social bonds within her block. She also mentioned that as they were her next-door neighbours, the close proximity meant it was easy to rely on them.

For other participants, positive relationships with neighbours involved more informal and casual interaction, although these relationships played an important role in their impression of the social control within the neighbourhood:

> **Deena:** It's a really good place to live to be honest, 'cause like all the neighbours are really nice to us… like if there was like a problem or something they would like talk to us about it. Like if it was a problem about us, like for example like someone like smashed our car or something they would immediately like tell us 'cause we're like that close. So, it's really good to have them around.

> [Deena, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

For Deena, a good neighbour was someone who was friendly, but also someone who would alert others to a problem. In the above example, Deena discussed the positive effect that good communication between neighbours had on her perception of informal social control: she felt that they would alert her family to any external social risks (e.g. someone trying to "smash" the family car). This in turn improved Deena's perception of safety both within the block and within the wider neighbourhood.

5.2.2.2 Role of the concierge in maintaining social control

While some of the participants discussed their neighbours offering informal social control, there was also formal social control through the presence of the concierge. The concierge was stationed at the front desk observing CCTV footage, this meant they were the first person residents and visitors would see

upon entering the block (Towers, 2000). For participants, a positive or friendly attitude of the concierge towards young people was crucial:

> **Martin:** The concierges were always brand new [good/reliable], like if you were playing fitba doon the front, sometimes they'd say, 'oh youse need to move away. As, we don't want to move youse away, but you dae have to, in case any o' the windaes get thingmied or nothing'. Which you can understaun'. But they were always brand new; they never seemed to have any problems.
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]
>
> **Johnny:** Sometimes in the old house, I always went doon tae the concierge and that's where I used to always sit sometimes, and look at the cameras.
>
> [Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, home interview]

Feeling respected by the concierges was important for the participants. For example, rather than feeling victimised or blamed for behaviour they did not do, some of the participants felt they were able to talk to the concierge and have a reasonable discussion with them. For Martin, this meant that the concierge explained the reasons that they could not play football (rather than just moving them on), and for Johnny it meant he was allowed to look at the CCTV camera footage. The concierge was also one of the main sources of formal social control within the block:

> **JN: So is the concierge quite important for a block of flats?**
>
> **Claire:** Mm hmm.
>
> **JN: How?**
>
> **Claire:** Like, he, like, maybe you've had music playing, but if he comes round, you could go and say, "Oh, it's above me now," but it could be like a couple of floors above you. It's like, you can contact the concierge and ask them to try and deal with it. And, like, if it wasn't for them, our bins wouldn't get emptied and they clean inside the foyer and that, and everything for us, so…
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

Enforcing the rules of the block and maintaining a clean environment were described as the main jobs of the concierge. The communication of these behavioural boundaries was enforced in different ways, for example reminding people about ball games being prohibited (as in Martin's example) or visiting different flats within the block and asking them to turn music down (as in Claire's example). Another way to maintain social control was through ensuring the communal areas remained clean and orderly. Many participants associated this cleanliness with feelings of respectability, and had a positive effect on their feelings of belonging to particular blocks. Alternatively, blocks that were seen as "messy" or "dirty" were viewed as less respectable and risky.

5.2.2.3 Normality and respectability within the HRF block

The theme of respectability and comparative normality was one that appeared to only be discussed by Sighthill participants who lived in one particular block. Objectively speaking, the HRFs in Sighthill looked identical: the same height, the same external façade, and similar social problems in the communal spaces. Almost all of the participants described at least some degree of ASB within the communal spaces, whether it was low level (litter) or more serious or risky behaviour (drug taking). However, for the participants who lived in this particular block, they described their block as 'better' than others within the neighbourhood.

Claire and Paul, and Shona, Martin, and Nicola's families all lived in the "good" block, and they highlighted the comparative respectability of their block compared with the other blocks in the neighbourhood:

> **Martin:** the other flats always looked a lot mair like jakey kind of thing. But oor flat, obviously they all look the same on the ootside, they all look quite dingy and like an eyesore, but inside, the landings and that always seemed to be clean. There was never any, bad- like there was never litter problems or nothing. There was… Like nobody- I don't know anybody who got asked to try and stop litter, in the flat. Our flat was always well kept.
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Martin described the other blocks in the neighbourhood as more "jakey". "Jakey" is a colloquial Scottish term, often used in Glasgow to describe an

alcoholic or a homeless person (often male and working class). However, in this context Martin used "jakey" to describe the messy, disordered, and potentially risky environment of the other blocks. By employing this term, Martin appeared to 'other' the HRF blocks and highlight the block he lived in was more normal and respectable because of inherent differences between resident populations (Madigan and Munro, 1996, Watt, 2006). This can be seen in his comment "I don't know anybody who got asked to try and stop litter". There is an implication in the statement that residents in the other, messier, blocks would have been asked to stop littering. This was also a technique used by Claire:

> **Claire:** Just, like don't think they're kept as clean as here and, just always people hanging aboot them, and graffiti quite a lot round their blocks.
>
> **JN: And you don't get anything like that here?**
>
> **Claire:** No really… and every day like it's cleaned away straight away. Like doon there it's kept there for quite a while. And like inside their foyers are destroyed and that, whereas oors is quite clean.
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

The presence of dirt, graffiti, and vandalism are the (anti)social markers which Claire and the other participants used to separate their own HRFs from others. Claire and Martin both described the communal spaces of their block in a way that reflected the social order and social resources of the building: the foyers and landings were kept clean, there were no people "hanging about" the communal spaces, and their building was "quiet". Their assessment of the other block appeared to signify that the lack of cleanliness meant residents did not care about maintenance of the communal spaces, or purposefully destroyed them. However, Claire also discussed the presence of the "worst block" in the neighbourhood, where the foyer was "destroyed" which demonstrated a lack of care taken in the physical environment. This "worst block" appeared to be a yardstick to which the participants in the "good block" could positively compare themselves to. Interestingly, participants in other blocks in Sighthill, and participants in Shawbridge did not use this discourse of good/bad blocks in the neighbourhood. It was a narrative unique to residents of the "good" block in Sighthill.

5.2.3 Summary of risk and resilience within the communal spaces

While the discussion of risk within the home focused on the physical environment, the discussion of risk within the communal spaces of the block was predominately (anti)social (e.g. vandalism, drug taking, or noisy neighbours). While these risks also existed in the wider neighbourhood context, participants described being unable to avoid these risks within the block. This was due to the occurrence of risk in the spaces they needed to use to enter or exit the block. Similar to discussions of resilience in the home, participants also identified a number of social resources which they used to ensure positive experiences within occasionally risky contexts: positive relationships with neighbours, having friends who lived in the same block, and a friendly and effective concierge who ensured that the participants often felt safe. These resources also highlighted why the block was seen as normal for some of the participants.

However, the clearance and relocation process also appeared to increase some participants' feelings of vulnerability in the communal spaces, as neighbours who they had positive relationships with began to move out, leading to a diminishment of their social support network.

5.3 Discussion

So what was the everyday experience of the HRF? It involves a number of overlapping and important physical and social spaces including the teenage bedroom, family spaces at home, the contested semi-public communal spaces, the homes of neighbours, and the concierge station where the social control of the block was maintained. Within, through, and between these spaces, young people experienced their everyday routines, and occasionally experienced dramatic events that may have a negative effect on how they use the space in future. Related to the nested contexts diagram in Chapter two, the positive experiences of the HRF appeared to be informed by contexts of family, friends, home environment, and also the wider community within the neighbourhood. Missing from the diagram, but important to the participants was the online context. These spaces enabled participants to talk with their friends without

leaving their home, which for some young people enabled them to negotiate neighbourhood risk (see Chapter six) in a safe social way.

Most of the participants experienced some degree of risk. There was evidence in their interviews that they experienced physical risk at home (e.g. the presence of negative housing conditions such as overcrowding, dampness or inadequate heating which may have had a harmful effect on physical health), and social risk in the communal areas (e.g. presence of ASB which led some participants to feel vulnerable in the communal areas of the block). Participants were more forthcoming regarding their experience of social risk in the communal spaces, perhaps because this form of risk made them feel more vulnerable as it was contingent on the unpredictable behaviour of others who shared the block. The presence of physical risk, due to poor housing conditions, was not spoken about as much, although the issues experienced as a result of risks were often commented upon.

Therefore, in terms of the HRF and block context, risk may be better viewed on a spectrum of control or manageability. In this way, what the risk is may not be the outcome of interest, but rather how individuals manage these risks in the context of their everyday lives. Therefore, as participants were able to observe what steps were taken to combat physical problems at home, these might be perceived to be more manageable than risks in the communal spaces of the block. The latter exists due to the behaviour of others that cannot be directly influenced by the family, leading to a loss of control. This was also seen when the participants spoke about how the block had changed due to regeneration. Compared to participants' perceptions of change within the neighbourhood (discussed in Chapter six), their experiences of change within the HRF block were limited, especially as the only change that was taking place was the relocation of residents. While this did not affect many of the participants' lives, some felt they were more isolated in the block and therefore their perception of risk increased. For example Shona's discussion of being wary of "new neighbours" in the block was connected with her perception of decreased social control, and her acknowledgement that her existing network of friendly neighbours (with whom she had a connection) was diminishing. However it was not only the communal spaces that were affected: Christina and Shelly's home

was affected by the clearance process as it became harder to heat as people began to move out.

This chapter has outlined some of the experiences of participants living in the HRFs that were due for demolition. The next chapter will continue with the experiences prior to relocation, discussing the experience of their neighbourhood. Similar to the themes of this chapter, the next chapter reflects on participants' assessment and experience of risk, the resources they can access, but also how they discussed and experienced the slow change of their environment due to regeneration policies.

Chapter six: Experiences of risk and resilience in the neighbourhood

This chapter examines the external socio-spatial environment, the public spaces and services that existed in the two study neighbourhoods. As discussed in Chapter four, section 4.4.2, Sighthill and Shawbridge had a number of similarities and differences in terms of the physical and social environment. Shawbridge, the smaller neighbourhood of the two, consisted of a long straight street with HRF blocks on either side of the road. The uniform spread of the HRFs were disrupted at times by the local library, small shopping strip (consisting of a Chinese takeaway, newsagents, and chip shop), a derelict church that had been converted into a softplay space for children, a pub, and some small green space. While this was the main road in the neighbourhood, there were small offshoots that contained maisonette and terraced housing, sheltered housing, and a newly refurbished park. Walking around the neighbourhood, there was very little footfall, save for a woman walking with a pram, the occasional smoker outside of the pub, a small group of teenagers playing in the park, or the construction workers taking a break at lunchtime. As the local schools were located outside of the neighbourhood, there was often very little sight or sound of school children during the day.

While Shawbridge could be described as a linear and orderly street, Sighthill could be described as more of a messy network of streets and green-spaces with HRFs often sitting away from the main road. The HRFs faced in different directions, and it was often disorientating to walk around, particularly due to the confusing numbering of blocks. In the centre of the neighbourhood there was a pub, youth club, primary school, football pitch, and a small strip of shops (including a post-office, newsagents, bookmakers, and chip shop). There were also two community centres (one closed down, one open).

Sighthill appeared to be livelier than Shawbridge, with more noticeable presence of people: individuals walking dogs, families with young children, and elderly couples. There was also a steady flow of traffic, including buses and cars. Looking in the shops as I walked around, there appeared to be people using all the services, and a few young people hanging around outside them. Given the

position of the primary school within the neighbourhood, there was also the frequent sight of children playing in the playground or walking home in their school uniforms. As well as witnessing the comings and goings of the neighbourhood residents, walking around Sighthill I had other sensory experiences; in particular, the smell of sulphur (Sighthill was built on brownfields, and had previously been the site of a chemical works), and feel of the bracing winds that were channelled through the gaps between the HRFs. As discussed in Chapter four, section 4.4.2.1, both Sighthill and Shawbridge were already several years into the regeneration process at the time of wave one fieldwork beginning. Approximately 80% of residents in the two neighbourhoods had been relocated, and between 35 and 49% of housing had been demolished (Gowell, 2014). While Shawbridge also showed signs of redevelopment of land for new housing, Sighthill did not.

As discussed in Chapter three, neighbourhood regeneration is understood as a process, and acknowledges a start point (the neighbourhood as a deprived area with inadequate housing and poor resident outcomes) and an anticipated end point (where the neighbourhood will have improved housing and better resident outcomes). My wave one fieldwork in 2011 occurred at the mid-point, where housing was being demolished, and residents were either being relocated or waiting to do so.

For the participants in the study, and for other residents who remained in the neighbourhood, their everyday lives were experienced and negotiated within and through these changes. What was interesting therefore was that despite these large physical and social changes, participants discussed their everyday life being "ordinary" and "normal" and therefore adjusted, accommodated or assimilated these changes into their everyday understanding of the neighbourhood. Consequently, at times, it was difficult to separate what their experiences of neighbourhood and experiences of regeneration were; their daily routines and negotiation of risk involved a backdrop of physical signs of regeneration: derelict buildings waiting to be demolished, presence of building sites, and closure of services. As the regeneration of the neighbourhoods was a long process, some of the younger participants could not remember a time when there was not an element of the regeneration process going on.

The chapter begins by outlining the objective physical spaces of the neighbourhoods, before discussing participants' understandings of socio-spatial risk in the neighbourhood. Following this, it details how participants experienced everyday life and resilience within the neighbourhood, and how they negotiated social risks using a range of strategies. Finally the chapter examines experience of regeneration, first of all highlighting that the wider process of decision making in the neighbourhood excluded and disempowered young people, before highlighting the ways in which the physical regeneration of public spaces changed how young people perceived their neighbourhood. For this reason, a differentiation has been made between participants' experiences of existing neighbourhood risk (termed "existing risk") and their experiences of risk caused by regeneration in the neighbourhood (termed "new risk").

6.1 Youth services and youth spaces in the neighbourhood

Prior to discussing risk and resilience in the neighbourhoods, first it is important to understand what spaces and services were available to young people during the time of fieldwork. These spaces are referred to at several points during the chapter.

Despite the process of regeneration, Sighthill and Shawbridge both had a number of places and services that the participants could use. Table 19 below illustrates this:

	Youth services			Youth spaces		
	Youth club	Sports club	Youth diversionary activities	Football pitches	Basketball courts	Play-parks
Sighthill	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Shawbridge				✓	✓	✓

Table 19: Youth services and youth spaces at wave one (by neighbourhood)

6.1.1 Youth services

While Shawbridge had no youth services available at the time of wave one fieldwork, Sighthill had several, including a youth club (see Figure 11) that catered for all ages but ran two age-specific sessions: one for children up to 12 years, and another for young people (12-18 years). The youth club ran from Monday to Friday, but funding issues meant it had reduced its hours to provide services from Monday to Thursday. The club was free to enter, and the young people could use the computers, computer consoles, watch TV, and play table tennis or pool.

Figure 11: Photograph by Nicola (11 years, Sighthill) of local youth club

Sighthill also offered a number of youth diversionary activities. The main organised youth activities (football and dancing) were part of a youth diversionary project which aimed to encourage young people to participate in organised activities, or as Martin (16 years) describes it: "*a kind of get the weans aff the street league kind of thing*". In 2007/08, Glasgow Housing Association funded 22 Youth Diversionary Projects across the city, in an attempt to reduce youth offending and antisocial behaviour in public spaces. These included sports coaching and physical activity for Sighthill and four other neighbourhoods in the North of Glasgow (Aston et al., 2010). The dancing group took place in the community centre, and the football teams trained at the football pitches both in the neighbourhood and in nearby neighbourhoods. The youth club and youth diversionary programme in Shawbridge closed shortly before the wave one fieldwork took place. The youth club, which had taken place in the community library, was closed due to low attendance.

6.1.2 Youth spaces

Sighthill and Shawbridge had a number of purposely-designed youth spaces. While both neighbourhoods had play-parks, participants agreed those were spaces for their younger siblings and not teenagers. Both neighbourhoods also had a multi-purpose game area that enabled young people to play basketball and football. It was brightly coloured (see Figure 12) and was described by Claire (16 years) and Paul (14 years) in Sighthill as being one of the only developments in the neighbourhood since the regeneration process began. However, Janet (14 years) noted that while both girls and boys could use the pitch, boys playing 5-a-side football usually occupied it.

Figure 12: Photograph by Janet (14 years, Sighthill) of multi-purpose games pitch

Figure 13: Photograph by Patrick (16 years, Shawbridge) of basketball court

Shawbridge also had a multipurpose pitch as well as a standalone basketball court (see Figure 13) that were developed during the regeneration process.

6.1.3 Public spaces in the neighbourhood

As discussed in Chapter two (section 2.3.2), the public spaces of the neighbourhood are those where a large majority of young people's time is spent, hanging out with friends, playing games, or negotiating ownership of space through physical presence (Travlou, 2003, Childress, 2004, 2009, Thompson et al., 2013). Therefore, as well as signifying the "in-between" space between locations, public spaces are rich with social meaning.

Participants identified and used the public spaces of the neighbourhood as the backdrop for the majority of their social interactions and weekday leisure activities. These spaces were seen as a better alternative than the youth club which was described as "*boring*" (Paul, 14 years, Sighthill) and "*for the younger ones…no one my age goes*" (Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge). These uncontrolled public spaces were seen as a resource in their own right; they represented places to hang out with friends away from adult gaze, or the opportunity to use larger physical spaces than those offered within formal youth spaces. Examples of these spaces included graveyards, playgrounds of schools (after hours), local green-spaces, the local streets, and cleared ground of ex-demolition sites.
It was within these spaces that participants described experiences of risk and resilience within the neighbourhood. The following sections discuss this in more detail, before examining the ways in which regeneration has affected these experiences.

6.2 Social risk in the neighbourhood

Participants described neighbourhood risk in terms of physical, psychosocial, cultural, and temporal elements. Their perception of risk was informed by different contexts including parents (and the spatial boundaries parents enforced on them when they were younger), their friendship groups (who were informed by their own parents), their own use of space, and the cultural definitions of who or what is defined as 'risky'. While the term 'risky' is one that I have adopted, rather than one used by the participants, the term relates to the

young people's understanding of people, places, and times which were perceived to pose a direct risk to them.

Within the wider neighbourhood context, the concepts of 'risky' people and 'risky' places overlapped and created a circular dilemma: do 'risky' people make 'risky' places, or do 'risky' public places attract 'risky' people? For some of the participants, the labelling of 'risky' places was due to the physical signs of ASB: broken glass, graffiti, or needles, all of which signify that 'risky' people use these spaces. For others, witnessing 'risky' people (people drunk in the park for example), led to a revision of how space was used and perceived. However, there was one social risk that did not fit this circular model, the presence of 'risky' young people, as they are not fixed in space in the same way as other 'risky' groups. These examples are discussed in more detail below.

6.2.1 What makes a place 'risky'?

The perception of a 'risky' place often relied upon environmental cues of antisocial behaviour: broken glass, graffiti, or as mentioned above, signs of arson. For example, during the go-alongs, the participants and I often walked away from the pedestrian walkways of the neighbourhood to look at playgrounds, parks, or green spaces. If these spaces were unsupervised or looked as though there was poor street lighting in the vicinity, there was often also broken glass on the pavement. This broken glass included what Forsyth and Davidson (2010) among others referred to as alcohol-related littering, a clear sign of public drinking. However, there was no clear sign as to how long these environmental signs of ASB had been there, and, as such, reflected how indicators of social risk outlast the behaviours that caused them (Foster and Giles-Corti, 2008, Lorenc et al., 2013).

Young people's understanding of socio-spatial risk often reflected the importance of time within young people's discussions, as different groups used the same public spaces at different times of the day. Consequently, the same place within the neighbourhood could simultaneously be viewed as safe and unsafe depending on the time of day the young people were referring to. However, for some of the participants, the vandalism of the park by 'risky'

people in the evening also meant they were less able to use the spaces during the day:

> **Nicola**: Like people go there like at night, you see aw the neds an' they go there an like aw o'er that, it's aw spray-painted an menchies and things...they're sittin drinkin...you can see o'er the bits the menchies on there, an like the wee chutes, people couldnae go doon it because like people would spill juice doon it an jist pure sticky...

[Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, photo-elicitation interview]

Nicola was referring to the park seen in Figure 12, which was one of the recently re-developed spaces in Sighthill. The presence of antisocial behaviour, vandalism, and 'risky' people meant Nicola was less likely to use it. For Nicola, the 'risky' people were "neds". While Nicola does not refer to an age-range for the "neds", the label of "ned", or "non-educated delinquent", is commonly used in West Central Scotland to describe working-class young men associated with fighting, public drinking, and wearing tracksuits (Galloway et al., 2007, Deuchar, 2009). In Figure 14 below, we see a group of individuals sitting in the background, but very few children playing on the playground equipment.

Figure 14: Photograph taken by Nicola (11 years) of a swing park in Sighthill

The discussion of "menchies" was another visual sign of ASB in the neighbourhood, and of 'risky' young people. "Menchies" are symbols, names or statements written in permanent marker in public spaces for others to read. For Nicola, the "menchies" on the park equipment referred to a local youth 'gang' who were involved in territorial fighting. It may be that their behaviour of

marking the park indicated a localised ownership of the space, or may reflect the behaviour of a bored individual with local knowledge. As none of the participants were a member of this group, it is impossible to say for sure. Shawbridge participants also suggested the park was a potentially 'risky' place. Similar to the Sighthill participants, their main complaints related to the presence of antisocial or risky adults:

> **JN: Is [the park] used a lot by people…**
>
> **Johnny:** Junkies.
>
> **JN: Junkies use it?**
>
> **Johnny:** That bin, they've set it on fire mair times than anything else.
>
> [Johnny, 11 years; Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

> JN: **Do you ever see any trouble around the park?**
>
> **Mark:** Yeah. People like drink and everything.
>
> **JN: Yeah?**
>
> **Mark:** Smashing glass bottles.
>
> [Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

For both Mark and Johnny, their direct experience of witnessing ASB within the public spaces was limited, although they were able to hear the noise from the park from their window at night and witnessed the signs of ASB when they used the park during the day. While Johnny never saw "junkies" set fire to the bin, they were identified as the likely arsonists. Similar to Nicola's discussion above, the behaviour of a few had potentially ruined the experience of the park for the majority. Other participants described how poor street lighting in the neighbourhood created 'risky' places:

> **Nicola's mum:** *when it's dark, dinnae like going to pick the weans* [children] *up fae [the youth club], there was nae lights. Just all dark.*

Nicola: Uh-huh. It was sort of deserted… [You'd] be scared you're gonnae like be kidnapped.

[Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, photo-elicitation interview]

Claire: I don't like it roon here, see when it's dark, 'cause there's no streetlights and you're walking in the dark…there was a couple of muggings, there, 'cause there's millions of trees, walking up that path.

[Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

Female participants discussed the fear of being attacked or kidnapped while walking at night. For Nicola, the location of the Sighthill youth club in the part of the neighbourhood that was already demolished meant that there was a lack of people walking around when she left the youth club, which meant her walk down a dark street felt more risky. The outcome of this was that Nicola stopped attending the youth club due to increased feelings of vulnerability.

Other participants also echoed Claire's concern about the path, especially Christina who referred to the path as "*muggers' lane*" (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Photograph by Claire (16 years, Sighthill) of 'muggers lane'

The path was a tree-lined avenue that connected the HRF blocks in Sighthill to the main road. While there were CCTV cameras in the path, the overgrown trees often obscured the camera's lens. For Christina, the overgrown bushes in the avenue gave the potential for people to be "*hiding in the bushes*" (Christina, 12 years, w1, go-along).

6.2.2 'Risky' young people

The main risk posed by 'risky' young people was associated with territorial behaviour. In general, deprived or socially excluded neighbourhoods can be seen as risky due to the prevalence of territorial fighting, with the invisible boundaries of territorial behaviour often marking out where young people feel that it is safe, or unsafe, to go to (Bannister et al., 2012). This was a risk discussed more by male rather than female participants. However, while the majority of the boys in this study discussed non-participation in territorial fighting, they still discussed being aware of the fighting or being at risk of being wrongly identified as someone who is involved (Deuchar, 2009, Neary et al., 2013):

> **Martin:** it was awkward between [nearby neighbourhood] and Sighthill, like when it came to gang fighting and that, so you'd be a wee bit cautious

> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

> **Patrick:** Sometimes if you- it's like I was walking …one of the young ones - [mumbling an unclear name]- yeah he was drunk. And he says "why are you walking with a swagger?" And he says "don't walk like that round here". And I just felt like saying, "shut up".

> [Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

Despite the territorial conflict, Martin described being friends with people in the two neighbourhoods. This was partially because his high school was in the nearby neighbourhood, but also because his football team also included boys from there. While this should have enabled him to easily walk through the neighbourhoods, he still highlighted how he needed to be "*a wee bit cautious*" going through the two neighbourhoods as many boys in his year group participated in fighting. The experience recounted by Patrick was one of the potential conflicts that Martin tried to avoid. As a 16-year-old boy walking through the neighbourhood, he was confronted about the way he was walking. What was interesting in these two examples was that the 'risky' young people were not tied to a particular place; but rather were a risk that was present throughout the neighbourhood. This ensured it was not possible to avoid the risk in the same way that participants could avoid 'risky' places.

Other participants discussed being aware of more criminal activities that occurred in the neighbourhood, and potentially knowing the perpetrators. For example Janet described how her mum was mugged in Sighthill by two teenage boys several months prior to her wave one interview:

> **Janet:** I know him but I'm not... the way that she was describing the boy, I know the boy and then the small boy; I know them two but...
>
> **JN: They live around here?**
>
> **Janet:** Yeah, they live in thirteen but I told my mum to like [report] them but she's not definitely sure...so she doesn't want to make a mistake so she's just left it.
>
> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

In this example, Janet can be seen as more of an 'expert' of the neighbourhood than her mum. Given that Janet is educated in the nearby high school, and socialises in the neighbourhood, she is more informed of who is likely to be involved with the mugging of her mum. However, this knowledge is not a credible enough resource for her mum to press charges.

It appeared that knowing which young people were likely to pose a risk or were likely to engage in risk-taking activities provided participants with useful information to either safely negotiate risk, or to participate in risk behaviours. This is discussed in more detail in section 6.3.1.3.

6.3 Resources for resilience in the neighbourhood

Similar to their attitude towards the home context, participants' attitudes towards the wider neighbourhood context appeared conflicted: they discussed the presence of social risk and the need to keep safe and therefore avoid or manage these risks, but at the same time appeared to enjoy where they lived:

> **Christina:** people think that Sighthill is a pure dump. But wance you stay in it, aye you might think it's a dump efter a while, but it isnae really. It's a good place to stay.
>
> [Christina, 12 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

> **Jenny:** There's vandalism, there's people just really annoying people who hate you or people who probably set fires on purpose…but if you look at it in a good way, there are some good people who's really nice, you can talk to them, have a conversation.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

In the above examples, both Christina and Jenny highlight the negative elements of the neighbourhood but both also suggest their neighbourhood is "good". Christina's use of the word "*dump*" to describe the neighbourhood reflected previous work relating to young people's perceptions of living in deprived communities, a word which simultaneously appears to refer to the physical *and* social issues in the neighbourhood (Charlesworth, 2000, Reay and Lucey, 2000, Deuchar, 2009, Pickering et al., 2012, Davidson, 2013). In Jenny's assessment of the neighbourhood, she discusses three different risks (vandalism, arson, and presence of dangerous people). However, she also describes why the neighbourhood is good: interactions with people. This is in keeping with Field (2008)'s summary of social capital: relationships matter.

6.3.1 Social capital

For the participants, their neighbourhood experience was best summed up by the relationships and interactions that occurred with both peers and older people, both within and outside their neighbourhood. This section examines these relationships and resources in more detail.

6.3.1.1 Bonding social capital

Similar to previous studies (Matthews et al., 1998, Christensen, 2002) the neighbourhood appeared to be more important for the younger participants, as the majority of their friendship group appeared to be *within* the neighbourhood which reflected their limited mobility. When asked where they first met friends, many discussed using the public spaces of their neighbourhoods:

> **Mark:** We met at the park and that…years ago.
>
> [Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

> **Johnny:** We kept on meeting ootside, and he asked us if I wanted tae play wae him.

[Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Theo: I didn't know anyone [when I first moved to Glasgow], but I would just say hi to people and some of them would be friendly to me.

JN: What would they do that was friendly?

Theo: Like, if I was alone, and they were doing an activity, they would let me join in with them. Things like football.

[Theo, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

For the younger participants, going out in the neighbourhood gave them opportunities to meet other young people their own age. These friendships were formed through meeting in similar spaces, and for the boys, sharing a common enjoyment of football. Younger Sighthill participants were also likely to talk about hanging out in the local youth club:

I go to the youth centre on Tuesday and Thursdays. When I'm there I play pool and table tennis. I meet friends there, but we don't agree before it if we'll go. I just see who I see.

[Theo, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Significantly, Theo described not planning to meet friends at the youth club but rather he would "*just see who I see*". This suggests that the majority of Theo's social network use the space, and it was a space that they felt strong connection to. This was a sentiment shared by Mark (11 years old, Shawbridge) who, when asked why he went to the youth club, answered *cause like, all my friends used to go to it"* (wave one, go-along). Therefore it could be argued that the youth club in both areas was a key resource for bonding social capital.

For others, such as Nicola and Christina (Sighthill), they described enjoying hanging out in the neighbourhood rather than attending the supervised youth club. The decision of where to hangout was based on who else went there:

JN: So was there a lot of people like hanging round?

Nicola: Mhmm. Cause loads of people from school. They all stayed there. So they would always sit in the same place as you.

[Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Girls' activities with friends were less likely to be structured, and more likely to involve walking or playing hide-and-seek. Walking could either be the outcome (walking around the neighbourhood for fun), or could serve an additional function (walking to the town centre). Boys on the other hand were more likely to play games like football or make 'dens' (a way to claim temporary ownership of space in the neighbourhood). Unlike playing football for a team, playing football with your friends in the neighbourhood appeared to have more mini-games, which each had their own rules, and different numbers of players. Using the public spaces of the neighbourhood in this way was a way to develop a sense of belonging and place attachment among the younger participants. Although, as mentioned above, hanging out in public spaces also increased the likelihood that they would witness or experience socio-spatial risk.

While older participants had more opportunities to develop connections with young people from other neighbourhoods (due to the wider catchment area of the high school, and their own increased mobility), they also referred to old primary school friends who were still members of their peer group:

> **Martin:** The next flat [in the old HRF block] ma pal stayed. He came to our school in primary three and we've been best pals fae then. And its still- we're in the same class at school and that still.

[Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Martin's friendship with Ricky has lasted nine years, cemented by the close proximity of Ricky to Martin's home and being in the same class as him. Despite the increased friendship groups that are offered in secondary school, Martin and Ricky remained "*best pals*".

6.3.1.2 Bridging social capital

While bridging social capital may refer to relationships which 'bridge' social classes, this chapter takes a more literal approach to the term: social relationships which 'bridge' different neighbourhoods. The experience of bridging social capital may be important as it provided the young people and participants in this study with friendship groups and bonds in other

neighbourhoods. In relation to the current study, bridging social capital was seen as a resource for resilience as it enabled some participants to build connections in their new neighbourhood prior to their relocation.

One of the most common ways to develop bridging social capital was through secondary school. Neither Sighthill nor Shawbridge had a secondary school within the neighbourhood, and therefore young people had to travel to another nearby neighbourhood. The majority of the older participants attended their nearest secondary school, although Deena (14 years, Sighthill) and Patrick (16 years, Shawbridge) attended schools further away. For Deena, this was due to her parents' wish that she attended an all-girls school, and for Patrick this was due to the lack of denominational high school nearby. The broad catchment areas of secondary schools meant the within-school population was a combination of young people from six or more different neighbourhoods. This had an effect on the friendships of the participants:

> **Claire:** I don't have- like ma primary school pals I still talk to them but I don't really hang aboot wi' them as much, I've met quite a lot o' new pals… There's quite a lot of people come fae different schemes [neighbourhoods] that go to our school
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Due to the large catchment area of the school, it was likely that pupils would begin to make friends in other neighbourhoods who may not be as easy to access as their own within-neighbourhood primary school friends. As discussed in the previous chapter, participants described using the Internet or their mobile phones as a way to communicate with friends who they could not physically see after school. Therefore the Internet was seen to provide additional social capital generation and was used in conjunction with 'real life' interaction.
Bridging social capital was also seen when participants and their families attempted to maintain cultural connections. For Deena, originally from South Asia, and Janet, originally from West Africa, their connections with wider communities spanned multiple neighbourhoods:

> Deena: So, like since like we're [South Asians], like all [South Asians] that we like talk to and everything, like we meet up and all that.

> **JN: would you say you did more with them than you do with like other groups in Sighthill?**
>
> Deena: Yeah.
>
> **JN: why do you think that is?**
>
> Deena: Well, we've got this like festival New Year sort of thing, that we do like every year and like the kids, like us kids (laughs), like, we like participate in that.
>
> [Deena, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

> Janet: It's an African church...our church is for all the English, we speak English, but [another African church] is like divided into two, English and our like language
>
> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Religion was not a strong identity-marker for most of the white-Scottish participants. Those who attended a Catholic school (Claire, Paul, Martin, Nicola, Christina and Shelly in Sighthill, and Patrick and Adam in Shawbridge), described this was because of parental decision making rather than their own religious beliefs. However, for Janet, membership of the church and the ability to talk to people who are also from a similar background was strongly linked to her own identity as an African. On the other hand, while Deena also described herself as religious, her membership in the South Asian community centred around leisure activities and charity fundraising. The combination of this and the location of her school meant there were few opportunities for Deena to interact with within-neighbourhood peer-groups:

> **JN: So, see like after school, do you ever go to your friends' houses?**
>
> **Deena:** Nah. It's a little bit too far, 'cause some of my friends, like, live out of Glasgow. So, they have to travel a long distance here.
>
> [Deena, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

While Deena's opportunities to develop bridging social capital were more plentiful than other participants, this appeared to come at the cost of her

bonding social capital, as she did not refer to any inside-neighbourhood friends (Holland et al., 2007b, Weller and Bruegel, 2009).

Another source of bridging social capital was relationships with extended family. Long-term resident participants (often White-Scottish) were likely to belong to locally concentrated family networks, whereby their grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc, lived within a small geographical radius, often keeping to the same "side" of the city. Therefore the Sighthill participants were more likely to have relatives who also stayed in the North of Glasgow, and the Shawbridge participants were more likely to have relatives who stayed in the South of Glasgow. This close proximity offered the opportunity to begin to make new social connections:

> **Nicola:** 'cause my granny stays in [adjacent neighbourhood], there's a club there and I went to that last year, so I knew people fae that.
>
> [Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

As Nicola was in primary school at wave one, the opportunities for her to meet friends from other neighbourhoods were limited in comparison to her older brother and sister. However, she described utilising her connections with family members (i.e. her grandmother) to try and make friends in other neighbourhoods. This led to developments in bridging social capital as she began to attend another youth club and meet new friends. It could be argued that the presence of relatives within other neighbourhoods provided Nicola with a legitimising presence there; as her relative was seen as belonging to the other neighbourhood, she also 'belonged' by association.

6.3.1.3 Bridging social capital as risk

While bridging social capital may be positive in terms of promoting friendships and social resources with a wider population, it was also discussed by participants in terms of social risk:

> **Shelly**: Aye, I go roon an' they're all gang fighting. I just staun there and talk to them, hang aroon [West Glasgow] but I go an' talk to the [rival neighbourhood in West Glasgow] boys an' all.

JN: So what happens when they start gang fighting?

Shelly: bottles and bricks get thrown...I just talk to them while it's happenin

JN: Have you ever been hit by anything?

Shelly: Aye but it's a carry-on

[Shelly, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Shelly's aunt and older cousins lived in a neighbourhood in the West of Glasgow (hereafter referred to as 'West Glasgow') and she used these connections in order to develop bridging social capital and therefore form a friendship group in the neighbourhood. This occurred at a time when Sighthill was being cleared, so many of Shelly's friends no longer lived in the neighbourhood. However, her new friends participated in territorial fighting and therefore were the 'risky' young people discussed earlier in the chapter. Shelly described how the territorial fighting in West Glasgow had a clear gender divide: the boys fought and the girls watched, which was similar to Claire's discussion of watching territorial fights in Sighthill against a nearby neighbourhood; however, this divide and passivity of girls within territorial "gang" fighting can be questioned (Batchelor, 2009, Young, 2009).

Unlike the boys, Shelly and Claire described how they were more able to move between the two sides and socialise without fear of persecution. However, while Shelly described the behaviour as a "*carry-on*" (meaning an entertaining social activity, or non malicious), she also highlighted a number of risks: projectiles being thrown, some of the boys carrying weapons (pipes and golf clubs), and how she had been stopped and questioned by the police and often brought back from West Glasgow in a police car (however that experience was not a deterrent for Shelly).

6.3.1.4 Intergenerational connections

Paralleling the discussion of family members and concierges in the previous chapter, participants who had positive relationships with teachers were more likely to discuss a positive attitude towards school and school connectivity, which in turn may have provided a protective factor against the effects of the

neighbourhood (Brookmeyer et al., 2006, Bond et al., 2007, Sykes and Musterd, 2011, Williams and Bryan, 2013). This highlights the importance of the proximal context of school in young people's experience of the everyday. Participants who described having positive relationships with teachers also discussed the importance of mutual respect between pupils and teachers:

> **Paul:** they're a' the same. It's like if you're all right wi' them, they're a' right wi' you so.
>
> [Paul, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Paul's sentiment was shared by many of the participants, especially the boys, who believed in the importance of reciprocity: teachers do not immediately deserve respect but rather are given respect equivalent to the respect they give others. In terms of how teachers demonstrated respect, Jenny suggests that the teachers needed to be honest:

> **Jenny:** They have to understand you; your abilities, what you can do, what you can't, and they have to be honest with you, 'cause some teachers aren't quite honest. Like, when they speak to you, they make up stories about his life, which are obviously not true.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

For Jenny, signs of respect within the classroom included one-to-one support, and the presence of a working teacher-pupil relationship, whereby the pupils' strengths and weaknesses could be understood. This was also reflected in participants' discussion of 'bad' teachers: teachers who were described as authoritarian and demanded silence in their class, with no time to develop relationships with the pupils in the class. Other 'bad' teacher types included the teacher who "*made fun*" of pupils (Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge), or the teacher who let too many people speak in class (Theo, 11 years, Sighthill).

Other participants found connections developed with sports coaches or youth club leaders also had a strong foundation of mutual respect. For example Nicola (11 years, Sighthill) described having a new coach in gymnastics who was strict but believed that if her team worked hard they would be ready for international competitions. His attitude earned the respect of the gymnasts in the team. In terms of football coaches, the boys described the need to have a "fair" coach.

Claire, Paul, and their dad described the difficulty of having a coach who was not fair:

> **Paul:** it's like everybody that can dae training on a Thursday doon in the Arena [multipurpose sports pitch in Sighthill], then on Friday you'll go to [local football stadium in North Glasgow] and that, then it's different people. But naebody- there's naebody in Sighthill to play for them, in Sighthill.
>
> **Dad:** *what's happened is, a coach has come in and it's meant to be for this area…so what he's done, instead of doing that is he's brought in that he knows from other areas and made a team*
>
> **Claire:** It's supposed to be for Sighthill.
>
> **Dad:** *there was two people from Sighthill on a Sighthill football team*
>
> [Paul, 14 years; Claire, 16 years; Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Each neighbourhood in North Glasgow had a football team for young people, as a way to combat territorial tensions in the area. However, the new coach appeared to create teams by using players outside of the neighbourhood, leading to Sighthill young people being under-represented on the team. Reacting to this unfair behaviour, Paul chose to train in another neighbourhood where there was a more respectful and fair coach. Consequently, this improved his bridging between-neighbourhood social capital as he began to make friends from different neighbourhoods who also attended the training.

For other boys, like Martin, his positive relationship with his football coach manifested itself in the coach, and the coach's family, helping Martin's family move from their HRF to their relocation address. This mutual respect between Martin and the coach enabled Martin to ask him for help in matters unrelated to sport.

6.3.2 Familiarity and cumulative experience within the neighbourhood

At the beginning of the thesis, resilience was defined as the interactive and dynamic relationship between the individual and the multiple proximal contexts

of the neighbourhood. This definition can be seen in action when the long-term resident participants spoke about their cumulative experiences of negotiating risk in the neighbourhood:

> **Jenny:** [When I was younger] I'd be really scared to go outside, and my dad would have to take me places. But now I'm kind of okay with it
>
> **JN: What do you mean okay with it?**
>
> **Jenny:** Well I've grown up here, like, I've grown into…like…I know what to expect from people I know how to act around them, like if there's a gang I don't look at them and I cross the road casually
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

Participants described their methods of negotiating risk was rooted in an early childhood reliance on family to chaperone them around the neighbourhood. It was through these early experiences that they learned risk negotiation (Valentine, 1997, Timperio et al., 2004, Murray, 2009) for example crossing the road when they were confronted with a 'risky' group, or avoiding eye contact. The action of avoiding eye-contact and maintaining physical distance was also mentioned by young people under the umbrella phrase of 'keeping yourself to yourself':

> **Claire:** I wouldnae say it's dangerous. It's like I can walk aboot, cause its like- keep yourself to yourself and naebody really says anything tae ye.
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

'Keeping yourself to yourself' was one of the main ways in which young people attempted to negotiate the neighbourhood risk. While they described it as part of their everyday mundane neighbourhood behaviours, it was a defensive measure to deal with external social risks. Actions such as not looking people in the eye, keeping their heads down, or crossing the street, were non-verbal cues given to highlight they were not welcoming interactions (Tulloch, 2004, Reay and Lucey, 2000, Cohen, 1994). However, the action of 'keeping yourself to yourself' also highlighted the nuanced knowledge of risk which participants require as they must know in what contexts, and with what people, they should keep their

head down to avoid trouble. For others, keeping out of trouble highlights their ability to bridge their interactions and in school to their movements in the neighbourhood:

> **Martin:** I've never been caught up in any trouble, when it comes to gangs or anything. Everybody's always been all right. But you've seen people get chased and all that, but never got dragged into it. Kept well oot it. I know some o' them noo, like in school, but they've never said nothing to me, they've not had a word to say.
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

For Martin, the development of this bridging social capital appeared to ensure he was not involved in territorial fighting. In the classroom, Martin was able to get to know those people who participate in territorial fighting, but this was also the place where he developed his identity as someone who is not involved in those behaviours. Therefore, when Martin sees them in the neighbourhood, he is able to rely both on his interactions with the boys, and with his identity as someone who is not involved in violence, to stay out of trouble. His choice of friends also underlined this wish to stay out of trouble: he kept friendships with those who also did not participate in violence, and had little to do with those who did, therefore keeping "out of it". However, his awareness of 'risky' young people enabled him to better read the socio-spatial risks.

6.4. Discussion of risk and resilience within the neighbourhood

Risks of the neighbourhood appeared to be structured around the individual, and their own knowledge and experience within the neighbourhood context, demonstrating that there is no "single sense of place" (Massey, 2005:60) but rather shared and conflicting awareness which further contribute to the social awareness of 'risky' people and 'risky' places (Lupton, 1999a, Lupton and Tulloch, 1999, Douglas, 2002, Lupton and Tulloch, 2002, Backett-Milburn and Harden, 2004). For example, there were examples of gender differentiations in risk perception, with boys being concerned about being misidentified as someone involved in territorial fighting, and girls with being mugged or attacked when walking home.

Similar to the HRF block context, the 'risky' others ("junkies" and "alkies") were in the shared public spaces of the neighbourhood, often behaving in a way which threatened or intimidated other users of the spaces. Many of the participants described not seeing these 'risky' others, but rather seeing the physical signs of their presence: graffiti, broken glass, discarded needles, charred ground. However, while the participants appeared to agree that there was some level of social risk within the neighbourhoods, many of them also concluded that "it's just what happens" or "you get used to it". These ambivalent responses may reflect either the embedded or entrenched nature of risk within young people's lives, or their ambivalent relationships to places, within the neighbourhood (Reay and Lucey, 2000, Macdonald et al., 2005, Macdonald, 2008, Shildrick and Macdonald, 2008).

Another way to look at this normalisation of risk was discussed by Kearns and Parkinson who suggested that "residents in their own neighbourhoods can read encounters correctly and respond appropriately without having to resort to assertiveness and inventiveness" (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001:2106). Participants' attitudes may have reflected the position of these risks in their everyday lives: having to avoid fights when visiting friends from other areas, walking past broken glass on their way to school, seeing playground equipment vandalised.

This familiarity of the neighbourhood is developed through the resources of resilience discussed above. In addition to the family bonds discussed in the previous chapter, participants also highlighted a number of resources for social capital including friendship groups either within or outside of the neighbourhood, positive adult role models, connection to religious or other community groups, and the presence of proximal extended family members. The discussion of the neighbourhood so far has described the participants as being aware of the risks of the neighbourhood, and also able to utilise social resources to ensure their experiences of the neighbourhood and beyond were safe. However, these neighbourhoods were undergoing a period of transition that introduced new risks and new experiences for participants. These are discussed below.

6.5 Attitudes towards the regeneration of the neighbourhood

Both Sighthill and Shawbridge were several years into the regeneration process when this study began. Therefore the physical signs of regeneration in the public spaces of the neighbourhood were part of the backdrop to participants' everyday lives. This included a decrease in resident population; an increase in derelict buildings or cleared ground after demolition had taken place; and also the creation of new risky spaces. So far the chapter has discussed 'existing' or known risk. These include socio-spatial risks that were most likely present in the neighbourhood prior to regeneration. The current section examines 'new' or unknown socio-spatial risk. These include perceptions of vulnerability caused in part by the physical or social changes brought about by regeneration.

The participants' perception of new risky spaces may have been linked to GHA's lack of direct engagement with young people regarding their regeneration strategy. This lack of knowledge appeared to negatively affect participants' impressions of present day (in 2011) regeneration progress but also on the intended outcome of regeneration. These issues are discussed further below.

6.5.1 Everyday experience of regeneration spaces in the neighbourhood

For the participants in this study, the regeneration of their neighbourhoods was a slow process. Younger participants, and those who had recently moved to Sighthill or Shawbridge, could not remember a time before regeneration. Even for some of the older participants, their everyday exposure to the slowly changing environment meant they were sometimes not aware of how much progress had been made:

> **Jenny:** Ok. See, you don't really notice these changes. You kinda have to think about.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

While Jenny was able to later reflect on how the neighbourhood had changed, both physically and socially, her first response was interesting as it reflected the

everyday nature of change. For many participants, the physical changes in the neighbourhood had been going on for so long that they had become mundane elements of the neighbourhood context. The go-along interviews were used to try to problematise the everyday nature of these changes, asking participants to reflect on what used to be in spaces.

Often participants described barely registering these changes, as they did not directly affect them. An example of this occurred during a go-along with Theo:

> **JN: What do you think when you walk past those houses?**
>
> Theo: I don't really think anything. They're abandoned.
>
> [Theo, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

For Theo, no one can use the houses and therefore they were derelict and abandoned. The use of the word abandoned may also reflect the lack of maintenance of the building. As it was due to be demolished, there was no social control required to ensure it was respectable.

Often participants' discussion of the urban change in the neighbourhood was linked to their previous attachment to places prior to demolition. For example participants were more likely to remember a building if it used to be a place where they played, or was somewhere that a friend or relative used to live before it was demolished. During Jenny's go-along, she described her memories of a place that, in 2011, was just a derelict piece of ground (Figure 16):

Figure 16: Photograph by Jenny (15 years) of a site in Shawbridge that used to contain a swimming pool

JN: What used to be there, in that big gap?

Jenny: It used to be a fitness place, it had a swimming pool, fitness rooms, it had quite a lot of classes. It was really good

JN: Did anyone in your family go there?

Jenny: My dad made me go there. I never wanted to do swimming …but he was like "you have to go swimming"

[Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

This can be seen as what De Certeau (1988) referred to as the "presence of absence", whereby the individual's own personal memories and stories "fill in the blanks" of the neighbourhood, bringing both the history of the neighbourhood and their own individual history to life. In the above example, we see that Jenny's memories of being forced to go swimming by her dad have ensured that even after the swimming pool has been demolished (aside from a few tiles on the wall), it is still an active part of how she describes her neighbourhood.

For others, the empty sites provided the possibility for new play spaces. Kraftl et al (2013) conducted a study that examined children's experiences of living in new communities which were still under construction, and concluded: "building sites, especially when they endure for years, offer a particular time and space in

the life of a community through which struggles over meaning making are heightened and in which locally accepted and everyday routines are provisionally worked out" (p.198). This can be seen with the appropriation of the levelled ground of the flats in Sighthill. This empty space was referred to by the younger Sighthill participants as the *"spare grun [ground]"*.

From fieldnotes:

The spare grun- empty ground- is the site of the old blocks that were demolished in 2007, the ground hasn't been levelled off yet so as we walk around it, there is concrete on the ground with grass growing on top of it, broken glass and parts of stairways which have not been cleared yet- it looks overgrown and wild.

While this space was seen as abandoned and awaiting re-development, for the young people in the neighbourhood, this presented an uncontrolled space where their friends could socialise. For some of the younger participants in Sighthill (Christina and Nicola), this was a space that all of their school friends used for socialising when they did not want to use the youth club. Similar to the other informal youth spaces, it was a large unsupervised space that no adult seemed to go to. Therefore it became a youth space because *"everyone goes there"*, and while they were present in the space, it was theirs to control.

6.5.2 Experience of 'new' risk caused by regeneration in the neighbourhood

While policies of regeneration may promote neighbourhood change as a way to address the negative issues of the neighbourhood, in the interim period where this study positions itself, regeneration may provide another 'risky' environment. The transition of a neighbourhood from deprived and 'risky' to the desired regeneration outcome may involve the social environment getting worse before it gets better. For the participants, the interim period was associated with derelict housing, relocation of friends and subsequent decrease in within-neighbourhood social capital, and the perceived or actual rise in antisocial behaviour.

6.5.2.1 New 'risky' spaces

The regeneration of the neighbourhoods also led to an increase in 'risky' spaces. One of these spaces was the derelict buildings due for demolition. The exterior of these buildings were often vandalised, with windows smashed, or signs of forced entry. The images below illustrate two examples of these buildings in Sighthill.

Figure 17: Photography by JN of derelict flat in Sighthill

Figure 18: Photograph by Theo (11 years, Sighthill) of derelict flat

The process of relocation had decreased the population of the neighbourhood, leading to an increase in the number of empty or 'cleared' flats. Due to the decrease in residents, the informal social control of the neighbourhood also decreased, and the empty flats began to represent a new risk:

Christina: [shouting] OOH THE WINDAE'S FELL OOT! [Referring to the building in Figure 17]

Shelly: Someb'dys been in that

Christina: Aye ye can well tell

JN: What do you mean? Like recently?

Christina: Aye because that windae wisnae away

Shelly: That wisnae like that last week

Christina: That wisnae there two nights ago either, so that's only happened last night or the-day

[Christina, 12 years; Shelly, 14 years; Sighthill, w1, go-along]

Patrick: The doors have been blocked off and everything.

Adam: Want to know something? There's still lights in there, going on and off.

Patrick: Yes, but how are they meant to get in and out?

Adam: Back door.

Patrick: No, it's all been blocked off. I walked past it yesterday.

[Patrick, 16 years; Adam, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

After all residents had been relocated from a building, doors and ground-floor windows would be blocked with steel shutters to ensure no entry was possible. This can be seen in Figures 17 and 18. Despite this, some of the participants described the derelict buildings in their neighbourhood in a similar way to a haunted house: seeing shapes or shadows through the window although there was no one there, or seeing lights go on although there was no way to enter the building. This, for the participants, signified the presence of some unknown 'Other', or a new social risk for the young people to accommodate into their already complex understanding of risk within the neighbourhood context.

The estimation of who might be in these derelict buildings also reflected the participants' views of social risk within the wider neighbourhood. For example, Shona (18 years, Sighthill, go-along) described feeling vulnerable when walking past the derelict buildings at night *"I was scared in case somebody came an' attacked me"*. While the participants never actually seen the 'risky people' within the derelict buildings, they had seen the signs that there may be someone there. Due to this, it was not possible to clearly identify who or what was causing their feelings of vulnerability, which further increased their concerns.

These stories appeared to feature mainly in younger participants discussions of the neighbourhood, and were similar to spooky stories told at sleepovers: seeing lights switching on and off when there is no one there, seeing shadowy figures move at night, and implicit risk of being attacked if these unknown figures see you. Reflecting on the definitions of risk introduced in chapter two, these ghost stories may be an example of socio-cultural risk. These stories are shaped by the younger participants' existing anxieties of the neighbourhood: fear of being attacked, fear of unknown 'Others' and fear of walking alone at night. By sharing these stories, young people are also sharing the best way to manage this risk: avoidance of the unknown.

6.5.2.2 Relocation and reduced informal social control

While the derelict buildings presented a new risk location for the participants, others described that the existing risks were more prevalent as more residents were relocated:

> **Shona:** there'll still be people there who's going to be like dead lonely and they'll need to like, when they walk about the street they'll be dead empty and I think it'll make it quite dangerous…I think people just like junkies and all that, just sort of hanging oot in the flat because they know it's empty.
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

For Shona, the ability of the community to ensure safety was diminished as more residents were relocated. She described being concerned that, given the slow process of relocation, residents who are among the last to be moved would be increasingly vulnerable. Shona also linked the 'risky' people discussed earlier in

the chapter (e.g. "junkies") as a source of vulnerability, especially as the social control of the neighbourhood reduces (a point discussed in section 6.5.2.2). Feeling increasingly vulnerable in public spaces was predominately discussed by girls in Sighthill, with three participants discussing a rise in physical attacks and muggings in the period 2010-2011:

> **Claire:** it was never, like, somebody, you wouldnae hear, like, people getting mugged and that, and then, like, last year, four people within, like, the space of a month got mugged walking up that path.
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

The path (the so called 'muggers lane') was an existing risk location (and discussed above in section 6.2.1) but three Sighthill participants' described hearing more stories of mugging and opportunistic crime as the relocation process continued. Their reasoning was that as fewer residents used the pathway, there were fewer opportunities for informal social control or monitoring of behaviours.

Shawbridge participants discussed a rise in arson within the neighbourhood during the same period:

> **Jenny:** there's been quite a few recent, there's been quite a few fires. I've kinda noticed 'cause I've seen so many fires, like, so many, in two months. There's one neighbour underneath us, a month ago, and just near to the station, there's been quite a few fires up there… I don't know why. It just keeps happening and I'm not quite sure.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Jenny and Johnny both describe fires occurring in the neighbourhood, although while Johnny refers to them as being caused by "junkies", Jenny is not sure who causes them or why they keep occurring. However, both Jenny and Johnny suggested that arson increased in the neighbourhood as the clearing process progressed. This again highlights the potential explanation that the lack of informal social control within the neighbourhood led to an increase in ASB. The reason why some participants perceived higher, and others lower, risk of violence since the beginning of regeneration and relocation of residents, may

have been be due to differing levels of pre-existing knowledge of social risk in the neighbourhood, or how well the participants were integrated into the neighbourhood. For example, 'new' risk appeared to be discussed more by long-term residents of the neighbourhood. Understanding of these 'new' risks appeared to be a combination of seeing problems occur more (e.g. increased arson) which required participants to use the public spaces of the neighbourhood frequently, but also hearing stories of crimes committed (e.g. mugging in the lane) which required participants to know different members of the community in order to hear these stories of neighbourhood socio-spatial risk.

In terms of management, while they had a complex set of strategies to negotiate the existing risks of the neighbourhood: "junkies", young people, dangerous parks etc, they did not have a set of strategies to negotiate the new risks. They were unsure who poses a risk, what the risk is, and, at times, where it occurred. This may have created a sense of renewed vulnerability about moving around the neighbourhood, leading to their assessment that the neighbourhood is now more risky.

6.5.2.3 Relocation of social network

The last significant risk examined in this chapter is the relocation of participants' social networks. As explained earlier in the thesis, the relocation process in the neighbourhoods affected all residents who lived there. Given the strong bonds associated with the neighbourhood, and the concentration of participants' friends within the same small geographic space, relocation threatens to weaken social ties.

For some participants, the relocation process meant they lost contact with some of their friends:

> **Jenny:** Emmm...most of my time is spent in here [Shawbridge] actually! But eh, I don't really walk this way often, just to walk to school or coming back. I used to walk this way a lot because I had some friends here, we used to go outside and go to the park and hang about, but now they're further away. But now I just go shopping with my mum.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

Relocation of Jenny's friends had a negative effect both on how much time she spends in the neighbourhood, and also on her ability to access within-neighbourhood social capital. As her friends moved out, she began to spend more time in the family space of the home and less time in youth spaces in the neighbourhood. Relocation of social networks also led some participants to feel more vulnerable about using public spaces in the neighbourhood:

> **Janet:** I used to have a friend that was in here, that I feel safe going with all the times, but they all moved houses

> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Similar to Jenny, Janet found that as her friends began to be relocated, she spent less time in the public spaces of the neighbourhood. Janet also described that many of the informal social connections she had in the neighbourhood were linked with her friends who had left, and therefore felt like she was no longer able to rely on these connections.

For other participants, the potential risk of isolation associated with friends relocating was negotiated through a combination of social media and, if the relocation was over a short distance, high school attendance. Girls were more likely to talk about using Facebook or other social media to keep in touch with friends who had moved away. Boys were more likely to talk about keeping in touch through playing in the same football teams, or through walking to meet friends who had moved. For example Mark in Shawbridge described spending most of his time in a nearby neighbourhood since his friend relocated.

6.5.3 Expectations for the future of the regeneration neighbourhood

Similar to other UK studies of regeneration (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, Goldson, 2003, Goodwin and Young, 2013), none of the participants in this study described being formally informed by GHA regarding the future of their neighbourhood. Instead, they described reading letters addressed to their parent (Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge), or talking to their parents regarding what was going to happen to the family after relocation (Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge,

Deena, 14 years, Sighthill). They also described hearing other adults in the neighbourhood gossip about the potential regeneration decisions:

> **Claire:** I got told that they were building something for, like, the Olympics, at first, and then I got told they were building houses and selling them. Then they're telling people, like, they told people if they moved they'll get a house in Sighthill – so they must be building houses somewhere.
>
> **JN: Yeah. So is it just like, kind of, people telling people? Like, no one's officially said?**
>
> **Claire:** No, nobody's actually came out and said, "This is what's happening."
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

Due to the lack of formal conversation between those responsible for the regeneration strategy and young people who experienced the outcomes of these decisions, some of the participants described feeling confused regarding why some of the decisions were made, and relied on rumours heard around the neighbourhood. One of the main questions participants had was why their homes were being demolished in the first place:

> **Janet:** I don't get this, because this flat is staying, it's not falling down, I don't think so. This flat's not falling down but how come most of the flats are falling down and they've just left two? There's no, I don't understand that. I don't, like it doesn't make sense to me.
>
> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]
>
> **Jenny:** I'm not quite sure why they did this in the first place, I'm just wondering. The flats might have needed painted and stuff but there was nothing wrong with it.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

As discussed in the previous chapter, despite the risks experienced in the HRF block, many of the participants were positive about their experiences there. Rather than demolition, many discussed hoping the blocks would be remodelled rather than demolished, thus reducing physical problems in the HRF, while sustaining the sense of community. This was an opinion often raised by

participants who knew friends who lived in remodelled HRF blocks in North Glasgow:

> **Claire:** The flats were good. I think if they done them up and made them look nice, like the ones over in [nearby neighbourhood] – the people still do want to stay in Sighthill. If you've been brought up, you're used to it
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

This suggestion highlighted that residents may be of the opinion 'better the devil you know', and would wish to stay rather than begin to make new connections in a new neighbourhood due to the presence of social capital resources and other resilience pathways. This sentiment was shared by other participants in Sighthill, including Shelly (14 years, Sighthill) who suggested that even though she was looking forward to moving to a bigger and better home she would miss Sighthill *"probably because I've grown up here an' that"*.

Some participants suggested they were cynical about the ability of regeneration to change the social environment of the neighbourhoods:

> **Patrick:** I don't think anything'll change, except like the flats getting pulled down
>
> [Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]
>
> **Jenny:** Erm, I think it's the same place but new houses. I don't think there will be a big rise in people wanting to come and see the new flats
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

This may be due in part to the lack of information that participants were given regarding the regeneration strategy for the neighbourhood. For the participants in Shawbridge, who were already witnessing the re-development of their neighbourhood, the lack of engagement with the decision making process meant that they were unclear as to what else was going to be developed in the neighbourhood apart from houses. For participants who had strong feelings regarding the levels of ASB in their neighbourhood, this also informed their prediction regarding regeneration:

Johnny: There's nae point stickin' something doon in this place, it'll just get broken again…even if it was a good place, it'll still be a shitehole after it.

[Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along]

As much of their neighbourhood experience was connected to the negotiation and management of ASB, it was unsurprising that for some of the participants, the negative "nothing will change" attitude was related to their current experience of the neighbourhood. Johnny suggested that while the regeneration may result in positive environmental changes, the 'risky' people in the neighbourhood would remain in the neighbourhood.

6.6 Discussion

Due to its slow pace, the experience of regeneration was interwoven into participants' everyday lives; the changing population, the sight of demolished buildings, and cleared sites were the backdrop of their adolescence. The changes and consistencies of the neighbourhood brought about by regeneration enabled participants to make new meanings within the neighbourhood spaces (Kraftl et al, 2013). This meaning making included the creation of new youth spaces through demolition of old buildings, but also the creation of new risk spaces including the derelict buildings awaiting demolition in both neighbourhoods.

On the other hand, the negotiation of the regeneration of the neighbourhood was often described and discussed as a continuation of what has always been: young people continued to attend the youth club, meet their friends, play games, and hang out. While the regeneration of the neighbourhood created new risk spaces, their fears and understandings of social risk were also seen as a continuation: "junkies", dangerous teenagers, strangers, and anyone who goes to the park at night.

The effects of social change caused by regeneration on young people's everyday lives appeared to manifest itself in fluctuating perceptions of risk and changes to their resources for resilience in the neighbourhood. While participants described being "used to" the older and more established social issues of the

neighbourhood (such as high crime rate, vandalism and other ASB such as public drinking), the presence of new risk caused new vulnerabilities. This was connected to relocation of existing tenants who had previously provided the informal social control in the public spaces of the neighbourhood, and the introduction of people in the HRF block who were unknown to the participants. The lack of knowledge regarding these individuals meant their behaviour was perceived as more unpredictable. Due to the unpredictable nature of the risk, they feel more vulnerable. On the other hand, other participants felt that the reduction of the resident population meant the neighbourhood was quieter and less risky because those who posed a risk in the past were relocated.

One of the other risks of regeneration was that of friends relocating outside of the neighbourhood, thereby reducing the bonding social capital of the neighbourhood. However, some participants described being able to cope with these changes by keeping in contact with friends through social media or, if the relocation was over a short distance, travelling to meet them.

Therefore to examine how participants experienced both the neighbourhood, and the changes within the neighbourhood, I return again to the "ordinary magic" of resilience (Masten, 2001). The resilience of participants can be seen as a complex web of social interactions, social and cultural capital, place belonging, and family relationships (Lerner and Benson, 2003, Masten, 2001). Rather than being passive members of the community, or being victims of their circumstances, the participants in this study highlighted the different ways in which young people actively make, and re-make, meaning within their lives in reaction to the changes currently being undertaken at the macro-level.

Until now, these results have focused on the interactions between the individual and their wider surrounding contexts, the home and the neighbourhood. The following chapter takes a more in-depth look at the participants and discusses their own individual transitions that occurred during the fieldwork period (2011-2012) in order to place regeneration in the wider context of the participants' lives. Focusing on the interviews conducted in wave two, the chapter suggests ways in which the resources identified as important in negotiating risk in

Chapters five and six, were also important when discussing personal change and critical moments in the participants' individual biographies.

Chapter seven: Individual experience of change

As mentioned throughout this thesis, these young people's everyday lives were being experienced within and through neighbourhood change. While the previous chapter discussed this in terms of the participants' experiences of living in a neighbourhood undergoing physical and social change, the current chapter examines how change was experienced and negotiated at the individual level. The chapter explores change in a number of ways: relocation of participants to their new home (examining both expectations and experiences), and other significant biographical changes that occurred during the 2011-12 fieldwork period. While most experienced relocation, their individual experiences of this change differed, often due to variations within their ability to access resources. Within this chapter, these changes are discussed using the concept of "critical moments" (Thomson et al., 2002). Previously, Thomson et al used the term to highlight biographical events in young people's lives that have important consequences of their lives or for their identity. In Thomson et al's studies, they described that the critical moment was sometimes an event that was outside of the young person's control, although the consequences of the event were influential and longlasting, and were often seen as having the power to impact on overall transitions or wellbeing. In terms of the current study, relocation of family can be seen an example of this. The decision to relocate families came from the macro policy level, and was outside of the control of the residents in the neighbourhood. However, it is likely that by relocating young people to different neighbourhoods, it may have a longlasting effect on their lives. This chapter examines the immediate impact of relocation and how participants negotiated and experienced the consequences and outcomes of relocation.

Thomson et al's concept of critical moments also highlighted that these events may occur in tandem with other life events. Of interest to the current study is whether, in addition to relocation, whether other life events occurred that could be defined as "critical moments" and how young people adapted to these. Also whether the experience of biographical critical imoments was influenced by, or influenced, the experience of relocation. Therefore the chapter begins by examining participants' experiences of relocation, before moving to discuss

some of the significant biographical changes that occurred alongside the changes in the neighbourhood.

7.1 Relocation

While the previous chapter discussed relocation in terms of how it feels to live in a neighbourhood where others are relocating, this section discusses participants' own experiences of relocation. For the participants in this study, relocation was not unusual or remarkable, as many of them had previous experience of relocation. Table 20 illustrates their residential mobility history prior to their relocation in 2010-2013:

Neighbourhood	Participants	Number of previous moves	Locations of move
Sighthill	Shona, Martin, Nicola	1	Sighthill-Sighthill
	Claire, Paul	2	Sighthill)-North Glasgow-Sighthill
	Shelly, Christina	1	Sighthill -Sighthill
	Theo	2	Central Africa- Sighthill -Sighthill
	Janet	1	West Africa- Sighthill
	Deena	3	South Asia-East Glasgow-North Glasgow-Sighthill
Shawbridge	Adam	0	-
	Patrick	3	East Glasgow-South West Glasgow- Ayrshire-Shawbridge
	Jenny	4	South East Europe-South Europe-Shawbridge-Shawbridge-Shawbridge
	Johnny	1	South West Glasgow-Shawbridge
	Mark	0	-

Table 20: Details of participants' relocation history (prior to current relocation)

As can be seen from Table 19, with the exception of participants who moved from different countries, all previous relocations took place within a relatively small geographical area, often within the same city or neighbourhood. Their moves often followed the regeneration strategy of the neighbourhood, relocating due to demolition plans, only to find their new building is also scheduled for demolition, causing them to relocate again.

Therefore it is important to acknowledge that for the participants, the current relocation period would not represent their first experience of moving house or of place making within the new home. It is of interest to examine how young people coped with or adapted to these changes, and whether the repeated action of moving had an effect on the ways in which relocation is perceived. The following section discusses the participants' expectations and experiences of the relocation process.

7.1.1 Expectations for relocation

At wave one (2011), ten of the fifteen participants expected to be relocated within a year of the interview, and four had already been relocated within the past 12 months. The remaining participant, Janet (14 years, Sighthill), lived in one of the HRF blocks that was not originally earmarked for demolition and therefore expected to remain in the neighbourhood while other residents were relocated. For those who expected to move, their discussions about relocation were either related to their expectation for their new home, or their expectation for their new neighbourhood. These are discussed below.

7.1.1.1 Expectation for their new home

For the participants who shared a bedroom in the HRF at wave one, their biggest expectation for the new home was that they would have their own bedroom:

> **JN: So why do you think having your own room would be good?**
>
> **Christina:** Because you...can...
>
> **Shelly:** do whatever you want

>   **Christina:** Aye, like and you can get it whatever design you want
>
>   [Christina, 12 years; Shelly, 14 years; Sighthill, w1, home interview]

In the HRF, Christina and Shelly shared with one other sibling and described the space as cramped with little space to put their personal belongings. Comparing their experience in their small, shared bedroom to the possibilities offered by having their own space, the new bedroom offered more freedom in terms of behaviours and expression. At the time of the wave one interviews, their family was still waiting to hear about where they were going to be relocated to. Due to the size of their family (eight people in total), it was a difficult placement request, especially given the number of bedrooms the relocation home would be required to have.

For others, relocation from the HRF offered the potential for increased safety and further avoidance of risk. This was more likely to be an expectation for the participants who suggested that their block had problems with ASB:

>   **JN: Do you think you'll miss living in a flat when you're moved?**
>
>   **Patrick:** No, it'll be easier to get out the house because you don't need to wait on the lifts and you don't know who you'll bump into, but in the houses you just walk out your front door and then you're there.
>
>   [Patrick, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

As outlined in Chapter five, one of the main risks of living in a HRF block was the presence of 'risky' people who used the same communal spaces. Poor social control of these spaces, combined with the relocation of long-term residents and introduction of short-term residents meant some young people had a decreased perception of safety within the communal spaces of the block. Therefore, for some of the participants, the potential of moving to a house where there was no communal spaces was seen as one of the main benefits of relocation. For others such as Paul, the lack of communal area was perceived as a risk, rather than a benefit:

>   **Paul:** I wouldnae move if it was like a front and back door, cause a lot o' people probably come in and try break in your hoose and that.

> And they obviously- they can have a lot of ways oot, so if you came in the front door they could also go oot the back door
>
> [Paul, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Paul's perception of increased vulnerability was also shared by adults who were relocated from HRF to low-rise flats and houses (Lawson and Egan, 2012). While Paul's eventual relocation was to be to a house, he described that his next-door neighbours were also moving to the same neighbourhood. Paul suggested that these neighbours were "*like family tae us*". Reflecting on the strong almost-familial bond between Paul and his neighbours, it is likely that his feelings of vulnerability would be assuaged.

7.1.1.2 Expectation for their new neighbourhood

When discussing expectations for the new neighbourhood, participants often drew upon their experiences of the current neighbourhood risks. Their expectations often centred on their hope that the new neighbourhood would be cleaner and also safer than where they were currently living, therefore continuing the theme of cleanliness as an indicator of social order (as discussed in Chapter five, section 5.2.2.3). For example, at wave one, Johnny (11 years) and his dad had already been informed that they would be moving from Shawbridge to a new build estate in South West Glasgow. When asked about his knowledge of his new neighbourhood and whether it was a good place to live, Johnny replied that he knew some friends there (so had access to social capital), and also that the neighbourhood itself was "*mair cleaner and there's hardly any fires or anything*" (w1, home interview).

Some of the participants discussed being concerned that, while the neighbourhood would improve, they may lose contact with friends:

> **JN: What would be the worst thing about moving, do you think?**
>
> **Mark:** No friends.
>
> **JN: Mm, anything else?**
>
> **Mark:** No.

[Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Mark was one of the participants who had not experienced relocation prior to the current move. Therefore, while other participants could potentially draw on their previous experiences of making new friends when they moved, Mark could not. At wave one, Mark did not know where he was going to move to, although had discussed his mum wanting to move to a different part of the city which would affect his access to bonding social capital. Mark's experiences are discussed in more detail in section 7.2.1.2 below.

This was similar to the concerns of Christina at wave two. While her family was still waiting to move, they learned they would be moving to a new build house in a different part of the city. In the wave two home interview, Christina described feeling "*excited*" about having a house with a garden and with enough bedrooms that she did not have to share with her siblings, but was also sad that none of her friends were relocating to the same part of the city as she was. Her plan to maintain her social networks and resources was to visit Sighthill daily and continue her everyday routine as if she had never left, at the risk of under-developing bonding social capital within her new neighbourhood. As Christina and her family had not moved at the time of the wave two interviews, it was not possible to find out whether this plan was successful.

Other participants suggested that they, prior to relocation, had developed bridging social capital resources in their new neighbourhood. This was more likely if the relocation destination was close to their original neighbourhood, if the participants had family there, or if they participated in team sports there. These connections offered participants a sense of security and belonging that would potentially enable them to become more settled there. It also meant new opportunities for leisure:

> **Claire:** I think I'll be like oot mair as well [when I move].
>
> **JN: Is that something that you'd like, just to be able to go out and-?**
>
> **Claire:** Aye. 'Cause looking just noo, it's only a weekend I can go oot. 'Cause by the time I come back fae school and that, there's nae point in going oot

[Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Claire was the only one of her friendship group who lived in Sighthill, and at wave one described managing the physical distance through chatting on Facebook or texting. She described being happy to move to a nearby neighbourhood as it meant she could leave her bedroom and, instead of talking to her friends on the internet, she could go outside to meet them.

7.1.2 Experience of relocation

The majority of the participants relocated either at wave one or wave two. Table 21 below highlights the known relocation destinations of the participants:

Neighbourhood	Participants	When did they move	Where did they move	New housing type
Sighthill	Shona*, Martin*, Nicola*	2011	New build estate in North Glasgow	Townhouse
	Claire, Paul	2011-2012	New build estate in North Glasgow [18]	Townhouse
	Shelly, Christina*	2012	New build estate in North West Glasgow	Detatched house
	Theo	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Janet	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
	Deena	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Shawbridge	Adam	2011-2012	New build in Shawbridge[19]	Semi-detatched house
	Patrick	2011-2012	New build in Shawbridge	Semi-detatched house
	Jenny*	2010	Shawbridge	Low-rise four storey flat

---

[18] While Claire and Paul were not interviewed in wave two, they had shared their relocation address with me in wave one.

[19] While Patrick and Adam were not interviewed in wave two, they had shared their relocation address with me in wave one.

	Johnny*	2011-2012	New build estate in South West Glasgow	Low-rise four storey flat
	Mark*	2011-2012	Shawbridge	Tenement flat

Table 21: Participants' relocation destinations

Participants' experiences of relocation are discussed in terms of their involvement in the decision-making process, their experiences of physically moving to the new home, their initial experiences in the new home, and their impressions of the new neighbourhood. This section focuses on the experiences of those who were interviewed at wave two. These are discussed in turn below.

7.1.2.1 Relocation decision-making process

As discussed in the previous chapter, no participant was involved in the formal decision making process surrounding the regeneration of the neighbourhood, or the relocation of their family. However, many described their parents asking their opinions regarding where they wanted to move to, although others described the relocation decision as a fait accompli.

An example of the former was Jenny (15 years, Shawbridge). She remembered her parents being shown three destinations when they were first told they would be relocated out of their HRF. For Jenny, the decision of which one to take related to which one was available first as the physical problems in the HRF were unbearable:

> **Jenny:** we went to this one first 'cause we decided to get away from the cockroaches as soon as possible…I begged my dad 'yeah yeah please take it, I wanna go!'

> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, go-along interview]

While their relocation flat was smaller than the family required, the necessity to move away from the negative conditions of the HRF meant that this was a compromise that the family was willing to take. However, this compromise manifested itself in the continued practice of bedroom sharing: Jenny and her sister shared a single bedroom with bunk beds, and her two younger brothers shared.

While some participants felt their parents listened to their opinion, it is sometimes not possible for parents to take their children's advice, either due to lack of options or because they did not consult with their children. For example, Mark felt he was not involved in any aspect of the decision making process. He suggested that he was not sure how his mum found out that his HRF was under clearance, and mentioned that the decision of where to move was also at his mum's discretion:

> **Mark:** she got told they [high-rise] flats up there
>
> **JN: Uh-huh. So what did your mum think when she saw the flats?**
>
> **Mark:** Nah.
>
> **JN: So why do you think she didn't want to live in another big flat?**
>
> **Mark:** Just going to be the same...like junkies and that.
>
> **JN: So what happened when she said no?**
>
> **Mark:** We got offered for [neighbourhood in Glasgow South West] or something.
>
> **JN: Uh-huh.**
>
> **Mark:** And then we just moved here [to a low-rise flat in Shawbridge].
>
> [Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, home interview]

What was interesting in Mark's discussion of the relocation decision-making process was that he was not sure of the exact location of the non-HRF option and also did not give a reason why it was turned down. Their relocation home was a tenement flat situated above a pub and was less than a five-minute walk from their original location. While they turned down the HRF due to concerns about socio-spatial risk, it was also likely that by staying in the same neighbourhood, they would also be exposed to similar risks. However, compared

to the HRF, Mark's new home had larger rooms and there were no lifts and therefore was seen as an improvement to their immediate living environment.

In keeping with the wider trends in Glasgow's residential relocation policies (Gowell, 2011, Kearns, 2012), the participants reported relocating less than 2km away from their previous home, and moved to houses or lower-rise tenement flats. The participants were less aware of what assistance their family had been given by the Housing Association; although there is a £2,750 home loss and disturbance payment for tenants who moved under a clearance programme (Gowell, 2011):

> **JN: Did they give you any help moving or was it just up to you guys?**
>
> **Shona:** No, we just done it ourself.
>
> **Mum:** *You get money for moving.*
>
> **Shona:** Oh right, aye, you get money.
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Shona's understanding of help or assistance during her family's relocation related to physical help ("we just done it ourself") rather than financial assistance. When Shona's mum interrupts to correct her daughter, she acknowledges financial assistance was given.

While participants were unclear regarding the financial support given, they did discuss using informal support to assist with relocation. Some of the participants discussed using family friends or other social resources to assist with the moving process:

> **Martin:** we actually done all right, it was- ma coach for the fitba done it. Because he's got like a van, and he done it, and he was like that, "oh don't go getting a removal company, I'll dae it for nothing" and a' that. And he done it, and it was just- I done it, ma coach obviously, my coach's boy and Shona's boyfriend came and helped wi' like furniture and that. And we got it done easy enough. And there was only about two or three trips and that was everything. And then we just got it aw in.
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

> **Jenny:** we just got vans to bring in our furniture, here, and that's about it, really. But some of my dad's friends had come over to help paint and decorate and everything, so it was fun.
>
> [Jenny, 15 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

The participants' discussion of asking friends and family to help them relocate can be seen as a way in which existing social resources within the neighbourhood can be utilised. In Martin's account, his football coach, the coach's son, Shona's boyfriend, as well as Martin and his step-dad did the majority of the moving. Again reflecting on Shona's earlier response, the support offered by her boyfriend and Martin's football coach in moving furniture was also not perceived by Shona as receiving "help". Jenny and her family hired a van to help move their belongings but then relied on her dad's friends to help paint and decorate. Therefore participants' families were able to use these informal resources to circumvent the expensive removal fees accrued from hiring a removal company or a van to help move their belongings.

7.1.2.2 Experience of a new home

Most participants discussed the need to 'settle in' to their new surroundings. The process of becoming familiar with their new home and settling into their surroundings differed for each participant. For some, the process of settling in was directly linked to their experiences of their new bedroom:

> **Mark:** Not quite there yet because I don't have posters an' that up yet well I have two but not there
>
> [Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, home interview]

As discussed above, the need to decorate and personalise bedroom space was one of the main ambitions of the participants when they got their new home. Displaying personal interests and identities via decoration on bedroom walls is an important part of maintaining personal space within the home (Lincoln, 2013). However for Mark, as this had not happened yet, he was still in the process of 'settling in'.

For other participants who had shared a bedroom in the HRF, the experience of having more personal space helped with the settling in process. While Martin felt

that he needed more time to settle, his sisters, Nicola and Shona, described a different experience:

> **Nicola:** Like the old flat was, it was like quite good, but this is so much better…'cause you've got your ain room. And like you've got your ain privacy.
>
> [Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

As discussed in Chapter five, the need for privacy in the bedroom was one of the main issues for participants who shared a room. The term privacy was used in the same way as the phrase "my own space", meaning that the participants had space to carry out their daily routines (including watching TV, talking on the phone, and having friends over). For Shona and Nicola, who shared a bedroom in Sighthill, their relocation address meant they could have their own controllable spaces to have friends over. Another interesting result of the sisters having more private space was that the social time they spent together was more valued:

> **Shona:** Uh huh, and we've got more to talk about as well, whereas when we were in the room every night and she would just rabbit on [chat aimlessly] but now I don't mind when I haven't heard her speak for a while! I'm like "right okay, I can deal with it". So…she can talk for Scotland. So, lot of time. I like having my ain space just to chill
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

While there was no change in Nicola's behaviour, Shona was better able to appreciate the time she spent with Nicola as she has a place of respite within the home, a *"space just to chill"*. Given the age disparity between the sisters, the need for space in order to do age-specific activities was also enjoyed. Another participant whose relocation experience enabled them to have their own space was Johnny (11 years, Shawbridge). Johnny shared a bedroom with his dad in wave one, but had relocated in wave two to a flat where they had their own individual bedrooms. When asked about his experience of having more space and privacy, Johnny, like Mark and Martin, described how it was something he had to get used to, especially as in the old HRF, he shared a bed with his dad:

> **Johnny:** now that I sleep in a new bed it gets a wee bit uncomfy, like keeping on sleeping there, until eventually you get used to it.

JN: Yeah. Like you're used to it now?

Johnny: Mhmm...noo I cannae sleep in ma dad's bed any mair.

JN: Mhmm.

Johnny: Cause it's just uncomfy.

[Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, home interview]

Moving into the new flat involved several changes in Johnny's routine. These included sleeping in his own bed, and also being in charge of keeping his room tidy. While Johnny described not immediately adapting to these new conditions, as he settled in, he enjoyed the responsibility of keeping his room tidy, and of having his own space. Settling in also meant that Johnny had decided how to decorate his bedroom. When asked how he would decorate his bedroom he answered "*put Rangers colours, Rangers wallpaper*". While Johnny's interest in football was not mentioned at wave one, at wave two it was something he was increasingly passionate about, and had become an important part of his identity, and again signalled that his bedroom was a space he controlled rather than shared with someone else.

Other aspects of the new relocation homes discussed by participants included improved heating, larger rooms, and improved storage space. Some used these improvements to indicate that their own sense of social position had also improved:

> **Martin:** I don't show aff and say, oh I've got a big massive hoose, you know that? But it is good to have it. Makes you feel a wee bit mair higher up than when you're in a flat kind of thing.
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

As discussed in Chapter five (section 5.2.2.3), Martin and others within his block used the relative cleanliness and social control of the communal spaces to distance themselves from other riskier places in the neighbourhood. This was also described as a way to manage respectability, and highlight their relative social position. Upon moving to the new neighbourhood, the physical differences between the HRF blocks and the relocation home were obvious to passersby,

which may have had a positive effect on how Martin viewed both the home environment, and how he viewed himself and his social status ("*higher up*"). Relative social position was seen to improve if their new home contained better fixtures, or additional rooms:

> **Mark:** Well my mate Patrick's, I've went to his. That's the new builds.
>
> **JN: Oh right, what are they like?**
>
> **Mark:** It's quite good. They've got two toilets.
>
> [Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, home interview]

Flats or houses which had new windows, showers as well as baths, and additional storage or cupboards were all mentioned as welcome improvements to the home but also signifiers that their home was now "better" than when they lived in the HRFs. Another signifier that their relocation home was better was an increased feeling of community or safety in either the building (if the participant moved to a flat) or neighbourhood (if the participant moved to a house). This is discussed further in the section below.

7.1.2.3 Experience of the new neighbourhood

Participants who had relocated outside of the original neighbourhood, they believed their new neighbourhood was comparatively quieter and safer compared to their old one. Reasons for this increased perception of safety included a decrease in observable graffiti and vandalism and also a decrease in noise from drunk or rowdy adults. This was more likely for participants who moved to new build homes or neighbourhoods (Shona, Martin and Nicola in Sighthill, Johnny in Shawbridge). For Nicola, the new-build estate was also the site of the housing association offices, which increased her perception of safety:

> **Nicola:** it seems safer here.
>
> **JN: Yeah?**

> **Nicola:** 'Cause it's no flats. Just think it-. Like the concierge wouldnae always be in the thing [the concierge station], but there's always the housing [association office], is always there.
>
> **JN: Oh right. So what can they help you with?**
>
> **Nicola:** Like just if anything happens you can just- two-minute walk to go and see them.
>
> **Nicola's Mum:** Well they've got normal office hours but we dae actually have the director's mobile number. He does give the number oot to tenants, if you need him at the weekend for anything.
>
> [Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

While the concierge station was a small glass fronted office within the HRF, the new neighbourhood's housing association offices were a large multi-office building with single offices and meeting rooms situated at the entrance to the estate. While Nicola's HRF block had been seen as having a friendly concierge, the new housing association attempted to engage more directly with young people: offering trips, competitions to win concert tickets, and ensured they spoke to everyone. This, as well as the director offering his mobile number so residents could text him out of hours, was seen as some of the main strengths of the new neighbourhood for Nicola's family.

Participants, who already had strong connections outside of the original neighbourhood, or friendships with people from other neighbourhoods, saw relocation as a way to turn bridging social capital into bonding social capital. However, similar to settling into their new home, settling into their new neighbourhood would take time:

> **Martin:** I've settled in well. But obviously that's helped wi' being in an area where maist o' ma pals knew it. Then, obviously, the school being in the same place and aw that. But I would- I'd still see Sighthill, the flat as mair o' a home than this is. Obviously, but I've got to gi'e this time.
>
> [Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

Despite the improved housing conditions, Martin's sense of attachment to his new neighbourhood was not as strong as his attachment to Sighthill, which he

still termed as being "home". However, Martin acknowledged that, given the improved access to his social network, this would be a relatively easy transition to make. As, instead of feeling isolated in his new neighbourhood, he was able to call on existing resources in order to begin to construct attachments to his new home.

However, for other participants, the experience of the new neighbourhood involved a continuation of the social risks experienced in the old neighbourhood. For example Mark's move to the tenement flat at the outskirts of Shawbridge (which he referred to as "*Old Shawbridge*") was seen as more positive in terms of the home he had, but the same level of ASB:

> **JN: So do you think this is a better bit to live in, Old Shawbridge, or is it kinda just like living in Shawbridge still?**
>
> **Mark:** Just the same I think.
>
> **JN: what's the same about it?**
>
> **Mark:** Just still neds and that. Cause aw the neds and that live, you know where there's like a big square, there was like shops and that?
>
> **JN: Yeah**
>
> **Mark:** That's where they sit.
>
> [Mark, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, home interview]

As discussed in Chapter five in relation to young people's neighbourhood knowledge use of this to negotiate safe passage through risky areas, Mark was able to use his pre-existing knowledge of the neighbourhood 'neds' (who Mark described as teenagers who drank and talked in broad Glaswegian accents) to determine whether his new location was "safe".

For some participants, while their new neighbourhood looked cleaner and safer, they still experienced crime and ASB:

> **Nicola:** There's been about five bikes stole in this ...just in this row a hooses. His got stole the other week

Martin: Oh aye so it did, ma bike got stole from the back

Nicola: Then two bikes got stole fae one of they hooses and then another got stole from the back...an' that wan there wi' the silver motor outside it that got stole as well but that wan wis chained so they took the wheel or they took the bike and left the wheel or somethin'?

Martin: Cos the chain was through the wheel so they couldn't take that

Nicola: So they just took the bike and left the wheel

Martin: Took the bike aff the wheel

[Nicola, 11 years; Martin, 16 years; Sighthill, w2, home interview]

Nicola and Martin's new neighbourhood was a new-build estate with houses on one side and low-rise flats on the other side. The residents who moved into the neighbourhood were all moved at around the same time, and the family was vetted by the housing association in order to ensure they were "good" residents. While Nicola commended the new housing officers for being vigilant and maintaining social order, she also described a recent spate of bike thefts and a burglary in the new neighbourhood. Martin suspected that one of the residents in the new neighbourhood was responsible:

JN: So who do you think does them?

Martin: I dunno, its people from the estate because someone dropped their keys right and on the keys they hud a picture of their wean right? and they broke in their hoose. So somebody obviously saw the keys, saw the wean and thought "I know where this is" so there's been a petition an' that goin' aboot to get CCTV in the estate

[Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w2, home interview]

The possibility of the same crime occurring in the HRF was smaller as, if keys were dropped outside a building in Sighthill, it may be possible to identify the block, but less likely that the specific flat would be identified. Martin and Nicola also spoke a within-neighbourhood petition regarding the installation of formal measures of social control (CCTV) in reaction to these thefts. It may be that the residents of the new neighbourhood were more driven to maintain social order,

or that some of the residents were used to the CCTV that was present in the communal spaces of the old HRFs.

In terms of whether the relocation address offered more formal services, the responses were mixed. For example, Martin and Nicola reported having a longer distance to walk to school and that the accessibility of the city centre from their home also decreased, as it was no longer a walkable distance. Instead they either had to get a bus or ask their older sister Shona for a lift in her car. Therefore while the relocation offered the family a better home, it did not improve access to services, and in some instances actually decreased the ease with which these services could be accessed.

For other participants like Jenny, who moved within the neighbourhood, and Mark, who moved to the outskirts of Shawbridge which he described as *"basically Shawbridge"* their access to services were not altered by the move. Instead, they both suggested that the services they accessed pre-and post-relocation were the same. However due to the continuing regeneration of the neighbourhood, it was likely that more services would close in the interim time as more residents move away.

7.1.3 Summary

Initially, the discussion of relocation involved a degree of uncertainty, especially as participants were reliant on their parents sharing information regarding the relocation process. Prior to moving, participants described concerns about maintenance of their social network, although for the majority, their post-relocation experience found them maintaining their friendships either through attending the same school, or through use of social media. The short relocation distance of the participants (the majority moved less than 1.7km away from their HRF address) assisted in maintaining friendships.

Unsurprisingly, participants' main reported improvement related to their bedroom. This was particularly important if they shared a bedroom in the HRF. Their own bedroom was discussed in terms of increased privacy, greater control over how the bedroom was decorated, and space to do their own thing (including

listening to music or "chill out"). Being able to control their own private space was also linked to how "settled" some participants felt in their new home. Despite positive changes to the home, some participants remained critical of the wider neighbourhood they lived in. For example, while the short relocation distance ensured they remained in contact with their social network, it also meant their access of services remained poor, and they continued to experience the same social risks. Alternatively, others discussed their new neighbourhood as cleaner and as safer than their original neighbourhood, with one describing the new housing association taking an active interest in the views of young people. In terms of whether their relocation could be perceived as a critical moment, it was perhaps too early to say. Due to the short distance of relocation, it was not seen as a stressful life event that needed to be coped with or managed. Instead, while some participants described feeling happier after moving, due to closer proximity to friends, it is unclear whether this was drastically different from their feelings prior to moving. It may be that their social networks and resources enabled the participants to move without high levels of stress and strain, with the overall outcome of their relocation still to be experienced or understood.

7.2 Biographical critical moments in young people's lives

At the same time as participants experienced neighbourhood level regeneration (discussed in Chapter six), and their own relocation (discussed above), they also experienced a number of other changes in their personal and family lives. This section focuses on those changes that occurred within the fieldwork period of 2011-2012, and therefore focuses on those participants who took part in both waves of the study.

Given the relative young age of the participants, rather than asking them to reflect on the importance of their life events, I compared and contrasted their wave one and wave two interviews in an attempt to identify ways in which their lives had changed (table 22). This table is not an exhaustive list of critical moments and it is possible that other events occurred but were not discussed during the interviews. Appendix N provides a fuller account of each young person's various life events.

After listing these events, it was possible to better examine those events that may be seen as "critical moments" due to their potential ability to have a consequential effect on participants' overall transitions. These are discussed below in the case studies (section 7.2).

	Participants' life events (2011-2012)
Family	• Sister leaving home • Parents separating • Mum becomes pregnant • Becoming an uncle • Moving in with gran • Moving in with aunt • Reconnecting with dad
Social	• Meeting girlfriend • Breaking up with boyfriend • Meeting new friends • Losing contact with friends
Home	• Moving neighbourhood • Moving within the neighbourhood • Family member moving out • Friends moving out of the neighbourhood • Mum moves away for work
Leisure	• Joining football team • Changing disciplines in gymnastics • Going on trip with youth club • Planning holiday with best friend
School/work	• Moving to high school • Changing schools • Sitting exams • Passing/failing exams • Winning prize at school • Conflict with teacher • Leaving school • Going to college
Trouble	• Reporting assault on sister • Being bullied for being 'new' in the neighbourhood • Bike being stolen

Table 22: Examples of participants' life events that occurred between waves one and two

Some of the changes above occurred to the same participant, for example Christina experienced life events concerning family (her sister Shelly leaving home to live with her gran, her mum falling pregnant), education (conflict with a teacher), trouble (reporting assault on her younger sister by a stranger in the neighbourhood) and moving (friends moving out of the neighbourhood). Several of the participants, Nicola, Mark, and Johnny experienced the same life event in terms of education (moving to high school), and moving (moving neighbourhood) as well as individual changes. The section below presents six case studies of different participants to examine how these changes may interact within participants' narratives of "everyday" life and access to resources.

7.2.1 Case studies of critical moments

The participants who are discussed in the case studies below participated in both waves of data collection and therefore were interviewed between four or five times. Prior to meeting these young people for the wave two interviews in 2012, I arrived with assumptions regarding how their lives would have developed since wave one- an assumption of linearity. However, as illustrated below, many of the participants had changed in unexpected ways, although during the interview process, it became clear that many of these changes were now adopted into these young people's understanding of everyday life. For each case study, I have identified one change that may have long-reaching consequences for the participant and was discussed in two waves (i.e. not a change that was a brand new experience, but rather a change that involved existing experiences or relationships). These case studies also reflect on the resources which participants may have been able to call upon, and the ways in which their experience of relocation may have interacted with other these changes, and vice versa.

7.2.1.1 Family: parents separating

Jenny was a 15-year-old girl that moved from South Europe when she was two years old, and had lived in Shawbridge for the majority of her life. At wave one, she lived with her mum, dad, younger sister (age 14) and two younger brothers (aged 3 and 2). Her family had relocated from their HRF one year prior to the wave one interview to a low-rise flat within Shawbridge. At wave one, Jenny

described her family life as happy, and supportive (despite arguments with her sister about sharing a bedroom). She discussed that because many of her within-neighbourhood friends had been relocated outside of the neighbourhood, she spent more time at home with her family and less time outside in the neighbourhood. Therefore her relationships within the family were one of her main resources for resilience.

The period between wave one and wave two included a significant turning point, her parents separating. Although this was outside of Jenny's individual control, it changed both her experience of the home and her perception and relationship with different parts of her family. Jenny's knowledge of why her parents separated was limited: *"my mum won't tell me, it's like there's been this problem"* (w2, home interview). This event caused her to reassess her parents' relationship with each other and her relationship with her parents. While at wave one she described her parents as happy, at wave two she suggested otherwise. She described her dad as being *"pretty jealous… a bit controlling, he doesn't like women to do the job"* (w2, home interview). Her dad's behaviour meant that her mum was not allowed to go to work, and if she had to meet friends, she had to meet them outside of the home because he did not like to have friends inside the home.

Jenny also described her dad being equally negative about her friends: "he wasn't really bothered about my friends but you know, once he found out that one of my friend's mum was a social worker it was a bit like 'I don't like social workers' and 'I don't like your friend'" (w2, home interview). Her changing attitude towards her dad in wave two can be best illustrated by the following:" I thought I was a Daddy's girl. But I'm not quite sure, I think…I think I'm not really a mummy's girl either. I'm just me…I tend to follow my own head" (w2, home interview).

The outcomes of this critical moment appear to be threefold. First of all, Jenny describes her mum as being happier and more independent since her dad left. While her mum was a stay-at-home mum in wave one, at wave two she has been able to go out to work and train as a nursery nurse and has began to make new friends which may improve her wellbeing and potentially provide support during

the separation period. Secondly, the separation also appeared to cause problems with her extended family in South Europe, a problem she discussed in her wave two home interview:

> **JN: do you still talk to your family in [South Europe]?**
>
> **Jenny:** Not since my dad moved out. Not much. They kind of annoy my mum, going to her "go back, he loves you, honestly, blah blah blah" and my mum's like "I've split up with him and now I'm not going back again". And it's been, and she's actually stuck to it, it's brilliant, I'm so happy"

It appeared that while strong family bonds with family in South Europe were described as a key resource of resilience for Jenny in wave one, after the separation of her parents, she began to view the values of family members differently, which influenced her relationships and perceptions.

Lastly, the separation also improved Jenny's relationship with her neighbours. At wave one, Jenny described her new relocation flat involved argumentative neighbours; at wave two, Jenny described an improved relationship and said they were *"actually really nice people and since my dad's moved out we talk to them a lot more"* (w2, home interview). Developing relationships with neighbours in their new home may also provide an increased sense of security and place attachment as a sense of community begins to develop.

The identification of this life event as a "critical moment" was due to the noticeable consequences that the separation had on Jenny's family life. From waves one to two, her mum went back to work, they lost contact with a number of significant relatives, and Jenny's own identity was called into question (situating herself as more independent and less of a "daddy's girl"). It also appeared to have a knock-on effect on her family's experience of relocation; since her father left, Jenny reported having closer relations with neighbours and were better able to socialise with friends in the new home.

7.2.1.2 Family: Improved relationship with dad

Mark was an 11 year old boy that grew up in Shawbridge, and at wave one lived with his mum in one of the HRFs which were due to be demolished. Mark's

parents divorced when he was three, but shared custody. At wave one; Mark described staying with his dad in Ibrox, where his dad had a *"proper house"* (w1, home interview) with a bedroom for Mark and a basketball hoop in the back-garden. The house in Ibrox was Mark's dad's third home, as he continued to move around, although always stayed within the South of Glasgow. Mark suggested at wave one that his main resources for resilience came from relationships with friends, rather than from his parents.

The period between wave one and two signified a number of important changes in Mark's life: moving from primary school to secondary school, relocating to a new home, and an improved relationship with his dad. There were a number of changes in Mark's dad's life which may have culminated in this improved relationship: his dad stopped drinking alcohol (something not discussed at wave one), and gained a stable income through full-time employment as a painter and decorator, which enabled him to buy a car. These positive changes appeared to cause Mark to reassess his relationship with his dad.

While at wave one, Mark described seeing his dad on a regular basis, when he reflected on this contact at wave two, he described his dad as being unpredictable: *I remember I used to sit [in my uncle's shop] like all weekend if ma dad didnae come, I wisnae allowed to get the bus back…nine o'clock in the morning until seven* [w2, go-along interview]. At wave two, Mark has noticed a difference in his dad's attitude towards his parenting responsibilities: *he doesnae say he's gonnae take me an' then doesnae take me…he says he's gonnae take me an' then comes to ma house an' then takes me* [w2, go-along interview]. His improved relationship with his dad also appeared to strengthen his relationships with his dad's side of the family, and described his paternal aunt being someone that he believed he could rely on.

This occurred at the same time as Mark and his mum relocated to a tenement flat in Shawbridge. The relocation appeared to put a strain on Mark's relationship with his mum. Mark's mum had become increasingly worried about money as the electricity company were still asking them to pay bills in the HRF despite the fact they have moved out: *we get phone calls, but you can't pay for two houses if you don't have the key…it would be different if we had the key*

[w2, go-along interview]. As his mum's family lived in the West of Glasgow, she was not easily able to rely on their support. Mark suggested that this lack of direct support meant she would often complain to him, or blames him for the financial situation they were in. Mark suggested the financial stress had also left him being at risk of being thrown out:

> **Mark:** ma mum says she wants to move me out
>
> **JN: What?**
>
> **Mark:** mum says she wants to move me out...like me *out*
>
> **JN: Uh huh, where would you move?**
>
> **Mark:** Dunno, she's just wants me out the house
>
> **JN: Do you think you'd move in with your dad?**
>
> **Mark:** Eh yeah, it was like ages ago it was decided that ma mum was going to take me then ma da' wanted to take me then ma da was drinkin an' that an he didnae get to take me

Mark's improved relationship with his dad may prove to be increasingly important in the years that followed the wave two interview. If Mark was asked to leave his mum's house, as he suggested, he may be able to rely on his dad in a way that would not have been possible in the years prior. However, Mark's dad had just started living with a friend and was saving money to get his own flat. So again, Mark's future appeared to be dependent on money and security. Referring to this as a critical moment reflects the significant future implications: Mark may move from his mum's house to his dad's house (another potential relocation experience) further away from the neighbourhood. Also, this relationship also enabled Mark to improve connections with his father's side of the family. Relocation appeared to play a role in the deterioration of Mark's relationship with his mum (due to additional financial strain). However, the timing of the improving relationship with his dad meant Mark was able to adapt and begin to rely on a new resource. Improving or expanding social networks is a significant consequence of this critical moment, as it may mean that in times of future change, Mark may have a wider support system to rely upon.

7.2.1.3 Relationships: breaking up with boyfriend

Shona was an 18-year-old girl who grew up in Sighthill. At the wave one interview, Shona described being in a long-term relationship with a boy she met at a school event. This relationship meant most of her spare time was spent with him, either outside of the neighbourhood (going to the cinema, or visiting him) or hanging out in her home, and her boyfriend was seen in wave one as one of the main sources of emotional and practical support. However, in the period between waves one and two, the relationship ended:

> **Shona:** He wanted to go in the army, he went to his army interview and that and never told me, and then told me afterwards "I might be joining the army, I'm just waiting to get accepted". And I said, "maybe if you told me, I'd have been able to deal with it but I don't want to be with you". But he got a knock back because he's got asthma, and he was all "aw let's get back together" and I was like "naw, you've really went behind my back doing that".

For Shona, her boyfriend secretly trying to join the army without telling her represented a betrayal of trust. After they broke up, Shona began to reassess her relationship and her experiences within it: *"I was too young to be settled down, I've realised that now… we went on holidays and it was good at the time but now when I look back, it was just too much too young…so that's it"* [w2, home interview].Shona described finding developing new connections and expanding her social network to compensate for her relationship ending. For example she discussed spending more time with old school friends (one of whom was also experiencing a break-up). She suggested in her wave two home interview that one of the after-effects of the break-up was that she felt more able to have "guy friends" from work:

> **Shona:** I've been there for three years but I've only started talking to them [the guys] in the last three months when I split up with my ex. It would just have been too much hassle before. Even though it's strictly friends and I don't want anything to happen because we like work together, he [the ex] wouldn't see it that way…its like "I'm no there so how do I know" kind of thing

Shona described the boys as being like *"big brothers, they just take care of me and if any guys mess me aboot they don't get very happy"* [w2, home interview]. Due to Shona's age, and the location of her work outside of the

neighbourhood, she preferred to go out in the city centre rather than hang out in the neighbourhood. Given this lack of time spent in the neighbourhood, it could be argued that Shona's ability to make closer friendships at work was important, as it was a more significant context in her life, than the public spaces of the neighbourhood.

The identification of this life event as a "critical moment" was due to the noticeable consequences that the break up had on Shona's personal life and identity. Unlike the examples from Jenny and Mark, Shona's critical moment was caused by her, and therefore she had agency in the process. The consequences of her decision appeared to be a reframing of her identity from someone reliable and often at home to someone who was young and free to go out with friends. This new attitude also meant Shona chose to rekindle old friendships and begin to build a support system around friendships. Shona also highlighted that the break-up also had consequences in her work life as she was better able to socialise with work colleagues and also make friends there. The ability to make social networks in a variety of different contexts would potentially better enable Shona to cope with future stressors. While relocation was not a factor in her break-up with her boyfriend, the close proximity of the new home to the HRF in Sighthill meant she was able to call upon existing friendships to support her.

7.2.1.4 Education: leaving school

Martin was a 16-year-old boy and the younger brother of Shona. Relocation did not disturb Martin's school life, as the move was to a neighbourhood within one mile of his Sighthill HRF.

At the wave one home interview, Martin described a changing attitude towards school. While his early experiences of school were "*just always a bit of a laugh*", in fifth year he was always "*studying for some sort of test like daein' an essay for something. And you've got just homework tasks and then you've got to keep on top o' it aw*". While Martin described maintaining positive relationships with his teachers, he also admitted that in fifth year that their role had changed to being an adult who was "*piling on the pressure*" to ensure the class passed all the exams.

The period between wave one and two coincided with Martin deciding to leave school. He had left school three months prior to the wave two interviews, and, in his wave two home interview, described getting "*rotten*" exam results. He attributed this to "*not being bothered*" with studying[20]. While Martin did not have a post-school destination in mind, he was interested in pursuing a number of different options including apprenticeships, further education colleges, or getting a job.

Therefore Martin's critical moment was the decision about what he wanted to do now he had left school. Unlike the previous three case studies, which involved a relatively unexpected change, Martin's decision was perceived as being completely within his own control and he called on his resources and previous experiences to help him navigate the change. For example, prior to leaving school, the careers officer had urged Martin and the other school leavers to look online at the apprenticeships offered by the Commonwealth apprenticeship scheme:

> **Martin:** I always said I would never ever get into a job wi' admin, and I always said I'd never dae it because I'd never want to sit in an office but I went for an apprenticeship with city buildings and was unsuccessful…but then I was looking on the Commonwealth apprenticeship website, went through them aw and there was hundreds of admin ones so I thought I might as well go for one…then I got a phone-call saying "you've got an interview" so I was like "right, cool" [w2, home interview]

Martin's decision to apply for an admin apprenticeship in wave two was twofold. Firstly, he linked it with being rejected from another apprenticeship (bricklaying). Secondly, as his sister worked in admin, Martin saw how much money could be earned from an office job. This was particularly important Martin's EMA (Educational Maintenance Allowance) had stopped, so he was "*living aff ma ma', plain an' simple*" without a steady income of his own. However, when we met again two weeks later for the wave two go-along interview, his post-school plan had changed again. He had been accepted to study sports coaching at college. Similar to the decision to apply for an admin

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[20] Martin described being better at practical and active subjects and poorer at subjects that involved a high percentage of written work. So while he had poor grades, he often excelled at practical elements of his exams

apprenticeship, the decision to apply for college was linked to being unsuccessful in other applications.

The specific decision to study sports coaching drew on previous positive experiences in school and past voluntary experience with coaching primary school children. In addition, Martin's decision drew on a positive relationship with his role model, Mr Dwyer, a PE teacher. He was described as a *"no really like a teacher, he'd play all the games wi' you in PE an' aw…he'd be like high fiving you an' aw that if you scored an aw that, honestly this guy! He'd just play like wan of the guys…I'd actually be a PE teacher because of this guy!"* [w2, home interview]. Again comparing Mr Dwyer to the other teachers who Martin respected but felt were having to become stricter for the sake of the examination performance, Mr Dwyer remained someone who treated the pupils with respect and who seemed to share Martin's ethos of school being for "a laugh".

Martin's relocation to a nearby neighbourhood in wave one meant that he stayed in the same school catchment area and therefore did not change school as a result of relocation. This enabled him to remain in Mr Dwyer's PE class, whose teaching style inspired him to apply to study sports coaching at college. While it could be argued that this critical moment of applying to college was more influenced by his prior address rather than his relocation address, the proximity of the relocation ensured his resources within school were not altered. Furthermore, while the relocation of his family occurred at the same time as his growing disinterest with school, this appeared to not be related. Instead, Martin described his disinterest as being related to the examination process and stress of fifth year.

Leaving school and deciding on a post-school destination is one of the traditional life events that could be viewed as a critical moment. Martin's identity as a school joker and someone who was able to work but also be friendly with people was challenged when his classes became more exam-orientated, and Martin felt under pressure to perform well academically. His decision to leave was further cemented by receiving poor exam results and feeling his connection with school had weakened. Similar to Shona, Martin had some agency in the process, and

was also supported in his decision by his mum. Leaving school meant Martin had various options as to where he wanted to go next and tried different options: he applied for college, apprenticeships, and work. The decision to apply for opportunities near to his home meant the support network he had available did not change, and as his school friends also left school at the same time, he was able to draw on their experiences as support. Interestingly, his decision to apply to do sports coaching was based on a school resource: a relationship with a supportive teacher. In terms of whether relocation affected the critical moment, Martin's family moved a small geographic distance that enabled him to remain in the same school. By not moving schools, Martin was better able to maintain school resources that he would eventually rely upon: school friends who would also leave, and a teacher who Martin wanted to emulate. It could be argued that moving further away and therefore moving schools may have had a different outcome: the culture in the new school may have enabled Martin to perform better in his exams and he may have stayed on. However, the lack of support in a new school environment may have also left him isolated at a time where he required support.

7.2.1.5 Leisure: changing gymnastics

Nicola was an 11-year-old girl and the younger sister to Shona and Martin. As the relocation was a short distance from her original neighbourhood, her mum allowed her to stay at the primary school in Sighthill so she was not separated from her friends for the last year of primary school.
During wave one, unlike other 11-year-old participants, Nicola described spending a large amount of her leisure time outside of the neighbourhood training in gymnastics. During her wave one home interview, Nicola described her "*intense*" training schedule as part of a gymnastic team:

> **Nicola:** I train…three times a week…On Monday its two hours, five to seven, and then Thursday it's four, its five to nine and then Saturday it's ten to one, but sometimes we're in ten till four.

Her gymnastics training was in the south of Glasgow, and was not an easy location for Nicola to get to from Sighthill, in the north of Glasgow. During the same home interview, she described relying her family and friends to help her:

> **Nicola:** my grandpa takes me on a Thursday on the bus. And then she picks us up, Shona, and then there's somebody from gymnastics stays [nearby]. And she comes and picks me up on a Monday and Saturday and takes me.

Here we see a range of different resources and mobilities: her older sister and her car, her grandfather and the bus, and her friend whose mum drives them to and from practices. While travelling by car was the quickest mode of transportation, this was not always an available option. Nicola's trip with her grandfather on the bus took one hour, meaning that she often arrived back in her home late into the evening.

Her love of sports also informed her choice of high school, as she potentially wanted to apply for a high school that specialises in sports:

> **Nicola's mum:** [She'd] *still dae the normal curriculum and all that, they dae focus mair on your sport, but it might just be too much for her. Cause you dae like really, really intense and mega-impressive training…so it might be a bit much… [and] obviously cause I don't drive that means she gonna get on the bus and all that in the morning, there's a lot more to it.*

During Nicola's wave one home interview, her mum suggested that while she recognised her daughter's ambition and talent, and also recognised the potential resource of a specialised sports high school, it was also a potential risk due to the distance away from home, and she was concerned that the pressure of training and the academic curriculum would be too much for her.

While initially it was assumed Nicola's critical moment would be the decision of whether or not to attend the school, it appeared at wave two the biggest critical moment for her concerned her gymnastics training. At wave two, Nicola's gymnastics team sustained a number of dramatic changes. These included Nicola's partner injuring her leg causing the team to withdraw from an international competition, another teammate being recruited to a national dance company, and their coach leaving to work in Lanarkshire (30 miles away from Sighthill). Initially, Nicola attempted to cope with her coach leaving by following him to the new training group but, given the problems she faced with mobility, found the commute was too much. Given the problems with her

existing team, she decided to try individual, or solo-based, gymnastics at her old training centre in Glasgow. The outcome of decision was as yet unclear as it appeared to be dependent on whether Nicola was able to develop her skills to the appropriate level, pass her "probation" period, and join the new team.

Of all of the participants in the study, Nicola was the most mobile due to her participation in gymnastics and her mum's support in ensuring she could develop her skills. Her realization in wave two that she could not maintain this level of mobility could be seen as the biggest critical moment she, as a gymnast, faced. Unable to find a way to travel to see her old coach, and her experiences of her old team leaving, meant that, while Nicola chose to change, it was a change brought about by external circumstances that she could not control. This had a number of consequences: Nicola's mum was under less financial pressure as she did not have to pay for travel and gymnastics fees, Nicola's sister was under less pressure to help drive her to and from training, and Nicola and more time to spend in the neighbourhood with her school friends. However, in terms of Nicola's identity, she remained determined to be a gymnast. Rather than quitting gymnastics, Nicola chose to begin to train in a different style. The decision to remain in gymnastics also enabled Nicola to maintain her aspiration of leaving her local school and joining a school that specialises in sports. The family's relocation to another neighbourhood in North Glasgow appeared to Nicola's difficulty in attending her gymnastics training, a problem exacerbated by her coach moving to another district. If they relocated closer to her gymnastics training, she may have chosen to attend a sports specialism school as her within-neighbourhood bonding social capital would have weakened while her gymnastics team bonding social capital remained strong.

7.2.1.6 Trouble: being bullied for being "new" in the neighbourhood

Johnny was an 11-year-old boy who had only recently moved to Shawbridge when I first interviewed him at wave one. He lived with his dad in the Shawbridge HRFs but prior to that had lived with his mum, step-dad, brother, sister, and half-brothers in South West Glasgow. However due to a relationship breakdown between his mum, step-dad and Johnny, his dad was given sole custody. Johnny suggested that while living with his mum, he would get into fights with local young peopleand felt he was not welcome there anymore: *"if I*

go into [South West Glasgow] I get chased by the Young Team[21]". While Johnny did not associate himself with any Young Teams in Shawbridge, he described maintaining an identity of a fighter, and felt like a bodyguard to some of his new Shawbridge friends.

At wave one, he and his dad were waiting to hear about their relocation destination, and unlike some of the other participants, Johnny described wanting to use the move to a new neighbourhood as a driver for a number of changes to his and his dad's lifestyle: *"me and ma da were thinking about changing to be healthier instead of eating fat foods"* [w2, home interview]. By wave two, Johnny had moved to a newly built low-rise flat in a new build community in South West Glasgow, which was a 10-minute drive from Shawbridge. Johnny suggested that it was the move to the new home that persuaded his dad to begin to eat a healthier diet and for Johnny to use his bike to cycle around the new neighbourhood and get more exercise. In addition, the move to the new home occurred at the same time as Johnny's move to high school. This was another context where Johnny wished to improve; in primary school he often talked instead of doing work, but at high school he adopted a new hardworking identity.

Despite these positive changes, in his wave two home interview Johnny described the period between wave one and two as a time when he experienced a new, but familiar, risk:

> **Johnny:** When I first moved in here, cos its territorial… when I first moved doon here I kept getting took the mick taken out ae and gettin' called names so I had to punch someb'dy…its very hard
>
> **JN: So what do you mean by territorial?**
>
> **Johnny:** Like …young teams kind of thing …like fightin' an' all that, because you're moving into someb'dy else's bit [neighbourhood] they're all goin' aff their nut
>
> **JN: So is it because you're new or is it because they know where you came from?**

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[21] Youth 'gangs' associated with territorial fighting

Johnny: Just new. It depends where you come fae. If like you wurnae here in the first place an' then they end up aff their nut, if you are then its awright. It was very hard for me to make friends here

Interestingly, it could be viewed that Johnny, as a new person, could be identified as a new 'risk' for these existing groups of young people. Unsure of where he was from, or who he knew previously, they reacted negatively to his presence and treated him as a threat. For Johnny, this was an example of territoriality, people defending their own area against newcomers. While other participants in the previous chapter described using existing social relationships and utilising their identity to prove they were not a 'threat' to others within the context of their old neighbourhoods, this was not possible for Johnny as he did not have the requisite amount of social capital to trade upon in his new neighbourhood. Therefore, in this instance Johnny chose to utilise his previous identity as a fighter and punched one of the bullies to prove he was not someone who could be picked on. This was a dangerous strategy as Johnny may have alientated himself from his potential new social group.

This is an interesting change for Johnny, as during the wave one interviews he discusses having left behind the fighting when he moved from his mum's and was trying to stay out of trouble, while he maintains an identity of someone who continues to avoid conflict, his actions in fighting or defending a friend, would suggest the opposite is true. While moving to a new neighbourhood enabled a health promoting change in terms of lifestyle, and moving to a new school enabled him to make new friends and re-engage with education, moving to the new neighbourhood also meant that he initially got into fights with the existing young residents. It appeared that Johnny's tactic for gaining resources for resilience in the new neighbourhood was to rely more on the school context and less on the public spaces of the neighbourhood as the latter posed a new risk that he had not yet managed to negotiate yet. Unlike other participants, Johnny's critical moment was inexplicably tied to his relocation: he was bullied only after he relocated to the new neighbourhood. Being bullied appeared to pose a new set of challenges for Johnny in terms of his identity, how he gathered resources, and also what contexts he chose to focus on. It could be that the decision to focus on school may lead to Johnny achieving better grades and having a more positive post-school destination than he would have done had

he stayed in a neighbourhood where he was more popular but less engaged in school. Similar to the other participants, the overall impact of this bullying was yet to be seen, but during wave two it was the most impactful event for Johnny.

7.3 Discussion

Prior to this chapter, discussion of risk and resilience has centred on the presence and experience of structural and physical risks of the HRF and the social risk of antisocial neighbours or territorial gang-affiliated teenagers. The resources for resilience ensured that the participants were able to negotiate safe and positive experiences within risky contexts. This chapter has focused on what happened when some of these resources changed: when participants were relocated, or when on aspect, or more, aspects of their lives changed. The chapter focused on the period between waves one and two, providing a longer snapshot of participants' lives, examining their resources and experiences. The concept of critical moments was used to explore these changes in more detail. While previous studies of critical moments asked young adults to reflect back on their transitions and pinpoint the moments of their life that were transformational, this study examined elements of participants' lives which had changed between wave one and two. The changes focused on reflected either a change in relationships (leading to either increased or decreased access to resources) or a change in aspirations.

These changes also may influence, or be influenced by, relocation. This chapter has demonstrated that relocation can be seen as having both a positive and negative impact on family life, can inspire feelings of safety and security, but may also increase levels of socio-spatial risk. These differences may be explained by different factors in the participants' lives, and also their ability to access resources. For some, the critical moment discussed in this chapter was, in part, caused by relocation (deteriorating family relationships at home, problems making friends in new neighbourhood), but for others, a critical moment caused a change in their experience of relocation (improved relationship with new neighbours due to parental separation).

Not all critical moments were directly related to relocation. While some participants enjoyed their new home, and described it as having a positive effect on their social network or on their sense of self, it was not influential in their experience of critical moments. Instead, their relocation home and neighbourhood was viewed as a new resource that the participants could access and rely on.

What was interesting was that while the participants all experienced both neighbourhood and individual level changes, as the relocation was over a relatively short geographical distance, many of the proximal contexts that they accessed remained the same. The ability to access some of the same resources from the proximal contexts (e.g. attending the same school, hanging out with the same friends, being with their family) enabled a sense of continuity to exist among the variety of changes that were occurring. When change did occur to the various contexts, the participants were able to call upon resources from other proximal contexts to ensure they were able to navigate these changes. These examples again highlight the significance of resources providing the "everyday magic" of resilience.

Chapter eight: Discussion of methods

As highlighted in the methods chapter (Chapter four), this thesis recognises the active role of children and young people in the neighbourhood in negotiating everyday places and risks (Christensen, 2002, Childress, 2004, Elsley, 2004, Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009, Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2011). Therefore the methodology and methods reflected this decision. An ethnographic methodology ensured the research focused on participants' perceptions, experiences, and relationships, enabling a better understanding of their place attachment and 'everyday' experiences. Given that the 'everyday' includes interactions, movements, and social norms that may govern a community, it was important to use methods which drew focus to these taken for granted assumptions.

This chapter critically reflects on the methods used. It explores the ways power dynamics were experienced or observed in the interviews, and how the interview setting inhibited or promoted participation in the interview. The chapter aims to engage with debates concerning qualitative methods and ethics, and also to inform research practices of those who wish to use the methods documented within this thesis (Horton and Kraftl, 2005, Bushin, 2007). It is separated into four sections: a summary of methods used; examples of hurdles experienced while conducting interviews in non-formal[22] contexts (participants' homes and neighbourhoods); an examination of power dynamics within fieldwork, both between participants and researchers, but also between parents and participants; finally, a discussion of the ethical underpinnings of the fieldwork.

8.1 Overview of methods

A multi-method/multi-site approach was used in order to capture the complexity of participants' everyday lives. Three methods were chosen: semi-structured home interviews, go-along interviews, and photo-elicitation interviews. These

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[22] The use of the term 'non-formal' highlights that the interviews were not conducted on university ground, or in the youth-focused institutions of the participants' neighbourhoods (e.g. the youth club or the school). Instead the home and public spaces of the neighbourhood were chosen to be the interview contexts.

methods were conducted in different contexts (the home and the public spaces of the neighbourhood) and collected different types of data including verbal (from interviews), visual (from photographs) and spatial (both from go-alongs and my own fieldnotes).

8.1.1 Semi-structured home interviews

Interviews conducted within the high-rise flat (HRF) context were more effective in terms of discussing everyday behaviour (e.g. routines, family interactions, use of media) at home than when the same behaviours and routines were discussed when walking in the neighbourhood. It was also the interview type where much of the background information regarding memories of relocation, attitudes of school career, and leisure was gathered. The home interview was a more focused interview type, so it was easier to obtain full answers to biographical questions. However, as discussed later in this chapter (section 8.2.1), there were also hurdles to overcome. For example, the lack of private space in the home to conduct the interviews often invited parental interruptions.

8.1.2 Photo-elicitation interviews

The photo-elicitation interview provided participants with the most control in terms of content and offered participants an opportunity to reflect on their own likes and dislikes but also on the neighbourhood in general. This meant there was little overlap between what different participants photographed. Some documented their daily routine; others, like Deena (14 years, Sighthill), photographed the physical aspects of the neighbourhood she liked or, like Patrick (16 years, Shawbridge) photographed themselves and their possessions. However, when asked to describe their motivation behind the photographs, and what each photograph said about their own experiences, many participants took photographs "just because", viewing them as snapshots rather than having any deeper connection.

8.1.3 Go-along interviews

The go-along encouraged more spontaneous conversation and interaction with surroundings as we walked through the neighbourhoods and facilitated a better

discussion of their spatial understanding of both social and risk spaces (Anderson and Jones, 2009) and provided an opportunity to talk to some of them alone, which was often a problem with interviews conducted at home (Aitken, 2001, Barker and Weller, 2003, Macdonald and Greggans, 2008). This lack of parental supervision appeared to offer participants more freedom of expression, and led some participants to speak more honestly about family dynamics within the household, however participants were more prone to becoming distracted by the external environment (see section 8.4).

8.2 Using non-formal contexts of research

One of the central threads of this thesis is the importance of young people's interactions with different contexts of the neighbourhood in their experience of everyday life. The thesis has highlighted the ways in which contexts such as 'home' and 'neighbourhood' can mean different things for different young people (Nicotera, 2008, Packard, 2008, Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009, Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2011, Thompson et al., 2013), and their understanding of risk and what is 'ordinary' appear to be connected to experiences within these different contexts (Harden et al., 2000, Reay and Lucey, 2000, Turner et al., 2006, Davidson, 2013).

Given the importance of everyday contexts, it was important that the fieldwork took place within these contexts to gain an appreciation of the "everyday rhythms and routines" (Cook, 2003:127). This meant visiting participants in their homes to conduct semi-structured interviews, walking with them around their neighbourhoods to conduct go-along interviews, and asking them to photograph different places in their neighbourhood. By using these contexts, it was also possible to observe dynamics and social interactions within the different contexts. This section discusses my own experiences as a researcher conducting interviews within these contexts.

8.2.1 The HRF context

As discussed in Chapter five, the experiences of participants living in HRFs can be separated into two environments: communal spaces within the HRF block and the home. Below, communal spaces are discussed in terms of my experiences

recruiting participants, and the home is discussed in terms of parental disruptions and witnessing/interrupting family routines.

8.2.1.1 Communal spaces: recruiting participants

As discussed in Chapter four, letters to participants were either delivered by post or by hand. The decision to hand-deliver letters to potential participants was informed partially by the length of time it took to post letters and to hear back from participants, but also by the awareness that the population group I wished to sample were potentially going to relocate at any time. When hand-delivering letters, I kept within MRC/CSO SPHSU procedures. These procedures included using a departmental security phone (that required me to call a central agency to log postcodes, addresses, and an estimated time of completion), and informing two members of staff (one survey manager and my supervisor) of where I would be.

During initial experiences in the field I began to take field-notes regarding the physical condition of the HRF communal spaces, including visual (presence of litter and vandalism in the hallways) and other sensory observations (strong smell of bleach and urine in some stairways, the feel of walking across sticky floors in lifts, hearing noises coming from different flats). This helped later when participants described their own feelings regarding sights, smells, and sounds of the HRF spaces, as I was able to associate these with my own experiences. Using the lift in the HRF block was often a cause of stress during recruitment; as the lift reached the higher floors of the block I was aware that I was increasingly vulnerable to anyone who may enter. During one of my recruitment trips to the HRFs in Sighthill, I visited the block that was the most stigmatised by participants:

> Fieldnotes:
>
> Delivering letters in this block had me face-to-face with how bad some of the housing conditions in this neighbourhood were: something resembling blood stains on the floor (dark red drops leading to the lifts), doors covered up with steel reinforcements, menchies [names written on the wall in permanent marker] and splintered wood on the doors as if there has been an attempted break-in.

My feelings of vulnerability mirrored those discussed by participants in Chapter five. One difference between my own feelings as an outsider, and their feelings as residents of the block, was that while they had ways to negotiate the spaces, I did not. Due to my lack of resources and strategies for negotiating risk, I perhaps felt more vulnerable in these spaces than my participants. These experiences culminated in asking a member of staff or another student to accompany me to post letters in the evenings. This provided a sense of security, and also someone to talk to if recruitment that day was unsuccessful.

8.2.1.2 Home: interruptions and family routine

One of the strengths of conducting research within the home was the ability to gain a better understanding of the physical home environment and the dynamics between family members (Backett-Milburn and Harden, 2004, Bagnoli, 2004, Nilsen and Rogers, 2005, Bushin, 2007, Punch, 2007, Bagnoli and Clark, 2010). However, the home as a research environment was also problematic. For example, negotiating access to the home environment relied on parental consent (as they were the home owner[23]). If participants wanted to arrange a time to meet at home, they would first have to check with their mum or dad if that time was suitable for the rest of the family.

The physical spaces of homes within HRFs were small and therefore it was often not possible to negotiate a 'private' space to conduct the interview (Valentine, 1999, Valentine et al., 2001, Barker and Weller, 2003, Punch, 2007), and interviews were often conducted in the living room of the home. This was problematic as, during the interview, other family members continued to use it for everyday behaviours (e.g. watching TV or cleaning) (Bushin, 2007). This meant that I often had to navigate the very behaviours and routines in participants' homes that I was interested in learning more about.

I was aware when I first entered the participants' homes I was interrupting or 'getting in the way' of these routine behaviours, For example, Shona's interview took place during a weekday evening and during the interview, her mum began

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[23] All participants lived in socially rented accommodation with the parent paying the rent, the term 'home owner' is used here to denote head of household rather than to reflect tenure

preparing the family's dinner. While I was not asked to leave, I was aware that my presence was perhaps stopping them from having their meal. This was confirmed when halfway through the interview, her mum started shouting Nicola and Martin for dinner, causing the interview to be cut short. As a guest in participants' homes, I found it difficult to control the interview context in the same way as if it were being conducted in a university department. One example of this occurred during my wave one home interview with Claire:

[Claire's mum begins to vacuum in the background]

JN: This is pretty rubbish Dictaphone, so I'll just do that [Dictaphone is moved towards Claire] 'Cos the other day I was out and a truck passed and I lost two minutes of my interview 'cos it was just like… truck noise.

Claire's mum: *The two of you will need to speak up*

Claire's dad: *she [referring to Claire's mum] can move*

Claire's mum: *I've got to finish this [vacuuming]*

Claire's dad: *well shut the door and then finish*

[Claire, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, home interview]

As a guest in their home, I felt it was inappropriate to ask Claire's mum to not vacuum while I was interviewing her daughter. Instead, I attempted other ways of signalling my discomfort and concern that the noise from the vacuum cleaner may obscure the audio. First of all I moved the Dictaphone towards Claire, and then referred to previous problems with my Dictaphone coping with background noise. Claire's dad was sitting on the couch next to Claire and could see my discomfort. He became involved in the situation, and asked Claire's mum to "*move*" or to "*shut the door and then finish*", thus solving my dilemma. One way to analyse this interaction is to view Claire's mum's behaviour as demonstrating the importance of cleanliness and respectability within the home. As discussed in Chapter five, cleanliness within the HRF was linked with respectability for participants: clean communal spaces were perceived as a sign of social control, dirty communal spaces were linked with ASB. When I entered their home, I was going in as an outsider who was interested in learning about

the risks and realities of living in deprived communities. This may have been threatening for Claire's mum, who then felt she had to 'prove' her respectability by choosing to vacuum when I was there, therefore demonstrating the importance of maintaining order within her home, which therefore reflected an aspect of her own identity within Sighthill (Madigan and Munro, 1996, Skeggs, 1997, Kefalas, 2003). Alternatively, she may have wished to listen to her daughter's answers so created a valid excuse for remaining in the room, or maybe she always vacuumed at that time of day.

At other times, the interruption was not because of routine behaviours, but just reflected the busy environment of the home. For example, Shelly and Christina's home had six children (Shelly being the oldest), all of whom could be heard on the Dictaphone at several times during the interview. By wave two, Christina and Shelly's mum had another baby; this made the home even louder as the newborn cried for attention during the interviews. A field-note made at that time highlighted my frustration at the situation:

> Fieldnotes:
>
> Throughout the interview there is a baby- currently in my arms- who is around 4 weeks old and a toddler who can be heard garbling throughout the interview. Also, all you can hear is the TV that has not been turned off or down.

Similar to the dilemma regarding Claire's mum vacuuming; I felt that I was ill placed to control the situation. For example, I could only suggest that the TV was turned down, rather than switching it off myself. I also felt unable to turn down the invitation to hold the baby, for fear of being rude. However, holding the baby also meant I was distracted (for fear of hurting the baby) and also less able to reach my Dictaphone and paperwork. Similar to Claire's dad, Christina's mum watched this unfold, before taking the baby back. It could be argued that, like the interaction with Claire's mum, Christina's mum was demonstrating her control over the domestic space and highlighted the domestic power imbalance between her mum and I.

Another interruption, and a consequence of conducting interviews in the homes of participants, was when other family members (who were present for the

interview) interrupted the participant to give their own opinion or tried to guide the participants' responses. This is discussed in more detail in section 8.3.2.

8.2.2 The neighbourhood

The aim of interviewing participants while walking in the neighbourhood was to better understand their references and also to directly observe their interactions with different spaces. One of the main advantages of this method was that it enabled me as a researcher to better anchor my questions, based on what I could see in the neighbourhood; asking questions based on "what is/was here?" and "who uses this space?" rather than asking broad and vague questions such as "what has changed in your neighbourhood?" or "where do teenagers hang out?". Using the go-along allowed me to be given a tour by participants who had lived in the neighbourhoods for at least five years, and therefore were considered experts regarding observable changes.

Another positive aspect of the go-along was that it allowed for the combining of present day spaces with participant memories of what used to be in the neighbourhood prior to regeneration (as discussed in Chapter six, section 6.5.1). This was especially true for participants who were long-standing residents of the neighbourhood, and could reflect not only on current changes, but also what they remembered from childhood which had long since been demolished or redeveloped. Reflecting on memories was more likely to occur during go-alongs and photo-elicitation interviews, perhaps due to the participant being able to connect interview questions to physical spaces more easily:

> **Shona:** There was a big ship. And somebody burnt that doon.
>
> **Martin:** They tyres [swings] were got burnt doon as well.
>
> **Shona:** The tyres then got burnt doon as well. So then you just never went because none of the stuff was good, it was aw baby stuff that was left.
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Martin, 16 years; Sighthill, w1, photo-elicitation interview]

Highlighting the present problem of arson within the neighbourhood, they described the "big ship", a climbing frame that the Sighthill children would dare each other to climb to the top of, having been burned down and replaced with "*baby stuff*". Shona and Martin reflected that they were not personally affected by this as they were too old to use the climbing frame, but did suggest that the presence of "baby stuff" (park equipment designed for younger children) was frustrating as it meant there was nowhere for older young people to go. While previous studies using go-alongs have been conducted in places with a favourable climate (Kusenbach, 2003, Carpiano, 2009), Glasgow is a cold, wet, and windy city. While the go-alongs were conducted in the summer months, I still sometimes experienced gale force winds and heavy rainfall. This often meant had to cancel interviews, as it was not beneficial for either the participants or myself to walk outside in cold and wet conditions. On one occasion, the rain became so heavy during the walk that we stopped the interview mid-way through and arranged another interview date when the weather improved.

The poor weather conditions sometimes had a negative effect on the routes taken during some go-alongs. While most participants followed the pedestrianised walkways of the neighbourhood, some chose to take short cuts and walk through grass in order to show some of their informal social spaces. At times, the presence of mud or wet leaves would make the route impossible to follow:

> **Christina:** Right we'll walk up the stairs and walk o'er that way
>
> **Shelly:** They [the stairs] 're slidey
>
> **Christina:** No they're no
>
> **Shelly:** Aye they ur, it's been rainin'
>
> **Christina:** So? I walk doon them every night playin' hidey [hide and seek]...See like on a sunny day or sumhin, there were no jaggies [stinging nettles] and just aw concrete, but I go in there an' hide [points to a large concrete pipe up ahead]
>
> **Shelly:** Ah'm gonnae faw doon this hill!

> **Christina:** Naw yer no, it's alright. Your feet might sink into the mud right, but its fine

> **Shelly:** 'Tina, I'm in Primark sannies [trainers]. I'm no walkin' alang that

> **Christina:** Right, get on ma back

> [Sisters try to give each other a piggyback, yelp and squeal as they lose their grip]

> [Shelly, 14 years, Christina, 12 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

For Christina, this route was chosen because it contained one of the informal social spaces of the neighbourhood, an old concrete pipe which featured heavily in her friends' games of hide and seek. Her description of when the pipe was used highlighted her own expertise of the neighbourhood and the ways in which she navigated naturally occurring environmental risk (i.e. stinging nettles). During the go-along, there were two routes to get to the pipe: walking up concrete stairs covered in wet leaves, or up a muddy embankment. Deciding which routes were acceptable to follow and which required a rethink was difficult at times. On one hand, I wanted to follow participants' own judgement and gain a better appreciation of the neighbourhood, but on the other hand, their choices sometimes involved an element of risk:

> **Janet:** That's the primary school...Do you want to climb the fence and see it?

> **JN: Oh no, I'm a terrible climber**

> [Janet, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

Similar to the concrete pipe, the primary school playground was one of the main informal play-spaces of the neighbourhood, but it was not easy to access. While I was able to walk up muddy hills with Christina and Shelly, I chose to reject the offer of climbing an eight-foot fence with Janet to enter a primary school playground for a number of reasons. First of all, I perceived it to be outside of the ethics application made to Glasgow University as it could potentially be seen as breaking the law; secondly, while it was normal to see children and young people running in the playground after-hours, the same affordances would not

be given to an adult 'outsider'; lastly, I genuinely did not have the ability required to climb the fence.

Even when the weather conditions were favourable, the HRF blocks appeared to create wind tunnels that meant when we walked between the different blocks, I experienced almost gale force winds. This had a negative effect on the audio quality of the interviews, as the strong winds obscured both the participant's and my voice on the Dictaphone. While I was aware of this at the time, it was not until I began to receive some of these files back from the transcription service that I realised how much of an issue this was:

> **Martin:** Aye sit in the foyer I was like … [wind distortion]
>
> **Shona:** He came back as well, and… [wind distortion]
>
> **Martin:** Move to the foyer and then the fire ex… [wind distortion]
>
> [Shona, 18 years, Martin, 16 years, Sighthill, w1, go-along]

While from the conversation cues around this dialogue, it was clear that Martin and Shona were talking about when Martin was younger and would play in the foyer; the details of the conversation were obscured by the loud noise of the wind. While this was frustrating, I tried different techniques to reduce this problem: repeating participants' answers if I believed the Dictaphone would not register their voices, or would ask them to wait to answer the question until we reached a more sheltered area so we would not be drowned out by the strong winds.

8.3 Power dynamics within the research process

Within the wider literature, participatory methods are discussed as the power dynamics between participants and researchers. Imbalances in power may reflect disparities in age, educational attainment, social class, or status in society (Punch, 2002). However, as discussed in Chapter four, 'power' should not be viewed as a binary concept but rather as something which is produced and negotiated through social interactions (Christensen, 2004).

While the methods chosen attempted to promote participants' autonomy and power within the research setting, and challenge traditional power imbalances of researcher as "expert" and participant as "subject", in reality the promotion of young people's autonomy within the research process was complicated. Two examples reflect the complex power dynamics between participant and researcher, and between child and parent. These are discussed below.

8.3.1 Participant and researcher: decisions regarding photography

While visual methods promote empowerment of participants, and ensure they are given more control of the research setting, this may have been compromised by me in two ways: my selection methods in choosing images to use in the thesis, and the decision to include my own fieldwork photographs. These two actions may have had a disempowering effect on the method overall. Through reflecting on my own position as a researcher in the production of knowledge within visual methods (Pink, 2001), it is possible to problematise the concept of an 'empowering' research method.

As the photo-elicitation task was participant-led, there was minimal guidance from me as to what photographs as I wanted them to show what was important within the contexts of their everyday life. For many, their images represented the 'normal' experience of everyday life: routines within the home (having breakfast, going on their laptop); personal belongings (e.g. football, their mobile phone); pets; or self-portraits ('selfies').

Initially this was confusing as their interviews contained descriptions of risk and complex navigations of risk that were not present in the images. However, Back (2009) in a discussion of Bourdieu and photography highlighted that the act of understanding a photograph requires not just an understanding of the image, but of the motivations of the photographer. The decision of the participants to *not* take images of ASB, vandalism and abandoned buildings, and instead to photograph positive aspects of the neighbourhood, or of their own life within the neighbourhood, further highlighted their complex and contradictory attitudes towards the neighbourhood (Turner et al, 2006, Reay and Lucey, 2000) and the

constant navigation of their own identities as respectable and normal (Skeggs, 1997, Holland et al., 2007b).

This posed a methodological issue, as while these images were interesting, they did not reflect their interview responses or capture the physical regeneration within the neighbourhood. Returning to Back's description of understanding photographs, my own assessment of photographs as being "suitable" concerned how images could best support the narratives of the thesis. As discussed in Chapter four (section 4.7.2), the final decision regarding the photographs was that they would serve a mainly illustrative purpose.

At times, I selected one participant's images to support a point made by another participant; this may be viewed as disempowering the participant who took the photograph. One example of this was the use of Theo's photograph of derelict buildings (Chapter six, section 6.5.2). While his image was the best visual example of the experience of derelict buildings, other participants' verbal reactions to these buildings were chosen. By accrediting Theo, I attempted to highlight his ownership of the image, but there should be wariness regarding the construction of a 'false reality' (Rose, 2013).

In addition to the inclusion of participant photography, I also included my own images. As discussed in Chapter four (section 4.7.1.2), my decision to take additional photographs was to in some way "fill in the gaps" of the participants' narratives, where they verbally suggested something was a problem, but did not provide visual evidence of this. This again highlighted my own position and motivations within the project; for example, I felt it was important to have visual examples of the new 'risky' spaces created by regeneration. However, while my images can be viewed as reflecting the verbal responses of young people, they contradicted the visual data collected and therefore may have challenged the participants' autonomy in the research.

8.3.2 Child and parent: parental interruptions during interviews

Another way the autonomy of participants was challenged was with parental interruptions during the home interview. While I had intended to interview

participants alone without other family member involvement, this was not always possible due to limited space in the HRF, and there was often a parent or sibling present (see Chapter four, section 4.7.1.1). When a family member was present, it often led to parental or sibling interruption during the interview, but these interruptions often gave an added dimension to the participants' stories (Harden et al, 2010, Irwin and Johnson, 2005).

Interruptions could be categorised in one of three ways: answering the question from their own point of view; correcting the account given by the participant; and providing additional information. There may have been a number of reasons behind these interruptions (Maclean and Harden, 2012). Parents may have viewed their children as 'inadequate informants' (Nilsen and Rogers, 2005) and therefore chose to participate in discussions to ensure a better quality of interview. Or they may have disagreed with the account given by participants and wished to provide another point of view (Bushin, 2007, Punch, 2007, Sime, 2008). Alternatively, as they were in the same room as the interview, they may have felt as though they also had a role to play in the interview process, or they felt encouraged to reflect on their own experiences:

> **JN: So how do you feel about walking back from [the football pitch at night?]?**
>
> **Claire**: Theres nae lights
>
> **Paul**: Naebody'd dae anything.
>
> **Dad:** *[mumbles] It's dark, I dunno.*
>
> **Paul**: I don't think it's very dark...I think it's a' right
>
> **Dad:** *See if you're well known, like if people know you, if somebody, like if you walked into the area say, or say a boy your age who didn't know the area...I think it would be intimidating for him*
>
> [Claire, 16 years, Paul, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home-interview]

During Paul's wave one home interview, his sister Claire (also a participant in the study) and their dad were also present. Often, when Claire and their dad interrupted Paul, it was to give their own point of view, which was often in

conflict with Paul's. In the above example, Paul is asked about his experience walking home from the football pitch at night. Immediately Claire responds by highlighting her own unease at the lack of lighting in the neighbourhood at night, an opinion that is later echoed by their dad. Paul's own response is that the walk home is "alright" and that he does not perceive walking at night to be risky, which is related to his perception that no one in the neighbourhood would cause him harm. The dad contradicts Paul again when he mentions that other boys who were not from the neighbourhood would also feel vulnerable walking through the neighbourhood.

Other parental interruptions appeared to serve to correct the account given by the participant. This interruption usually involved the parent comparing the participant's response with their observations of what the participant is "really like":

> **JN: Do you think you did more in your old flat, or do you think you do more in this one?**
>
> **Nicola**: Probably just the same. Sat and have a laugh, and watch telly.
>
> **Nicola's mum**: *You do things all on your own now. She'll go in her room and she'll sit and she'll tidy it and she makes it all nice. Kinda more pride now, in her stuff, than she used to have.*

[Nicola, 11 years, Sighthill, w1, home-interview]

In the above example, we can see Nicola's mum taking on the role of expert in two ways. First of all, she directly addresses Nicola to contradict her judgment regarding how her behaviour has changed. Secondly, she addresses me to describe how these behaviours have changed but refers to Nicola in the third person ("*she'll go, she'll tidy*").
While Nicola answered the question in terms of routine behaviours (which remained constant), Nicola's mum answered the question in terms of spatial behaviours and in particular how Nicola's identity may have changed due to having a bigger bedroom. By doing this, her mum ignores Nicola's agency to construct her own sense of reality and normality within the home. While it was

useful to hear that the new home had led to new behaviours, this was a point raised by Nicola's mum, rather than Nicola.

Parents also appeared to attempt to take control of the interview during the photo-elicitation interview although this occurred to a lesser extent than in the home interviews. For example, while Jenny was describing a photograph of her neighbourhood at night as being *"beautiful"* when the lights from all the HRFs are on (see Figure 19), her mum disputed this opinion:

> **Jenny's mum**: talk about the other side as well, the crime.
>
> **Jenny**: Yeah, it is actually. It can be, because sometimes you walk through this- I was talking about the beautiful scene of Glasgow and she's gone…Ok then I'll just…yeah I'll talk about the crime, no problem
>
> [Jenny, 16 years, Shawbridge, w1, photo-elicitation interview]

Figure 19: Photograph by Jenny (15 years, Shawbridge) of HRF at night

Similar to the other interruptions, Jenny's mum's interruption changed the narrative given by Jenny. Jenny had previously discussed crime and risk within the neighbourhood in her home interview and in the go-along interview that occurred afterwards, but for Jenny the photograph represented a different element of the city. However, for Jenny's mum, the photograph represented the temporal risk at night-time, and therefore was not *"beautiful"* or *"glamorous"*. While this may not have posed a direct challenge to the account given by Jenny, as Jenny agreed that crime was a problem, Jenny's mum's interruption meant the subjective meaning of the photograph changed.

8.4 Ethics in practice

Reflecting on how ethics manifests itself throughout the research process, from recruitment, to fieldwork and interviewing, to the coding and dissemination stage, highlights what some call "ethics in practice" (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, Ellis, 2007, Hopkins, 2007, Warin, 2011) or "micro-ethics" (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). This differs from procedural ethics, which includes gaining Enhanced Disclosure to work with young people, and ethical clearance from University of Glasgow's College of Social Science (see appendix C).

The consideration of ethics in practice highlights the importance of reflexivity within the research process, and of examining how researchers conceptualise and manage the "often unpredictable, often subtle, yet ethically important moments that come up in the field" (Ellis, 2007: 4). As these are unanticipated moments within fieldwork, it is likely that the researcher will experience discomfort due to the ethical ambiguities within the situation (Punch, 2007, Valentine, 1999). Therefore this section discusses unpredictable situations that occurred during the fieldwork period that highlights the continued consideration of ethics.

8.4.1 Consent as an open-ended process

The consent forms for the current project were structured in a way as to enable participants to select which of the methods they wished to participate in. Each method was described in terms of what was expected from the participants, and then they were given the opportunity to ask questions to ensure they were fully informed of what would be involved. After this, participants were asked whether they wished to participate in the method. However, even if the participant chose to participate in the method, there were ways in which they could still actively negotiate their role within the research context.

One such negotiation was through their reluctance to have the interview recorded. Prior to each interview beginning, participants were asked if they verbally consented to having their interview recorded with a digital Dictaphone. If they did not consent to this, they were asked if they consented to me taking notes based on their answers. While the majority of participants consented to being recorded, Theo (11 years, Sighthill) and Mark (11 years, Shawbridge) chose

to have some of their interviews not recorded, although in these instances they did consent to notes being taken. For Theo, the home interview and photo-interview at wave one were not recorded but he consented to having his go-along interview recorded. The go-along interview was Theo's third interview, and his decision to have this recorded may have reflected an increase in his comfort or trust in the research process. On the other hand, Mark consented to have his home interview and go-along interview recorded, but not his photo-elicitation interview. This was a more confusing decision, although it was not challenged.

Another example of consent as an open-ended process was the ability of participants to disengage with the method during the interview, which Renold et al (2008) referred to as the "fluid way in which young people moved between participant and non-participant" (p438). During the home interviews, some of the young people managed their participant/non-participant identity by directly registering disinterest:

> **JN: Do you think [your friends would] come and visit you if you further away?**
>
> **Johnny:** No.
>
> **JN: No?**
>
> **Johnny:** [Johnny picks up an elastic band and begins to stretch it over his fingers] a star shape.
>
> [Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w1, home interview]

Johnny's wave one home interview took approximately 30 minutes, and at the end of it he began to disengage with the interview. This was frustrating, as the last questions in the home interview were based on the participants' expectations for the next year (in regards to changes in neighbourhood, school, family, peer group, and in his own personal life), and I had hoped to compare their wave one predictions to their wave two realities. However, when Johnny answered "a star shape" in response to a question regarding maintaining friendships, it was obvious that he no longer wished to participate in the interview. At this point I informed him that I had "one more question", and

asked what he thought would have changed in his life in the following year. After answering, I switched off the Dictaphone and thanked him for his time. This negotiation of participant/non-participant identities was more apparent during go-along interviews. As the go-along took place in the participants' neighbourhoods, it was likely that they would encounter a friend or neighbour during the walk. While the ability to observe young people in their everyday context was one of the strengths of the method as it enabled them to have more control over the route and direction of the interview; it was also a challenge as it provided the participants with an opportunity to disengage with the interview:

> Fieldnotes:
>
> During our interview Christina runs ahead to talk to her friends who are on a small hill beside the park, some of them are climbing trees- they are all around Christina's age, 11-13. I have to approach Christina who is now with a group of friends, the friends ask who I am and Christina explains why I'm there "talkin about Sighthill". Her friend introduces me to her older brother, who is around 14 years old…

Initially, I was unsure as to whether or not to approach Christina after she first walked away, but decided that I would ask her whether she wanted to continue now that she had met up with her friends. She agreed to continue the interview, although was also keen to continue to be with her friends. This led to an ethical quandary, as they all had an opinion of regeneration and of the neighbourhood in general, but I did not have parental consent to interview them. There was little control over the context of the go-along, as I could not ask Christina's friends to leave the neighbourhood while I conducted the interview. Reflecting back on the experience, the inclusion of her friends enabled her to manage the identity of participant/non-participant, as at times she would leave to talk to a friend but then would return to answer a question after a few minutes.

8.4.2 Risk assessment in the field

My experience of Johnny's go-along at wave two was another example of negotiated roles, but also of risk assessment in the field. During his go-along, he saw a group of boys around his age hanging out just ahead of where we were walking:

[Johnny looks visibly stressed with head lowered and shoulders raised]

JN: Do you know those guys?

Johnny: I know some of them...hope they don't start anything

JN: We don't have to go this way

Johnny: I'm fine, I'll just have to walk into it another day anyway

JN: Okay

Johnny: There's only one 'hing I don't like roon here, its people shoutin after ma pals and me havin' to stick up for ma pals...and a 'hink that's what's going to happen right now

JN: What? Are they going to shout on you?

Johnny: Naw, they're going to take the micky out of one of ma pals...I'll be back in two wee minutes

[Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, go-along]

While the participants were asked to think of a route for the go-along that did not involve risky locations, it was impossible to pre-plan a route that did not involve the possibility to interacting with 'risky' people. Johnny appeared to want to 'pause' the interview in order to deal with a problem he was currently experiencing within his new neighbourhood. Despite my attempts to change the route, Johnny left the go-along situation and chose to interact with the boys. As Johnny switched from participant to non-participant, I had to assess the risk of the situation. This involved a number of measures: ensuring I could observe Johnny talking to the boys to make sure he was not at risk; dialling his dad's phone number so if anything happened I could call him; taking my security phone out so I could call the police. At that moment, I was also very aware that I did not know what street we were on, so I also began to look around for passersby. In total, the situation lasted two minutes. Johnny returned to where I was standing without having raised his voice, or his fists, and continued as normal with the interview. For the remainder of the go-along, he referred at points to the boys and his concern about whether they would try to fight him:

[Johnny looks behind himself again]

JN: Are they shouting on you?

Johnny: Nah they're taking the mick out me...want to head back doon that way again? [towards flat, on the opposite side of the road]

[Johnny, 11 years, Shawbridge, w2, go-along]

Johnny's decision to cross the road and therefore to distance himself from the boys reflected his decision to take control of the interview and also to negotiate the risk in the situation.

Another example of risk assessment in the field occurred with Shelly during the wave one home interview. Shelly was the only participant who described current participation in gang fights, although these territorial fights took place in West Glasgow (approximately one hour away from Sighthill by bus). Consistent with previous studies (Batchelor, 2009, Jones, 2009, Young, 2009), Shelly described fringe participation in gang fights as she only watched from the sidelines. While she described the fighting as a "laugh" and a "carry on", she also discussed the physical risk some of her friends experienced:

Shelly: He got hut wi a big metal pole ...wait I'll show you a picture...someone else got hut wi a bottle. Look [Shelly shows a photograph on her blackberry of the back of someone's head] that's the one that got hut wi the bottle

[Shelly, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home-interview]

Discussing gang fights or territoriality was not one of the intended outcomes of the home interview (which focused on life at home, at school, and within the family), so there was no contingency plan in place within my procedural ethics form for this type of disclosure. However, as she showed me photographs on her blackberry of the results of a physical assault on a teenage boy, it posed an ethical dilemma regarding my position as a researcher and my duty of care towards Shelly.

Previous research regarding sensitive disclosures, when participants share private information with researchers which may put them or others at risk, has

highlighted the importance of negotiated pathways to ensure an adult knows about the potential risk to the participant (Alderson, 1995, Morrow, 2008a, Duncan et al., 2009, Abebe and Bessell, 2014). Therefore I used the same technique, asking Shelly if her mum knew about what happened when she went to West Glasgow:

> **JN: does your mum know you stand and watch them fight?**
>
> **Shelly:** Aye, she doesnae like it but I do it anyway
>
> [Shelly, 14 years, Sighthill, w1, home-interview]

In addition to her mum, Shelly also described the police in West Glasgow often went to break up the fights and had occasionally driven her back to Sighthill. She also suggested that the only time she was ever in direct danger was when she stood too close to one of the West Glasgow boys as they swung a golf club to hit a glass bottle; which resulted in her injuring her shoulder. As a trusted adult knew what Shelly was doing, and her friends' behaviour was already reported to the police, there was little else I could do in the situation other than discussing my concerns with my supervisors to ensure that there was nothing else I could have done.

8.5 Discussion

The aim of this chapter was three-fold: to provide an account of some of my fieldwork experiences, as it was through these that the data presented in this thesis were collected; to highlight some of the fieldwork challenges to assist researchers wishing to use these methods; and to consider ethics in practice which is often missing when research is written up. In addition, this chapter also highlighted the challenges and benefits both of the different methods chosen (as seen in Table 23) and of conducting interviews in non-formal research settings:

	Strengths of the method	Limitations of the method
Semi-structured home interviews	- Observation of family interactions; - bedroom culture; importance of the internet - Being able to witness family dynamics and home environment - Structured so it was easy to collect information regarding background of participant	- Less information regarding neighbourhood norms - Parental interruptions and background noise - Lack of privacy - Researcher-led method
Photo-elicitation interviews	- Identification of important aspects of participants' lives (pets, hobbies, bedrooms, family members) - Participant generated ideas guided interview - More control for participants	- Often lacking photographs of regeneration of neighbourhood or "ugly" parts of the neighbourhood - Photographs were often 'snapshots' which did not provide clear narrative
Go-along interviews	- Identification of neighbourhood services, social spaces, and risk locations - Encouraged participant to reflect on their own behaviours in the neighbourhood - No parental interruption - More informal interview setting without parental interruption	- Less information regarding home environment and family dynamics - Ethical considerations regarding choice of route and neighbourhood experience - Less control of interview setting

Table 23: Strengths and limitations of methods used

Using the home and neighbourhood as interview contexts had a number of strengths and limitations. In terms of the home, it was useful to be able to observe the everyday routines and interactions with family members, but often the agency of participants was challenged by the presence of an older sibling or parent. Connected to this was the lack of privacy that many of the homes offered, which challenged the confidentiality offered to participants. Interviews conducted at home were useful for gaining background information about participants, and a better understanding of their home context. Interviews conducted in the neighbourhood often offered completely different information and experiences. The neighbourhood as an interview context enabled

participants to interact both with their physical surroundings and also, at times, their social networks.

By being in the context that was the topic of discussion, participants were also better able to reflect on their own experiences by taking inspiration from what we were looking at. However, as this chapter also showed, conducting interviews in the neighbourhood also meant diminished interviewer control, both of the participants' behaviours and of the environmental context with weather and poor terrain being two of these difficulties. The following chapter provides a discussion of the broad conclusions of the study, and addresses the research questions set out at the start of the thesis. The chapter also suggests policy implications.

Chapter nine: Discussion of results and conclusion

The central aim of this thesis was to examine how young people construct, negotiate and experience 'ordinary' and 'normal' everyday lives. Specifically, how ordinariness and normality were constructed within deprived neighbourhood contexts which were undergoing multi-million pound regeneration strategies, and how young people actively negotiated these changes by "winding the new into the known, into the everyday fabric of life" (Hall et al., 2009b: 551). Rather than viewing the neighbourhood as a singular context, this thesis adopted a nested-contexts approach which suggested that young people's everyday life consists of interactions within and between a range of proximal social and physical contexts, including family, peers, public spaces, school, and the home (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, Morrow, 2001, Fraser, 2004, Greene and Hogan, 2005, Wen et al., 2009). Their everyday experiences within these contexts were analysed using a risk and resilience framework.

Risk was understood as being multi-dimensional, including both objective experiences and subjective perceptions. While there were examples of objective risk experiences, the majority of participants' discussions centred on the socio-spatial risks of the public spaces of the neighbourhood. The thesis rejected the definition of resilience adopted by many neo-liberal policy-makers which emphasises the role of the individual; instead resilience was understood an interactive process whereby identification and utilisation of resources (gained through positive place attachment, relationships with positive peer groups, family members or positive role-models) has a beneficial effect on individuals' experiences and outcomes in otherwise 'risky' situations or contexts (Bottrell, 2009b, Bottrell, 2009a). These resources were often discussed in terms of aiding young people in negotiating risk in their everyday lives. The thesis also presented the ways in which experiences of biographical and urban change (including regeneration and relocation) may challenge this everyday resilience and access to resources, and discussed the adaptive methods of young people in making sense of these changes.

This final chapter is separated into five sections. The first provides a summary of the results chapters. The second provides short answers to the research questions. These are developed further in the third section by connecting the findings to wider literature regarding risk and resilience. The fourth critiques the study in terms of the main strengths and weaknesses of the study as well as providing policy implications. The fifth details the original contribution to knowledge.

9.1 Summary of findings

The findings chapters of the thesis were structured so as to explore participants' experiences of risk and resilience n different contexts. While Chapters five and six focused on two specific physical contexts, the home and public spaces of the neighbourhood, it became apparent that experiences within the physical contexts were influenced by social contexts such as family and peers, and by institutional contexts such as school and youth-orientated services. Chapter seven focused on how participants coped with change occurring within these different contexts. These chapters also discussed how regeneration interacted with participants' experiences of risk and resilience in the different contexts. Detailed below are summaries of the three results chapters.

9.1.1 Living in the HRF

Chapter five focused on participants' experience of living in a high-rise flat (HRF). Within the wider housing literature, this building type is viewed as one of the riskier housing types, with structural problems (such as dampness or draughts) negatively impacting on health (Dorling et al., 2007, Warr et al., 2007, Kearns et al., 2012). Unlike other housing types, HRFs have two internal environments: the participants' homes; and the communal spaces of the block. Risk in the two areas differed. While risk within the home was mainly objective and physical, caused by poor housing conditions including mould and dampness; risks within the communal spaces of the block were more in line with the socio-spatial risks of the neighbourhood: environmental signs of ASB (such as broken glass, or discarded needles) or witnessing risk-behaviours of others (seeing "junkies" on the stairways, people smoking in the lift). These risks also differed in how they were discussed by the participants. Despite the damp and draughty

conditions of some of the homes placing young people at risk of health problems, they often neglected to discuss these issues. When these issues were discussed, it was often in relation to the family routine: the problems experienced when siblings shared a bedroom (caused by the damp in the other room), or the happy memories of sharing a plug-in heater (caused by inadequate insulation and draughts in the living room). Participants appeared to be more able to discuss the socio-spatial risks contained within the communal areas. There may be a number of reasons for this: the socio-spatial risks mirrored those risks experienced in the public spaces of the neighbourhood, these risks posed a more direct or immediate threat compared to the risks in the home, or participants' had a previous negative experience. Participants described a range of behaviours to cope with risk in the communal areas. These included avoidance techniques to reduce interaction with risk (e.g. not using stairs if they were afraid that "junkies" would be there) and risk management techniques to increase their safety when potentially interacting with risk (e.g. getting to know neighbours to increase informal social contacts).

Reources of resilience in the home included positive social interactions and routines with family members, but also the ability to find a private space away from the family. The need for privacy was especially important for those who shared their bedroom (either with sibling or other family members). Another source of resilience was social media. Social media was often discussed as a key way to maintain social networks when it was not possible to meet friends face-to-face. These resources were the foundations of the positive 'everyday' within the home.

Reources of resilience in the communal spaces appeared to be divided into sources of formal and informal social control. The concierge was seen as the formal social control of the block, participants discussed the need to have a concierge who was firm (could deal with problems quickly as they arose), but fair (got to know residents and was approachable). Neighbours identified as providing informal social control. Positive relationships with neighbours within the HRF provided participants with a sense of belonging and security. The cooperation of neighbours and the concierge in maintaining the cleanliness and

order of the communal spaces was also linked to participants' sense of positive belonging to their block.

The clearance process of the blocks affected some participants more than others, dependent on how far through the clearance process the participants' blocks were. There appeared to be two ways in which the process posed an additional risk. Firstly, there was a physical risk: as the block became emptier, there was a risk of the home becoming more difficult to heat due to lack of occupied residences nearby. Secondly, there was a social risk: as long-term residents began to be relocated, more short-term vulnerable residents moved in. Participants described these new residents as less sociable, leading to some participants feeling more vulnerable due to a lack of intergenerational contact within the block.

9.1.2 The neighbourhood

Chapter five focused on the experience of living in a neighbourhood that was undergoing regeneration although it was, at times, difficult to differentiate participants' experience of regeneration and of the wider neighbourhood context. Participants not only discussed youth spaces and services, but rather focused on a wide range of spaces, services, and temporalities that reflected their position as an active member of the community (Hall et al., 1999, Travlou, 2003, Childress, 2004, Evans, 2008, Morrow, 2008b, Hall, 2009a, Christensen and Mikkelsen, 2011). There was an overlap between the risks and resources for resilience in the HRF and neighbourhood contexts, although that was to be expected considering the overlap of population groups inhabiting these spaces. For many participants, discussion of ASB in the neighbourhood included "risky people" and "risky places". Their everyday interactions within the neighbourhood meant many had well-practiced behaviours which enabled them to safely negotiate the risks within the spaces. Similar to the HRF context, participants practiced both risk avoidance and risk management techniques in the neighbourhood. For example one of the main risk avoidance techniques was not going out at night, and one of the main risk management techniques was always walking with friends to ensure a sense of safety.

Neighbourhood resources for resilience included both within-neighbourhood connections such as relationships with peers, and positive adult role-models, connections with religious or other community groups, and also social connections outside the neighbourhood such as extended family, or friends from secondary school, friends from sports clubs (including football and gymnastics), or within-neighbourhood friends who had relocated outside the neighbourhood. Therefore, while the thesis is interested in neighbourhood regeneration, it is important to understand that, similar to other young people, the participants' lives were not confined to their neighbourhood.

There were a number of ways in which regeneration negatively affected participants' experience of their neighbourhood, for example closure of services (including Shawbridge's youth club) and the relocation of within-neighbourhood friends leading to the risk of isolation. There was also discussion of 'new' risk locations, for example abandoned buildings or dark alleyways (although the latter was only relevant for girls in Sighthill). However, others described a more positive experience of regeneration. For example, younger participants used the demolition sites as a new play-space, and older participants suggested that social media was harnessed to ensure contact was maintained with friends who had been relocated, or made new connections through visiting their friend's new neighbourhood.

9.1.3 Individual experience of change

Chapter six focused on individual experiences of change. While Chapters four and five focused on how participants experienced change occurring around them, Chapter six centred on how they experienced change occurring within their personal lives. This included how they experienced relocation, but also how they experienced other biographical changes that may have occurred at the same time as relocation. Similar to their negotiations of risk within the home and neighbourhood, participants managed the potential risks present within these various changes by engaging with their everyday resources.

Many of the relocation risks as outlined in the literature review were not apparent in the participants' narratives. For example, while the wider literature suggests that fragmentation of social groups is a risk of relocation (Tucker et al.,

1998, Clampet-Lundquist, 2004, Goetz and Chapple, 2010, Visser et al., 2014), participants found it relatively easy to maintain friendships due to the close proximity of the destination neighbourhood. This, in part, was because they remained within the same school catchment area. This meant their school friendship network remained the same, so they still had the same access to sources of social capital; indeed, in some cases, participants relocated closer to friends, meaning that relocation *improved* access to their social network. On the other hand, some social risks remained, with some participants reporting continuing concerns about ASB within their new neighbourhoods. A change in housing was only one change among many experienced by the participants. They experienced biographical changes in a range of their proximal everyday contexts including changes in family dynamics, in school experiences, in interpersonal relationships, and in their use of services. At times, these changes took precedence over their experience of regeneration and relocation.

9.2 Research questions

Prior to discussing the overall findings of the thesis, this section directly addresses the research questions posed in Chapter three.

1) How do young people construct a normal narrative within risky contexts?

Participants' sense of normality or experience of the everyday centred on both the supportive relationships found within their everyday proximal contexts (i.e. supportive family relationships, positive peer group, strong attachment to school, place attachment in the neighbourhood) as well as their accumulative exposure to social risk. The latter appeared to enable them to "read" (Cahill, 2000) the neighbourhood and develop negotiation strategies to stay safe. These strategies included avoidance (especially if risk was *temporal*) and negotiation, which relied on their resources (walking with friends, or being in contact with them on the phone). For many, these strategies formed part of their everyday routine in the neighbourhood. Forming routines of risk negotiation was also seen when participants discussed experiences in the communal spaces of the HRF (such as avoiding stairwells wherever possible), and also in the home space of the HRF (including sharing bedrooms due to the spread of damp, or manually

sealing windows to stop draughts). The risks of the neighbourhood and of the home were often viewed as secondary to the positive experiences and connections of the participants. These interactions highlight the relevance of resilience as a process when negotiating risk within deprived neighbourhood contexts.

2) Does regeneration affect young people's existing understanding of risk in the neighbourhood?

Participants' everyday interactions with regeneration were mixed. In some ways, regeneration did not affect participants' daily routines or access to resources, as they were still able to go to school, and hang out with friends. One way that regeneration did affect their experiences was through their understanding of risk. As the clearing process continued, and buildings began to empty, some participants reported feeling increasingly vulnerable in certain public spaces. In particular, the spaces created by demolition and clearing. Within the thesis, this was referred to as the presence of 'new' risk as it was not a risk previously experienced in the neighbourhood. In other cases, regeneration introduced new resources: play-parks and basketball courts for younger participants, and derelict ground (seen as a new informal play-space in SIghthill).

3) Does relocation affect young people's everyday experience?

Relocation was discussed in three ways within the thesis: relocation of wider neighbourhood residents, relocation of friends, and relocation of the participant. As discussed above, relocation of wider neighbourhood population appeared to result in a perception of lower informal social control within neighbourhood public spaces, and therefore increased feelings of vulnerability for some participants. In terms of relocation of friends, while this may have increased some participants' feelings of isolation within the neighbourhood, most were able to negotiate this risk through accessing social media to talk to friends online, or by travelling to their friend's new neighbourhood (therefore potentially expanding their social network). School was also discussed as an important context for maintaining contact with friends who moved away but remained within the same school district. Most participants felt positive

regarding their own relocation, and welcomed the possibilities of having a larger home with more space and less physical problems. In addition, due to the short distance of relocation, the move did not appear to have a negative effect on their social network or their ability to access resources.

4) How do young people negotiate other changes in their lives?

The majority of participants experienced at least one other change in their lives at the same time as relocation. To better understand individual reactions and negotiations of change, a series of case studies were presented. Often it appeared that participants' experiences of personal change were more stressful than their experience of relocation. Participants described both expected (moving into a new school year) and unexpected changes (relationship breakdown). Some changes were linked with relocation (being bullied for being new in the neighbourhood) while others were not. However, given the short distance of relocation, it is likely that the ability to continue accessing resources may have helped with participants' resilience in the face of these changes. What was interesting was that while their experiences changed, many of the resources accessed remained the same, which in turn ensured that the "normal" or "everyday" nature of their lives remained constant.

9.3 Overall findings

9.3.1 Constructing the neighbourhood

At the beginning of the thesis, the decision was made to use a definition of the neighbourhood that moved beyond a geographical location but also reflected the main contexts young people may interact with, or be influenced by, in their everyday lives. The decision to use a nested systems approach enabled a better understanding of how the "everyday" was constructed by young people. This approach highlights how individuals operate within multiple contexts simultaneously, and perceptions and experiences are strongly influenced by interactions between and within these contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, Morrow, 2001, Fraser, 2004, Wen et al., 2009). The thesis suggested these nested contexts included the macro level (including socio-economic and political factors), proximal level (including the physical contexts of the home and public

spaces of the neighbourhood; social context of peer group and family, and institutional contexts of the school and youth services), and the individual level (including the behaviours, attitudes, and aspirations of individuals).

For the purpose of the thesis, the model was used to investigate how macro-level urban policies such as regeneration and relocation impacted upon young people's interactions with their proximal everyday contexts. While young people may not be aware of the full extent to which policies of urban regeneration may influence their lives, they may be more aware of how their interactions with their immediate contexts are changing. This is similar to Felner and DeVries' suggestion that while macro-level contexts frame the experience of the individual, it is "the more proximal person-environment transactions and developmental circumstances that define the particular experience of poverty …and it is those immediate day-to-day experiences that most directly shape the adaption of youth" (2013:103).

In general, the findings of the thesis supported the decision to use this model. No one context was experienced in isolation: the physical environment of the home was the location of family; family and peer groups shaped young people's perception of public spaces; and school, public spaces, and the communal spaces of the high-rise shaped young people's peer groups. The everyday was seen as a complex and messy system of interactions of the different contexts, the importance of which ebbed and flowed depending on the situation of the young person. However, the model had two flaws: it did not take account of the role of the Internet (particularly social media), and the influence of social relationships within and between the contexts could have been explored more. In terms of the former, young people's use of the social media occurred in the home and in the public spaces of the neighbourhood and was used to connect with peers and family members. In terms of the latter, the findings showed that relationships spanned different contexts, family bonds were seen in the neighbourhood, and school friendships were maintained online.

9.3.2 Factors influencing risk perceptions

Rather than focusing on the risk behaviours of a sub-population of 'high-risk' young people in deprived neighbourhoods, this thesis focused on 'ordinary' young people's discussions of the presence and experience of physical and socio-spatial risk (Cahill, 2000, Harden et al., 2000, Pain et al., 2005, Turner et al., 2006, Leonard, 2007). Participants described risk within many of the physical contexts of their everyday lives: the HRF contained physical and structural risk within the home, and socio-spatial risk within the communal spaces; the neighbourhood contained socio-spatial and temporal risks which meant that the same place was perceived differently depending on time of day, who is there, and what they are doing at that time (Harden et al., 2000, Morrow, 2000, Elsley, 2004, Deuchar, 2009). In addition, not every participant experienced, or perceived, risk in the same way. Identification of different types of risk appeared to be based on a range of factors, such as age, gender, length of residency, and the neighbourhood itself. Table 24 reflects the main trends in perceptions of neighbourhood risk in wave one (i.e. risk as it affected their experience in Sighthill or Shawbridge):

Type of neighbourhood risk	Individual demographic (age/gender)	Residential demographic (length of tenancy)	Neighbourhood
Territorial behaviour	11-16 years Males	Long-term residents	Sighthill
Mugging/sexual attacks	11-18 years Females	Long-term residents	Sighthill
"Junkies"	11-18 years Males and females	Long-term and short-term residents	Sighthill and Shawbridge
Older teenagers	11-14 years Males and females	Long-term and short-term residents	Sighthill and Shawbridge
Environmental ASB (including vandalism)	11-18 years Males and females	Long-term and short-term residents	Sighthill and Shawbridge
Drunk people/Noise from pub	11-18 years Males and females	Long-term and short-term residents	Sighthill and Shawbridge

Table 24: Participants' perception of neighbourhood risk at wave one (by individual and residential demographics)

While some problems appeared to affect all participants' experiences of the neighbourhood (e.g. environmental ASB such as littering and vandalism), others appeared to concern different groups. For example, female participants in Sighthill were more likely than males to discuss rape and mugging (Koskela and Pain, 2000, Panelli et al., 2005, Popkin, 2008, Popkin et al., 2010); male participants were more likely than females to talk about being personally vulnerable to the risk of territorial behaviour (Kintrea et al., 2008, Bannister et al., 2012, Pickering et al., 2012). While Sighthill was discussed as having historical links with territorial violence, the prevalence of discussions surrounding rape and mugging in the area was surprising. However, as only one girl was interviewed in Shawbridge, who did not discuss gendered fears; this may go some way to explaining this result.

Furthermore, those who were seen as long-term residents were seen as more likely to discuss social risk than those who had recently moved there. This may be because the long-term residents were more aware of the social boundaries and shared social knowledge of risk that existed within the community, as the knowledge was also passed down through parental boundary setting. Participants who described spending a large proportion of their time in the neighbourhood were more likely to have bonding social capital, but also more likely to report locations of environmental ASB. This reflected their increased understanding of socio-spatial risk within the neighbourhood (Morrow, 2000, Elsley, 2004).

Participants' perception of neighbourhood risk, therefore, is similar to Cahill's (2000) concept of street literacy, with "everyday" understanding of risk linked with elaborate and accumulated knowledge of neighbourhood norms and spaces. Those with more knowledge of the neighbourhood were more likely to perceive or identify risk compared to those with less understanding. This knowledge of neighbourhood risk may at times have made some participants feel more vulnerable in terms of socio-spatial risk, but it was also used to ensure participants actively identified and negotiated risk.

9.3.3 Everyday resilience

There was not one interaction with participants that brought me to the conclusion that the young people interviewed were particularly *resilient*. But rather, their ability to safely navigate the socio-spatial risks of the neighbourhood, to seek out positive relationships, and to enjoy their lives within neighbourhoods that objectively described as more *risky* (given their higher than average mortality, crime, and unemployment rate) was seen as resilience. Therefore the thesis attempted to illuminate the importance of everyday interactions and social relationships in promoting resilience.

At first, understanding participants' experiences of resilience was difficult as it was connected with what they viewed as the mundane and everyday nature of their lives: eating dinner with parents, going online to talk to friends, chatting to teachers in class, being on first name terms with neighbours, saying hello to passersby, hanging out in the neighbourhood (Gillman et al., 2000, Christensen, 2002, Archer and Yamashita, 2003, Masten et al., 2004, Turtiainen et al., 2007, Bottrell, 2009b, Bottrell, 2009a, Hollingworth and Archer, 2010). While relationships with family and friends may be consciously developed over years, informal relationships with neighbours and adults within the neighbourhood were often based on being able to exchange pleasantries. These interactions were something that seemed to 'just happen' rather than something that was actively sought out (Allen et al, 2007: 251). The accumulation of these interactions over different contexts appeared to promote resilience and well-being as participants were able to identify trusted adults.

Consistent with the work of Masten (2004), Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2005), and Bottrell et al (2009a), the social capital of participants' networks appeared to be instrumental in their resilience. These networks included both within neighbourhood and outside of neighbourhood friends, which support Putnam's (2001) differentiation of bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital reflected participants' social behaviour within the neighbourhood, and was closely related to place attachment. Sources of bonding social capital included primary school (located within the neighbourhood), youth club, local

parks, and public spaces. Younger participants were likely to use this bonding social capital to help feelings of security and belonging to the neighbourhood. Bridging social capital reflected participants' social behaviour outside the neighbourhood, and was related to increased mobility, independence, and participation in sports. Ways of developing bridging social capital included going to high school (located outside the neighbourhood) and meeting friends from different places, attending a sports club and practicing with people from different neighbourhoods, or visiting extended family and socialising with children who lived nearby. Older participants were likely to use bridging social capital to create a sense of security beyond the neighbourhood, to socialise more widely, or to access resources not available in their neighbourhood. In reference to the first point, some participants in Sighthill reduced the risk of becoming involved in territorial fighting by knowing friends from 'both sides' of the territorial conflict, their bridging social capital enabling them to adopt a neutral position. For others, knowing friends in other neighbourhoods meant their experience of relocation was less stressful (a point discussed in more depth below).

There was also evidence that the different proximal contexts could positively affect experiences in others, by way of resilience resources. For example, positive relationships with family at home appeared to have a positive effect on their experience in public spaces of the neighbourhood. For example, relying on parental relationships with wider community members in order to be "known" as 'belonging' to the neighbourhood, or internalising boundaries set by their parents of "safe" and "unsafe" spaces in the neighbourhood to help negotiation of socio-spatial risk are two examples of parental effect.

9.3.4 Regeneration, risk and resilience

The thesis also demonstrated that while the long-term regeneration strategy for the neighbourhoods would improve residents' lives, the short-term reality was less so. There was an impression given that these young people had fallen in the gap between deprived neighbourhood and regenerated neighbourhood. This impression was further confirmed when some of the younger participants could not remember what their neighbourhood was like before regeneration began.

Therefore a significant portion of their childhood and adolescence was framed by their experience of regeneration (including relocation, demolition, and the slow closure of services).

Given this framing, it was of interest to better understand how regeneration affected participants' behaviours, perceptions, and experiences. One of the key ways regeneration affected some of the participants was through their reports of feeling increasingly vulnerable in some public spaces. This was partly due to a reduced capability to use their existing knowledge of the neighbourhood to navigate socio-spatial risk (Cahill, 2000, Kintrea et al., 2008). As regeneration began to change the physical and social environment of the neighbourhood, often the participants were not able to "read" the neighbourhood to the same extent. For example, the slowly increasing presence of empty buildings in the neighbourhood signified 'new risk' in the neighbourhood. Often these 'new' risks appeared to be based on participants' lack of knowledge regarding these spaces. Consequently, 'new' risk was viewed as such because it was an undefined and unknown element of the neighbourhood (e.g. the threat of squatters in derelict buildings), which increased some participants' feelings of vulnerability and perception of risk (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001, Van Der Burgt, 2013).

Similar to the perception of existing risk, perception of 'new' risk was also based on a range of different factors including age, gender, and length of tenancy: participants who did not use the neighbourhoods, or had only lived there for a short amount of time were less likely to report an increase in risk compared to those who used the neighbourhood a lot and had lived there for the majority of their lives. One reason for this was that long-term resident young people had more knowledge of 'how things are' and therefore any change to this understanding increased feelings of vulnerability.

In other ways, the regeneration of the neighbourhood offered new positive experiences. Similar to Kraftl et al's (2013) discussion of "mud hill", the demolition of buildings in Sighthill and Shawbridge sometimes offered new uncontrolled public spaces which could be used by younger young people. Most participants were able to identify 'new' spaces that had appeared as a result of regeneration (i.e. the empty space left after a HRF block had been demolished).

Younger participants appeared to interact with these new spaces in one of two ways: assimilate the new spaces into their routine (e.g. use the space as a shortcut to get to their regular 'hang out' spaces), or to adapt their routine to make use of the space (e.g. use the space as a new 'hang out' space). These behaviours reflected participants' ability to adapt to changing physical landscapes and to co-opt these changes into their already complex knowledge of the neighbourhood.

Despite the threat of 'new' risks and introduction of new informal play spaces, participants described their general routines as mostly unchanged: they had dinner at home, went online to talk to their friends (especially those who had recently moved out of the neighbourhood), went to school, and hung out with friends at the weekend. This highlights that while regeneration impacted on the physical spaces of the neighbourhood, the majority of young people's proximal contexts remained the same. This enabled the participants to engage in routine behaviours and therefore continue to rely on their resources to ensure a sense of "normality" continued.

9.3.5 Relocation, risk and resilience

Prior to fieldwork, relocation was understood to be a potential source of risk via fragmentation of social networks, poorer knowledge of neighbourhood norms, and fewer intergenerational relationships. All of these may lead to poor wellbeing due to increased feelings of isolation and vulnerability (Fullilove et al., 1999, Clampet-Lundquist, 2004, Popkin, 2008, Goetz, 2010, Visser et al., 2014). Participants experienced relocation in three ways: relocation of neighbours, relocation of friends, and their own experience of relocation.

Relocation of neighbours presented one of the 'new risks' experienced by participants. Similar to findings by Visser et al (2014) and Goetz (2010) some participants reported a loss of informal social control in their own block which related to the clearance process. As neighbours were moved and the HRF block became less occupied, participants reported knowing fewer people in their block. The perception of 'new risk' was also increased when some of the recently vacated flats were used to house vulnerable short-term residents. The

presence of new 'risky' neighbours combined with the loss of informal social capital experienced when longer-term residents relocated, to create a 'new risk'. This was more likely among participants who had originally had strong relationships with neighbours and could therefore differentiate between the pre-clearance period and their experiences at wave one.

Most participants also experienced at least one within-neighbourhood friend being relocated. While some participants described increased feelings of isolation, most were able to cope with these changes. There were three related reasons for this. First, relocation policy in Glasgow has attempted to move individuals a short distance (less than 2km away from original residence) (Kearns, 2012) that meant many friends remained in the same school catchment post-relocation. Second, if the friend was relocated to a neighbourhood in close proximity, participants described visiting the new neighbourhood. This increased possibilities for developing bridging social capital in other neighbourhoods. As described by Holland et al (2007b) relocated friends acted as an 'anchor', enabling participants to create new friendships and interact with new places in a safe and controllable manner, so reducing any potential vulnerability. The third method, if friends moved further away, was via the use of different communication methods (instant messaging, social networking sites, mobile phones, Skype) to easily maintain contact (Visser et al, 2013).

Perhaps due to the short geographical distance travelled, most participants who experienced relocation described it as a positive experience. This, again, was partly due to the relatively short distance of relocation leading to a significant lack of disruption in their access to the majority of their contexts. For example, older participants stayed in the same high school catchment area, which promoted easier maintenance of friendship groups and also maintained relationships with positive role models (i.e. teachers or sports coaches). Also, the short relocation distance also allowed some older participants to move closer to their high school friends, and enabled those with extended family in or near the locality to maintain these intergenerational ties.

Post-relocation, perceptions of both the home environment and safety in public spaces improved. As participants' new homes offered more internal space, the

majority of participants had their own bedroom. They reported feeling happier as a result and felt it would have a positive impact on family cohesion. In addition, the new neighbourhood was seen as quieter with less physical signs of ASB resulting in improved overall perceptions of the social conditions of the neighbourhood (Popkin, 2008, Popkin et al., 2010, Zuberi, 2010, Zuberi, 2012). Despite these positive changes, which may provide additional resources for resilience, participants nonetheless described needing to "settle in" to their new home and neighbourhood. The settling in process was helped by existing resources of resilience: moving with family members and socialising with existing friends who lived nearby meant that participants' everyday social contexts did not undergo a large change (De Souza Briggs, 1998, De Souza Briggs et al., 2008, De Souza Briggs et al., 2010, Visser et al., 2014).

Participants' discussions of the new neighbourhoods did not involve interactions with neighbours or other adults in the neighbourhood which may have meant there were fewer opportunities to develop informal and intergenerational social capital (De Souza Briggs, 1998, Clampet-Lundquist, 2007, De Souza Briggs et al., 2008, Clampet-Lundquist et al., 2011) which may lead to a lack of resilience resources later on. In addition, some of the participants discussed witnessing ASB, suggesting that their initial positivity about their neighbourhood may wane over time.

This raises a few questions regarding the overall impact of the relocation. If relocation aims to significantly improve individuals' lives through moving them from unfit for purpose housing into different neighbourhoods, it should also aim to significantly improve the other contexts of affected individuals' lives. As it stands, the majority of participants appeared to move house but did not move 'neighbourhood' as they remained in the same school, with the same friends, and had access to the same services. This came at the cost of encouraging access to new resources: new youth clubs, intergenerational conversations with neighbours, and attachment to new spaces. While the physical neighbourhood has changed, the relational neighbourhood (Massey, 2005) remains in place. In addition, the reports of ASB in the new neighbourhoods also suggests that relocation did not move the families to safer locations, only better homes. The

lack of change to all but the home context may limit the success relocation may have on young people's lives.

9.3.6 Critical moments

While young people's experiences of *urban* change were the main focus of interest in the thesis, this was just one thing going on in the participants' lives during the fieldwork period. The thesis suggested that by using Thompson's concept of the "critical moment" to understand both relocation, and individual change, it may be possible to uncover the multiple ways participants navigate moments in their life that are, or likely to be, influential in their lives. The decision to include relocation as one of the "critical moments" was due to the possibility that this move would have a significant impact on the participants' lives. As discussed above, the relocation in itself did not appear to significantly change participants' lives, or was described as a particularly disruptive life event. In contrast to this, participants' experiences of *personal* change were described as being more important or life changing. These personal or biographical changes often involved a change in one of their resources for resilience: family dynamics, experience of school environment, friendships, and relationships.

Interestingly, the participants' experience of relocation appeared to interact with participants' own biographical critical moments. At times it could be seen as the cause of the critical moment (moving to a new neighbourhood leading to being bullied), and other times, the critical moment improved the outcome of relocation (dad leaving home leading to better relationships with new neighbours). Given the relative short distance of the relocation, as mentioned above, participants' resources for resilience remained the same. This had a positive effect on participants' ability to cope with the outcomes of biographical critical moments, as they were better able to rely on existing support networks and social capital.

9.4 Limitations and strengths of study

9.4.1 Limitations

One limitation of the study was the decision not to examine how participants used online contexts to maintain friendships post-relocation. However, this decision to tied to the aim of the study to explore how young people make sense of the changes in their everyday contexts. While utilising their experience of online environments may have uncovered another important resource, it may not have promoted a better understanding of how young people understand regeneration.

While this thesis captured the experience of relocation over a short distance (<2km), there exists a small population within Glasgow who were relocated to another part of the city or to a different city. This is an experience not acknowledged or explored within this thesis, as it was not possible to find participants who relocated in this way. Engaging with housing officers from other parts of Glasgow to ask if any Sighthill or Shawbridge residents had recently relocated there would have been a way to explore this further.

Also, connected to this, were the missing experiences of young people who were recent asylum seekers. Their experience of relocation would have been interesting to explore, as they would have been able to discuss initial impressions of moving to the HRFs as teenagers and then their attitudes towards being relocated again. Despite my attempts to recruit young people who would fit this category, I was unable to do so.

The imbalance between Sighthill and Shawbridge participants was another limitation. While numerous recruitment methods were trialled, including going door-to-door and asking participants to invite their friends to participate, it was my feeling that because Shawbridge was further on in the regeneration process, there may have been fewer families living in the neighbourhood. Therefore I had twice as many Sighthill participants as Shawbridge participants, leading to the likelihood that the experience of regeneration in Sighthill may have been over represented within the thesis. Reflections on recruitment are discussed below (section 9.4.3).

9.4.2 Strengths

This thesis is one of the few studies that qualitatively examined young people's experiences pre—and post—relocation, and also considered other changes occurring at the same time (Burton and Jarrett, 2000, Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, Clampet-Lundquist, 2007). By framing this in terms of their "everyday", this holistic approach highlighted the complex relationship between young people, their everyday contexts, and also the importance of social networks. The thesis also adds to the literature regarding the importance of examining the multiple contexts of young people's lives; and that rather than viewing regeneration and relocation in isolation, it is crucial to understand the ways in which this may affect the multiple contexts from which individuals draw from in their everyday lives.

In contrast to other relocation studies that seem to focus solely on experiences of relocation, this thesis also examines other changes that occurred at the same time so as to place relocation within the wider context of their everyday life. During the fieldwork for the current study, participants experienced a range of biographical changes that affected some of their proximal contexts. While some of these changes affected perceptions of the importance of contexts, participants were able to rely on other proximal contexts to ensure their experiences were not stressful. Related to this, the thesis adds to the "critical moments" literature (Thomson et al., 2002). While original critical moments studies asked older young adults to identify the critical moments that shaped their trajectories throughout childhood/adolescence; I used critical moments to identify the emergence of these biographical changes. As Chapter six commented, many of the resulting outcomes of these moments remained unknown due to the ongoing nature of the changes.

The methods used were a key strength of the study. While Chapter seven discussed some of the more testing experiences of the methods, in general these methods provided a more holistic view of participants' experiences. Walking around their neighbourhood, visiting their home, and looking through photographs of other contexts, ensured participants' everyday lives were at the

forefront of data collection. These methods not only relied upon verbal and textual representations, but also physical interactions with the neighbourhood, and visual data collection. This approach enabled me to experience a range of participant contexts and begin to discover some of the taken-for-granted elements of their lives that may not have been discussed had they been interviewed in an interview room in my department. The longitudinal nature of data collection also meant change over time was captured, which enabled the project to move beyond a "snapshot" approach and highlighted how participants relationships and perceptions may be subject to change and negotiation, even over a relatively short period of time.

9.4.3 Relative limitations and strengths of sample size

The small sample size of this study can simultaneously be viewed both as a limitation and as a strength. In terms of the final sample size as a limitation, it could be viewed that the multiple recruitment methods did not attract the population of interest. However, when placing this recruitment within the wider context of the study, it may also reflect the result of an attempt to capture and retain a mobile population. My interest in recruiting young people who were due to be relocated may have also been a barrier: the young people I was interested in recruiting were all moving away from the study sites.

Examining literature pertaining to small sample sizes in qualitative social science research highlights a number of grey areas; with many studies disagreeing on how many participants is "enough" to provide a robust qualitative study (Creswell, 1998, Bernard, 2000, Bryman and Teevan, 2004, Green and Thorogood, 2004). A review by Baker and Edwards (2012) that examined early and established career researchers' reflections on sampling in qualitative research found little agreement between researchers. Their findings may be best summarised by Wolcott's answer in their report: *it depends*. Sample sizes in qualitative research depend on a number of factors: time allowances, type of study being undertaken (a phenomenological study may require less participants than a focus group study), and how discernable the experiences of the population group under investigation are. It may also depend on the research questions under examination, and how representative the research aims to be.

The current study did not seek to provide a representative sample of youth experience in the two study neighbourhoods, and instead sought to highlight a range of experiences that were contained within the different contexts of the neighbourhood. Reflecting on the work of Crouch and MacKenzie (2006), perhaps this study should move away from discussing the "sample" of participants and instead promote the 15 individual cases. They suggest that while the former suggests homogeneity of experience, the latter celebrates the heterogeneity and individuality of each case. Therefore, while the sample for this study is small, it contains a diverse group of young people from different cultural contexts, different family types, different academic stages, different ages, and different genders. It reflects 15 different points of view regarding what it is like to be a young person living among, and through, large scale neighbourhood change including living in HRFs due for demolition, and about either waiting to be relocated, or being relocated.

9.5 Recommendations for further research

Given the changing discourse surrounding the HRF blocks, from "solution" to "problem" it would be interesting to adopt a generations approach to view this change from the point of view of those who lived there at different points in time, and understand how the risks that the participants in this study viewed as part of the everyday, came into being. A generations approach would therefore interview participants' grandparents who moved to the HRF and potentially viewed it positively; parents who, if they had also grew up or spent a large portion of their adult life in the HRF, may have witnessed the slow decline of the neighbourhood; and young people who are now moving out of the HRF due to poor conditions.

Also, it would be interesting to investigate further the experience of young asylum seekers in regeneration neighbourhoods. Their experience of previous relocation would be very different from that of White Scottish young people. While this was briefly mentioned within the thesis, the participants who were affected by the asylum seeking process moved to Scotland when they were young children so were unsure as to their earliest memories of relocation to

Scotland. A study that examined relocation experiences of those who had previously experienced potentially traumatic relocation would be welcomed.

Finally, it would also be useful to compare young people's experience of HRFs in Glasgow to those from countries that also have high rates of HRF accommodation. For example, in Hong Kong, HRFs are seen as the norm in densely populated cities, with new housing often being between 30-40 storeys with small living spaces leading to problems of overcrowding (Forrest et al., 2002, Lau et al., 2005). While some attention has been paid to the perception of neighbourhood and production of social capital (Forrest et al., 2002, La Grange, 2011), little has been written regarding young people's subjective experience of the housing type within an Asian context.

9.6 Implications for policy

While community engagement and empowerment is portrayed as a key aim of regeneration policy, some participants discussed feeling confused or left out of discussions regarding the future of the neighbourhood. They described learning about regeneration through their parents, who potentially also felt disengaged and left out of the decision making process (Lawson and Kearns, 2014). Therefore regeneration practitioners should take measures to ensure that young people are involved in the formal dialogue regarding regeneration. For example, employing a youth engagement worker to disseminate regeneration plans to schools and youth clubs within neighbourhoods likely going to be affected by regeneration.

Some participants discussed feeling that levels of ASB in their neighbourhood had increased during the regeneration/relocation process, especially with regards to drunk and disorderly behaviour, illegal entry to cleared buildings, vandalism, and arson. Measures should be taken to ensure that residents who are waiting to be relocated feel safe within their neighbourhood while regeneration is being undertaken. Some of these measures may be environmental: more streetlights, especially around demolition sites, or maintaining pathways to ensure they are not overgrown. Other measures may include placing more police in the

neighbourhoods at night to ensure residents are aware of the formal measures of social control.

While participants were positive about the close location of their relocation home, it appeared that in the majority of cases, there were still social issues within the new neighbourhood. While the main policy should remain housing families and individuals in better quality housing and attempting to not fracture social networks, more should be done in developing the new neighbourhood. For example, better quality services, transport, and opportunities for employability.

9.7 Original contributions

While this thesis focuses on policies of regeneration and relocation as they affect young people in a specific place and time: Glasgow, UK in the period 2010-2014, its contribution extends beyond the neighbourhoods and city that it is situated in. The data and arguments presented in this thesis may be of use in a number of different fields including urban and housing studies, social policy, and child and youth studies. This section outlines the specific contributions to the wider literature.

The thesis addressed a gap in the literature regarding young people and regeneration. As highlighted in Chapter three, the majority of the previous literature regarding young people and regeneration focuses on young people's outcomes rather than on their subjective experience of the process (Goldson, 2003, Elsley, 2004, Hall et al., 2009b, Visser et al., 2014). The thesis detailed how participants' everyday neighbourhood interactions changed as a result of regeneration, but also how they adapted to, or negotiated, these changes. Using the theory of resilience detailed above, the thesis highlighted that the participants were able to rely on social relationships, interactions or positive attachment to place to navigate the changing physical and social environments.

The thesis also contributed to the European literature that provides a counterpoint to the US studies of relocation. While US studies examine relocation that occurs across large distances, the relocation documented in this thesis occurred within a two-mile radius of their original home. In the context of

the current study, this relocation policy often meant while participants' immediate housing environment improved, the socio-spatial environment remained the same. The thesis argued that this is a mixed result. Moving such a small distance meant that participants were likely to move into another socioeconomically deprived community, with similar problems regarding antisocial behaviour and poor access to amenities. However, moving such a small distance also meant participants maintained social networks easily after relocation. The latter offers a counter-argument to the US narrative of social fragmentation and furthers the case of European urban studies academics (Visser et al., 2014). The thesis therefore highlights a policy problem: as current UK relocation programmes appear to shift urban populations sideways into similar neighbourhoods, is it possible to expect relocation to offer any positive change regarding health and wellbeing?

The thesis also added to the body of work regarding resilience and young people. The thesis rejected the individualised theory of resilience that suggests resilience is an inherent trait, and instead highlighted the importance of understanding the processes imbedded within the interacting contexts of young people's everyday lives. Similar to the work of Botrrell (2009) and Ungar (2004), the thesis commented on the ways in which relationships and interactions influence and sometimes structured the participants' everyday attitudes and experiences within different contexts. For example, their negotiation of space appeared to take account of parental teaching regarding risk avoidance, and the use and understanding of 'common knowledge' within the wider community of 'risky people' (e.g. "junkies").

Similar to the work of Shildrick and MacDonald (2009) and Davidson (2013), the thesis highlighted how young people's social networks and connections, both within and outside of the neighbourhood, helped them to negotiate everyday life and construct an "ordinary" narrative, even in difficult personal and neighbourhood circumstances. This thesis has added to this discussion by highlighting the increased importance of these networks during a time of large-scale urban change, and the ways in which young people manage changes to these resources.

Also, in terms of methodological contributions to literature, the thesis documented the use of a novel longitudinal qualitative mixed method approach in order to understand young people's everyday experiences within the neighbourhood contexts. Incorporating verbal, visual, and mobile methods, it contributes to the development of methodologies that purposefully engage with participants' everyday contexts in a meaningful way. Also by using a longitudinal approach, I was also able to chart urban and individual changes that occurred within a 16-month period. While existing literature may highlight the potential stress of relocation, this thesis shows that this stressor may be ameliorated or accentuated by the experience of other changes.

9.8 Conclusion

The thesis also poses an interesting dilemma in terms of how the neighbourhood is understood and challenges ideas of how to better improve it. For the young people in this study, their experience of neighbourhood was more fluid than the geographical spaces of Sighthill and Shawbridge. This thesis demonstrated that neighbourhood is better understood as interconnected contexts that are influenced by wider socio-economic and political factors. For these young people, their neighbourhood experiences connected to their relationships within the wider locale through their attendance in local schools, division football teams, youth clubs, or due to the presence of relatives and peer groups in the wider surrounding areas. The relationships made in these contexts promote positive wellbeing and enable young people to manage the various challenges in their lives.

The challenge therefore for urban policy makers and planners is how to retain these supportive networks but also enact real urban change. From the point of view of the young people interviewed, their lives were relatively unchanged by relocation: they moved to a bigger home but their social networks and school remained unchanged. Some also suggested that other neighbours from the HRF were also relocated to the same neighbourhood. The relocation neighbourhoods were often of a similar socio-economic level, and young people reported little improvement in terms of service provision. While the main policy should remain housing families and individuals in better quality housing and attempting to not

fracture social networks, more should be done in developing the new neighbourhood. This includes both introducing new services (shops, youth clubs, and transport links) but also promoting belonging to the new community.

As a final remark, this thesis has promoted a view of young people that goes beyond the "at risk/risky" dichotomy that exists in policy documents. The young people interviewed for this study were residents of the neighbourhood. This meant that, similar to adults, young people held a complex and often contradictory attitude towards both the neighbourhood and the regeneration therein. This is a position not reflected in policy documents, and is something that should be rectified. Including young people in a more meaningful and active way may only strengthen the ability of regeneration to create positive and long-lasting communities.

Appendix A: Egan (2010)'s Logic model concerning young people's experience of regeneration-led relocation

Intervention / Outputs	Initial outcomes	Intermediate outcomes	High level outcomes

Relocating residents

(from social rented flats scheduled to be demolished)

Home: relocation to homes built/ improved to meet higher quality standards.

Neighbourhood: relocation to more sustainable, less predominantly social rented, n'hoods

Greater community diversity (socio-economic status and tenure diversification)

Home physical environment: e.g. appearance, kitchens, bathrooms, heating, space

N'hood physical environment: e.g. appearance, useable green space, new buildings, etc

Services: higher SES residents are able to demand or afford better services and amenities

Social networks: exposure to more socially diverse peers including role models who encourage positive behaviours

Children exposed to broader SES mix at school: if rehoused social rented tenants change schools

Behaviour (home): encourages (healthier?) home cooking; more living space for play & homework

Reduced stress and positive parenting: less stressful environment and step-change in conditions leads to better family relations and more positive parental attitudes

Behaviour (n'hood): safer, more pleasant environment encourages outdoor physical activity. Positive influence from peers encourages less anti-social and health damaging behaviour (e.g. drink, drugs, gangs, violence)

Behaviour (school): higher aspirations, work ethic, discipline

Health outcomes

- Mental wellbeing
- General health
- Reduction in health risk behaviours: e.g. smoking, alcohol, drugs, inactivity, anti-social behaviour,

Education outcomes

- Increase in post-compulsory education
- Education attainment
- Future aspirations
- Positive post-education activities: e.g. training and

Colour Key: red font = relocating residents; black font = all regeneration types.

Appendix B: Maps of two study areas

Map of Shawbridge (taken from google maps):

This image displays the looming presence of the high-rise and the shadow these buildings would cast on the neighbourhood. Also present in this image are the signs of regeneration (the demoltion sites). At the left of the image is Pollock park, and the local train station. At the bottom of the image, the square grey building above the tree is the local police station, and the library is located at the top right.

Map of Sighthill (taken from google maps):
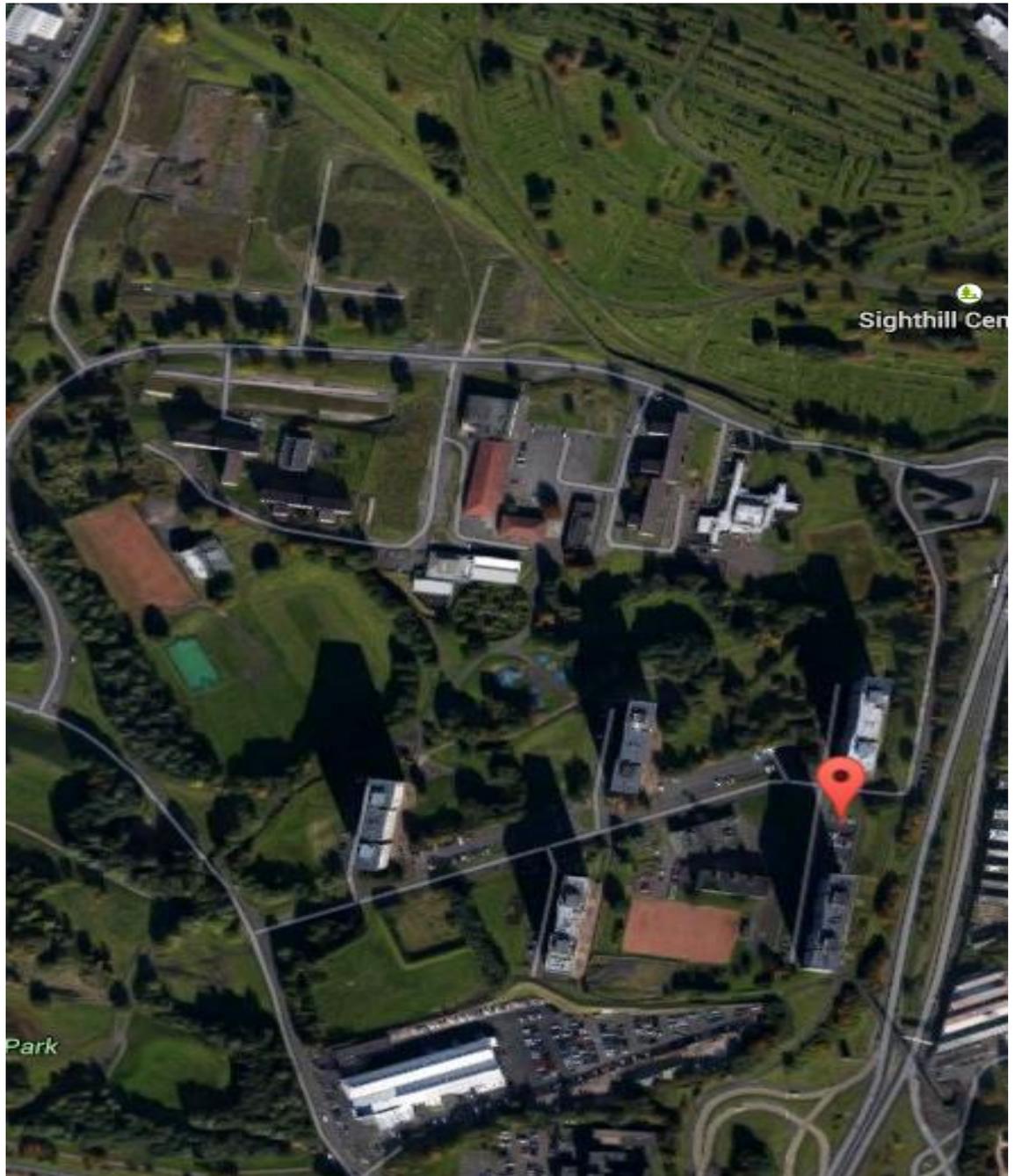
Similar to the image of Shawbridge, this image displays the looming presence of the high-rise and the shadow these buildings would cast on the neighbourhood. Also present at the top right of this image are the sites that used to contain the Fountainwell flats before they were demolished. Just below this image are the local police station and the M8 motorway. To the left of the image are the train tracks for the commuter train to Edinburgh. At the top of the image is the Sighthill cemetery.

Appendix C: Ethics application

University of Glasgow | College of Social Sciences

COLLEGE ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR NON CLINICAL RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

EAP1 - APPLICATION FORM FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

This application form should be typed, and submitted electronically. All questions must be answered. "not applicable" is a satisfactory answer where appropriate. (*NB: In Word format, click on shaded area within box to enter text*). Applications should be submitted **at least one month in advance** of the intended start date for the data collection to allow time for review and any amendments that may be required.

1. *Applicant Details*

1.1 Project Title

Changing Contexts, Connecting Lives: Young people's views and experiences of living in neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration in Glasgow

1.2 Name of Applicant

Joanne Neary

1.3 Matriculation or Staff Number

0910352n

1.4 School/Subject/Cluster/RKT Group

College of Social Science/MRC SPHSU

1.5 This Project Is:

Staff Research Project	☐	Postgraduate Research	☒	*Programme Conveners Only:* Project within a PGT or UG programme ☐
Postgraduate Taught	☐	Undergraduate	☐	

1.6 Programme Title:

PhD

1.7 COMMENTS FROM SUPERVISOR

Risk Assessment: Does this application qualify for a low risk review or fall within the applicable programme parameters? YES ☒   NO☐

Comment on the research ethics risks involved in the project:

This study is low risk.

Risk to Participants
Participants are being asked to talk about their experience of living in neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration. They are also being asked to take photographs of things that are important or of interest to them related to this topic and to participate in a 'go-along' interview talking with the researcher about their neighbourhood. Therefore it is not anticipated that young people will feel uncomfortable with the line of questioning, and it is unlikely that they will be asked any question which requires the disclosure of sensitive information. Young people will be informed they can withdraw from the interview process at any time. They will also be informed that if information shared involves disclosures about harm to self or others, confidentiality will not be guaranteed. Joanne will inform me of these disclosures and we will take appropriate action.

The participants will be recruited either through parents or through youth workers, so a legal guardian will know of the young person's whereabouts and of the work being carried out at all times.

Risk to Interviewer
Joanne has received training in qualitative interviewing and also in interviewing children and young people. She has undergone a Disclosure Scotland check and also received training in safety awareness. Before every interview, Joanne will inform a staff member at the MRC of her whereabouts (giving a postcode and address where appropriate)

and an anticipated time of return. In addition, Joanne will carry a Communi-care security phone (a device common with health professionals who do home visits). The communi-care system allows Joanne to log in with postcode/address as well as an estimated finishing time. If for any reason Joanne does not log off, a security procedure will begin, increasing with every failure to respond: a text requesting her to log off, a phone call ascertaining her whereabouts, a call to her supervisor/office and finally a call to her emergency contact. The system also has a panic alarm system, if Joanne feels at risk in any situation, she can alert an operator at the communi-care switchboard with a 'panic word', and appropriate security procedures will be carried out.

Joanne will travel by car or taxi to every location. It is anticipated that she will travel with another fieldworker who is doing similar work in the same neighbourhood.

Risk due to Location
Three neighbourhoods have been chosen due to their regeneration status. The flats she will be entering have a 24 hour conceirge at the front door, who will be informed of her work in the neighbourhood. All work will be carried out during the day, and the route for the walking interview (go-along) will be agreed between Joanne and the young person. This is an iterative process, and if Joanne believes an area being travelled in is unsafe, she will reserve the right to change the route. In addition, a community setting (such as a home or youth centre) will also be used for interviews. A parent or legal guardian (such as a youth worker) will be in attendance at these community settings. Joanne will carry the communi-care device with her at all times.

Risk due to Participants
Young people will be recruited for this study between the ages of 11 and 18. These young people will be recruited from the family or from youth clubs. It is not anticipated that the young people recruited will pose any risk to Joanne.

Supervisor's Name_Lyndal Bond_____ Date _2nd May 2011_____

1.8 Researcher(s) (and Supervisor(s) where appropriate)

Researcher(s)

TITLE & SURNAME	FIRST NAME	PHONE	EMAIL (This MUST be a University of Glasgow e-mail address)
Miss Neary	Joanne	0141 3573949	j.neary.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Principal Supervisor(s) *(where applicable)*

TITLE & SURNAME	FIRST NAME	PHONE	EMAIL
Professor Bond	Lyndal	0141 3573949	l.bond@sphsu.mrc.ac.uk
Ms Lawson	Louise	0141 3305282	l.lawson@glasgow.ac.uk

1.9 External funding details
Note. If this project is externally funded, please provide the name of the sponsor or funding body.

Sponsor/Funding Body: n/a

---

2. *Project/Participant Details*

2.1 Start date for your data collection and end date of your research project

(dd/mm/yy)   *(dd/mm/yy)*
_____   _____

	From:	01/05/2011	To:	01/10/2013

2.2   Justification for the Research *(use no more than 100 words)*
Why is this research significant to the wider community? Outline the reasons which lead you to be satisfied that the possible benefits to be gained from the project justify any risks or discomfort involved.

> Urban regeneration seeks to improve health and social inequalities through improvements to housing and community in some of the poorest and least healthy communities. Due to this focus, it can be perceived to be the largest social policy intervention to affect adolescents' lives. However, very little robust research has been conducted in this field. The existing research is often based on findings from North American studies, and therefore little is known about UK/Scottish adolescent experiences.
>
> This non invasive study seeks to investigate young people's everyday experiences to address this gap in knowledge and empower the adolescents to discuss their neighbourhood concerns.
>
> See appendices for more detail.

2.3   Research Methodology and Data Collection

2.3A   Method of data collection *(Tick as many as apply)*

- Questionnaire (attach a copy)   ☐
- Online Questionnaire (provide the address)   ☐
  http://
- Interviews (attach a copy of discussion guide/proposed questions)   ☒
- Participant observation (attach an observation proforma)   ☐
- Audio or video-taping interviewees or events (with consent)   ☒
- Focus Group (attach proposed questions and recording format)   ☐
- Other (please provide details - maximum 50 words)   ☒

  Photography. Young people will be given cameras and asked to take photographs of their daily routine and neighbourhood (instructions for how to take photographs attached)

2.3B   Research Methods
Please explain the reason for the particular chosen method, the estimated time commitment required of participants and how the data will be analysed (Use no more than 250 words).

> **This research will be conducted over two years (wave one and wave two) with the same young people. It will use three qualitative methods: individual interviews, photo-elicitation and go-along interviews.This will allow for a deeper understanding of how the urban environment affects young people over time in the context of their adolescent socio-emotional development.**
>
> **At each stage I will carry a communicare device (supporting lone workers via mobile phone devices) which monitors travel whereabouts and has a panic button facility. The individual and photo-elicitation interviews will be conducted in a home/community setting where a parent or legal guardian (youth worker) will be in close vicinity. During the go-along, they will inform their guardian of their wherabotus and will be encouraged to carry a mobile phone so they can call home if need be.**
>
> **Individual Interviews**
>
> **Aim: Gain background information on young people (friends/family/hobbies information)**
> **Duration: 45 mins**
> **Location: a known place for young people (home/youth club). If young person is not happy to participate in a community location, a neutral setting will be chosen. A parent or legal guardian will be present in the home but requested not to answer questions on behalf of the young person.**
> **Compensation: £10 gift voucher**
> **Analysis: Discourse/narrative analysis. Focus on how young people position themselves within their neighbourhood and describe their relationships with others.**
>
> **Photo-elicitation**

Aim: Give young people more control of the research process by using photography. It is seen as a way to allow young people who are not confident speakers a way to communicate their opinions in a creative way.
Duration: After the photographs are developed, it will take around 30 minutes to discuss them.
Location: Young person's neighbourhood (for photography) and home/community setting (for interview)
Compensation: £10 gift voucher
Analysis: Narrative analysis. Focus on why young people chose the photographs as a way to visually represent their neighbourhood/life.

Go-along interview
Duration: 30 minutes
Aim: Allow the neighbourhood to act as interview prompts; give context to young peoples' responses
Location: An agreed route around the young person's neighbourhood
Compensation: £10 gift voucher
Analysis: Discourse/narrative analysis. Identifying what aspects of neighbourhood are discussed and in what way.

See Appendices for more detail

2.4 Confidentiality & Data Handling

2.4A **Will the research involve:**
Tick all that apply

- Participants consent to being named? ☐

- De-identified samples or data (i.e., *a reversible* process whereby identifiers are replaced by a code, to which the researcher retains the key, in a secure location)? ☒

- Subjects being referred to by pseudonym in any publication arising from the research? ☒

- Anonymised samples or data (i.e., **an *irreversible* process** whereby identifiers are removed from data and replaced by a code, with no record retained of how the code relates to the identifiers. It is then impossible to identify the individual to whom the sample of information relates)? ☐

☐

- Complete anonymity of participants (i.e., researchers will not meet, or know the identity of participants, as participants are part of a random sample and are required to return responses with no form of personal identification)?

- Any other method of protecting the privacy of participants? (eg. use of direct quotes with specific, written permission only; use of real name with specific, written permission only) ☐

If "any other method of protecting the privacy of participants", please provide more details: ☐

Confidentiality in photography: in order to secure confidentiality, the faces of those people who have not given clear permission will have their faces blurred (see attached for third party photography consent form). Before young people are given the cameras, they will be briefed on how to gain consent from people in their photographs.

Young people will also be given the opportunity to veto any photograph that they do not want shared with anyone else.

2.4B **Which of the following methods of assuring confidentiality of data will be implemented?**
Tick all that apply

- data to be kept in locked filing cabinets ☒

- data and identifiers to be kept in separate, locked filing cabinets ☒

- access to computer files to be available by password only ☒

- storage at University of Glasgow ☒

- stored at another site ☐
  (*please provide details, including address*):

> Consent forms and interview transcripts will be kept in different locations, both securely locked. Photographs will be printed, with negatives and physical copies kept in a locked filing cabinet that only the interviewer has access to.
>
> If data is travelling, it will be kept on a password protected encrypted USB pen. When analysed, all work will take place on a password protected computer which is locked at the end of every day.

2.5 *Access to Data/Dissemination*

2.5A Access by named researcher(s) and, where applicable, supervisor(s) and examiner(s) ☒

2.5B Access by people other than named researcher(s)/supervisor(s)/examiner(s) ☒
Please explain by whom and for what purpose

> **GoWell group.**
> **GoWell research data can be accessed by other members of the GoWell research team but only anonymised outputs can be disseminated beyond the GoWell Team. Access to data that identifies participants is restricted and monitored within the team: i.e. a GoWell researcher must provide a written explanation to a GoWell Principal Investigator for why this access is necessary, and receive written permission from the Principal Investigator in order to access an identifying information. Data that identifies participants cannot be passed to a third party outside the GoWell study.**

2.5C Retention and Disposal of Personal Data
The 5th Principle of the Data Protection Act (1998) states that personal data must not be kept for longer than is necessary based on the purpose for which it was initially collected. *Please state when and how you intend to disperse with the data you have collected.*

> **The MRC SPHSU has a data retention policy of 10 years. For the duration of my PhD, the data will be stored in a locked filling cabinet before being transported to the Iron Mountain data storage centre.**

2.6 *Dissemination of Results. NB: Take account of age appropriateness of participants*

2.6A *Results will be made available to **participants** as:*

Written summary of results to all	☐	**Copy of final manuscript** (eg thesis, article, etc.) presented if requested	☐
Verbal presentation to all (information session, debriefing etc.)	☐	**Presentation to representative participants** (eg. CEO, school principal)	☐
Dissertation	☐	**Other or None of the Above** *Please explain* I will travel to youth groups that took part in my research to explain my findings to any interested audience. It would not be possible to disseminate my findings verbally to all households that participated, but they will be invited to attend the youth club if they have any questions. In addition, if young people would like to read what I have written- a brief summary report will be made available either online or will be posted out.	☒

2.6B *Results will be made available to **peers and/or colleagues** as: (Tick all that apply)*

Dissertation	☐	**Journal article(s)**	☒
Thesis *(e.g. PhD)*	☒	**Book**	☐
Submission	☒	**Conference papers**	☒

Other or None of the Above   ☒
Please explain:
While all aspects of the PhD fieldwork will be used in my thesis, only certain aspects of my fieldwork will be used for journal and conference papers. For example, I may use photographs for methodology conferences/journal articles. For journals regarding community and youth studies, only the qualitative interviews may be reported on.
In addition, gowell has a policy of asking researchers (including PhD students) to write briefing papers on their chosen project. This will involve a brief summary of findings written in plain English so interested residents and third party organisations can gain an understanding of what the study involved.

2.7 *Participants*

2.7A   **Target Participant Group** *Please indicate the targeted participant group by ticking all boxes that apply.*

Students or staff of this University	☐	Adults (over 18 years old and competent to give consent)	☐
Children/legal minors (under 18 years old)	☒		
Young people aged 16 – 17 years	☐	Adults (over 18 years old who may not be competent to give consent)	☐

2.7B   **Will the research specifically target participants with mental health difficulties or a disability?**

YES   ☐   NO   ☒

(If YES, please explain the necessity of involving these individuals as research subjects (no more than 50 words)):

2.7C   **Number of Participants (if relevant give details of different age groups/activities involved)**

> *16-20 YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN THE AGES OF 11 AND 18. THIS AGE RANGE HAS BEEN CHOSEN SO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD EFFECTS ON EARLY/MID/LATE ADOLESCENCE CAN BE COMMENTED ON. THIS IS ALSO OF INTEREST AS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE WITH PUBLIC SPACES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOODS AS RULES SURROUNDING CURFEWS ETC CHANGE.*
>
> *YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER 16 WILL RECEIVE OPT-IN CONSENT, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THEIR PARENTS CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERVIEW. YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN 16-18 WILL RECEIVE OPT-OUT CONSENT, WHICH RECOGNISES YOUNG PEOPLE'S LEGAL CAPACITY TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH WHICH AFFECTS THEIR LIVES (AS STATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS FOR RIGHTS OF THE CHILD) BUT STILL ALLOWS PARENTS TO OPT-OUT IF THEY DO NOT WISH THEIR SON/DAUGHTER TO TAKE PART.*

2.7D   Please explain in detail how you intend to recruit participants.
If payment or any other incentive (such as a gift or free services) will be made to any research subject please specify and state the level of payment to be made and/or the source of funds/gift/free service to be used. Please explain the justification for offering payment or other incentive.

> Young people will be recruited from three socioeconomically deprived neighbourhoods in Glasgow: Sighthill, Red Road and Shawbridge.
>
> Young people will be recruited in three ways: through an existing GoWell study, through a postal recruitment method and through youth groups.
>
> GoWell Study: As a result of another qualitative GoWell study looking at parental views of neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration, parents will be approached and asked if they would like their teenage children to participate in my study. If their children meet the age specifications, an information sheet will be distributed and consent will be sought (see 2.7C for consent specifics).
>
> Postal recruitment: Letters will be distributed to the new homes in the neighbourhoods which have been built as a result of the regeneration policy of the district. These addresses will be found through walking through the neighbourhood and ascertaining through community links (for example Glasgow Housing Association) which homes were built through Glasgow's regeneration policy. The letter will inform the residents that the study is looking to speak to social renting families which consist of a parent/guardian and at least one child between 11-18 years. The letter will also discuss the aims of the project and the recipients will be informed that a researcher will be in contact in the next few days. The letter will be written in plain english format so both adults and young people of all ages will be able to understand what is being asked of them.
>
> Youth Groups: Upon researching the location of youth groups within the neighbourhood, the researcher will contact the group leader and explain the research aims and requirements. If the group leader agrees to take part, they will let the members of the youth club know about the study and will arrange a time with me to visit the club to distribute letters and consent forms for any young person wishing to take part.
>
> In total, £30 worth of tesco gift vouchers will be given to the young people. This translates as £10 per interview (each taking between 30 and 45 minutes to complete). Tesco was chosen due to the proximity to each of the neighbourhoods, and the range of items (clothes, DVDs, CDs, computer games, food) that can be purchased there. An alternative voucher (a High Street voucher) of equal value will be offered if the young person believes they would not use the Tesco voucher. It was decided that payment should be offered due to the time taken by the young person and the sharing of their knowledge and experience of living in the neighbourhood. For the youngest participants, their parent will receive the voucher on the understanding it is to be used for the young person/family needs.

2.7E   Dependent Relationship Are any of the participants in a dependent relationship with any of the investigators, particularly those involved in recruiting for or conducting the project? *For example, a school pupil is in a dependent relationship with their teacher. Other examples of a dependent relationship include student/lecturer; patient/doctor; employee/employer.*

YES ☐   NO ☒

(If YES, please explain the relationship and the steps to be taken by the investigators to ensure that the subject's participation is purely voluntary and not influenced by the relationship in any way.)

2.7 F   Location of Research

University of Glasgow   ☐

Outside Location   ☒

Please provide details of outside locations, including as much information where possible.

> Three neighbourhoods in Glasgow: Sighthill, Red Road and Shawbridge. The locations of the individual interview will be a place known to the young person (youth club/home). If the young person wishes to take part but does not wish to meet at one of these places- a neutral place will be decided upon with the young person.

The young person will choose the route of the go-along so it is anticipated that the young person will chose areas which are safe and known to them (although this will be explicitly explained to the young person before the interview takes place). If I believe that the area poses an immediate threat to the young person or myself, this will be communicated to the young person and another route will be chosen.

2.8   Permission to Access Participants

2.8A   Will subjects be identified from information held by another party?
(eg. a Local Authority, or a Head Teacher, or a doctor or hospital, or Glasgow University class lists)

   YES   ☒   NO   ☐

If YES please describe the arrangements you intend to make to gain access to this information including, where appropriate, any other ethics committee that will be applied to. *(No more than 150 words)*

> GoWell: This PhD is part of the GoWell evaluation of regeneration in Glasgow. As part of the wider research programme, Gowell has already surveyed residents in the three neighbourhoods I will be visiting. GoWell reserachers have received permission from those surveyed to use the residents' addresses for follow-up research. As part of Gowell, I will be using some of the addresses held in Gowell's database.

2.8B   Written Permission
Please note that written permission is usually required to gain access to research participants within an organisation (e.g. school, Local Authority, University of Glasgow class)

Are copies provided with this application?

   YES   ☐   NO   ☒

OR are they to follow?

   YES   ☐   NO   ☒

OR if not required, give details explaining why.

> Young people participating in this research project are not within an organisation- they will be recruited through a neighbourhood setting. As previously mentioned, parental consent will be sought.

2.8C   Is this application being submitted to another Ethics Committee, or has it been previously submitted to another Ethics Committee?

YES ☐   NO ☒

(If YES, please provide name and location of the ethics committee and the result of the application.)

2.9 INFORMED CONSENT

If you require information on the age of legal capacity please refer to the Age of Legal Capacity (Scotland) Act 1991 available at:
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1991/50/contents

2.9A   **Have you attached your Plain Language Statement(s) (PLS) for participants?**
A Plain Language Statement is written information in plain language that you will provide to subjects to explain the project and invite their participation. Contact details for Supervisor and College Ethics Officer MUST be included. Please note that a copy of this information must be given to the participant to keep.)
YES ☒   NO ☐

(If NO, please explain.)

2.9B   **How will informed consent be recorded by individual participants or representatives?**

Signed consent form   ☒   Recorded verbal   ☐
A copy of the proposed consent form,   consent
written in simple non-technical language,
MUST ACCOMPANY THIS APPLICATION.
The final consent form MUST contain the
University of Glasgow logo.

Implied by return of survey   ☐   Other   ☒
(Please specify):

> While parental opt-in is required for young people up to 16; the young people will also be required to sign their own consent form which will detail similar checks to the parents- although "my son/daughter" will be replaced with "I". Therefore all young people, regardless of age, are required to fill out a consent form.
> This means that for 11-16 year olds, two forms of consent will be collected- one from parents (opting-in to the research) and one from the young person (empowering them to be involved in the research process).
> In recognition of young people's increased legal status from 16-18 in terms of decision making and participation in discussions regarding actions which affect them directly, young people will be required to be the primary consent givers. This is line with the Children (Scotland) Act, the UN Convention for Rights of the Child and the Standards in Scottish Schools etc Act 2000 . These acts state that the view of the child should be given weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. Therefore for young people aged 16-18, who in the UK have the legal right to marry, sign medical consent without parental presence, have a full time job, and leave home without parental consent should also have the right to participate in research regarding living conditions which they experience on a daily basis. Their parents/legal guardians will be given an opt-out form which informs them of the research but also gives

them the opportunity to pull their child out of the research process if they do not agree with the participation. In this case (where the parent disaproves and the young person wants to participate), they will be encouraged to discuss matters but the parents view will be taken.y.

3 Monitoring

Please describe how the project will be monitored to ensure that the research is being carried out as approved (e.g. give details of regular meetings/email contact) (Maximum 50 words).

Monthly supervisions with university supervisors will cover the details of recruitment and data collection. I will also be able to discuss experiences of research within the monthly MRC team meetings and also within the Gowell group meetings.

4 Health and Safety

Does the project have any health & safety implications?

YES ☒   No ☐

If yes, please outline the arrangements which are in place to minimise these risks
Please give details

By walking in the local neighbourhood, there is the safety implication that the young person may injure themselves through falling etc. If there were any injuries caused during the go-along interview, MRC's indemnity policy will be activated if injury was due to my negligence. In order to minimise these risks, young people will be reminded that all walks should be in areas they are happy to walk in and should not pose any difficult risks (such as walking through building sites).Also, I will complete a health and safety assesment.

In addition, I hold an advanced Enhanced Disclosure certificate. This allows me to work with under 18s and vulnerable groups.

With respect to admissions of harmful behaviour, the research will uphold the principle of a limiting guarantee of confidentiality—while past behaviour will be kept confidential, current or future harm to self or others, will not; participants will be made aware of this guarantee from the outset. With respect to admissions of criminal behaviour, the research will uphold a principle of reasonable confidentiality—as stated, if the criminal behaviour involves current or future harm to self or others, confidentiality will be limited; where actions do not involve harm to self or others, participants will be informed that confidentiality cannot be fully guaranteed, as it is not legally privileged. Such action will be discussed with participants first, and with my academic supervisors.

5 UK and Scottish Government Legislation

Have you made yourself familiar with the requirements of the Data Protection Act (1998) and the Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002? *(See Application Guidance Notes for further information. In addition visit http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/dpfoioffice/ for guidance and advice on the Act).* Please ensure you have read the eight basic Principles underlying the Data Protection Act 1998 ["DPA"] that protect the rights and freedoms of individuals with respect to the processing of their personal data. The Freedom of Information Act 2002 ["FOI"] provides a general right of access to most of the recorded information that is held by the University. The Act sets out a number of exemptions/exceptions to this right of access.

YES ☒   NO ☐   *If NO, please explain.*

6 Declarations by Researcher(s) and Supervisor(s)

- The information contained herein is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate.

- I have read the University's current human ethics guidelines, and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in the attached application in accordance with the guidelines, the University's Code of Conduct for Research and any other condition laid down by the University of Glasgow Ethics Committee and the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee. Full details of the University's ethics guidelines are available at: http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/aimsassessmentandpolicies/ourpolicies/ethicshomepage/

- I and my co-researcher(s) or supporting staff have the appropriate qualifications, experience and facilities to conduct the research set out in the attached application and to deal effectively with any emergencies and contingencies related to the research that may arise.

- I understand that **no** research work involving human participants or data collection can commence until **full** ethical approval has been given by the either the School Ethics Forum (UG & PGT students only) or the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee (for PGR students and Staff).

In the case of student applications, the Ethics Committee will give no final decision UNLESS the electronic submission has been authorised by the supervisor. If there is no digital signature then please type the names in to the boxes below.

	Signature	Date
Researcher	Joanne Neary	27/04/2011
Principal Supervisor	Lyndal Bond (please note I could not get this form to accept my electronic signature)	2/05/2011

For student applications, there are two options for submitting Supervisor approval:

a. The student e-mails the application to their supervisor, who checks it and submits it to their local SEF contact (UG and PGT only) or to the College Research Ethics Secretary, Terri Hume (for PGR only).

b. The student e-mails the application to the SEF contact (UG and PGT only) or the College Research Ethics Secretary (PGR only) and the supervisor sends a separate e-mail to the appropriate UG/PGT/PGR admin point of contact giving the details of the application and confirming approval for the submission.

Where to send your application

Applications should be submitted electronically as follows:

- **Undergraduate and Postgraduate Taught Student applications should be sent to their School Ethics Forum. Please see contact details on the respective School's website.**

- **Postgraduate Research (PGR) and Staff applications** should be submitted to: Terri Hume in the College Research Office terri.hume@glasgow.ac.uk, Room 104, Florentine House, 53 Hillhead Street, Glasgow, G12 8QF

Appendix D: Parental consent

CHANGING CONTEXTS, CONNECTING LIVES: YOUNG PEOPLE'S VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES OF LIVING IN NEIGHBOURHOODS UNDERGOING REGENERATION IN GLASGOW

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM- UNDER 16S

Please read the following sentences carefully, and tick | √ | each box if you agree.

I have been given an information sheet and had the chance to read it ☐

	Sit down interview	Photography	Go-along
The interviewer has explained what will happen during the interviews	☐	☐	☐

I have been given the chance to ask any questions ☐

As my son/daughter is under 16, I understand that it is my decision whether they take part in the study ☐

I understand that no names and contact details will be used to identify my family ☐

The interviewer has explained that what I say might be used for reports, but names will be taken out and changed ☐

I agree for my son/daughter's interview to be recorded ☐

Please sign if you agree for your son/daughter to take part in this study

Name: Signature:

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM- 16-18 yr olds

Note for Parents:

If you are happy for your son/daughter to take part, you do not have to fill out any forms. It is then their decision whether they want to take part in the project or not.

I will be in touch over the next few days to find a time to meet with them and arrange to do the interview. They will receive compensation for their time in the form of Tesco vouchers, and will receive both a copy of the photographs they have taken and a summary of the results of my project when it has finished.

If you are <u>not</u> happy for your son/daughter to take part, please fill in the below form and place it in the stamped addressed envelope provided.

Thanks,

Joanne

……….

Joanne,

I have read the information sheet provided but do not wish for my son/daughter ____name here_____ to take part in the project.

Name: Signature:

[Parent]   [Parent]

Date:

Appendix E: Plain English information sheet

Young People's Thoughts and Experiences about Living in Regeneration Areas in Glasgow

What is the Project About?

Some neighbourhoods are going through a lot of changes in Glasgow right now. These changes can be things like high-rise flats being knocked down, or new play-parks and houses being built. As well as this, you might notice that who lives next to you has changed- maybe your old neighbours have moved out and new people have taken their place. These changes are called regeneration.

This project wants to talk to teenagers and find out about their lives: what they think about where they live, what they like to do for fun and what they think about the future. Also, I want to find out what teenagers think about their neighbourhood – what have they seen change over the last few years, and what things have stayed the same.

I'm a Teenager, What Will I Have to Do?

If you decide to take part, I'll meet you to talk about your neighbourhood. This happens in three ways.

The first is a sit down interview, and I'll ask you some questions about your family, home, and likes and dislikes. This is so I can get to know you a little.

I'll give you a camera for a few days so you can take photos of your everyday life (things like your home, your friends, any hobbies or things you like to do). I'll get the photographs developed so we can talk about them.

The last thing we do together is a walking interview called a go-along. It takes around 30 minutes and we walk around your neighbourhood and we talk about the things we can see.

I'm a Parent, What Will I have to Do?

If your son/daughter is under 16 yrs, I need your permission to speak to them. If you are okay with them taking part in the project, please sign the form and I will collect it from you.

If your son/daughter is between 16 and 18, they can decide if they want to take part. You will only have to sign a form if you are not okay with them taking part.

Important Things for Teenagers

Taking part in this project is your decision. If you don't want to talk about your neighbourhood, that's okay. If you do want to take part but don't want to answer one of the questions, just let me know. I will also be returning next year to catch up with you and find out if anything has changed, but you will receive information about that later in the year.

I'll be recording the interviews but this is so I can double check that I've heard what you've said correctly. It also means if I quote you, I'll be able to use the same words you used.

I'm using the interviews to write a report but all names will be changed. If you want to see what your interviews and photographs have been used to create, I will send you a summary of the report after the project has finished.

Since this project has three different things for you to do (taking photographs, walking around the neighbourhood, and talking about your interests), I'll give you a £10 voucher for every bit you take part in. The voucher will be for Tesco (which has CDs, DVDs, games, clothes as well as food).

I Have a Question You Haven't Answered

If you want to find out anything else about the project that I haven't mentioned here, you can call 0141 357 3949 and ask for Joanne.

You can also contact me through email: jneary@sphsu.mrc.ac.uk

If you want to talk to someone that isn't related to the study, you could call Georgina Wardle (University Ethics Officer) on 0141 330 3426.

Thanks for taking the time to read this.

Appendix F: Recruitment poster

Appendix G: Character sketches of participants

As highlighted in table 13 some participants were recruited from the same family. In line with the labelling of table 13, these families will be referred to by number and location.

Sighthill participants

Family one
Family one lived in one of the HRFs due for demolition. Prior to their current relocation, they had moved twice previously: once to take care of a sick relative who lived in another neighbourhood, and once back to Sighthill when the family decided to return to their home (although not to their original flat, but they were in the same block). Both parents in family one were unemployed due to health conditions.

Two siblings were recruited from this family: Claire and Paul.

Claire was 16 years old and was one of the most reflective and knowledgeable participants. She offered her own personal experiences of growing up the in the neighbourhood, as well as an assessment of the continuing process of regeneration in Sighthill. Claire was strongly attached to the neighbourhood, although was critical of the current state of disrepair. Despite her criticisms, she was very defensive of Sighthill's reputation and image during the interviews. In her spare time, she volunteered as a youth leader at a sports-class for younger children in Sighthill and felt strongly that many youth-orientated decisions are made without asking the main user group: children and young people. Claire's main friendship group lived in different neighbourhoods located near to Sighthill, and suggested that she was often viewed as their bodyguard when they came to visit her.

Paul was 14 years old and was Claire's younger brother. Paul was much quieter than Claire. During the home interview, Claire and their dad would often attempt to prompt Paul into giving more detailed answers, as he would often give one word and mumbled responses to questions. Unlike Claire, Paul spent

the majority of his leisure time within the neighbourhood either playing football or going to the local youth club. This meant that Paul was championed within the family as being the neighbourhood expert, and often corrected Claire's account of what remained in the neighbourhood. Paul's football trophies and medals were on display throughout the home, and was often the most engaged when discussing places where he could or could not play football or the politics behind the local neighbourhood (or 'scheme') team.

Family two

Family two lived in one of the HRFs that was planned for demolition. Prior to their current relocation, they had moved once previously within the neighbourhood, although this happened when their oldest children were infants. Due to childcare commitments, both parents were out of work.

Two siblings were recruited from this family: Shelly and Christina.

Shelly was 14 years old and was the oldest of six children. Based on hear appearance, I initially assumed she was in her late teens. Shelly was one of the most disengaged participants, and it was sometimes difficult to gauge her reaction to different questions as she often giving short one-word answers to questions. One topic of conversation that she was interested in talking about, and one that dominated our interviews, was the subject of territoriality both within the neighbourhood and elsewhere. Therefore while her interviews were the shortest, they also provided a different point of view to the majority of the participants. Similar to Claire, Shelly was defensive of Sighthill and described it as a good place to stay although spent the majority of her leisure time in a neighbourhood to the West, a one-hour bus-ride away. In terms of regeneration, she suggested that she was annoyed that everyone was leaving and would happily move back to Sighthill once the regeneration was complete.

Christina was 12 years old and was Shelly's younger sister. She was a lot more talkative than her sister, and often interrupted Shelly's interview with her own (often opposing) point of view. During Christina's interviews, she would often respond to questions with stories that would often go off in tangents, and reflected positive and negative elements of the neighbourhood. Christina

described spending all of her free time in Sighthill, and preferred hanging out in the park than attending the local youth club. This preference was helpful during the go-along as she used her local knowledge to point out recent developments in the area as well as pointing out places in the local neighbourhood that her friends would go to. She suggested that even if she moved, she would try to spend as much time as she could socialising in Sighthill and hoped that her friends would do the same.

Family three

Family three's w1 interview was postponed as the family were moving out of the neighbourhood the week that the interview was arranged for, so at the time of the interview, they had moved to their new home. This was their first move. Family three were interviewed in wave one and two, which provided a look at their first impressions of the home, and also their impressions after a year of living there. As the move was recent, they also answered questions relating to their old neighbourhood. Their mum worked as a cleaner in the city centre of Glasgow. Their father died several years ago of a heart attack, although now their mum has a new partner (Tam) who the participants refer to as their step-dad.

Two siblings were recruited from this family: Shona, Martin, and Nicola.

Shona was 18 years old and was the oldest participant interviewed during the fieldwork period and was the only participant who had left school. Shona responded to many of the questions by reflecting back on her younger days, as she saw herself as a young adult rather than as an older teenager. When attitudes regarding the present day conditions of the neighbourhood were discussed, Shona was critical of the overall physical and social environment, and described feeling increasingly wary of walking alone. Similar to Claire's interviews, Shona was able to both reflect on her own experiences as well as comment on how the neighbourhood had changed over time. She had recently finished an apprenticeship in administration, and was working as a full-time administrative assistant in the city centre. Due to her employment in the city centre, Shona did not spend a lot of time in the neighbourhood and preferred to

meet friends in the city rather than in the neighbourhood. Due to her steady wage, Shona was also able to buy a car. She described the car as enabling her to move around freely, but it also meant her family relied on her to drive them to various events and to the local shops.

Martin was 16 years old and was one of the most entertaining participants interviewed, with many of his answers relating to funny stories that occurred either at home or in the neighbourhood. Perhaps due to this, the interviews took on more of a conversational tone and were some of the longest interviews conducted. Martin appeared to use his friendly identity to avoid being involved in aggressive or territorial behaviour in the neighbourhood, although found that this was a less successful ploy for getting on with some teachers in school. Martin spent a considerable amount of his spare time in the surrounding neighbourhoods due to friends from high school living there, and similar to Shona, described Sighthill in terms of childhood memories rather than current day experiences. He was not as critical as his older sister regarding the changes brought about by regeneration, which was partly linked to his positive relationships that existed there.

Nicola was 11 years old and was the youngest Sighthill resident interviewed. Similar to her brother and sister, Nicola was outgoing and chatty, and in her family, she was the most knowledgeable about conditions in the current day neighbourhood. Unlike her brother and sister, the majority of her friends lived in the neighbourhood, and she spends a lot of her free time hanging out in Sighthill's public spaces. Nicola also had friends in other neighbourhoods, gained from using the youth club from a nearby neighbourhood when she visits her gran, or through attending gymnastics training in a different part of Glasgow. Similar to Martin, she was not critical regarding the physical changes in the neighbourhood, but did criticise the ongoing antisocial behaviour in the play-parks and public spaces.

Family four

Theo was 11 years old, and lived with his mum, dad, sister, and brother. Theo and his family moved from Central Africa in 2006. His dad was studying an English language course, he currently only spoke French, and his mum was a care

assistant. Theo had two siblings, a sister and a brother. Theo was quiet during the interviews, with his younger siblings and mum often shouting out answers and encouraging him to speak more. Theo enjoyed school, and when he was at home described mainly using his computer to play educational games. He spent a lot of time at the local youth club, and found the Sighthill boys to be really friendly and inclusive. While Theo initially was not critical of the regeneration of the neighbourhood, he suggested that he was confused as to why buildings were being demolished, and hoped that I would be able to tell him more.

Family five

Janet was 14 years old, and originally from West Africa but moved to Glasgow with her mum, dad and brother in 2001 and, at the time of the 2011 interview, lived in one of the HRF blocks that residents were campaigning to save from demolition with only her mum. Her mum worked as a care assistant in Glasgow, and had moved to Glasgow before Janet to try and find work. Janet was eager to take part although sometimes would try to deflect questions, especially regarding her dad and brother. She described feeling confused as to why the Sighthill blocks were being demolished when the HRFs in nearby neighbourhoods were being refurbished. Janet described as the relocation process continued, and more of her friends moved away, she spent less time in the neighbourhood and more time travelling to visit her friends' new neighbourhoods.

Family six

Deena was 14 years old, and originally from South Asia. She lived with her mum, dad, and a family friend. Due to the family friend visiting, Deena shared a room with her mum and dad and slept in a bunkbed above her parents' bed. Prior to the current relocation, Deena had moved five times. First move was from South Asia to Glasgow. Second move was to Springburn, third was to Dennistoun, fourth was to Fountainwell flat in Sighthill (now demolished), and fifth was to her current flat in Pinkston Drive. Her dad worked as a waiter in a city centre restaurant, and her mum was studying catering at the local college. Deena was the only Sighthill participant to be educated outside of the neighbourhood, and attended an all-girls school. While this broadened her horizons it meant that her attachment to Sighthill was comparatively weaker, as her main group of friends lived in other areas. Deena had a positive view of Sighthill, and often compared

it to her negative experiences of living in other neighbourhoods in North Glasgow.

Shawbridge participants

Family seven

Family seven could be described as a reconstituted family, as one of the participants (Patrick) was the cousin of another of the other (Adam). Patrick had lived full time with Adam and his family for three years prior to the wave one interview. Due to physical health and mobility problems, Adam's mum was not working and awaiting surgery. Family seven were the only family who were rehoused within the neighbourhood, to the new housing built on the site of a previously demolished high-rise flat.

Two cousins were recruited from this family: Patrick and Adam.

Patrick was 16 years old and, prior to living with family seven, had lived with other family members, including mum, dad, and grandmother. During the interviews, it was clear that Patrick preferred to live with family seven and described the family as being warm, supportive, and funny. While he sometimes looked to his cousin or aunt of guidance in the interviews, Patrick was confident in his answers and often provided a reflective account of his own personal experience living there. While he had friends in the neighbourhood, he also travelled to nearby neighbourhoods to visit his girlfriend and friends from high school. In terms of attitudes towards regeneration, Partick was more concerned with watching his new home being built in the neighbourhood rather than the upheaval caused by demolition.

Adam was 11 years old and was the youngest participant interviewed in the study. Adam was one of the most enthusiastic participants and would often interrupt questions in order to answer them. Sometimes his mum would correct his accounts, or try to suggest things he had missed out. Throughout all the interviews, Adam smiled and laughed and often related questions to his friends and his experiences with them. Compared to Patrick, Adam spent a lot of his time in the neighbourhood, although also enjoyed hanging out with Patrick in

the home. Due to his mum's health condition, Adam described helping out a lot at home with chores such as cooking and cleaning. Adam referred to two other participants from Shawbridge by name, Johnny and Mark, and described them as being good friends of his. Adam was excited about moving to his new home but was also concerned about whether people were hiding in the now derelict buildings in the neighbourhood.

Family eight

Mark was 11 years old and lived with his mum. Initially, Mark was very quiet and shy, and it was only when the interview was almost complete that he began to relax more. His mum's family was originally from Pakistan, although Mark did not feel close to any member of her family. Mark lived in the same building as Johnny, and referred to being friends with Adam and Patrick. Mark's mum was currently looking for work although had health related problems which made it difficult to find a job that she was physically able to do. Similar to Adam, Mark's main group of friends were within the neighbourhood and were mainly boys he met playing football in the local park or during school hours. He enjoyed primary school but was looking forward to going to high school. This will be Mark's first experience of relocation although was not sure he was going to move to in w1.

Family nine

Johnny was 11 years old and lived with his dad, Due to ill-health, Johnny's dad was out of work. Johnny's home life was very chaotic as he had recently been thrown out of his mum's home in a nearby neighbourhood in 2010 due to arguments between Johnny and his step-dad. Johnny described having multiple step-siblings, although they are sometimes described as half siblings, although now he lives in Shawbridge he does not see them anymore. Johnny's favourite activity was to watch violent action DVDs often involving guns or physical fights. Johnny described the neighbourhood in terms which in a way reflected the violence he saw on screen. For Johnny, Shawbridge was a place of knife-carrying, guns, arson, and violence. He was also the most critical about the potential improvements offered by regeneration, due to the violence and antisocial behaviour that he witnessed within the neighbourhood.

Family ten

Jenny was 15 years old and lived with her mum, dad, two younger brothers, and younger sister. She had recently moved from her HRF to her new home prior to the wave one interview. Before this, Jenny had moved 4 times previously: from South East Europe when she was a baby, and three moves within Shawbridge. Her mum stayed at home due to childcare commitments, and her dad worked in a restaurant as a waiter in the city centre. Unlike the male participants, Jenny did not use the neighbourhood to socialize in, although suggested that she sometimes took her younger brothers to t he park. She mainly described seeing friends at school, and did not really socialise at the weekend. This was particularly the case after some of her Shawbridge friends relocated to other parts of Glasgow. Jenny's friends were very important to her, and some of the longest discussions were about her friendship group dynamics, and the importance of having diversity of interests within friendship groups (punk rockers, athletes, nerds). She described feeling under pressure to do well in school, and recently quit swimming classes because they were too pressurizing. She felt that her mum and dad wanted her to become a lawyer or a doctor, and therefore felt pressure to please them but to also live her own life.

Appendix H: Participant consent

Please read the following sentences carefully, and tick each box if you agree.

I have been given an information sheet and had the chance to read it ☐

	Interview	Photography	Go-along

The interviewer has explained what will happen during the interviews ☐ ☐ ☐

I have been given the chance to ask any questions ☐

I understand that taking part is my decision ☐

I understand that if I feel unhappy with any question I do not have to answer it ☐

I understand that my name and contact details will not be used to identify me ☐

The interviewer has explained that what I say might be used for reports, but my name won't be shared ☐

I agree to have my interview recorded ☐

I understand that my photographs could be used in reports or talks, but faces will be blurred out ☐

Please sign only if you agree to take part in this study

Name: Signature:

Appendix I: Topic guide for interviews

Interview One: Semi-structured home interview

Topic One: The Home

Talk to me about your flat/house

What is the best thing about living in this flat/house?

What is the worst thing about living in this flat/house?

[If participant lives in flat] What about the communal areas?

What do you think other people think about your flat/house?

Have you ever lived anywhere except this flat/house?

Topic Two: Household

Who lives in the flat/house with you?

Who do you get on best within your family?

Who do you not get on with in your family?

What kind of things do you do as a family?

Do you ever visit family that don't live with you?

Topic Three: Leisure time

What do you like to do for fun at home?

What do you like to do when you aren't at home?

Do you take part in activities (like youth clubs) that go on in your neighbourhood?

Is there anything that you used to do in the neighbourhood but can't now

Talk to me about your friends

Topic Four: School

What year are you in at school?

What is your favourite thing to do in school?

What is your least favourite thing to do in school?

What makes school a good/bad place to be?

What makes a teacher 'good'/'bad

What do your friends think about school?

Topic Five: The Neighbourhood

Talk to me about neighbours

What kind of things can you do in your neighbourhood?

When do you use the neighbourhood the most?

Have you seen any changes in your neighbourhood?

Do you want to see changes in your neighbourhood?

Topic Six: Future orientation questions

If I came back next year to talk to you, what do you think will have changed?

With you?

With your home?

With your parents?

With your school?

If I came back in 5 years, what do you think you'll be doing?

Where do you think you will be living?

Interview Two: Photo discussion

As this interview is content specific, there were no set questions. However, a number of prompts were used.

Who is in the photograph with you [explore relationships with others]?

What does this photograph say about you [explore self identity]?

Why does this photograph link with your everyday life [explore routine]?

What can we see in the background of the photograph [explore context of life]?

What is missing from the photograph [explore creative thought process]?

Interview Three: Go-Along Interview

The go-along interview was led by what the young person walks through, and our location within the neighbourhood. While it is not possible to write a full interview script, questions included:

At leisure/public/retail spaces

What do you do here?

Who do you go here with?

What time of day do you come here?

Does anyone else use this space?

During the walk between locations

Do you often walk around your neighbourhood?

When you walk, do you feel safe?**Or**

Why don't you walk around?

What kind of people do you see walking round?

Do you receive negative reactions from other people for walking around the neighbourhood?

At regeneration areas

What used to be here?

What is here now?

What will be here in the future?

Appendix J: Information sheet for photo interview

Taking Photographs: a quick guide

For the next week, you'll be given a camera to take pictures of things that you think sum up living in your neighbourhood. This could be things, people or buildings or parks. You are in charge of this!

Next week, I'll come back to visit you and we can chat about some of your photographs. Like the interviews, it's your choice if you take part. If you don't want to take photographs, just let me know.

Some Quick Rules about Taking Photographs

1. If you are taking a photograph inside, remember to put the flash on. I'll show you how to do this when you are given the camera.

2. Remember that you might be asked to talk about any photograph you take so they should be of things you feel okay talking about

3. If you are taking photographs of other people, you should explain why you are taking their photograph. They have a right to not take part. Please give them the consent forms provided.

Some Ideas

Taking part in this section of the project is up to you, and you have control over what and where you take photos.

If you need some inspiration, you could try some of these ideas:

- Things I like/don't like about my home
- What my street looks like
- People that make me happy
- What I do in the morning/afternoon/night

What Happens Next

I'll take your photographs back to my office and keep them in a safe, locked drawer. In the future, I may use your photographs in reports or in talks I give to other people interested in neighbourhoods. If you don't want your photographs used in this way, let me know.

Appendix K: Letter inviting participants to take part in wave two

Dear [participant],

My name is Joanne from GoWell/Glasgow University. You may remember that I came to visit you last year to talk about how it felt to live in your neighbourhood. I asked you questions about living in a flat, going to school, and about family and friends.

I really enjoyed meeting and talking to you and your answers helped me learn about what it's like growing up in [Sighthill/Shawbridge].

I am coming back to [Sighthill/Shawbridge] this month, and would like to do a quick catch-up with everyone who took part last year. Just like last year, I would be asking questions about the home, about family and friends but also about any changes you've seen in the last few months seen.

Changes could include:

- Changing school year
- Changes in the family
- Moving house
- Friends moving house
- Buildings being built or demolished

Last year you spoke about [one example of living in the neighbourhood], [one example about regeneration] and [one hope for the future]. I'd love to hear how you're getting on and about other things you've been doing in the last year. Just like last year, you don't have to take part if you don't want to, and no names will be used to identify you.

If you're happy for me to contact you, please get in touch. You can text me on 07717577367, call me on 0141 330 3740 or email me at jneary@sphsu.mrc.ac.uk. Remember to ask your parent/guardian's permission!

Hope to hear from you soon!

Joanne Neary

……..………………

Dear Joanne,

I agree to be contacted again. You can contact me by phoning me on the number in the box)

Appendix L: Example of summary grid (Jenny, Shawbridge)

FAMILY

You live at home with your mum, dad, younger sister and two younger brothers

Your family are originally from **** you moved to Glasgow when you were four

As a family you like to debate but also watch TV and play games

HOME

You have lived in three flats in Shawbridge; one of them has been demolished

Your last flat had cockroaches so you wanted to move here

Your family were shown a few places but you liked this one the best

SCHOOL

You were sitting your standard grades

Your favourite subject in school was art but your mum wants you to do science

Your friends are all different

When you leave school you would like to be an art teacher or study politics

NEIGHBOURHOOD

You think Shawbridge is pretty when theres lots of flowers and you like the parks

You used to avoid dangerous people but now you know how to handle them

While there are people who get drunk and vandalise things, there are also nice people

Your favourite place is the library

Appendix M: Coding framework

Below is a list of thematic coding nodes created on NVivo9:

- Family
    - Activities
    - Attitudes
    - Change at wave two
    - Images
        - Of family members
        - Of self
    - Positive attitudes
    - Negative attitudes

- Friends
    - Keeping in contact
    - Making new friends
    - Socialising

- HRF life
    - Communal areas
        - Images
        - Social control
            - Positive
            - Negative
            - Neutral/no comment
    - Home
        - Bedroom
            - Sharing a bedroom
        - Shared Spaces
        - Comparison of previous homes
        - Physical problems
        - Images

- Neighbourhood life
    - Leisure time
        - Gendered spaces
        - Hanging out
        - Sports
        - Youth club
        - Images
    - Risk and ASB
        - Awareness of risk
        - Images of ASB
        - Keeping safe
        - Personal experience
    - Changes in the neighbourhood
        - Service closure
        - Population change
    - School

- - Positive experience
  - Negative experience
  - Teachers

- Witnessing regeneration
  - Building
  - Demolition
  - Expectation of change
    - For neighbourhood
    - For self
  - How you learn about regeneration
  - Relocation
    - Images
    - Friends moving
    - Self moving
    - Importance of keeping in contact

Below is a list of methodological coding nodes created on NVivo9

- Home interviews
  - Parental interruptions
    - Additional information
    - Answers on behalf of YP
    - Correction of account

- Photo-elicitation interviews
  - Deletion of image
  - Snapshots
  - Provides additional information
  - Photo not taken by participant

- Go-alongs
  - Conversation guided by walk
  - Temporal neighbourhood discussion
  - Environmental hazards
  - Memories
  - Route making by participant
    - Uncertainty of route taken
  - Discussion of place making

Appendix N: Detailed table reflecting changes occurring in partipants' lives

(*) denotes change that occurred between w1 and w2

Changes relating to Sighthill participants who participated in waves one and two:

	Martin	Shona	Nicola	Christina
Family	- Dad dies of heart attack -Mum meets new partner -Becomes uncle (*)	-Dad dies of heart attack -Mum meets new partner	-Dad dies of heart attack -Mum meets new partner	-Baby sister is born (*) -Sister Shelly moves in with gran (*)
Social	Meets girlfriend - Moves closer to friends from school after relocation	-Breaks up with boyfriend (*) -Makes new friends at work (*)	Makes friends where her gran lives -Moves away from old school friends (*)	-Demolition of Fountainwell flats create new hang out spot
Home	-Moves to new townhouse near to Sighthill (*)	-Moves to new townhouse near to Sighthill (*)	-Moves to new townhouse near to Sighthill (*)	-Sister moves out due to lack of space (*)
Leisure	-Drops out of school football team - Joins gym - Joins football team for local area (*)	-Learned to drive -Began to go clubbing with friends (*)	Won gold in competition (*) -Quit gymnastics team (*) -Changed gymnastic discipline (*)	-Begins attending dancing at local community centre
School/work	-Receives poor grades in Highers -Leaves school after 5th year (*) -Rejected to study admin at college (*) - Applies to study sports coaching at college (*)	-Leaves school -Studies admin at college -Achieves top grade -Given job in business in city centre -Promoted (*)	-Remains in Sighthill primary after relocation (*)	-Caught cheating during school test -Joins a nurture group to help raise money for young mothers -Disengages with school (*)
Trouble	-Bike stolen in new neighbourhood (*)	/	/	-Witnesses adult assault sister

Changes relating to Shawbridge participants who participated in waves one and two:

	Mark	Johnny	Jenny
Family	-Parents divorce -Dad gets a new job and takes more of an active interest in Mark (*)	-Parents divorce -Johnny argues with step-father -Mum gives Johnny to his dad	-Younger brothers born in Scotland -Mum finds out dad has family with other woman (*) -Parents divorce (*)
Social	-Friends from HRF move away	Stops talking to old friends after moving in with dad -Makes new friends in Shawbridge -Bullied in new neighbourhood but making friends through school (*)	-Friends from HRF move away but stay in contact through school
Home	-Moves to tenement flat near Shawbridge (*)	-Mum throws Johnny out of home - Johnny moves in with dad -Johnny and dad move relocate to modern flat	--Moves to Scotland -Moves from one HRF in Shawbridge to the neighbouring block -After witnessing cockroaches, she convinces her dad to move quickly to their relocation address
Leisure	Local youth club closes -Library homework club closes -Begins to hang out by the basketball court	-Stops participating in fights after moving in with dad -Began riding his bike and getting fit after relocation (*)	-Stopped playing violin to focus on school work -Spends more time helping with childcare after friends move away
School/work	-Engaged with primary school -Beginning to become bored at high school (*)	-Hated primary school -Enjoying secondary school and is focused on performing better (*)	-Passed standard grades -Changes focus from arts/humanities to science (*)
Trouble	/	-Bullied in new neighbourhood	/

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