



© I luv Ldn

“You have got to represent your endz”: Youth
Territoriality in London

Adefemi Adekunle

Acknowledgements

I, Adefemi Adekunle, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This doctoral dissertation is based around exploring the issue of youth belonging and territoriality in various areas of London taken from the perspective of my work as a volunteer Youth Worker, as a policy researcher at the Runnymede Trust and an academic. It looks at developing an understanding of the motivation of young people who – point blank – refused to go into areas that neighbored and mirrored their own. It explores how young people react both positively and negatively to the part of the city that they call home and how they relate and conceptualise other areas that they are unfamiliar with. It seeks to find out why certain young people are happy to remain within their locale and actively resist others from coming into theirs. I call this phenomenon ‘youth territoriality’ and it presents itself as a complex and emotional issue for young people. In developing a framework, I ask how this spatial identity is (re)constructed and (re)constituted in relation to not just itself but other prominent state and social discourses.

My doctorate seeks to answer, variously: how do you young people understand and experience territory and belonging? How does belonging and territory offset encounters with fear and marginalisation? More importantly, how can it be refigured by young people and local authorities?

By dividing the question into two case sites - the first focusing more generally on territoriality’s prevalence and the other focusing more specifically on its workings -it explores the major theoretical and methodological problems in analysing the situation. It thereby discovers how, when and where particular forms of belonging matter and how this links individuals to wider social structures creating an “ease with oneself and one’s surroundings” (May, 2011).

Theoretically, it examines how spatial imaginaries are created and represented; how intergenerational tensions are evoked and details the shifting social construction of ethnicity. Methodologically it uses new technology to map and capture transitional aspects of urban encounters and aspects of route and routine. Indeed, drawing upon a mixed-method approach this paper highlights how the use of mobility as a distanced and spatial variable around which concepts of belonging can cohere to create an individual and collective identity. Using participatory GIS, focus groups, surveys and interviews, it illustrates the complexity of belonging by emphasizing different linkages between space, place and identity. It also shows how membership of institutions creates a local daily reproduced discourse through countless practices, expressions and institutional structures.

This is meant as a statement of how ‘territorial belonging’ fits into a narrative of a self-defined state of adulthood that underlines the challenge, difficulty and intricacy of identity for young people.

Adefemi Adekunle

Position Held: Policy researcher/Youth Worker/Doctoral Candidate

Department of Geography, Pearson Building,

University College London, Gower Street,

WC1E 6BT

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Maps

List of Photographs

Glossary

Appendices

Chapter 1.

Introduction **pages 14-38**

- 1.1. The Research Background and Questions**
- 1.2. Characterizations of territoriality**
- 1.3. A theory of territoriality in geographical context**
- 1.4. Definitions of youth in theory and practice**
- 1.5. The research challenge**
- 1.6. A critical research framework**
- 1.7. Positionalities in research context**
 - 1.7.1. What kind of
 - 1.7.2. What kind of Youth Worker? Professionalism and professional identity
 - 1.7.3. What kind of scholar?
 - 1.7.4. Policy research from an academic perspective
 - 1.7.5. A synthesis of positionalities and politics
- 1.8. A summary**

Chapter 2.

A summative and theoretical evaluation of youth, territory and territoriality **pages 39-71**

- 2.1. Introduction**
 - 2.1.2. Territoriality and territory

2.2. A scholarly survey of territoriality, power and space

- 2.2.1. Territoriality and power
- 2.2.2. Territoriality and space
- 2.2.3. Defensible space as social process
- 2.2.4. The politics of turf defined

2.3. Definitions of youth

- 2.3.1. Subculture and post subculture
- 2.3.2. The New Social Studies of Children and Youth
- 2.3.3. Youth as a time of 'Vital Conjunctions'

2.4. Youth and space: Children's Geography

- 2.4.1. Youth geographies
- 2.4.2. Youth in motion: mobilities and motilities

2.5. The discursive implications of Youth Work

- 2.5.1. An institutional perspective
- 2.5.2. The practice perspectives of youth work

Chapter 3.

Methodologies in context

Page 72-113

3.1. Introduction

- 3.1.1. Preliminary research
- 3.1.2. The Research objectives revisited

3.2. The Research sites

- 3.2.1. The micro-locations

3.3. Participant identification and recruitment

- 3.3.1. Stakeholder interviews
- 3.3.2. The community safety survey
- 3.3.3. Islingtonians and Athenians
- 3.3.4. Introducing the Athenians: An Exploratory and Descriptive case study
 - 3.3.4.1. The Athenians: the socio-spatial context
 - 3.3.4.2. The Athenians: the social aspect
 - 3.3.4.3. The First Athenian Focus group

3.4. A succession of reiterative techniques

- 3.4.1. Individual interviews
- 3.4.2. GPS mapping and evidence gathering (photos and mental maps)
- 3.4.3. Visual methodologies: mental maps
- 3.4.4. Participatory GIS: Digital maps and GIS as spatial transcript
- 3.4.5. Epicollect
- 3.4.6. Photos

3.5. Why bother? The significance of a Participant recruitment and observation

- 3.5.1. The design issues
- 3.5.2. A theoretical justification for a mixed spatial methodology
- 3.5.3. Participatory methodologies
- 3.5.4. Power: definitions, critiques and lacunas
- 3.5.5. The Athenians: the social aspect

3.6. Ethical engagements

3.7. Summary

Chapter 4.

Street representations and Representations of the Street

Page 75-118

4.1. Young people in relation to Youth Workers

4.2. Stakeholder views: a spectrum of practice

- 4.2.1. the Police and young people
- 4.2.2. Crime and violence
- 4.2.3. Gangs
- 4.2.4. Police representations of the street
- 4.2.5. Summarising Police views of youth territoriality

4.3. Stakeholders; Youth Workers in context

- 4.3.1. Stakeholder views: the different forms of Youth Workers
- 4.3.2. Youth work and young people
- 4.3.3. 'On road' culture
- 4.3.4. 'On road' culture and territoriality
- 4.3.5. Youth Practitioner understandings of street practices
- 4.3.6. Transport
- 4.3.7. Mobilities in empirical context
- 4.3.8. Territoriality in empirical perspective

4.4. Summarising Representations of the street

Chapter 5.

Street representations and Representations of the Street

Page 115-145

The survey in theoretical and methodological perspective

4.4.1. Participatory research as an analytical filter

5.1. Peer review in context

5.2. Participatory research as an analytical filter

5.3. The questions in research context

5.3.1. How safe do you feel in Islington?

5.3.2. What is your main crime and safety concern?

5.3.3. How threatened are you by your main crime and safety concern?

5.3.4. Who would you express your crime and safety concern to?

5.3.5. Have you been a victim of crime within Islington within the last 12 months?

5.3.6. Is there an estate/area in Islington that you have crime/safety concerns?

5.4. The Focus groups

5.4.1. Street practices

5.4.2. Crime

5.4.3. Gender

5.4.4. Area

5.4.5. A focus group follow-up (part 2): the riots

5.4.6. Summary of the survey and focus group findings

5.5. Concluding comments

Chapter 6.

A closer look at Street Representations and Street Practices

6.1. Introduction

Page 171-218

6.1.2. A summary of the last sections finding: the analytical content

6.2. Re-introducing the Athenians (part 2)

- 6.2.1. A group introduction
- 6.2.2. The collective context
- 6.2.3. Transitions and trajectories
- 6.2.4. Collective research in practice

6.3. The focus group themes

- 6.3.1. The importance of narrative
- 6.3.2. Street representations of Area
- 6.3.3. Repping your endz
- 6.3.4. Summary

6.4. Territoriality in individual focus: fitting in and moving on

6.4.1. Fitting in: Space, safety and fear

- 6.4.1.1. Active avoidance
- 6.4.1.2. Active negotiation
- 6.4.1.3. Passive avoidance
- 6.4.1.4. Passive negotiation
- 6.4.1.5. Summary

6.4.2. Fitting in and belonging in practice

- 6.4.2.1. Slipping
- 6.4.2.2. Raving
- 6.4.2.3. Clothing
- 6.4.2.4. Stop and search

6.4.3. Fitting in: Gangs, safety and fear

- 6.4.3.1. Gangs from a personal perspective
- 6.4.3.2. Gangs from a secondary perspective
- 6.4.3.3. Young people and gangs
- 6.4.3.4. Summary

6.4.4. Moving on: transitions

- 6.4.4.1. Education and mobility
- 6.4.4.2. Reasons for going
- 6.4.4.3. The effect of staying and the result of going
- 6.4.4.4. Summary of Transitions

6.5. Conclusion

Chapter 7.

Pictures of territoriality

7.1. Introduction: Youth culture and landscape through a visual and spatial medium

Page 270-278

7.2. Drawings in a territorial research context

- 7.2.1. The drawing process
- 7.2.2. Emergent themes
 - 7.2.2.1. The home
 - 7.2.2.2. Public, private or parochial?
 - 7.2.2.3. The imprints of personality
- 7.2.3. Summary

7.3. Using a phone to navigate socially and spatially: taking photos and using a digital map

- 7.3.1. A general outline of the photos
- 7.3.2. Domestic spaces
- 7.3.3. Public spaces
- 7.3.4. Parochial places and places of play
- 7.3.5. Summary

7.4. Time geographies

- 7.4.1. The fragmented flâneur
- 7.4.2. Routines and patterns
- 7.4.3. Mobility and motility
- 7.4.4. Summary

7.5. Conclusions in perspective

Chapter 8. Refiguring Territoriality

8.1. A summative schema

Page 280-294

8.2. A 'Discovery' of youth territoriality

8.3. An integrative theory of youth territoriality

8.4. Applications: what to do with youth territoriality

8.5. Advocacy: raising aspirations versus supporting aspiration

8.6. Conclusions: youth territoriality as politics

List of Figures, Tables and Maps and Photographs

Figures

- Figure 1: Youth territoriality in theoretical focus
- Figure 2: Different versions of territoriality within an academic context
- Figure 3: The typical forms of youth service provision
- Figure 4: The theoretical nexus around which children are scrutinised
- Figure 5: The Stakeholders interviewed and their function
- Figure 6: Timeline of the use of Epicollect in the Participatory GIS phase
- Figure 7: Screenshot of the spatial diary agreed with participants
- Figure 8: The Community Survey Questions
- Figure 9: The ICSB questionnaire in full

Maps

- Map 1: Drum Works Detached route (2010-2011)
- Map 2. The research sites by London Borough
- Map 3: The Islington Survey area details and map
- Map 4: Map from the early stage of research with the Athenians
- Map 5: Map of basketball courts within London. Screen capture from
- Map 6: Islington in comparison with their neighbours.
- Map 7: Youth congregation points (compiled by the Police) (2010)
- Map 8: Young congregation points (compiled by the Police) (2011)
- Map 9: First example of Athenian's Heat map
- Map 10: Second example of Athenian Heat map

Tables

- Table 1: forms of space
- Table 1: The Case Study approach in detail
- Table2: The research design in context
- Table 3: Intellectual framework behind my visual/spatial analysis.
- Table 4: A graphical comparison of the two major case study sites and methodologies
- Table 5: A spectrum of positionalities
- Table 6: Illustrative list of policies that constituted part of my youthworker legal and ethical training

The ICSB survey Results

- Table 7: How safe do you feel in Islington?
- Table 8: Summary of Crime concerns
- Table 9: How threatened are you by your main crime or safety concern?
- Table 10: Who would you express your crime or safety concern to?
- Table 11: Have you been a victim of crime within Islington within the past 12 months?
- Table 12: Is there an estate/area in Islington that you have crime/safety concerns?

The Athenians

- Table 13: The Athenian's proposed university and qualification
- Table 14: Aggregate list of all the places the Athenians self-reported
- Table 15: Summary of positions regarding safety and fear in terms of outlook and action
- Table 16: Aggregate list of places self-reported they visited often

Photographs and images

Photograph 1: The Athenian Focus group venue

Photograph 2: An example of the type of space that young people inhabit taken from the Epicollect app database

Photography 3: the Y trucks

Photograph 4: Athenian photograph of a mall in East London

Photograph 5: An example of photo elicitation

Image 6: Second example of the Athenian's mental map

Photo 7: The focus group mall

Photo 6-11: Domestic spaces

Photo 12: Typical public spaces

Photo 13: 'Out with friends'

Photo 14: on public transport

Photo 15: 'walking around'

Photo 16: 'on the train'

Photo 17: shopping

Photo 18: 'on the road'

Photo 19: out and about...

Photo 20: in the gym

Photo 21: on the court at dusk

Photo 22: Irina Werner's photo project

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The Research Background and Outline

This study aims to analyse and describe the experiences of young people affected by territoriality in a variety of spatial contexts and to present a practical policy response. This project explores understanding of young people's experiences of place and space by focusing on two field sites in London.

The project emerged from my observations of young people (aged between 13 and 21) and conversations with youth-workers over a number of years. As a volunteer Youth Worker, I was faced with the task of trying to understand the motivation of young people who – point blank – refused to go into certain neighbouring areas and parts of London that resembled their own. And yet there was a curious mixture of fear and bravado. I witnessed young people eager to go into certain areas to 'rep' or 'represent' even though they were aware of the possibility of being 'rushed' or (physically) challenged. They were also eager to 'rush' unfamiliar faces despite the fact that there were undoubtedly underlying webs of easy familiarity if they cared to look hard enough. It seemed to all the more incongruous since, in my experience, parts of London are more like villages and it is remarkably easy to find connections amongst young people living in neighbouring areas whether this is through school, family or friends. Whilst this hinted at a 'code of the street' (Anderson, 2000; Brookman, et al. 2011) or new dimension of 'badness' (Gunter, 2010) or performative edgework (Lyng, 1990), there was a different dimension to this. There was a quasi-generational aspect to this social construction since 'Olders' ('older' young people) were self-consciously themselves from 'Youngers'. I call this development 'youth territoriality' and much of the first part of the paper will be in justifying my choice of this emotive phrase and why it has substance for geographers, policy researchers and front-line/Youth Workers.

Youth territoriality presented itself as a complex issue for the young people I encountered. Still, in defining what it is and what it is not, clarification is needed since: as the philosopher John Dewey observed, a problem well put is half solved (Dewey, 1938). In developing a theoretical and

methodological framework I ask how this spatial identity is (re)constructed and (re)constituted in relation to not just itself but other prominent state and social discourses – specifically the drive to create ‘angels’ and ‘demons’ of young people (Valentine, 1996). Within its own terms, a definition of territoriality must strike a balance between understanding a range of potentially complementary or conflicting components – for instance as a group, as individuals and youth socio-spatiality - and the dynamic interaction between them. The most recent work on the subject by Kintrea and Bannister has pointed out how violent conflict often typifies the expression of the strong place based identities (Kintrea, Bannister *et. al.*, 2008, 2010 and 2011. The role of violence is not, however, the focus here. In the latest in-depth work on the subject, Bannister and others have stressed how only *some* groups of young people engage in such behaviours and that when they do, they tend to hold a close spatial relationship to one another (Bannister *et al.*, 2008). My research aim is founded upon expanding this simple observation. Whilst trying to extend the exploratory nature of their cutting edge work, I will be focusing on other aspects of socio-spatial interaction - specifically where, when and how conflict is avoided by focusing on a particular section of young people. This emphasis will be on the “*resisters*” (those who have never offended) and “*desisters*” (those who had offended but now ceased) (Murray, 2009). My account is also very deliberately meant to balance traditional academic accounts and legislative policy focus on ‘spectacular’ youth (see Hebidge, 1995; Shildrick, 2002 and 2006; Roberts, 2011; Roberts 2012).

In short, I will look at three versions of territoriality: the first will be based on an official viewpoint by harvesting the opinion of Youth Workers and police (see Chapter 4). The second version is based upon ‘ordinary’ young people (see Chapter 5) whilst the last ‘frame’ looks at a more resisting and subversive outlook and shows how it can be the foundation of a positive inclusive youth identity (see Chapters 6 and 7). Within these settings I will show how institutions (not restricted to youth clubs) relate to specific groups, and how access to spaces such as the street, shop, pub, club, playground or park is regulated, and contested, on the basis of age. By dividing these various outlooks and connecting them up to their particular (literal and figurative) place and space, I will also show how notions of landscapes and their relations to constructions of age-based identities are constructed and contingent. A great deal of effort will be expended in constructing a dataset that fully embodies this simple fact (see Chapter 3). Indeed, since representations of age and space are intricately connected to questions of politics and negotiations of rights to/within/over space, then exclusion also has a political dimension that warrants a considered focus (Horschelmann and van Blerk, 2013: 25 and Chapter 7).

At the same time, I am a CASE (Collobarative Award in Science and Engineering) student under the aegis of the racial equalities think-tank, the Runnymede Trust. This means my work is positioned within the growing number of PhD projects in human geography in the UK cofounded by public, private or

voluntary sector agencies that pay eloquent testimony to the potential for close integration of theory and policy, as well as providing a healthy sign of the relevance and influence of human geography (see also Demerit and Lees, 2005; Pain, 2006). This comes with particular policy credence: as a researcher at the Runnymede Trust equality (and not just racial equality) stands at the heart of any subsequent analysis. Consequently, I have endeavoured to show that when young people have a platform to voice their opinions, they demonstrate a nuanced understanding of why they and their peers do what they do. Whilst this need to understand does not condone, it does set a context for ensuring that events such as the riots in August 2011 do not happen again or, at least, lessons are learnt. It must be worth acknowledging that a way out of the typical youth policy debate impasse is to enable young people to do the talking and policy makers to listen to them (see Stratton, 2011; Williams, 2012; Cooper, 2012).

The rest of this chapter will present an introduction to the major themes that will run throughout this work. The first section will offer a cursory definition of the most important terms and present a theoretical contextualisation (section 1.2 to section 1.4) to be expanded in Chapter 2. This will be followed by a preparatory outline of the research framework (section 1.5) that will be expanded upon substantially in Chapter 3. The last section (section 1.7), will present a detailed analysis of my research positionings and thereby make explicit many of the ontological and epistemological assumptions upon which the data was collected and analysed. Built upon these insights, the value of my agile methodology - one that responds and reacts to my participants and research positionings - can be better understood. The result of this methodology, a varied and innovative data-set, will form the foundation of Chapters 4, 5 and 6. On the basis of that, the novelty of the policy insights I present in Chapter 7 can be fully judged.

Founded upon this, this project has an unfolding narrative that is based upon answering three deceptively simple research questions. These are:

- Are young people territorial?
- What is their experience of territoriality? *How* and where are young people territorial?
- To what extent can and do young people resist or reconstitute conventional or dominant understandings of territoriality? *How* and can this model be reconstituted?

1.2. Characterizations of territoriality

To return to the issue of definition, I deliberately chose the emotive term 'territoriality' and though this will later warrant detailed theoretical contextualisation (see Chapter 2.), one thing that can be said

is it is intended to do more than gather a range of disparate facts under the roof a single unifying concept. Although it describes spatial behaviour, it is its parallel transhuman zoological meaning (Tiger and Fox, 1966; Gold, 1982) that I am also implying. As one commentator described, mammalian territories may overlap, but this need not cause conflict for territoriality has temporal as well as spatial dimensions and it is possible that animals technically in dispute may never meet (see Gold, 1982). Youth territoriality, in the version described here, is not an atavistic reversion to instinct since my account stands at the nexus of what people 'do' is and is thereby 'natural' as opposed to what 'should' happen as defined by policy or professional practice. Rather considering territoriality as a rational strategy for differential access avoids the issue of whether territoriality is an instinct. Nonetheless, to see the structure of human groups as a mirror of natural forms has remained imaginatively and intellectually powerful (Haraway, 1991) and provides a powerful method to see the edge of implicit and unacknowledged forms of social construction¹.

It also its currency as a term that lends agency and socio-cultural credence to young people that I am borrowing here – the exaggerated form of 'place-belonging' cited by Bannister and others (see Bannister, 2011 and Childress, 2004). Spatial patterns like territoriality, after all, make the world knowable, manageable and familiar through the creation of everyday rhythms and mass ritual events; it connects the past and present and provides a relatively secure basis to the future (Skey, 2011). Indeed:

The temporal structure of our environment...adds a strong touch of predictability to the world around us, thus enhancing our cognitive well being
Zerubavel, 1985: 12

Moreover, the literature within geography alludes to rich and often conflicting definitions of territoriality. It is, according to some, the mechanism by which a territory can be classified according to type of occupancy and degree of control (see Gold, 1982; Brower, 1965, 1980 or Altman, 1975). It has been called variously, "an egocentric hierarchy of bounded spaces" (Gold, 1982: 49); or "an important organizer of activity on [various] levels: community, small group and individual" (Edney, 1976:42) whilst its constituent, 'territory', is "a meaningful aspect of social life, whereby individuals define their scope of their obligations and the identity of themselves and others. (Shils, 1975:26. See also Stea, 1965; Goffman, 1974; Soja, 1971; Kärrholm, 2007). Furthermore, Sack suggests that the concept of territoriality cannot be simplistically aligned to a geographic area or space. Particular spaces become territories through a series of practices and strategies which are continuously enacted in order

¹ [T]he human being is the connecting creature who must always separate and cannot connect without separating... And the human being is likewise the bordering creature who has no border. (Simmel 1997a: 174)

to maintain territorial status. Thus he argues that certain spaces can be thought of as territories at certain times but not at others. (Sack, 1986; see also Pike and Colquhoun, 2012).

My theory of territoriality is based around both scrutinising how elastic the term territory and territoriality as “humanly differentiated geographical space” can be extended (Dear and Wolch, 1989:1. See also Chapter 2). Parallel to this is my ambition to see where and how one could add a consistent theoretical heft to the way that geographers use the term. In broad theoretical terms, my account will describe:

the way social life structures territory, and the way that territory shapes life. The interdependencies between these processes – the socio-spatial dialectic – ensure that one cannot be understood without reference to the other.

Dear and Wolch, 2014:3

As John Gold (1982:44) asserts, the word territoriality is etymologically derived from twin Latin derivations: it’s more common definition is taken from “*tererre*” meaning to frighten, deter or terrify but it also has a meaning derived from noun “*terra*” or “*territorium*” meaning the earth or land. Whilst the former describes the power implications that initially sparked my interest (see 1.1), the latter hints at a more subversive, ‘positive’ incarnation that demands attention. Through the collection of a dataset that pays due attention to both of these incarnations, I will show the theoretical promise of an empirically attuned definition that places a particular emphasis on youth. Moreover, my definition of territoriality will show the intricacy behind Dear and Wolch’s simple formulation whilst simultaneously carving a route through the relevant neighbouring ideas such as ‘attachment to place’ or ‘valued environment’ (Brower, 1980; Storper and Scott, 1986. See also Chapter 2).

Based upon the broad potential of the concept of territoriality, my starting point is to see territory as landscape. To define terms:

A landscape is a series of locales, as set of relational places, linked by paths, movements and narratives. It is a ‘natural’ topography perceptually linked to the existential being of the body in societal space. It is a cultural code for living, an anonymous ‘text’ to be read and interpreted, a writing pad for inscription, a scape of and for human praxis, a mode of dwelling and mode of experiencing. It is invested with powers, capable of being organized and choreographed in relation to sectional interests, and is always sedimented with human significances.

Tilley, 1994: 35

Territory and territoriality thus remains a signifying system through which the social is produced and transformed, explored and structured. My starting premise is that territoriality as conceptual ordering that stresses relations and “a concept of place privileges difference and singularity; a concept of landscape is more holistic, acting so as to encompass [as well as] exclude.”(ibid, 1994: 35).

Furthermore, as Marx noted “every social process of production, is at the same time, a process of reproductions” (taken from Wolch and Dear, 1989:8) so issues over definition evolve into how was this process of territoriality spatially (re)produced? My intuition is to see territory as narrative and thereby to fully acknowledge the power of stories I have been told by the young people with whom I was working. The way that I heard “area” spoken of was much like a character in a descriptive account and did seem to be linked to my participant’s emergent youth identities. Areas and spaces seemed to have their own character and, in their estimation, this was how this social practice could transcend local circumstances, thus marking a constant part of the everyday life of each individual and community. At the same time, territoriality, like gender, was personally created, understood and negotiated through individual biography, fantasy and projection (Chodorow, 1995). Space is an actor within this and even more space can act as a solvent for dissolving the differences and interactions between an individual and collective identity. I intend to explore it as a representational/propositional artefact by listening to how the young people I have encountered respond to the places they frequent both as an individual and within self-defined groups.

At the same time, any glib description of youth interaction with space is complicated by the different scales over which human activities operate. Social life does, after all, operate at micro/macro levels and any locale is, therefore, at once a complex synthesis of objects, patterns, and processes derived from the simultaneous interaction of different levels of social process. As Wolch and Dear stressed, territoriality expresses itself through a multi-tiered sequence of events which can telescope and/or collapse into a single dimension many levels and scales of process into a single scale. From a disciplinary perspective, as geographers, the intellectual challenge posed by the need to unravel the complex locale into its constituent elements and processes (Wolch and Dear, 1989:6) is clear, but this must be put in juxtaposition with other equally significant components. Youth researchers have described how in public spaces there was an unconscious and inadvertent timetable. In skate board parks, for instance, researchers in various contexts have noted how truants and older kids (both boys and girls) used it in the early morning and afternoon; school children in the late afternoon and older teenagers and even adults in the evening, creating a temporal social ecology in the same territory (see Collins et al. 2013; L'Aoustet, Griffet, 2001). The various competing temporalities – day of the week; time of day; season; traffic pattern – all hinted at the different social-temporal rhythms that run through young lives. *Youth* territoriality, by definition, describes a particular conjunction of time *and* space since territoriality is focused on *youth*, however, constructed (see next chapter).

1.3. A theory of territorial youth in geographical context

How important then is the ‘youth’ aspect of ‘youth territoriality’? My premise that young people have a particular conception of how space is created; transmitted and enforced amongst themselves

compared to 'adults' and my aim is to find out when, where, why and how this is the case. A response to this must specify a working definition of 'youth' not just in relation to other young people but also to the wider social structure: a vast task in and of itself. Children and young people, after all, are very much a part of our consciousness and "*youth remains a major point of symbolic investment for society as a whole*" (McRobbie 1993: 31, see also Cunningham, 2005; 2012). To paraphrase Donna Haraway, young people are odd boundary creatures and thus have an effect on the stories created and the situated knowledges used to describe them (Haraway, 1991. See next chapter for more details).

In terms of academic scrutiny, it is hard to better Stanley Cohen's analysis of 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics' but what is unprecedented, now, is how the 'Folk Devil' seems to be youth in all their myriad forms (Cohen, 1972, see also Philips et al., 2012). In reaction to this and to find a form of balance, I wish to find nothing out of the ordinary. My research will purposefully focus on the mundane and the everyday. In the words of Howard Davies, the former head of Children Services in Wales, it is noticeable how many times we can accuse:

...youth researchers of being too preoccupied with studying the spectacular, deviant and bizarre. This makes for interesting reading, but distorts the ways in which we understand young people. For we can easily be led into believing the majority are into "resistance through rituals" or "new social movements" or "alternative youth culture".
H. Davies, 2004 (also cited in Rob, 2007:123)

An established research point based around this principle also has to construct a definition that is attuned to specific political and historical positionings without abandoning the search for potent connections between researcher/research participant and space/place. As will be shown in the next chapter, the canon around Children's and Youth geography meets all these criteria. Indeed, I will very deliberately align myself to this tradition whereby geographers have added a great deal of nuance to sociological critiques of essentialised constructions of childhood and/or youth by demonstrating how these constructions vary spatially and temporally (Horton and Kraftl, 2012. See also Hopkins 2007; Holloway and Valentine, 2000:9). In view of that, this doctorate is located within that body of geographical work that has interrogated children and young people's experiences of the spaces within which they live their everyday lives such as the home, school, playground, street etc. (See also Matthews et al. 1998; Beazley, 2004 and Robinson, 2000). I will add to the various contributions that portray the ways in which young people use different social spaces and identities to reveal complex social negotiations as they encounter diverse social action (Shildrick et al.2009). My particular focus on participation, identity and agency will also provide a novel approach that (re)captures the spontaneous, the vital and the everyday encounters between and of young people whilst also stressing the importance of place to youth. In this vein we must acknowledge:

[Young people often have] knowledge of places where dangerous driving, accidents or car theft were likely to occur. Similarly, their knowledge of drugs (who the dealers were, in what places they operated and who were their respective clients) was equally sensitive. They appeared able to

identify 'hot spots' and had developed a complex mental map of 'safe' and 'risky' zones within their neighbourhood. This enabled them to develop an elaborate local micro-geography through which to navigate their communities.

Nayak, 2003: 305

The premise of my project is that young people who are not perpetrators of violence (my 'resisters' and 'desisters': see 1.1.) have to confront the hostility of other teenage groups who occupy local areas where they hang out (Matthews, Limb and Percy Smith, 1997; Woolley et al. 1999; Nairn, McMormack and Liepins, 2000; Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001). In this sense, my participants will self-define since, in one apposite study, Matthews *et al.* tell how:

'hassle' from other, often older 'kids' and fear of assault among the girls and fear of attack and fear of fights of fights among the boys, kept these teenagers to tightly defined areas, where they felt 'safe' and free to do what they wanted

Matthews, et al. 1998:196

My study intends to go further than outlining contesting micro-geographies perhaps by looking upon methods of differentiation as itself a source of identity. The aim is also to show how, as Mathews *et al.* have asserted:

different groups use particular places, such as neighbourhood, to play out identity struggles between self and others...in terms of shared interests, behaviours and circumstances which often give rise to multi-layered micro-geographies co-existing in the same location

Ibid: 52-53

Again, to reiterate, it is the ordinary which I intend to focus on here. The literature on children and young people's geography has matured into a mature confident middle age since Kevin Lynch (1977), Colin Ward (1977) and Roger Hart (1979) completed their pioneering work in observing the experiences of young people in the city. It has evolved an increasingly sophisticated conceptual framework that draws upon a progressively more diverse disciplinary literature (see, for instance Bunge, 1969; Matthews and Limb, 1999). This will get the focus it warrants as will be seen in the next section and does, of course, have a powerful methodological consequence (see Chapter 3 for more details). I believe that the most incisive answers are to found by using a participatory methodology in conjunction with the time honoured ethnographies often used in youth research (see for instance Back, 1997). What this means and how it is to be done will be the focus of a large part of my work.

To summarise, work in geography suggests that young people have a different qualitative knowledge and experience of place. The challenge implicit within Children's Geography is finding out the best manner to harvest and interpret this knowledge whilst also giving due credence to other structural factors (Travlou, 2008).

1.4. Definitions of youth in policy and practice

Young people on the cusp of transition to adulthood have assumed a disproportionate media impact: when you consider how many young people there actually are, their demographic footprint compared to their actual media presence is massively out of proportion (Bennett, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2005).

The young remain an easy target for a great deal of free-floating vitriol: I would go so far as to say that blame for youth 'culture' has replaced overtly racist ideologies as the dominant discourse on race and crime (K.P. Sveinsson 2008)² especially around the new folk devil the 'Chav' (Martin, 2009, Owen, 2011). Within debates about 'Broken Britain' there is sometimes a shrill timbre to political discussions. For instance, the Conservative party affiliated Centre for Social Justice compiled a report on gangs emotively called "Dying to belong" (2009). Despite this, *the Economist* felt obliged to add its own focus on knife crime in the media and noted:

local crises, such as an outbreak of teenage stabbings in London in 2007 and 2008, become national panics, causing fear even in regions where the problem does not exist. And bad news travels best: the fact that London's teenage-murder rate quietly halved last year was not widely reported outside the capital.
(*The Economist*, 4 February, 2010 "Broken Britain: through a glass darkly")

To provide some more historical context, this is hardly new. To illustrate: a survey by the children's charity *Barnados* had found that over half (54%) of a sizeable sample believed that children were "feral" (Barnodos, 2008). Moreover, in the same year *United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child* published a report on the status of the rights of the child and:

'expressed concern at the general climate of intolerance and negative public attitudes towards children, especially adolescents, which appears to exist in the UK, including in the media'³
(**CRC/C/GBR/CO/4, 20 October 2008 Section 24. See also Millar, 2007 and Valentine, 1996**)

If anything, the August riots of 2011 have even accelerated this process. David Cameron diagnosed a "broken" and "sick" society, undermined by the breakdown of two-parent families and the rise of "gang culture" (Gilligan, 2011). Kit Malthouse, the Conservative Deputy Mayor of London with responsibility for policing, blamed the 2011 riots on the now ubiquitous "feral youth" (Sparrow 2011).

² One of the most trenchant critiques of these tropes came from an Irish comedian: "What seems to be the big problem here is that, as far as I can see, England has chosen to ethnicize its young. In this county, they are treated as a tribe apart and described in harsh general terms that drag them all down. Young people commit crime, young people are violent and out of control, old people are frightened of young people. Replace the work 'young' with 'black', or indeed 'Irish', and see how ludicrous and damaging these generalizations are." Dara O'Brian, *Tickling the English*, 2009, 203

³In the mixture of shame and professionalization that has come to typify social policy's interface with young people, Mark Easton, the Home Affairs Editor of the BBC described the situation as "almost as if the social services have arrived and informed us that we aren't being suitable parents". BBC Website accessed 7th January 2010

The apogee of these, at times somewhat neurotic, media representations, would have had to be the contribution by the ostensibly youth expert sixteenth century historian David Starkey bemoaning the influence of black “*gangster culture*” on white youths (Barrett 2011)⁴.

My work is based around confronting these discourses whilst at the same time creating a new knowledge that fully contextualises youth policy and harnesses the expertise of those who work in Youth Services. Nevertheless, I believe that “*territoriality is an important limiting factor in the lives of many young people in deprived areas [but] it's full incidence and scale are still unknown*” (Kintrea et al. 2008: 55) and an initial aim is to at least estimate its full incidence. Territory has long be recognized as a defining resource for social groups, and geographies of gang culture stretch back to US studies from the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Ley and Cybriwsky 1974). I believe it has the potential for an effective youth work intervention.

It is hard to overstate the effect of recent transformations in the youth policy climate though changes can be distilled into two, at times paradoxical dynamics – a need to protect and also to punish. To illustrate: at the nominal start of this project, the New Labour administration had pushed through a legislative programme designed to document all conceivable forms of young people. Until recently, every young person was to be placed on a vast £224 million database accessible to certain professionals (teachers, GPs, senior Youth Workers, etc.) that held the names, ages and addresses of *all* under-18s on a central computerised database, along with the contact details of their parents, schools and GPs for their protection. It was only scrapped because of its price (see the Children Act, 2004. Information Database Regulations, 2007; Wrennall, 2010 and BBC “*Child protection database to be switched off*” Jan 2010). On the other hand, a senior police officer can simply force young people off the streets by issuing a dispersal order – a *de facto* curfew for those under 16 (see section 1C, Crime and Disorder Act, 1998 and the Anti-Social Behaviour Act, 2003; Muncie and Goldson, 2006). And it seems it was ever thus⁵.

There is a challenge of what to do if this is the case. In a development that follows Marx’s aphorism of history repeating itself first as tragedy, then as farce, Andrew Davies (2008) has shown how the British propensity to fear and demonise the young is time-hallowed. His analysis of the ‘*first youth gang*’

⁴ “*The whites have become black. A particular sort of violent destructive, nihilistic gangster culture has become the fashion and black and white boys and girls operate in this language together*” as reported by Ben Quinn in The Guardian, Saturday 13 August 2011. Bearing in mind the comedian’s Dara O’Brien’s comment on the ethnicization of the young, it does appear to be a high tide point of media hysteria.

⁵A mixed, and at times paradoxical approach has been present historically in the legal representation of youth since the pre-amble to the 1933 Children and Young Person Act asked magistrates to “*treat as well as punish*” offenders. (Crime and Disorder Act, 1933, Preamble; Robb, 2007). .

details how in the late Victorian ‘Scuttlers’ caused a strangely familiar media storm. The contemporaneous authority on the issue – Alexander Devine – wrote in his 1890s work *Scuttlers and Scuttling: Their Prevention and Cure* (1890) on how ‘the problem’ was to ‘solved’. The list of causes: poor parenting, lax school discipline; scarce leisure facilities in Manchester and the “*malign influence of sensationalist novels*” is eerily familiar to any Youth Worker today if music/internet is swapped for novels. How does territory get usefully refigured and can history give us any lessons?

My interest lies firmly within tackling this discourse but in attempting to ‘right this wrong’ there is a danger in treating young people as a cartoon mascot of struggle in need of academic inspired emancipation especially after the violence and loss of life after the 2011 riots. It remains safe to assert that young people are deeply sensitive to environment since adolescent life serves as a taste of the kind of society that we may have to deal with in adulthood. It is in my role as a policy researcher at the Runnymede Trust that this aspect becomes especially important. It is in this capacity that I am able to see the influence of legislation and the role of organisations in response and/or defiance of it. These youth led campaigns show that when young people have a platform to voice their opinions, they demonstrate a nuanced understanding of why they and their peers do what they do. Whilst this need to understand does not condone, it does set a context for ensuring that events such as the riots in August do not happen again and lessons can be learnt. It must be worth acknowledging that a way out of this impasse identified here is to enable young people to do the talking and policy makers to listen to them. Still, one must be wary of overstating this awareness. This investigation is thus based around hearing as many young voices as possible before suggesting any policy proposals.

The policy climate – specifically this twin dynamic – to punish and safeguard was important I would argue is significant. Could youth territoriality be boiled down to ‘simple resistance’ against this twin policy aim to (over)police and (under)protect? And what does this mean for refiguring the phenomenon’s negative connotations? It should be stated that much of my voluntary work was based within urban inner-city areas where the young people I spoke to were happy to call it a “ghetto” with varying degrees of irony and self-deprecation. Territoriality, in the incarnation that I am witnessing, might very well be a reaction to a section of the young population pushed to the periphery of social, physical and symbolic space – perhaps finding violent expression within the August riots.

If this is the case, then there are paradoxes: the form of youth spatiality as I first encountered it and what happened during the August 2011 riots in some of the areas I was working in stand in complete contrast as to what I would have expected. There are complex questions to unpick here: how are the actions of the state in local and national terms connected to youth territoriality and what can the state do to ameliorate the situation? Considering the government is instituting a ‘National Citizen Service’

under the statutory and policy umbrella of the 'Big Society' to inculcate an alternative sense of identity, this is more than an abstract question: since institutional impetus has been invested in the form of a new taskforce divided between Cabinet Office and the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS), the issue is being taken seriously. Are the government's actions here doomed to failure since an appreciation of the complexities of the problem doesn't seem apparent? Can a modern 'National Service' create a form of identity that is more sympathetic to a positive future?

Ultimately, the definition of youth used here is one taken from my professional/vocational standpoint. Consequently, there are various discourses with which to recognise, negotiate or subvert. Submerged within much of youth policy as a social intervention is an implicit utopian ideal – a view that that what exists is not the full expression of human potential and somehow “something should be done”. Indeed, Hugh Cunningham has identified a rescue narrative that wants to save young people from themselves that is well over a hundred years old and includes ostensibly noble actors like the NSPCC (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) as a notable protagonist (Cunningham, 2010). My research aim is based upon recognising this and manoeuvring around this discourse to investigate a group of young people who function socially and spatially with little or no adult supervision and come up with their own solutions to the problems they see as significant.

1.5. A critical research framework

My research framework, as a consequence of the above, starts from a critical geographical approach and so somewhat remains a “self-consciously oppositional enquiry; [a form of]scholarship that seeks to unmask power, demonstrate inequality, uncover resistance and foster emancipator politics” (Blomley, 2009: 123). I would argue that within my emphasis on young people, my positioning as social/policy researcher and Youth Worker, there is scope for a substantive focus upon representations and discourses, particularly the ways in which these discourses sustain and legitimize power and relations and social injustices in diverse geographical contexts. Indeed, my aims align with Kraftl et al. view of 'critical geographies of childhood and youth' (2012:4), and as such my study will analyse how geographical processes matter within youth policy formulation; it will consider how policies 'take place' through professional practice and young people's own agency and explore the (artificial?) division between the theoretical and applied. The test will see how particular spaces and geographical contexts can effectively (re)produce particular power relations and inequalities and how particular social and political practices produce spatialities and are lived out in everyday spaces.

As will be shown, this cannot be traduced into a simple dichotomy of 'adults' with power versus young people. Paul Watt and Kevin Steinson's (1998) study of South Asian, African Caribbean and white youth in a small town in the South East of England proves that a critical approach can and should include

young people within its remit. Their inquiry points to the way in which ethnic tensions served to divide areas of the town, making them 'safe' or 'risky' for certain youth. In this context, the town centre became a contested space for young people although this was mitigated to some extent by social connections and interracial relationships. The implication is that discourses around territory could be linked into analyses of ethnicity and community as well as place and belonging that should not always or just be targeted at adults with 'power' but at various forms of young people as well.

Furthermore, my objective is to do something different from previous studies and ask how territoriality affects those who do not use violence "*as a form of leisure in circumstances where there is a lack of legitimate leisure pursuits*" (Kintrea, 2010; see also Katz, 1988 and Suzuki, 2007). I intend to identify the extent to which the *avoidance* of conflict can be used to construct identities and foster intra-group solidarity. Within this, though, there are still other questions to answer: what are the limits of sociability in this respect? How are these embodied identities created and sustained?

Ultimately, I do not introduce territoriality as a novel theorisation; nor a codified empirical concept and not even an ethical imperative to justify political intervention. My aim is to rebuild it as a compositional concept and see how a definition of it as "*a social system through which control is claimed by one group over defined geographical area*" (Kintrea, 2008:4) can be fruitfully theoretically extended.

1.6. The Research Challenge

The investigation is designed to incorporate various interlocking phases of research to directly confront the epistemological challenge of comprehending something as elusive as youth territoriality.

Within the first part of this study, I will be looking at how those who worked on the street perceived it. To do this, the next chapter (Chapter 2) sketches the relevant literature that measures the importance of place in youth context and describes the various youth practices that are relevant here. Accordingly, it covers a range of different disciplines – cultural studies, sociology, environmental science, and of course, the awkwardly adolescent sub-discipline of children and young people’s geography. I will outline the benefits from each with a mind to explain how this past research bears on the framing of my topic and show how my specific research questions emerged and could add to these literatures.

After this I will describe my methodology in Chapter 3; a novel one that fully acknowledges the potential and compromises generated by working with young people (Jupp, 2007) and the research practices that had to evolve as a response. In keeping my research aims in mind, this meant a mixed methodology. To echo many (for instance Solomos and Back, 1996), it has often been acknowledged that there is a gap between values and social circumstances (see also Irwin, 2006:7). To bridge this divide it was useful to think of context and the different approaches to accessing it. My argument echoes Irwin’s in outlining how:

We can draw on different data sources to reveal the importance of context in diverse constructions of difference...and social belonging
Irwin, 2006:7

Accordingly, this section revisits the research objectives and puts them into methodological context; it situates the theoretical and analytical outline for the various forms of data used; describes the research design and finally establishes the investigative foundation for the following empirical chapters. It also juxtaposes this against the differing positionalities relevant here – my roles as a Youth Worker, as a policy researcher and of course, as an academic. I had, by working in a number of different institutions, already developed some comprehension and interpretation of the issue. Nonetheless, my research strategy starts by exploiting the expertise of Youth Service professionals to structure the question of how to study youth territoriality whilst also expanding my own professional appreciation of the issue. I interviewed 12 youth provision ‘stakeholders’ across the youth services continuum that translated into on-going discussions with 5 organisations (City YMCA; the Islington Youth Services; the Metropolitan Police; Arsenal football club and ‘the Athenians’ a Basketball club based in East London). I discovered what they thought the issues were; how they viewed my research questions; what

answers they thought I would generate and, what would be the best way to enable young people to participate? This provides the first part of my methodology and the rest of my work moves closer to what different young people say and did.

Next, Chapter 4 moves closer to young people and introduces the 'street representations' that were actually used, constructed and mobilised by young people I encounter. I present a case study⁶ analysis as a way of expressing Gluckman's statement about how "one good case study can illuminate the working of a social system in a way that serious of morphological statements cannot achieve" (Gluckman, 1961:9). I concentrate on my chosen case study sample of young people (a basketball team) and depict their experience of territoriality, through a focus group and then subsequent waves of individual interviews. In this sense, this is a situational and spatial analysis that uses the actions of individuals and groups within these situations to exhibit the morphology of a social structure (J. C. Mitchell, 1983). My reasoning here is threefold: first, I want to address the overemphasis on structural types of youth analysis – '*the NEET and tidy pathways*' critique (S. Roberts, 2011) and focus on the optative in which the choice of actors is given its due weight. Second, I would argue that my object of analysis is more than a 'culture' or 'subculture' of which the events studied might be considered samples but is, in fact, a social process which may be abstracted from the details analysed. For these reasons, a case study was by far the most efficient way of organising data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied. Only by paying heed to what all parties tell me, will I ensure that I finish with an account that has resonance for youth service workers, police officers, Youth Workers and of course young people. I list the norms my stakeholder participants thought important, the markers they believed significant and the practices critical to their understanding of territoriality as a social construction. Based on these findings, my next stage was a wider macro-social level survey of 430 young people in areas that the professionals had previously stated were affected by territoriality. To re-emphasise the re-iterative nature of this project, I will conclude Part One by presenting the result of a focus group with some of the participants of the survey.

Chapters 5 and 6 concludes the empirical part of my account and in accessing implicit knowledges that my participants possessed, I shifted closer to understanding 'what happens on the street'. I use a number of different methods – visual, technological and participatory GIS - in a way that emphasised navigation, mobility and spatial calculation. Within this framework, I will show how drawings, photos and spatial diaries can establish the 'taken-for-granted' aspects of territorial practice.

⁶ I use the phrase in an anthropological sense which as a working definition characterizes it "*as a detailed examination of an event (or series of events which the analyst believes exhibits (or exhibit) the operation of some identified general theoretical principle*" (J.C. Mitchell, 2006:26).

The seventh chapter deals most directly with the question of re-inventing territoriality by placing the case-studies in dialogue with each other. It, by refining the major findings of the previous chapters, delineates the main questions that institutions will have to answer if territoriality is ever be re-interpreted to more inclusionary effect.

1.7. Positionalities in research context

My tri-partite overlapping approach (see figure below) has other manifestations. Since I collected data via my three roles of Youth Worker, policy researcher and of course social researcher, this will have a clear impact on how I interpret my findings (see section 1.5 and Chapter 7 for the clearest delineation of this). What will be quickly apparent is how my various overlapping research questions (see 1.1) are linked to these fluid roles and positionalities.

So how do I unpack my role as Youth Worker, policy researcher and academic? What is the best way to analyse each positioning separately; in relation to each to other and collectively in order to make even clearer the reasons for my methodology? It is a corollary that each function has a different purpose in mind for any data collected and differing ways of engaging with it in terms of length and goal: data can mean very different things to each one and have varying epistemological repercussions (see table below).

| Researcher views on policy/front-line | Policy views on research | Front-line staff views on research |
|---|--|--|
| Need to balance short, medium and long term engagement with data and participants | | |
| Largely not interested in theory Favors quick and dirty Too concerned with 'spin' or good news stories Don't know how to use research Overly focused on the pragmatic | Too academically orientated Too slow and & not timely in producing results Unaware of their pressure for results Too often doesn't give clear policy implications | Too distant/based within the fabled 'Ivory Towers' What can they tell that front line staff doesn't already know? Not speaking their language Too often doesn't give clear practical implications |

Adapted from Dawson and Williams: 2009

Table 1
A spectrum of positionalities

Indeed, each role does have a different relation to power and knowledge as well as to young people. It is also a given that conducting research in different institutional contexts requires an awareness of and sensitivity to the ways in which the values, behaviours and attitudes of those within the institution influence how research takes place. The most obvious manifestation of this is the way research encounters power relations work to empower particular individuals and disempower others (Hopkins, 2010: 196).

As a corollary of this, young people have traditionally been seen, with some justification, as amongst those disempowered. To this end, Youth Workers, ostensibly, are well used to the idea that adults should research 'with' children and young people rather than 'on' them (Christensen and James, 2003, Cairns, 2001 and Christensen and Prout, 2002). Indeed, standard youth work practice has a clear participatory focus (see section below for more details).

However, this spectrum of roles does also allow me the luxury of being able to see my different roles under different conceptual lens. In this manner, in policy advocacy terms Youth Workers are fixed in the role of researcher as mediator between adult worlds and young people's worlds, taking on a least

adult identity (Mandell, 1988). Nevertheless, embedded within youth work are certain policy discourses that need their own individual focus.

1.7.1. What kind of youth? What kind of space?

This is not to suggest that my role as a Youth Worker is an unalloyed good in policy or academic terms. At its best though, youth work *can* be socially situated, ethically aware and participatory. In addition to which a Youth Worker has the capacity to fulfil the criteria needed to fully inhabit a privileged researcher position (Hopkins, 2010) as a matter of routine professional practice. It is a profession already well used to not imposing its own perceptions on young people; to ensuring issues of validity and reliability are dealt with or/and countered by a long relationship to our participants; to using a form of language that young people are comfortable with; to working in areas young people which are not adult spaces. This did lead to certain interesting avenues as, at times, I found myself talking in a way that they would expect. I did actually notice my accent changing in fit into the Multi-Cultural London English that seems to be the vernacular for a certain type of London youth (Cheshire and Kerswill, 2011). There is an argument that the creation of a lingua franca amongst young Londoners, at least in part, constitutes their growth as a separate community as linguistic differentiation is a socio-spatial marker of identity (Sherry, 2011) with implications as to whether they are a 'subculture' (see 2.2.2).

Nevertheless, I did end up seeing the same 'type' of young person. Work could quite easily devolve into supervising or managing leisure activities in the only areas that were cheap and/or easily accessible for socio-economically deprived young people to congregate. Even then, there was often a view amongst participants and Youth Workers that this wasn't an area for middle class youth. Indeed, looking at the circuit around the Barbican it is striking to note that 12 of the 20 sites I visited were in or around council estates even though Islington, despite its concentrated pockets of deprivation, is essentially middle class (see previous section). The youth work provision was aimed at those with little or no other choice meaning roughly the same 'type' of young people, or more accurately, young people from the same broad socio-economic bracket attended. Questions like this go right to the heart of youth work – are you focusing on *all* youth or merely those that are burdened by circumstances with ostensibly a more transient or precarious starting point – the 'bad kids'? There is sometimes an unspoken assumption that every 'unattached' young person must, by definition, be 'maladjusted', 'a problem', 'anti-social', or just 'difficult', or at least not fully capable of filling in their own leisure time in other constructive ways. This is not even talking into account those:

who rejected their local youth clubs because the services were so inadequate that only the maladjusted could have enjoyed or tolerated them...However, the vast majority of unattached youth contacted...were in neither category...they would scorn membership of any kind of organised youth service.

Morse,1965:74

Moreover, one way of beginning to distinguish work with young people in their communities from other forms of neighbourhood and community development is to consider which communities it targets. Policy often seems to be based on a deficit model of poor communities, with the same vision of ‘community’ or ‘neighbourhood’ as both the problem and the solution, though now recast in a neo-liberal context that has turned away from larger scale state action and systemic change (Rob, 2007: 136). This perhaps finds its apogee within the somewhat incoherent idea of the Prime Minister David Cameron’s “Big Society” (Kisby, 2010).

The challenge was to create a methodology that recognised this and, yet sidestepped the negative implications, was my aim here. As stated in the introduction, I was not targeting those self-proclaimed or state-described ‘bad boys or girls’ (Gunter & Watt, 2009; Gunter, 2010). Whilst my role as a Youth Worker has given me the skills to work with a variety of young people, I will be focusing on a self-consciously different recruitment policy.

1.7.2. What kind of Youth Worker: Professionalism and professional identity

It does appear that the various categories (youth, young person space and even my research positions), tend to break into more and more complex components the more they are analysed. The role of the Youth Worker is no different. Butters and Newell (1975) traced three major approaches to the practice in terms of: character building, the social education repertoire and self-emancipation (cited in Bamber, 2000:5). There have been some clear-cut and pejorative distinctions made between them (see Bamber and Murphy, 1999 for an outline of the main dividing lines).

A different way of conceptualising the matter is as a developmental process starting with a focus on the individual, evolving into group formation, consolidation and growth and perhaps culminating in the group effecting change for itself one way or another (Williamson, 2009). Leaving aside matters of detail, I conceive the link between the different strands of youth work as based my belief that:

the dominant ethos in youth work is one of ‘process’ rather than ‘outcome’.
This does not mean that outcomes are not achieved but that they cannot be prefigured
Spence, 2004: 265.

In an important respect, this follows the historical origins of work with young people which were invariably based on the principle of voluntary work – a relationship the emergence of the state sector and creation of a variety of specialist roles made problematic. The question of professional status has become more acute. What it is to be a ‘professional’? Is this professional identity changing? How important is the professional ‘label’ and how relevant is it to work with young people?⁷ (Robb, 2009).

⁷ To a certain extent, this question does not seem less apparent after the change in government in 2010. The creation and eventual dissolution this year of the representative non-departmental public body (NDPB) called the

It is no coincidence that street-based youth work has grown significantly in recent years; an influx of new professional partnerships has borrowed from and become involved in this work. The contemporary policy and practice landscape encourages a much wider range of professionals than previously to become involved in this work and there has been a significant shift away from longer term, area based projects towards short term work with particular high risk groups or on particular issues (Crimmens, . et al., 2004). Projects based around sexual health or curbing drinking are usually the norm but for instance, while young women at risk of getting pregnant might be targeted, *“preventing pregnancy cannot be a predetermined outcome”*. (Spence, 2004: 264) Indeed, if as Spence contends, that relationships in this area of work depend on trust, authenticity and working from the young person’s own starting point, such a narrow emphasis on targets can be actively damaging.

In my experience, the frustrations of practitioners who believe that, as their work is primarily relational, this form of evaluation, via targets, does not capture the real quality of what they do, is often clear and tangible. I remained very conscious of this and it informed my choice to remain a volunteer so that I could literally ignore the administrative burden to a much greater extent than my co-workers.

This was only possible since I was not ‘only’ a Youth Worker but an academic and policy researcher: an example of how my accumulated positionalities are greater than the sum of their parts. It was, in my mind also possible to use academic connections to get access to political, social and research agencies that have the cachet to achieve ‘change’: much like the situation described in the previous section within my work at YICSB. My aim was to provide ballast to each of my different roles by engendering a focus on ‘practice’; of actively working with young people and seeing someone change their expectations of what they are capable as well as trying to change views of the potential of various institutions.

1.7.3. What kind of scholar?

Still, within this talk as a practitioner, my role as an academic is more than an addendum to my functions as a Youth Worker. As such scholarship here needs its own separate consideration since my role as a Youth Worker provides balance to my actions as a scholar (and the reverse is also true). In this vein, youth work stands in stark contrast to academic research: after all, completing a PhD in social research is a lonely activity. A narrative of pursuing ‘your own original contribution’ can make for a research process in which the student is shielded from the influence of others with the exception of

Children’s Workforce Development Council has eroded the urgency of some of this issue. Nevertheless, the rise of professional youth work qualifications has meant the pressure to professionalise is ever more apparent.

their supervisors, relatively routine: an unusual situation when the focus is on people. It is here that my professional/vocational focus on participants becomes invaluable.

Nevertheless, solely within the confines of pedagogy, operating at different stages of knowledge and practice does raise the question of what type of scholar do I wish to be? In an interesting and influential publication, Boyer dares to question the priorities of the professoriate by highlighting the different ways in which academics engage with knowledge. Within this he describes four interlocking categories:

- **Discovery:** knowledge for its own sake fashioned in a disciplinary way, where ever that may lead. The focus is on what is known and what still is to be known rather than on what the findings mean.
- **Integration:** this emphasises context, and connections that helps those as academics focus on problems rather than stay situated within disciplines. The focus here is on interpretation: fitting data into larger intellectual patterns.

The difference between the first category and the second is a subtle one but perhaps best encapsulated by the understanding:

Those engaged in discovery ask, "What is to be known, what is yet to be found?". Those engaged in integration ask, "What do these findings mean? Is it possible to interpret what has been discovered in ways that provide a larger, more comprehensive understanding?"
Boyer, (1990:19)

The other two are:

- **Application:** moves from investigation and synthesis and suggests that individuals take responsibility for taking action on issues they observe. What are the implications for the applications proposed? How and when can knowledge be applied to consequential problems?
- ...and finally, **Teaching/advocacy and promoting good practice.** This is where the academic both educates and 'excites' future students/policy professionals: there is an element of advocacy within this strand. (Boyer, 1990: 19-29)

My decision of which form of scholar I am and why, will be, as a direct corollary of this, based on the category I am trying to fulfil in each circumstance (see table 6 a graphical explanation of this).

1.7.4. Policy research from an academic foundation

As stated in my introduction (see 1.3), I am also a policy researcher working under the auspices of the Runnymede Trust. The Runnymede Trust remains perhaps the UK's leading independent race equality think-tank. It generates intelligence for a multi-ethnic Britain through research, network building and leading debate and policy engagement. Within this research incarnation, I remain one of the growing

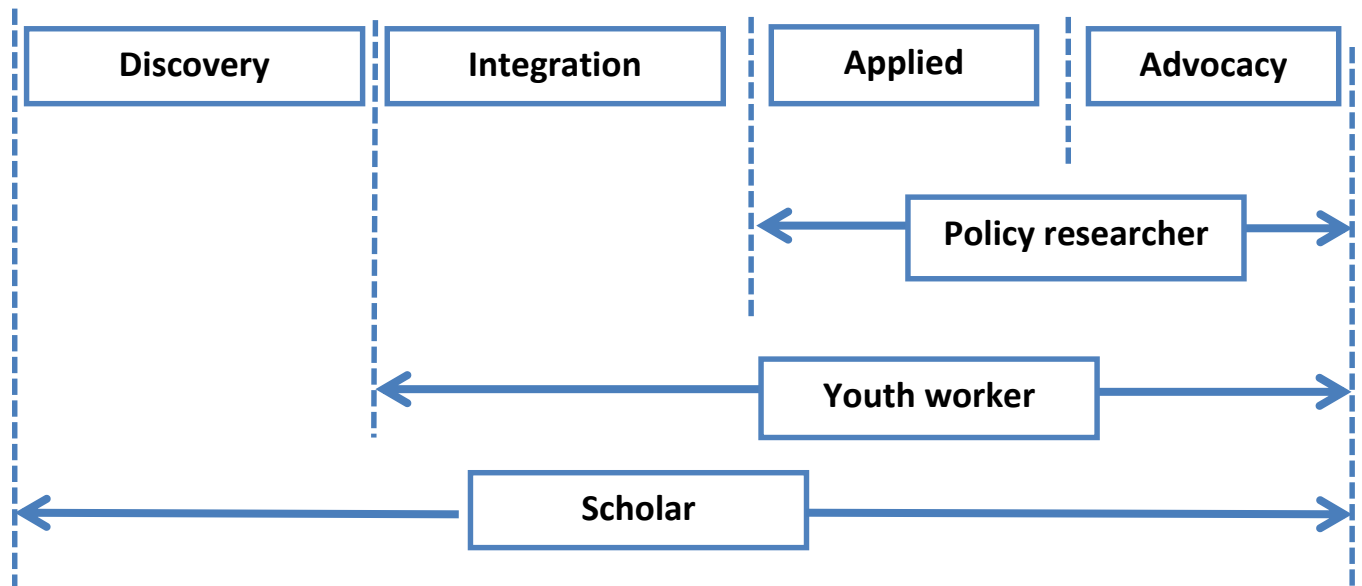
numbers of PhD researchers in human geography in the UK cofounded by public, private or voluntary sector agencies. This stands as eloquent testimony to the potential for close integration of theory and policy, as well as a healthy sign of the relevance and influence of human geography (Demerit and Lees, 2005). Not to suggest that policy and academia stand at opposite sides, nevertheless, the Runnymede trust, as a policy think-tank does have a certain way of perceiving issues. There is typically a definition of the problem; an analysis of the roots of it; suggested change and interventions and an outline of the desired outcome. It also enshrines a theory of change: a conceptualisation of what is 'wrong' and how to change it.

The fact that the Runnymede is a think-tank also adds lustre to any academic theory presented. It can mean contributions to policy debates using the language of, for example, 'gangs', 'Broken Britain' or 'community', offering opportunities for social geographers to challenge particularly vague and/or politically expedient conceptualisations (Morrison, 2006)⁸.

It here, at this juncture, a shift away from the mental, budgetary and professional burdens of practice becomes useful. As suggested before, looking at issues purely under the aegis of youth-work does not naturally lead to a critical analysis of the social and public policy context. Insights such as how a focus on area within youth policy could have unintended consequences, might be missed. Indeed, poor neighbourhoods as a site for invention and change may lead to a general acknowledgement (found in policy documents) that socially excluded areas need more of everything: more resources, more services, more help from professionals, more facilities and more opportunities. Yet these very same kinds of targeted interventions can also be understood as problematizing and policing the behaviour and values of the communities they were set up to serve (Gilles, 2005) such as the focus on stop and search that was the subject of YICSB survey. Indeed, as a rhetorical aside, why the focus on 'youth' in 'youth work'? Why, if young people were seen as fully actualized agentic politicized subjects why weren't there any 'adult workers'?

⁸ See for instance the Runnymede publications, **Rethinking 'Gangs' Gangs, Youth Violence and Public Policy** by Claire Alexander or **Who Cares about the White Working Class?** or **A Tale of Two Englands - Race' and Violent Crime in the Press** both by Kjartan Sveinsson

Table 2: positionalities in context



The different forms of knowledge using Boyer's taxonomy describing my different positionalities

1.7.5. A synthesis of positionalities and politics

There is a political point enshrined within these overlapping positionalities. As Barrett et al. (2002) reflect from their experiences of acting as consultants on rural development serving the 'community':

begs the question as to who the community is? [G]etting something done is not the same thing as effecting meaningful change [since] it may rather serve to reproduce existing problems and power relations

Barrett, Storey and Yarwood, 2002: 325-26

Leaving aside the question of 'what community?', if my research is to be used as a catalyst for any variation in local youth policy, then it would seem apposite to have a multi-faceted appreciation of the circumstances I am critiquing. Indeed, the ability to see events within an alternative theoretical framework has been invaluable in contextualising the August Riots. Within the sound and fury of comment, that the riots generated, I would hope accounts like mine could provide a theoretically sophisticated, empirically referenced counterpoint. An ability to see various aspects of the issue simultaneously, I believe, is invaluable⁹.

⁹"It seems for more likely that it is under the dynamic tension of these intersecting roles that young people could be studied for and in themselves, not simply as a means of understanding the adult world, or of addressing its concerns; and that researchers should be attentive to the peculiarities and specificities of individual childhoods as geographically, historically and socially situated" (Prout, 2005;67 see also section 2.2.1)

This is not to suggest that the relationship will necessarily be straightforward. As Rachel Pain has recognised, some have argued that being an activist, no matter what relationship with policy this might entail, conflicts and compromises 'real' academic endeavour. I would follow her conclusion that:

There is no inevitable conflict between these roles, the performance of which often does not involve discrete actions or spaces.

Pain, 2009:253

Nevertheless, I must admit this situation is where being the 'best' is the enemy of being 'better': focusing on being the best in one role can mean a lack of focus on the others. My compromise has been superbly conceptualised under the name 'Negative capability' described by the poet Keats (1817)¹⁰ as the ability to tolerate incomplete understanding and mystery. The suggestion is that negative capability can create an intermediate space that enables one to continue to think in difficult situations. Where positive capability supports 'decisive action', negative capability supports 'reflective inaction', that is, the ability to resist dispersing into defensive routines when leading at the limits of one's knowledge, resources and trust (R. French, 2001).

There is an organizational challenge to meet here. The development of negative capability is problematic in the context of different and potentially conflicting societal and organizational cultures dominated by control and performativity: but it can also provide a defense against them.

In summary, the idea is to unite all positionalities into a single coherent methodology that still displays the advantages of each locus of my work. Youth territoriality as an issue only became apparent to me because of my role as a Youth Worker; it was as a policy researcher that I realized its importance and it was as a researcher that I was able to use the theoretical tools and the time to analyse it. Often *"theory is...viewed as the great antithesis of useful, policy-relevant, engaged, applied research"* (Beale, 2006: 219). Indeed, the divide between 'theory' and 'policy relevance' is been overplayed. In order to move beyond a simple binary of youth agency and/or exploitation, I will detail the major intersections of power relations between young people, academics and youth services.

1.8. A summary

In summary, I have presented the large variety of approaches, assumptions and starting points upon which my analysis will be founded. To list them, there remains different forms of territoriality ("*terrare*" and "*terra*" – section 1.2) to consider; an established academic tradition to challenge and extend (section 1.3) and a policy climate in which to situate any emerging analysis (section 1.4).

My data collection and analysis, consequently starts from a critical viewpoint (section 1.5) that will investigate the forms of representation and practice (1.6) upon which territoriality is founded. By

¹⁰ In a letter to his brothers, he described it as a "*state in which a person is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason.*"(Keats, 1970: 43)

placing it within a case study approach (1.7), the contingency and specificity of youth territoriality can be better appreciated and the outputs of research can be easily aligned to the various positionalities (1.8) I think important. In this manner, I will show how a theoretically innovative work that has empirical tangibility and pragmatic and achievable policy outputs can be realised through an ambitious, sophisticated and reiterative research strategy. Ultimately, I want to show three perspectives on youth territoriality in London: two refined and triangulated around the views of Youth Workers and 'ordinary' young people and another based around a different type of young person who were, for various reasons, able to embody a positive 'terra' form of territoriality.

On this basis of this version, my outlook is optimistic since I believe that with deeper understanding, territory - a socio-spatial resource currently mobilised to fuel social tensions and violence - may hold the possibility of reinvention, whereby future youth identities and cultures move beyond the existing divisions and violence that are so frequently publicised. Following other innovative work with young people, I would suggest that it is near impossible to do this without considering the structuring dynamics of locality, class, gender, age and ethnicity in creating a plastic young adult identity within a specifically London context (see Giddens, 1999; Furlong, 1993; Hopkins, 2013).

Chapter 2

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to provide a bridge between the premises around which my work is founded (see Chapter 1) and what will be an innovative participatory methodology (see Chapter 3). Accordingly, I wish to achieve a number of things. Firstly, to present my understanding of various important terms - territoriality; youth territoriality and youth. In exploring these terms, I will exhibit the typical discursive restraints within which they are used with a mind to (partially) reversing them in a manner that fully embodies the 'critical' standards I set myself in the previous chapter (sections 2.1. to 2.3). On the basis of this, I present where this work is located within the study of Children and Youth Geographies and Youth Geographies in particular. Lastly, I will, on the basis of these understandings show how youth work provides a well-developed and accomplished set of concepts and philosophies to understand territoriality from the perspective of my participants and where and how it could be productively disrupted (section 2.5).

To return to the question of a definition of territoriality, at this stage, I will follow Sack's description of territoriality as *"the attempt to affect, influence or control actions and interactions (of people, things and relationships) by asserting and attempting to enforce control over a geographic area"* (Sack, 1981). I am aware that even this broad compromised definition is not uncontroversial even though it contains the common component within the term, specifically the defence of 'area'¹¹. Still within this fertile area of debate, there is opportunity. As one early commentator asserted, the myriad uses of the term territory and the practices based around it show:

...the value of territoriality as a broad and flexible framework by which diverse findings of a large corpus of multidisciplinary research can be synthesised and integrated. Certainly it is research from which geographers have much to gain and to which they have much to contribute, given the focus on such issues as attachment to place, valued environments, the role of space in social organisation, and territories as frameworks for activity patterns.

Gold, 1982:59

¹¹ The Oxford English Dictionary calls territoriality "A pattern of human behavior characterized by aggressive defense or protection of an area, sphere of activity or influence, etc., against others."

Territoriality, within this research project, is a term that personifies the way in which young people use a strategy that determines differential access to people, things and relationships within an overarching system of rules of order and intricate locational cum spatial processes. To link this basic premise with the characterisations of territoriality mentioned earlier (see section 1.2) is to acknowledge the theoretical richness of the term. It provides a sophisticated and productive basis upon which to push forward discussion – especially on issues of power and politics - particularly on defensible space and what one commentator evocatively called *'the politics of turf'* (K. Cox, 1989).

Secondly, based upon a need to justify much of Chapter 3 and the various forms of data analysis that rest on it (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) I will give a more in-depth analysis of the interconnections between young people/Youth Workers and Youth Workers/researchers. Founded upon this investigation, I will show how and when, precisely, a certain version of professional community work forms a solid theoretical and empirical standpoint stand point from which territoriality can be reconsidered. Further, I would argue that this perspective must be usefully harnessed to find the concepts, arguments and perspectives around which territoriality can be first understood, (re)interpreted and refigured. A *'more than useful'* analysis of youth territoriality (Horton & Kraft, 2005) will place the social phenomenon within its proper (critical) policy context and also answer how far is territoriality something that only a Youth Worker would notice? And what should be the reaction if this is the case? To answer this, there will have to be a position taken on the question of how does academic research translate to policy research as well? The form of interaction contained within this very particular form of youth work provides a way of segmenting space and time into something that can wholly refigure various versions of territoriality (see Davies, 2012 and the discussion of the National Citizens Service in Chapter 7).

My review of the literature must also be seen in conjunction with my research aims. To remind the reader, these are:

- Are young people territorial? If so, which young people, when and where?
- What is their experience of territoriality? *How* and why are young people territorial?
- To what extent can and do young people resist or reconstitute conventional or dominant understandings of territoriality? How and can this model be reconstituted?

2.1. 1 Territory and territoriality

At this stage, a division must be made between both territory and the practices that are associated with it (territoriality) that create those spatial “constellations of relations and meaning” (Pickles, 1985) that I am also researching. Indeed, ‘territoriality’ is and remains a geographical phrase. It refers to

both a quality of space and yet also of space itself (Hills, 2006). My use of the word is intended to show how:

Place...often becomes the locus of exclusionary practices. People connect a place with a particular identity and proceed to defend it against the threatening outside with its different identities.

Cresswell, 2009: 176 taken from Tomeney, 2013: 301

Indeed, within the literature, the closest description was Bernard Poche's definition of it as the "*spatial extension of the material world elements on which a group defines itself*" (1986:2 my own translation). His stress on the relationship of space to territory also provides the basis of my understanding of the term since it stresses that territoriality does not describe a geography but a topology. Accordingly, it is not governed by geometric distances but by contiguities and breaches that incorporate symbolic dimensions and plateaus of ordinary everyday life. His incarnation of how social distance, symbolic violence, memory significance can arrange, organise and explain territory. The power of his approach was the manner in which it allowed me to link remote spaces and erect frontiers between neighbouring places: a template around which to base my research.

My determination is to craft a more situated and contextual (rather than abstract and universal) definition of territoriality. The literature suggests emphasising 'place' here since:

People continue to construct some sort of boundaries around their places, however permeable, and to be grounded in local socio-natural practices, no matter how changing and hybridized those grounds and practices might turn out to be'

Escobar, 2001: 147

Moreover, this focus on 'place' must be targeted at directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world and hence on meanings, real objects, on-going activities and intensions (Relph, 1976: 141) as well as on dwelling as well as movement (Burawoy, 2000). Considering this, my definition will have to tolerate the parochial formation of local attachments as a complex process drawing on at times contradictory influences including:

periphery/centre relations, marginalization, stereotypic images of a people/community, both of "us" and "them", actual/invented histories, utopias and diverging arguments on the identification of people'

Paasi, 2003: 477.

2.2. A Scholarly survey of territoriality, power and space

In theoretical terms, defining territoriality and situating it within the various ways of conceiving space is a formidable task. It is a feature of the literature that any scholarly classification of territories tends to accord to a superstructure that gradates the type of occupancy with the degree of control (see Brower, 1965, 1980 or Altman, 1975). In this vein, a summative evaluation of how others have used it

would call it as a form of taxonomy based around “an egocentric hierarchy of bounded space” (Stea, 1965; Lyman, Goffman, 1971; Goodey, 1971; Soja, 1971; Porteous, 1977). Yet outlining the competing and complementary ways in which various scholars have described territoriality and its related terms remains a massive research task that generates no coherent consensus. Hall states that “the act of laying claim and defending territory is called territoriality” (Hall, 1959:187) and Shils saw territory as “a meaningful aspect of social life, whereby individuals define their scope of their obligations the identity of themselves and others” (Shils, 1975:26). Foucault’s description of territory as “[t]he area controlled by a certain power”(Foucault, 1980:68) has been extended immeasurably to provoke a rich and evolving politico-geographical take on territoriality (e.g. “a strategy which uses bounded space in the exercise of power and influence” Johnson, 1996: 871. See also Sack, 1986; Karrholm, 2007). This is not to even touch upon the dense metaphysical conceptualisations of ‘territorialisation’, ‘re-territorialisation’ and ‘territorial assemblages’ that Deleuze coined (1972; see also Parr, 2010) . At its most basic all agree territoriality is a means by which X can affect, influence, or control Y (Wolch and Dear, 1989) on a scale that encompasses a range from personal distances to the spatial arrangements of cities and regions, and the flows of people, goods and ideas among them (Sack,1980).

And yet the theory of territoriality stated in the first chapter – the idea that territory is essentially “humanly differentiated geographical space” p1, (Dear and Wolch, 1989: 1) is too wide to have any easy empirical research traction. An overview of the literatures shows the idea of space and place has been subject to what has been called an:

unreflexive ‘churning’ of spatial turns [that] any form, of a single dimension of sociospatial relations, scalar or otherwise [into] short intellectual product life cycles for key sociospatial concepts, limiting opportunities for learning through theoretical debate, empirical analysis, and critical evaluation of such concepts

Jessop et al. 2008: 389

In describing the abstractions within my definition of territoriality, there do appear a number of poles to navigate around: from ensuring my construction of territoriality is internally coherent; from avoiding the overextension of the territorial metaphors to finally ensuring that my trawl of the relevant literatures “*condenses into a rigorously demarcated research strategy*” (ibid. 390). Foremost amongst these challenges is locating territoriality within the four distinct spatial lexicons developed by social scientists over the last thirty years: territory, place, scale, and network (Dicken et al, 2002 and 2001; Paasi, 2004; Sheppard, 2002).

The march of relatively distinct debates on territory, place, scale, and network (or a TPSN framework) reflects differences in research object, shifts in relative emphases and varying historical contexts behind these spatial intellectual fashion cycles. As Jessop et al. highlighted:

[a] great deal of sociospatial theory is concerned with fine-tuning and applying conceptual tools associated with one or another 'turn' rather than with exploring the mutually constitutive relations among those categories and their respective empirical objects"(2004).

ibid: 391

By advocating territoriality, I am not focusing on one single dimension of spatial relations neglecting the role of others: a so called '*flat ontology*' that focuses on a single aspect as an exclusive basis for socio-spatial investigations (Jones et al, 2007; Marston et al, 2005). I am, rather, using it as a means to base my adoption of a '*site-based ontology*' (Marston et al., 2005) that enshrines a multidimensional, variegated account based on multiple concurrent and competing dimensions of socio-spatial relations (Jessop et al. 2008). In other words, in establishing my epistemological starting point, I will underline the research context (see next chapter). It, for the sake of comprehension, starts with territory but when and where necessary includes place, scale and networks including the whole TPSN framework but it is based on reflecting the ingenuity of my participants and not my own - in line with my participatory commitment and wish to scrutinise territoriality as lived experience.

In the same vein, and linking my account with other dynamics within human geography, my definition of territoriality will be 'liberal' in the sense described by Hannah and Strohmayer of being founded upon the belief "that there are serious problems plaguing modern western societies [but] do not believe that the socio-economic or cultural contexts in [young people] find themselves need to be radically transformed or overthrown" (2001:382). In part this is based on my professional positioning and in part on my belief that if there is a need for dramatic transformation on the part of young, then young people should be the ones who instigate and implement it (see section 2.4)

2.2.1. Territoriality and power

A further impetus to when and to what extent the social construction of territory derives from some form of authority relations. As implied in the first chapter, territoriality provides a certain instance of power relations – a micro physics of power. My participants talked of being 'rushed' and this alluded to a form of discipline based upon surveillance but only if one was caught but was mirrored by a desire to transgressively 'represent' and show presence (see 1.1). It did also imply a certain definition of power: a relational one where an action shapes other actions and links it to space thereby indicating how space is not just the conduit of power but rather an analytical frame to understand who and where particular forms of power are exercised. My focus on space and place permits power relations to be made clear and visible but in a way that seems decentralised, distributed and yet is still relational. In all, the tableau provided a juxtaposition of surveillance, punishment and an internalisation of authority that provided an example of power as "games of strategy" (Foucault: 1997a: 298) that involves a cataloguing of individuals and focus on policing a norm. As Wolch and Dear assert, territoriality

involves a form of classification that is extremely efficient under certain circumstances as a means for enforcing control, if the distribution in space and time of the resources fall somewhere between ubiquity and unpredictability (1989).

I must also challenge, from a community worker's perspective (see 1.8), the view that power is a commodity possessed by dominant groups (adults) over subordinate young people. This naively oppositional model is compounded by the idea that, as an article of trade and contestation, power can be transmitted by a set of predetermined techniques. This drastically oversimplifies my experience of working with young people. Rather, power in this context:

**...is devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere, silent and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its *ways of using* the products imposed by the dominant...order
De Certeau 1988, pp.xxii-xiii emphasis in original**

As succinctly expressed by Holt, "*power relations can no longer be reduced to the powerful and less powerful along essentialised lines of difference*" (Holt, 2004: 15). Juxtaposed against this point is my realisation that writing about the young is an explicit recognition that one no longer belongs in their number (Nayak, 2003) – a shift from direct lived experience to research that leaves room for innovative methodologies (see the next chapter). Power differentials are *not* uni-directional as the view that it somehow is does not adequately explain young people's power games amongst each other (Murray, 2006). Moreover, Foucault suggests that it more useful to view power as a form of action and something that is exercised rather than possessed. What distinguishes power from other forms of action is that it acts upon actions "*on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future...it incites, it seduces, it makes easier to make more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely*" (Foucault, 1983, 220) allowing for a subtler multi-variable appreciation that follows the changing situation between different young people, changing circumstance and the growing familiarity between participant and researcher to be better described.

Territoriality provides a means of reifying power: it stands as means of making them into potentialities since power and influence are not always tangible. In this manner, a territorial boundary may be only symbolic form but still combine directions in space and a statement about possession and exclusion (ibid.1-14). There was, in empirical terms other things to account for since it can be used to displace attention from the relationship between controllers and controlled to the territory. In the manner which I encountered it, it seemed a form of disciplining as mere presence of my participants had to be accounted for and explained in a manner that alluded towards a particular kind of moral being and subjectification through the creation of a spatial subject. Still, there was a disciplinary positioning here since the most overt example of this was perhaps best seen in the various analyses of 'gang affected youth' that did not fit into my focus on 'resisters'

and 'desisters' (see Kintrea et al. 2012; Ralphs et al. 2009). There have, however, been other commentators who have, variously, shown how the street and public space needed to be 'read' like a text to use Cahill's resonant study of teenagers learning to become 'street literate' (2009). All this remains symptomatic of a link between power and knowledge that allowed a cataloguing of people and space (see also Gunter, 2009, 2010). Indeed, within analyses of "the aggressive and systematic abuse of power" (ibid:47) and its spatial effects, Barry Percy-Smith, and Hugh Matthews stand out as especially articulate about the features of 'tyrannical space'. In the context of urban neighbourhoods, the bullying aspect of territoriality emerges out of a complex intertwining of age, class, race and gender with place, subjectivity and identity as young people compete for the use of space. (2001:51. See also Andrews and Chen, 2006)

Another point the literature acknowledges is the way that the influence of one category of person over another is acknowledged and (re)produced (Wolch and Dear, 1989; Gold 1982). As will be shown, it is also a recognition of how social practices can transcend social arrangements thus making social change a constant part of the everyday life of individuals and communities. My unfolding account must, therefore, accentuate ambiguity, diversity and inconsistency – and posit a response to the question: can consciously or unconsciously remaining within an area be seen as a prison, a reward or both? Questions like this further illustrate the difficulties of finding solutions to the 'problem' of territoriality especially as reproduction must be acknowledged as a dynamic concept that allows for the replacement and transformation of things, but retains fundamental relationships. Power is self-perpetuating but for reproduction to occur, concrete actions have to be undertaken and certain spatial rituals, actions and interactions recorded (Andrews and Chen, 2006). Percy-Smith and Matthews (2001) speak of four types of action to identify within my data: first is 'barging in', whereby 'olders' move in with the intent to disrupt the actions of on 'younger's'. A second type is extortion whereby someone is either threatened or coerced into taking part in some form of anti-social behaviour – a category of action that fits into those performative displays of 'badness' that Gunter identified (see Gunter, 2009). A third is intimidation often for no other purpose than the entertainment of the perpetrators whilst the fourth and last describes a type of bullying based around 'name calling'. It has been depicted as the most frequent type amongst girls and brings with it its own brand of anxiety, tension and disharmony (Tucker and Hughes, 2001).

2.2.2. Territoriality and space

These processes remain, nonetheless spatial. All these analyses specify the importance of relative spatial configurations of interacting objects. To give this its proper geographical focus is to align space with practices and focus upon issues of (defensible) space and power (what one commentator called 'the politics of turf' see later). I thereby use 'territoriality' to refer to the manner in which my participants embody and practice a one-dimensional socio-spatial lexicon via synecdoche: conflating a part (territory, place, scale, or networks) with the whole (the totality of socio-spatial organization). My

challenge is to imagine the dynamics and limits of my chosen participants whilst ensuring that any conceptual imprecision on their part does not become my own. The task becomes avoiding the embrace of an untenable ontological (quasi-reductionism “*which subsumes all aspects of socio-spatial relations under the rubric of territoriality*” (Jessop et al. 2008: 391).

Ultimately, though my objective is securely located in human geography and is to understand the simultaneity of social, spatial life in time and space despite the innumerable ways of framing the question (see for instance Brenner, 2001, Kärrholm, 2005, 2007 and 2008 etc.). I will focus, instead, on a single review of territoriality and space which summarises the theoretical issues into three empirical questions: which social relations are constituted *through* space? Which social relations are constrained *by* space and which social relations are mediated by space (Wolch and Dear, 2014:9). My particular focus will be on how and where the general action of the friction of distance facilitates and catalyses various actions of youth and youthful ways of being in the world.

2.2.3. Defensible space as Social process

To further unpack the idea, the characterisation of territoriality I called “*terrare*” in section 1.2 (Gold, 1982) is a representation of the innate human tendency to strive for security and progress, and to protect those gains that have already been achieved (. The question of “where are young people territorial?” (see 1.5) therefore gains some credence by focusing on where is being defended, why and how. One famous and distinguished study of the subject – Ley and Cybriwsky’s study in mid 1970s Philadelphia - gives a sense of the possible responses available to young people. Graffiti was used as a signifier by a select group “to leave a mark on exotic space, to make a claim to the world outside the ghetto [rather than] inner city residential blocks [of] the local street gang which has its own claim” (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974)¹². Malcolm James’ recent doctoral thesis on youth politics and belonging in East London did see a form of aggressive display and ‘repping’ of area similar to what Ley and Cybriwsky wrote, this time transposed onto new media: specifically self-produced youtube music videos (James, 2012). In Malcolm’s work he saw how the comments page below each video quickly became a site of contestation (ibid: 140-148) like the palimpsest of hostile comments Ley and Cybriwsky’s saw on walls in various “defended neighbourhood” (ibid: 501). The implication is that a line of thinking that accentuates different spaces and methods of contestation have considerable research potential. Might my ‘resisters’ and ‘desisters’ (see 1.1) show a similar outlook to challenges to where they ‘should’ be?

¹² “The mastery and occupation of space” that Ley and Cybriwsky (1974:494) saw as a constituent of much graffiti tagging did exist within my research participants as later discussions of ‘slipping’ will show. Still, I saw no use of graffiti by my participants. Within the United States it seems that the uses of graffiti have changed significantly since the 1970s and that might have had an effect on its subversive potential in London (see “The New Must-Have for Luxury Buildings: Graffiti” *The New Yorker*, 3 May 2014, Elizabeth Greenspan).

How could one display a spatial mastery through visibly exploring new areas? If this is the case, how might this mastery be shown in a non-violent or confrontational way?

What these historical and contemporary studies also illustrate is the variation possible behind the mechanism of reproduction (with its emphasis on the perpetuation and maintenance of social relations) and what can occur when humans are unable to transcend their circumstances, be they personal, institutional or environmental (see also Wolch and Dear, 1989; 2014).

The literature would suggest that “young people are territorial” in the presence of defensible space. Why certain space would need to be defended or the precise way in which spatial form is related to social forces still remains to be uncovered. As a corollary, my belief is that this fundamental tendency towards self-protection is often projected on to those institutions with which humans identify explaining my insistence on a fluid positionality and case study approach to better identify territoriality as a phenomenon (see sections 1.7 and 1.8). In this, I will be focusing on how identity once developed may be bolstered and reinforced by being surrounded by known and familiar things, which personalize the living space and perhaps convey to the individual a sense of the continuity of the present with the past (Rappaport, 1968, Lynch 1972 and Nayak 2003).

2.2.4. The politics of turf defined

It should be noted that in a number of ways I will be extending this tradition whilst departing from it in certain crucial respects – particularly the concentrated focus on class. In terms of continuing with one element – it should be noted that both Cox’s and my work are based within urban settings. The significance of both a city setting to territoriality is an easy detail to miss but without an urban setting we miss a fixed point of reference to my participant’s knowledge of urban space and a physical framework for the spatial and temporal organisation of activities (Dovey, 1978, Watt et al. 200). Identity once developed may be bolstered and reinforced by being surrounded by known and familiar things, which personalize the living space and perhaps convey to the individual a sense of the continuity of the present with the past (Rapoport, 1968, Lynch 1972 and Nayak 2003).

Still, rather than focusing on class as the scale of analysis, I will focus on neighbourhood as the level upon which interests are constituted (Cox, 1989: 1964). This does have methodological implications since, in the absence of young people possessing the fully formed ‘class interests’ expressible in feats such as home-ownership, it would seem that they instead express local or neighbourhood ‘preferences’. This was, after all, the scale they used to express, subvert or consolidate differences in consumption advantage that initially prompted my research question (see 1.1) and this was to be the scale that as a Youth Worker I was used to operating within (see 1.8. and Chapter 3). To focus more

deeply on this fact, neighbourhood will be understood here as the sphere of the 'local', and that place on the spatial hierarchy that has entered into everyday discourse on the one hand associated in popular culture with the 'hood' inhabited by gangs; and on the other, with official ventures such as local authority neighbourhood offices providing local people with access to housing and benefit advice, or locally based supermarkets (Robb, 2007) and upon which I have some professional experience (see later).

It is on the basis of this local awareness that I also intend to critique and analyse power relations (see 1.5) between young people and local and national state organisations (see Chapter 4). The political implications are clear. As Kraftl et al. affirm:

in the UK and elsewhere, the past decade has witnessed an increased emphasis upon child and youth policy-making at the national scale...in combination [with] many policies that emphasise the local as a key scale at which to intervene with young people, because they are often 'tied' into communities and social relations in their home neighbourhood.

Kraftl et al. 2012: p2/3

It is the strengths and weaknesses of this assumption and its implications for my research participants (both young people and Youth Workers) that I want to scrutinise. The rhetoric around the 'Big Society' that surrounded the election of this present government might be seen as containing tendencies to essentialise and romanticise one scale with the inference of a reactionary politics (Massey, 1991, 2009). Indeed, the local cohesion it reifies in deprived neighbourhoods could be argued was itself a product of inequalities that, if reproduced, create issues. Historically, as Philip Abrams maintains:

Internally, the networks of the traditional [deprived] neighbourhood were indeed marked by collective attachment, reciprocity and trust. Externally, they were no less plainly marked by constraint, isolation and insecurity. Moreover, the internal characteristics were in large measure a product of the external characteristics, a way of life worked out to permit survival in the face of them

Abrams, quoted in Bulmer, 1986:92

Alternatively, if the local is not prioritised, then claims for a more cosmopolitan ethic to replace national and local attachments as the foundation for political and cultural community should be honoured (Amin, 2004; Nussbaum, 1996 and Reynolds, 2013). In defining whether youth territoriality is a "good" or "bad" thing, I must therefore arrive at a position on the role of scale and power that will show space is more than just the conduit of power but an analytical frame to understand how particular forms of power are exercised (see Chapter 7).

Leaving this issue aside for the moment, one idea that is also linked to neighbourhood is the notion of community. As such, my approach would seem to align itself to a 'community study' discourse and

allude towards following a number of participant observation studies of small urban communities (Whyte, 1943; Young and Willmot, 1957 [2013]; Kerr, 1998). This is done with a note of caution since, as a unit of analysis:

a community is a difficult focus for study, generally because it seems to imply a false circumscription and coherence. Individuals belong to many communities, bounded to different extents and in varying ways.
Wilson and Peterson, 2002:455

Nonetheless, to borrow analyses from anthropology - a rich body of literature that productively explores the constitution of community - it is generally characterised in three ways: as a common interest between people; a common environment and locality and a common social system or structure (Rapport and Overing, 2013). The power of a community analysis - and viewing my young research participants as a community is that it not only aligns with my professional practice as a Youth Worker, but it follows this variegated definition. The young people I meet could be defined or define themselves as one, two or three common traits of this tri-partite definition (a common interest; a common environment and/or a common social system) following the participatory ethos I set myself earlier follow (section 1.1). In following the tradition of promulgated by Michael Young's Institute of Community Studies (Hall, 2003) I would also move away from the 'spectacular' (see section 1.2) focusing, instead, on areas of consensus and cooperation rather than on conflict: my 'resisters' and 'desisters' (see section 2.3.4. for further details).

2.3. Definitions of youth

2.3.1. Subculture and post subculture

The focus next must be on the 'youth' aspect of youth territoriality. To give my account a historical bent, I must acknowledge the scholarly debt owed the literature on subculture. As an analytical and theoretical model provides one of the oldest example of a sustained scholarly focus on youth and remains hard to ignore since it has energised the scrutiny of youth culture for decades (see Halls and Jefferson 1976). Indeed, it is no accident one of Phil Cohen's first pieces of work at the CCCS (Centre for Cultural Studies) was based around a version of youth territoriality (Cohen, 1972). Still, though the list of influential works looms large (see Willis, 1978; Griffins, 1985; Jones, 1988; McRobbie, 1991) not many have an explicitly geographic focus with the possible exception of William Foote Whyte's Street Corner Society (1983) [1943]) and its academic descendants. Nonetheless, given its position as an intermediate theory between grand narratives and 'grounded' everyday life (Merton, 1957) subculture remains important simply because

the concept has been attractive as a model for explanation ...by a diversity of theoretical positions because it focuses on the existence of groups with different patterns of behaviour
Blackman, 2005:2

And it is this very point that brings the literature into focus here – the potential for examining the workings of a self-identified group of people in relation to each other and an overarching ‘macro-structure’ – in this instance, the ‘adult world’. Members of the CCCS did, in point of fact, propose subcultures in post-war Britain as representing attempts to magically or symbolically resolve real problems that confronted working-class youth, such as the disintegration of traditional communities (Martin, 2009). Indeed, the CCCS was the first British attempt to view youth identity under its own terms and ask the question how and why does identity become embodied? Comprehensiveness was not its intention: as such gender, race and sexuality were never aspects of the canon. In this, I perceive much of the work as furthering Marxist analysis designed to place class at the forefront of the discussion (Griffin, 1985; 2010; Halls and Coffey 2009).

My goal is somewhat different and instead follows the path set out by Harriet Beazley whose investigation of Indonesian Street Children is the exception rather than the rule. This, an impressive piece of work that confidently walks the tightrope of not portraying Indonesian street youth as passive victims of a ruthless society nor as cunning criminals, was made possible through a subtle subcultural analysis (see Beazley, 2003). Following this, Rachel Colosi’s work on lapdancing, using Cressley’s (1932) Chicago incarnation of subculture to re-interpret contemporary lap dancers’ social world, was equally successful. Both would suggest that there is still a great deal to be gained using a subcultural focus. In both examples, subculture is used as a conduit through which to take a ‘grounded’ approach to understand ‘structure’ in less conventional theoretically determined ways. Moreover, in the latter example:

‘subculture’ is indicative of the distinctive social worlds in which the unique ‘scheme of life’ studied was identified by distinct set of rules, values and rituals, and for which the membership continues to be meaningful in the ‘outside’ world
Colossi, 2010: 7

Indeed at its best, *“a subcultural analysis offers a window on the world that enables us to see and understand people’s social actions in their immediate cultural context”* (Nayak, 2005: 14). Territoriality would suggest that the formation of the cultural context is just as important as the social action and a subcultural analysis and methodology would be an appropriate way to achieve this. Indeed, I will continue the tradition of British post-war subcultural theorists who saw groups not as youthful formations to be cajoled and nursed back into conformity but as critical segment of society that contained the seeds of resistance and their own empowerment (ibid.: 20). It is a tradition that documents the cultural life of distinct groups or subcultures, capturing what is particular about their collective lives and how this speaks to wider social and historical processes such as deindustrialisation, individualisation, globalisation and most prominently class relations (Shildrick et al. 2009; Blackman, 2005; Cohen 2000). And the class analysis might very well have some tangibility here. It might be

possible to posit youth territoriality as ‘resistance’ and territory as a core constituent in the creation of a sense of place and self-identification. Even if the era when working class youth resisted through “*semiotic guerrilla warfare*” (Muggleton, 2003) seems long-gone, a symbolic investment in the neighbourhood could be a class based rejection of social mobility or something as yet unknown.

The post subcultural turn

Still, one must note subcultural “*work is not really considered relevant to the study of contemporary youth cultures*” (Colosi, 2010: 12). The rise of a ‘second wave’ of British youth culture analysts (Roberts 2005) or ‘post subcultural studies’ (Muggleton and Weinzierel 2003; Shildrick 2006) explain why. The main difference was its adherents’ reaction to the ‘grounding belief’ of the subculturists: the view subcultures were “*subsets of society, or cultures within cultures*”, according to the new rationale “*overestimates the coherence and fixity of youth groups*” (Bennett, 1999: 605). To embody this new fluid focus, there was a shift to a new nomenclature – such as Maffisoli ‘neo-tribes’ (1995)– aimed at better describing the “*performative orientation*” of tribes who produced short-lived groups rather than supposedly homogenous identities (Bennett, 1999: 606; see also Hesmondlaigh, 2005). Underlying Bennett’s criticisms of subcultural theory is a particular interpretation of the historical development of youth culture and view of personal identity (Hesmondlaigh, 2005). Indeed, the post-subcultural turn adds a necessary corrective. There was a need to reconsider the limits of subcultural theory, which at its most dogmatic, supposes individuals to be locked into particular “*ways of being*” which are determined by “*the conditions of class*” (Shildrick et al: 2006). The danger is going to the lengths that post subculturalists went to in interpreting subculture as a spontaneous bubble eroding any structural contextualisation perhaps in order to emphasise their uniqueness (Bose 2003).

It seems apposite to point out how this ‘post-subcultural turn’ soon began to appear dated. Thornton’s observation that “*[g]oing out dancing crosses boundaries of class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality, but not differences of age.*” only described a short period of time (Thornton, 1996:15). It was a not a precursor to a new consumption based classless ‘neo-tribe’ (Hollands, 2002; Shildrick and MacDonald 2006; Macdonald and Shildrick, 2007; Grazian, 2008). My work, thus has to position itself within these different generations of subcultural theory. A route out of this impasse can be found in McCulloch’s et al. Newcastle city centre and Edinburgh case study. Situated in two cities it investigated a number of areas:

[w]ell known as regular gathering places for groups of young people...and in the past 24 years have seen a wide range of youth subcultural grouping using the space to gather and socialise
McCulloch et al. (2006: 546)

Their focus on how “members of different youth subcultures within Edinburgh that tended to be territorial” (ibid. 547) would appear instructive. Their findings – gained through a youth work perspective are suggestive of:

subcultural affiliation as having some connection with life stage and transitions as well as class [whilst also endorsing the] view, that class ties have weakened and this it is now not possible to predict lifestyles and opinions from a person’s socio-economic background

McCulloch et al.2006: 553

So why should the changing fashions of a sub-discipline of a sub-discipline be of interest here? The best answer is that it fruitfully linked data with work by Judith Butler (see Evans, 1997; 179) and with it, a new emphasis on performativity along with some of the most creative and innovative thinking in social science. Identity is de-masked or subverted and not seen as a homogenous whole. Following the idea that gender can be seen as aspect of identity with which one acts in a way that “*produces that which it names*” (Butler, 1993: 225) then couldn’t subcultural identity be part of this same fluidity? Wasn’t subcultural identity, like gender an identity that had “*no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality*” (1990:139). The recognition that identities are profoundly unstable is an important one. It is the on-going repetition of constitutive acts constrained by pre-existing norms – all implicit within subcultural context - that is important. If it is viewed as differential rather than identical repetition, there is the potential for a displacement, transformation or rewriting of subcultural, local or any other form of youth identities that elides with the (re)production of youth territoriality. In the vein, commentators like McLaughlin (1993) spoke of the concept of ‘embedded identities’ to describe how young people use place(s) as a means to develop their own identities. In a notable departure from contemporaneous focus on subculture, he suggests that group identity is maintained by using markers such as ‘style’ to define boundaries to the self and others.

2.3.2. The New Social Studies of Children and Youth

Even a cursory foray into research on the interplay between territory and young people betrays an ambivalence that has considerable theoretical repercussions. In the North American sociological tradition this meant, young people were only featured as an illustrative canvas for larger socio-theoretical processes such as deviance, crime etc. with analysts underlying assumptions kept implicit (James et al. 1998). The time when scholars could point to a lack of research on children and young people because of a ‘necessary’ focus on ‘big issues’ (such as class, bureaucracies and/or the political system) or an unrecognised patriarchal attitude (Ambert, 1986; Adler 1986) is well past. The view has coalesced that there is:

that all forms of youth are ‘culturally variable and under pinned by a range of social and economic processes, lived experiences and spatial practices’

Hopkins and Pain, 2007: 287

Indeed, until the 1990s young people remained over-theorised since, as social construct with broad shoulders, they must carry the weight of multi-dutinal conceptualisations (see James & James, 2004; Qvortup et al. 1994). Indeed, the presentation of youth as a liminal phase of emotional instability and semi-independence has meant it has often been elided with any number of social processes but rarely seen under its own terms¹³ (Kett, 1971; Jeffrey, 2010). My own definition aligns itself within this formulations, and firmly rejects the view of childhood as a commodity to be cherished.

However, as noted by Cunningham, there is a great deal of difference between young people as ideal and actuality (Cunningham, 1995; 1998); between children as social actors and as a “*diverse set of cultural ideas*” (Shanahan, 2007:408). Indeed, most analyses can be placed around was often an implicit epistemological/ontological nexus (see figure 4 below). Understandably, such approaches have been critiqued and challenged. Nowhere has this critique been more overt and articulate than with those writers who align themselves to what was called the ‘New Social Studies of Children’ and youth. They drew attention to the power relations and the social hierarchies entailed in age categorisations as well as examining how age intersects with other forms of social difference in different geographical scales and contexts, the major innovation. (Qvortup, 2005; James and James, 2004; Aitken, 2001; Holloway and Valentine, 2001). Their legacy, now more than a decade later, add a necessary corrective to contemporary descriptions of the “*Erosion*” or the “*Disappearance of Childhood*” (see variously, Valentine et al. 2000; Rose, 1991; Postman, 1996). Indeed, there has been work looking at the positions of children outside of a European context – such as Kinney’s focus on Chinese childhoods (Kinney, 1995) or Gil’Adi’s consideration of Muslim medieval societies – all reiterate this point (1988). And there is a second order of complexity visible here. Under the light of insights harvested under this school youth stands easily discernible and obvious as a sedimentary term with various layers based around biological age; as a distinct social grouping and/or as a cultural construct (Bainbridge, 2008; McCulloch et al, 2006).

Still, as would be expected the argument has moved on. Understandings of young lives must also acknowledge another body of literature – one that focuses on “*youth transitions*” to adulthood. What it means to be an adult has always been contested making it all the difficult to accurately describe what it means to be a young person (Thomson, 2009). As a field, youth studies has struggled to find ways of expressing the relationship between trends or patterns and the character of particular youth

¹³ Within the ‘culture wars’ of the 1980s it is interesting that within the ferment and challenge that the articulation of new identities created, ‘youth’ did not add its name to the discussion. Perhaps due to the fact that it is one identity one literally ‘grows out of’, a new focus on youth never had the catalysing political effect that gender, disability or sexuality created. (see J.D. Hunter, 1991)

cultures (Cohen and Ainley, 2000; Thomson, 2009; 9). The transition's literature, by contrast soon realised how:

[a] proper, holistic understanding of youth *requires* a closer appreciation of the ways in which young people's leisure and cultural lives intersect with wider aspects of their biographies

Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006:126.

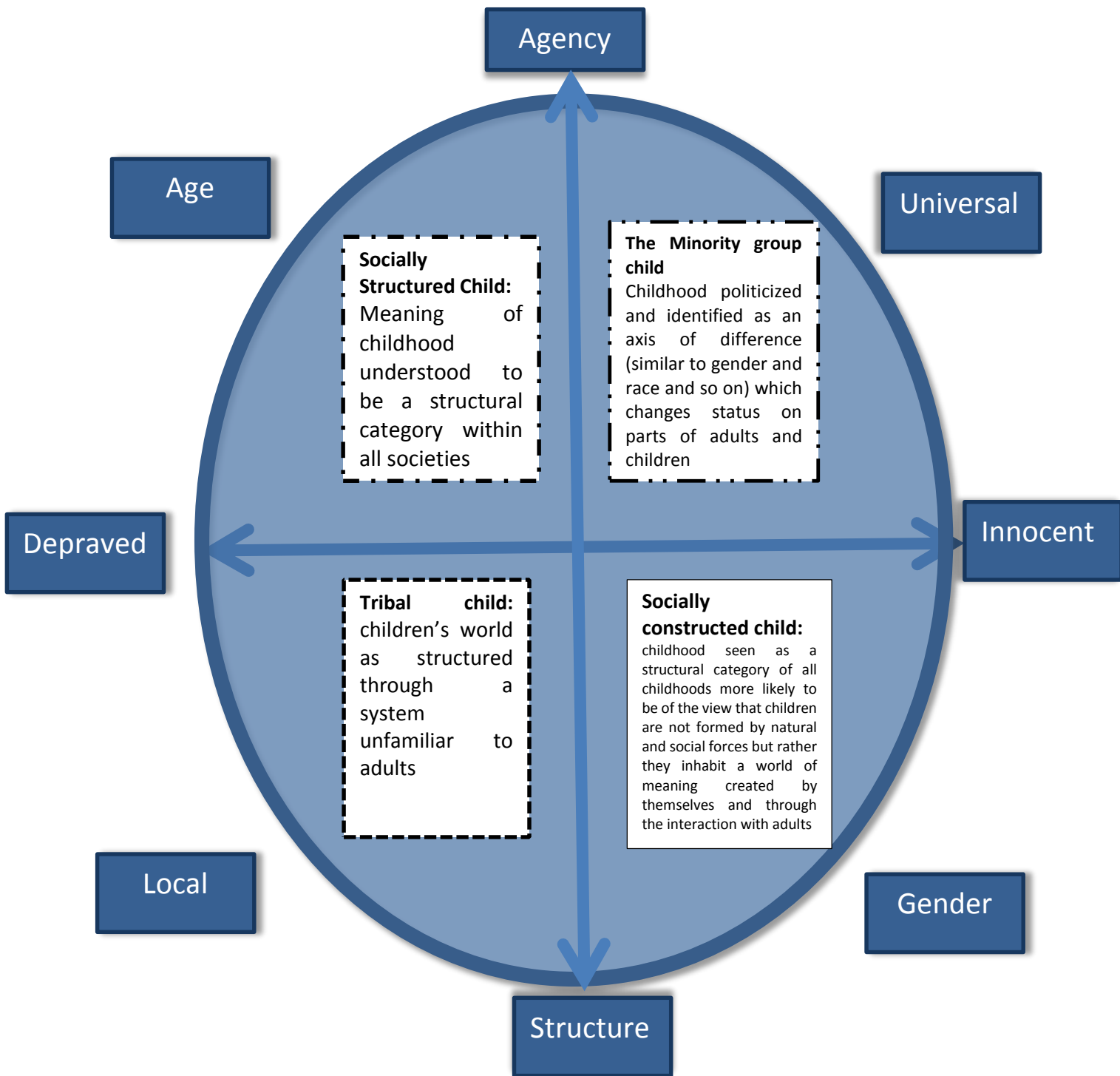
The starting point for most youth transition studies is the uncontroversial assertion that by and large young people face the task of creating lives very different from their parents (Walther, 2006; Evans et al. 1998; Furlong et al. 2003). As the centre of this transformation is the disappearance of youth labour. It is no longer possible to leave school at 16, to find work and to begin the process of building an independent life. The impact of this change is most obvious in the lives of working class young people who must navigate either a new pathway into higher education and training or the challenge of economic dependency on family or dwindling state benefits (Thomson, 2009). In methodological terms, in order to track this, a recent development has been to use large data sets to create typologies of youth transitions and associated biographical forms – ideal types, or typical lives -that capture without risk of caricature the values and of groups following similar trajectories¹⁴. This works by privileging socio-economic contextualising focus on youth agency (Evans and Furlong, 2007; Cieslik and G Pollock, 2002; Thompson 2009). My view of transition is as a process by which I can imagine the potential contained within a life-narrative with the potential for re-invention, 'failure' and 'success' by every which means a research participant would define it. The best example of this remains probably MacDonald and Shildrick's analysis of how '*growing up in poor neighbourhoods*' created a frame of reference around '*knowing and being known*'; '*cyclical careers and poor work*' and '*normalcy and social exclusion*' (MacDonald, Shildrick et al. 2005; S. Henderson, 2007; Nayak, 2006). My point is to use the insights gathered by this literature to recognise how the "transition to adulthood" is not procession but an area replete with messy potential (Johnson-Hanks, 2002; Langevang, 2007; Kesby, 2007).

In summary, to use the insights from the youth transitions youth subculture literature, is to assert that young people now experience the *twin transitions* of being young *and* young in late modernity. Within my study, I will combine the two youth traditions of "subculture" and "transitions". Such a compromise simultaneously finds a balance between the synchronic (snapshot) and the diachronic (evolutionary) dynamics that have complicated the study of youth. The young people I work(ed) with will feel the impact of the transition to late modernity *and* the new anxieties experienced in the transition to adulthood associated with the changing status of 'youth' in late modernity – a dichotomy

¹⁴ For a superlative example of this, see the London Metropolitan University's "Transforming Adulthoods" dataset which followed over a hundred young people over a 10 year period.

that acknowledges the fact that being young will have effects on the individual as an individual and as part of a self-defined collective. To (yet again) return to my re-iterative positionality is to acknowledge this and attempt to scrutinise the experience of youth lived in the here and now and in comparison with the youth of other scales, contexts and times (see section 1.7).

Figure 2 The theoretical nexus around which children are scrutinised



Adapted from Heywood (2001), Holloway and Valentine (2000) and Evans (2008) (James et. al p28 – 1998). The diagram above is a summation of the huge amount of viewpoints that young people are mapped onto by theorists and shows the ontological context around which most of the Youth Geographies cohere. I would situate my own study within the bottom left quadrant and the “Socially Constructed Child”

2.3.3. Youth as a time of 'Vital conjunctions'

Nonetheless, despite the various level of analytical framing that I am positioning myself within, there remains another to apply here. A critique of the transitions literature has been its focus on individuation – evinced best by Craig Jeffrey's recent article that called for an "Erosion of the maps of life". While individuation may be a useful thesis for explaining the complexity of lived youth experience, there is a danger of in asserting that each individual is entirely independent and free to choose their own life as this denies the many structural factors which continue to limit, mediate or even catalyse the opportunities and experiences of many young people in terms of class, gender, religion, ethnicity, sexuality (dis)ability, geographical location (see Evans, 2008:). Universal models of how people grow up has been an implicit category - see for instance Vigh's 'maps' of young lives in Guinea-Bissau (2006). Within the various metaphors of change and continuity that youth seems to provoke scholars are increasingly imagining young people in the west to be developing complicated 'pathways' (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997), 'navigations' (Vigh, 2006) or 'routes' to adulthood (Evans and Furlong, 1997. See also Jeffrey, 2010).

Within this plethora of analogies and figurative terms, my chosen metaphor is a perception of youth as time of 'vital conjunctions'. A vital conjuncture is 'a socially structured zone of possibility that emerges around specific periods of potential transformation in a life or lives' (Johnson Hanks, 2002:870). As identified by Jeffrey, such an approach has an implicit structural and spatial approach since it views conjunctures as articulations of spatial elements in which new visions of the future are brought into play (Hall, 1996; Jeffrey, 2010). The implications are obvious: territoriality could easily be one of these functions.

Even more than that there are some methodological implications of this approach since Johnson Hanks's emphasis on crucial periods in people's biographies and her stress on the contingent combination of structures in specific settings makes vital conjunctions a useful tool for examining the geographies of children and youth. It captures the literal and figurative aspects of territory: the Street Representations, Representations of the Street and Street Practices that I identified as my original 'Research Challenge' (see 1.6). Through this temporal, long-term perspective, connections can be seen about how with young people connect locality and (both real and imagined) biographical and material changes (Thompson, 2009). As Jeffrey maintains, "youth is a permanent condition [meaning] that many young people are unable to acquire the status of adulthood" (2010:497). Adulthood is something that some want but are unwilling/unable to achieve and this simple fact will have spatial implications. Leaving aside some of the normative, telogocial assumptions of life stage models (Wyn and Woodman, 2006 and Roberts, 2007). In sum, this is a theory within which one can imagine the

potential for transition and potential implicit within youth in a socially structural *and* individually contingent form.

2.4. Youth and space: Children's Geography

Nevertheless, despite the various classificatory refinements this work is moves through, this account aligns itself firmly within the sub-discipline of Children's Geography. To reiterate the importance of this body of work (see chapter 1), it is interesting to note that, at least in English, the process of growing 'up' has a spatial description. Whether this is 'leaving home'; 'moving out' or 'coming of age' it seems that maturity has a has a discursive spatial sense suggesting that geography is well-equipped to tackle the spatial dimensions of this *de facto* life course analysis. On top of this, any developing analysis can confer some thought to the way that young people access global cultures at the local level, and in doing so transform the local (see Miller, 1992; Nayak, 2003; Paulgaard, 2002; Sansone, 1997; Watt and Stenson, 1998). Based on a movement away from essentialist understandings of aged defined by chronological and developmental stages, the field of children's and youth geography, adherents have adopted a more relational approach to age that acknowledges that social, cultural and historical variability and on the basis of this, examines the context in which age is defined and lived (see Evan, 2008; Weller, 2006). Geographers have always remained interested in children and young people even before the formalisation of the field - taking arbitrarily, the establishment of the increasingly influential journal '*Children and Young People's Geographies*' in 2003 (for earlier examples see Hart, 1984; Hart, 1979; McKendrick, 2000; Philo, 1992; Winchester, 1991; Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Moreover, the sub-discipline has been energetically charting the experiences and practices of young people entangled in all form of representation and practices (e.g. Valentine et al., 1998; Katz, 2004; Panelli et al. 2007; Jeffrey and Dyson, 2008; Jeffrey, 2010). Children's Geographers' attentiveness to the social construction of childhood has often uncovered how discourse/representations of temporality can be constitutive and of considerable political importance in policy discourses (Valentine, 2000; see also the Children's Legal Centre 'Legal rights' annual supplement). In short, the sub-discipline is firmly established theoretically and methodologically¹⁵.

Nevertheless, the Children's and Young People's (from this point CYP) geography 'challenge' is more than a checklist of methods to use or concepts to name check (see Horton, 2008; Mathews, 2003). The contours of debate within CYP geographies have not just followed wider discussions within the social sciences: a literature of considerable theoretical and methodological sophistication has matured

¹⁵ There, however, a question to be answered as to whether the sub-discipline is merely the 'same old stuff' as before (Horton, et al, *ibid*; Valentine 2006).

around the aim to give youth and childhood ‘a conceptual autonomy’¹⁶ (Prout, 2002; 69; see also Mathews, 2003; Horton et al. 2008). To further add to the process of framing and refinement I would point to the way that CYP geographies offers a basis for re-considering some of the common credos within human geography “such as structure, agency, and participation that form part of the intellectual currency of human geography” (Jeffrey, 2010:497). Not only does this work illustrate the importance of space in young people lives – particularly in urban space (see Valentine and Skelton, 2009, Skelton, 2013) and the need to spatialize critiques centred around discussion of childhood, which clearly have implication on Children’s Geography through challenging the positioning of youth as a transition period marked by a move from dependence to independence (Evans, 2008: 1669). Possible responses to these questions are contained within Children’s Geography. Indeed, within the maturation of this sub-discipline into “multiple methodological approaches¹⁷, conceptual preferences, inherent politics and subject matters” there is an inherent justificatory “challenge” to borrow the wording from one author (see Horton et al., 2008: 335; Mathews, 2003). Children’s Geographers have described accounts that are directly concerned with time-space routines and repetitions in a whole range of different contexts (see Childress, 2004; Curti, 2010; Rasmussen 2004). Furthermore, much of the work is, by definition, interested in registering and exploring the spatial manifestations and complexities of different temporalities.

Since my project remains firmly embedded within this tradition it will, underline the terms and approaches that typify ‘Children and Youth Geography’. To use Holloway and Valentine’s, seminal thesis, my concept of youth ‘**Representations of the Street**’ extends the way geographers have added a great deal of nuance to sociological critiques of essentialised constructions of childhood and/or youth by demonstrating how these constructions vary spatially and temporally (see Hopkins 2007; Holloway and Valentine, 2005:9). My ‘**Street Representations**’ refers to geographical work that has interrogated children and young people’s experiences of the spaces within which they live their everyday lives such as the home, school, playground, street etc. (See also Matthews *et al.* 1998; Beazley, 2004; Robinson, 2000). It conveys the ways in which young people use different social spaces and identities to reveal complex social negotiations as they encounter diverse social action (Holloway and Valentine, 2005:11; Shildrick et al.2009). Lastly, my focus on ‘**Spatial practices**’ will concentrate on the way geographers

¹⁶ Take the example of recent studies of youth temporality and processual nature of spaces (May and Thrift, 2001, Thrift 2006) – a discourse that will have an influence within any discussion of territoriality – youth or otherwise.

¹⁷ Special initiatives such as the Economic and Social Research Council’s ‘5-16 Programme’ provide neat empirical high points to these conceptual studies. Research concerned children as social actors, in relation to one or more of four key areas of everyday life: economic life; the policy and service context; family relationships and social networks; and the physical and built environment. (See Prout 2002). Another major research project was the ‘Inventing Adulthoods’ project – an incredibly rich qualitative longitudinal dataset on young people growing up in five parts of England and Northern Ireland at the turn of the 21st century providing a unique window on most aspects of growing up during an important period of social change in the decade 1996 – 2006 (Thomson 2009).

have questioned the mutual construction of childhood in a range of different spaces (e.g. home, rural, and urban). Within the maturation of this sub-discipline into “*multiple methodological approaches, conceptual preferences, inherent politics and subject matters*” there is an inherent justificatory “challenge” to borrow the wording from one author (see Horton et al., 2008: 335; Mathews, 2003). There is, however, a question as to whether the sub-discipline is merely the ‘*same old stuff*’ as before (Horton, et al, *ibid*; Valentine, 2006). Children’s geographers have described accounts that are directly concerned with time-space routines and repetitions in a whole range of different contexts (see Childress, 2004; Curti 2009; Rasmussen 2004). Furthermore, much of the work is, by definition, interested in registering and exploring the spatial manifestations and complexities of different examples of youthfulness. Still, the Children’s Geography ‘challenge’ is more than a checklist of methods to use or concepts to name check (see Horton, 2008; Mathews, 2003).

2.4.1. Youth Geographies

The ‘challenge’ will be met. It is well recognised CYP has also generated fruitful debates around young peoples’ independent use of space, (see for instance, Skelton and Valentine 1998, Percy-Smith and Limb, 2001; van der Burgt, 2013); the nature of adult authority (for example, Valentine, 2003; and also Valentine, 1997; Pain et al. 2005) the relations between children and adults in negotiating independent navigation(see O’Brien et al. 2000; Brown, 2008, the position of youth and the state (A. Nayak, 2003). These “and related issues strike at the heart of children’s geographies” (Vanderbeck, 2008: 394, Robson et al. 2013). As Massey has argued (2005) space and time (geography and history) can never be disentangled and youth geographies provides a unique perspective on this.

My effort will be on illustrating the links between discourses about my participants ‘proper’ use of particular spaces and an ‘ideal’ adolescence envisaged by service professionals (see section 1.5). Recent work has and should be more focusing not the movement from dependence to independence but on developing a more nuanced understanding of the negotiations of ongoing interdependencies of which youth territoriality stands as one. Furthermore, there has to be a realisation that “*people actively create and resist particular age identities through their use of space and place*” (*ibid*; 288). Indeed, there might be much to learn by creating an explicit imprecision. By blurring social-chronological borders the politics of an exclusive focus on narrow identity groups – particularly demonising for those on the margins of society –(*ibid*: 289) is avoided. Since my project remains firmly embedded within this tradition, I believe it will be useful to underline the terms, case studies and approaches that typify the sub-discipline of a sub-discipline that some have called that some have called Geographies of youth/Young People’s Geography (Evans, 2008, Weller, 2006). Though not nearly coherent or expansive enough to be called a sub-discipline, there are certain features that add

to the CYP's focus on place; emphasis on space and spatial practices. Weller has highlighted, within any spatial accent on youth:

“it is vital that teenagers’ own self-definitions are adhered to and used by researchers; and that by working with and promoting teenagers’ voices within teenagers’ voices geographies, researchers have an important role to play in challenging negative stereotypes and power relations within research and policy

Weller, 2006:98

There will another spatial aspect to this as it is now a given that public space is typically produced as ‘adult space’ (Valentine 1996). Certainly CYP work has shown that young people are seemingly invisible from public space and/or only provided with token spaces (White, 1993; Matthews, 1995 and Travlou, 2003). Indeed, many children’s geographers recognise that children have to be seen as co-constituents of their own worlds – their own spaces – in ways that escape or even defy the ordered spatialities of adults (Cloke and Jones, 2005). My own focus will inevitably be on public space since as a Youth Worker - and a detached Youth Worker at that- there is a certain policy discourse based around public space implicit within my analysis although there will be a research challenge to go beyond this. Still, for our purposes, since public space is such a large constituent, it is the street that presents itself as an important (but not sole) focus of study. Furthermore:

The street emerges as (a) *fuzzy zone*, a place that offers children the spaces to pull away from the constraints of childhood, but in which their presence is seen as uncomfortable and discrepant by many adults

Mathews, 2003:114

Moreover, there has been a growing acceptance that the everyday lives of young people do not largely stay within and relate to three settings – homes, schools and recreational setting – or within ‘adult space’ (see Rasmussen, 2004). The situation is made more interesting and problematic when young people follow or subvert already existing adult and other more obviously ‘child-like’ structures. Furthermore, following the structure of Cloke’s account, I am particularly interested in accounts of youth that are associated with places and spaces which are seen to be outside of adult control and ordering, where the fabric of the adult world has become scrambled and torn, and the flows of adult order are disrupted or even abated (Cloke and Jones, 2005). The aping of ‘adult’ control by young people that could embody one potential version of youth territoriality could tie into policy discourses: young people’s surveillance by police and local government institutions is one example of this. This has also meant that the popular image of young people – out to have a good time, carefree and rebellious – has often focused on the spectacular (Skelton et al. 1998). However, in recent years, there have also been ample efforts to view space in young people’s own terms (see Vanderbeck et al. 2000). The varied incarnations of youth presented within the literature show a rich and varied multiplicity of ways to interpret how young people view themselves and each other (Kraack and Kenway, 2002). Each

gives a different answer to the question of 'which young people?' – a question that will have own methodological implications.

The precedent is certainly long-standing. One commentator called it youth “micro-geographies” - a word coined by Matthews et al. (1998). Within the assemblage of spaces and places where “flows of meaning [are] managed by small groups of people that meet on an everyday basis” (Wuff, 1995:65) a distinct materialisation arises out of each locally particular combinations of personalities, localities and collective experiences. In this way Hugh Matthews, Melanie Limb and Percy Barry argue that there is a diversity of microcultures that provide the basis for “temporal cultures” (James, 1995) into and out of which young people move. Differences between groups are therefore not necessarily defined in terms of conventional sociological signifiers such as gender, ethnicity, and location but in terms of particular sets of shared interests, behaviours and circumstances which often give rise to multi-layered geographies co-existing in the same location (Mathews-Smith and Limb, 1998)

There certainly remains room for an advancing of the theoretical understanding of young people’s use of space within my study as well as an opportunity for an innovative method of data collection culminating within a discussion of the policy implications. I would cite as an important example the work of the American anthropologist Herb Childress who, within the discipline of anthropology described the incarnation of ‘youth territoriality’ he witnessed practised by young people in a small town in America. His fruitfully idiosyncratic take on the ‘youth’ aspect of youth territoriality took on a differing intergenerational, almost legalistic, view of place. In his schema it was a:

mode of communication, serving to convey information, about the location of individuals dispersed in space. By contrast...[the adult mode of] tenure is a mode of appropriation, which persons exert claims over resources dispersed in space.

T. Ingold, 1987: 133 cited from Childress: 195

If this is the case, then in theoretical terms, youth territoriality is a sophisticated spatial vocabulary within which a perceived threat leads to a variation in the acceptability of public space use, based both on scale and various versions of homogeneity. Since American teenagers are legally prohibited from property ownership, then in order to claim places, young people must appropriate and occupy the places of others. To expand: in small, stable, face-to-face societies (established neighbourhoods, rural communities, etc.), public space use by group members is likely to be tacitly legitimized and accepted, because those public actors would be known and thus subsequently more likely to be trusted. In larger, more mobile, more anonymous societies, especially when the public user group is somehow ‘other’ than the local norm, social public gathering is more likely to be perceived as threatening. Since ‘we’ do not know the individuals involved but rather only their surface features conflict would be the

result (Childress, 2004)¹⁸. Within it, there is perhaps a tacit injunction to appreciate the demographics of an area in order to better understand how and where conflict will occur. This is an interpretation that has some credence within the British jurisdiction since surveillance and control of young people has invariably had a spatial impact when imposed by local authorities and police forces (Crawford and Lister 2007. See Section 1.3 as well). Can youth territoriality in the British context, be related to the use and impact of dispersal orders within British cities?

Furthermore, since he recognised how young people “*have limited ability to manipulate private property. They can only choose, occupy and use the property of others*” (2004:196) this will have implications on what, where, how and why territoriality manifests in the manner in which it does. Moreover, since one of my definitional axioms is “*territorial behaviour is basically a mode of communication, serving to convey information about the location of individuals dispersed in space*” (Ingold, 1987: 133), what it conveys and how it also needs careful unpacking ideally with the full participation of my informants (see Chapter 3 which details my participatory ethos).

In short, Childress believes that because young people are intensely public beings, territoriality is a relatively benign development. It is only through immersion in adult expectations and institutions that young people become socialized to aspire to the hyper-privacy that characterizes the (American) cultural landscape. It is only then territoriality gains its more sinister aspect. What this hints at is a means of re-inventing territoriality if this dynamic can be disrupted/re-directed if it is seen as the typical development in the formation of youth identities¹⁹.

2.4.2. Youth in motion: Mobilities and motilities

I also follow another route into understanding the complexities of youth by focusing on movement, mobilities and (territorial) immobility. In seeking to interrogate the inertia of the young people I worked with, I would also point to the ubiquitous nature of myriad forms of mobility (spatial as well as social) and the need to identify not only forms of mobility, but also the production of social and cultural meanings through diverse mobility practices (Cresswell, 2006). The, now extensive, literature based around the principle of ‘mobilities’, has given considerable theoretical heft and depth to movement: mobility and mobilities constitute far more than the opposite of territoriality. On the one hand, as

¹⁸ If true, then his suggestion would be that territoriality is unfailingly negative since, following the Australian urban analyst Cathy Wilkinson, isolation tends to produce narcissism [since] Social relations help individuals experience mature life, and a related view is [that] the willingness to embrace urban disorder indicates maturity. Wilkinson, 1998: 194 cited in Childress, 2004. See also Amin, 2003.

¹⁹ Implicit within this is a certain developmental narrative which I would support. It recognizes: “Developmental terminology is often dangerous, because it presumes that some people – that is, the definers of the terminology – are developed and have reached some pinnacle of being that all other groups are both preparatory to and desirous of. Yet it gives full agency to young people to make their own choices” Childress, 2004: 196. In short, as a youth worker if you don’t give young people a solution to what they see as a problem, they create their solution.

Skelton (2013a) recognised, young urbanites play a crucial role in the movement of commodities (clothing and music for example); the generation and consumption of ideas (through new social media and education) linking the local with the global (Massey, 1998). This chimes, within the wider call of geography and urban studies, to return our attention to the “*actual, everyday materiality of the places in which people actually dwell*” (Latham and McCormack, 2004: 702) by a renewed focus on mobility. Urry (2008), in particular, has underlined how mobilities transforms the social sciences as it reframes the taken-for-granted nature of many social practices.

In the light of this injunction, I will consider mobility in two ways. The first has a literal, everyday focus – a daily commute and the action of getting from place to place that considers, for instance, activities, perceptions and behaviour in the local environment (see CAPABLE project, Mackett et al., 2007; Christensen et al., 2011; Mikkelsen et al., 2009). The second refers directly to other significant events and the eventual achievement of adulthood and independence In connection with the literature with transitions. This second, more figurative version, is based around the imaginative task of imagining oneself somewhere else – whether leaving home and/or leaving the one’s area – growing ‘out’ to ‘get on’ (Reynolds, 2007; 2013; Briggs, 2010). Indeed, some have advocated an approach to youth mobility that draws a clearly demarcated line between those who move and those who do not interwoven into how young people negotiate transitions to adulthood and the spatial practices that underlie these negotiations (see Bjarnason and Thorlindsson, 2006; Holdsworth, 2009; J. Waters et al. 2011; Cordón, 1997).

2.5. The discursive implications of Youth work

Still, it is within the processes of belonging to a territory that I will also focus: a politics encompassing status, community, and agency that covers the extent to which territory ‘owns’ the young people I describe. Indeed, I present belonging as a multidimensional process that incorporates several metaphorical layers of place (as ‘turf’, ‘ends’, community, locale or neighbourhood) and that includes material objects and the symbolic borders described above. Part of my definition of territoriality then has to answer when and where do particular forms of belonging matter? And what links the individual with wider social structures? The challenge behind delineating the “*ease with oneself and one’s surroundings*” (May, 2011) is partially filled with common patterns of talk and behaviour and ‘shared’ forms of knowledge “*unite participants in a way that promotes order and predictability*” (Gergen, 2001: 18) and my task will be to investigate this with my chosen informants under the aegis of youth work and ‘informal education’ (Robb, 2009). Whilst the first chapter focused on my personal positioning, this subsection will go into the discursive implications of my profession with a mind to showing how it evolves naturally from a CYP and Youth Geographies approach. The rest of this section will give my reasoning for this since this dissertation could fit easily into a more traditional account of youth belonging. To provide some justification, for my participants, informal learning has been

said to increase individual's self-confidence, improve their social skills, and contribute to an increasing commitment to citizenship, social identity and social capital (Cullen et al. 2000). Part of my work will also be focused on the advantages, credos and assumptions within youth work. What should also stand out is the strong sense of advocacy of the hidden voices of young people as they are (mis)represented in or excluded from the 'adultist' world (Weller, 2007;161).

My wish is to, with the gradated consensus of my participants, show how involvement in socio-cultural traditions gives a certain degree of agency and control; how everyday activities, largely taken-for-granted practices are given tangibility and significance through language, social practices and material culture (Skey 2010; 2012; Gergen, 2001). The term "youth culture" has been alluded to and it would be appropriate to delineate it again by revisiting Stuart Hall's definition. By his rationale, a 'culture' is actually not a composite entity but:

a set of things...a process, a set of practices. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between the members of a society or group...Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is around them and 'making sense' of the world, in broadly similar ways.

Hall,1997:2

2.5.1. An institutional perspective

The treatment and management of youth was seen as essential for the maintenance of the 'the nation' and thus became a central societal task. This, in brief, is an institutional manifestation of the fact:

Youth/adolescence remains a powerful cultural and ideological category through which adult society constructs a specific age stage as simultaneously strange and familiar.

Griffin, 2013:22

My invocation of the 'the nation' also reminds us that geographies of youth policy-making are inextricably entwined with histories of state intervention. To honour the commitment to my earlier critical approach (see 1.5) is to recognise how and "structural exclusions of young people are increasingly hidden within rhetorical proclamations of serving the best interests of the youth" (Skelton et al., 2010:208). Further, the manner in which implicit and explicit discourses focus and attention within policy provide an insight into not just how a government would like to transform its population but why and how (Griffin, 2013). In addition, I would argue, by unequivocally detailing the philosophies of youth intervention, we have the best means to refigure the dynamics of territoriality and not just by changing the focus of youth policies. Other levers of change might be based around challenging/developing the dominant concept of youth; the aims of the intervention; the 'problems' associated with each age group; the target groups; the age groups and the organisation of the youth sector itself (Wallace and Bendit, 2009). The organisation of the youth sector as a field of social policy too strong a focus on 'institutions with presence' and that this focus has a detrimental effect on the

way effective youth work is conceptualised (Davies, 2012; Schild and Vanhee, 2009). All these categories stand as particular cases that could be extended or subverted notwithstanding new ways of acknowledging the contribution of young people.

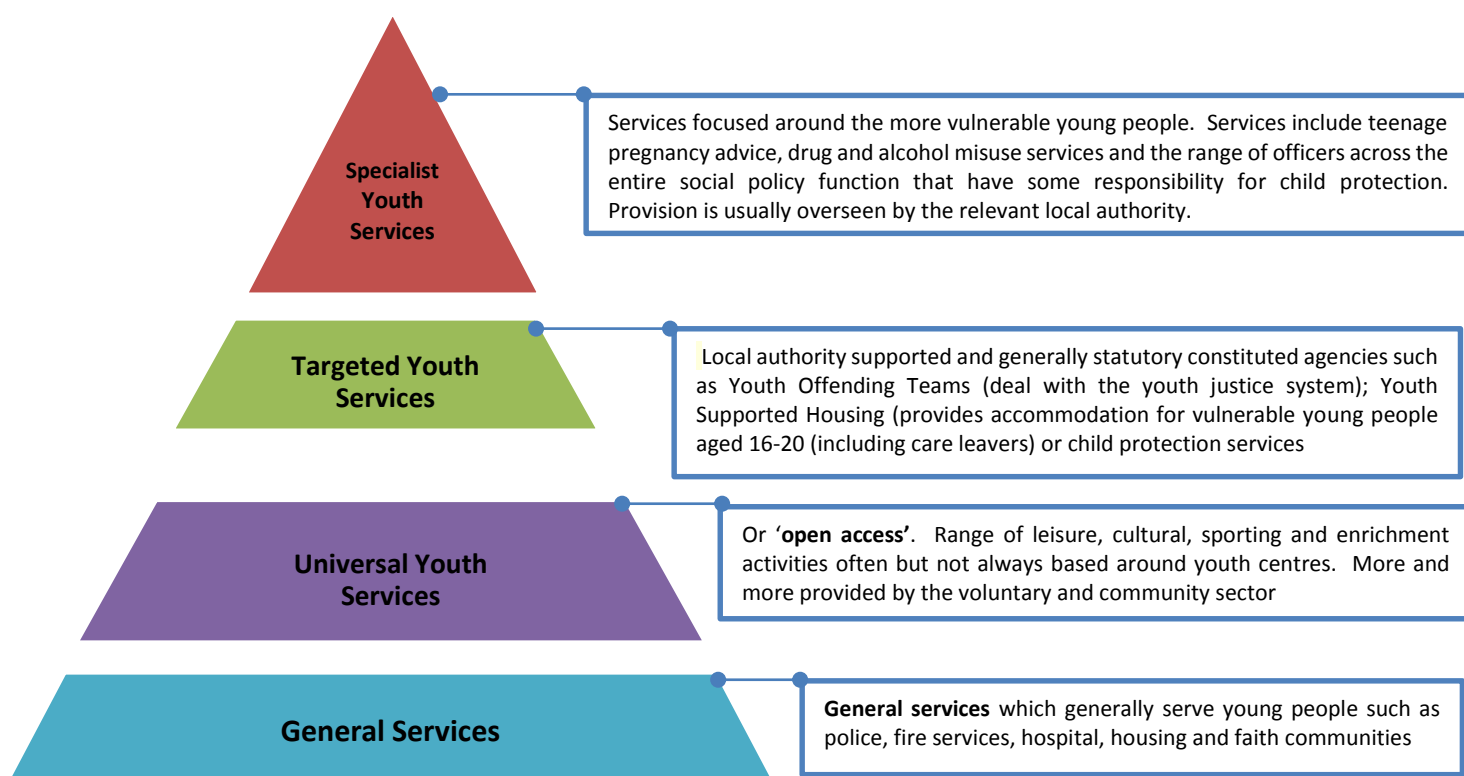
Youth work is primarily, in an English context, an activity of informal that can be elided with education (Cousee, 2009, Davies, 1999, Davies, 2012). Emerging historically from the work of philanthropic volunteers, youth work is still predominantly provided by the voluntary sector (now constituted by both volunteers and paid employees), with a smaller, state funded Youth Service managed by local authorities (Robb, 2009). The different local authority versions of youth work provide a canvas upon which a territorial discourse is daily reproduced through countless practices, expressions, symbolic forms and institutional structures. The manner in which youth work and community institutions (see Figure 3 below) generate a sense of routine, familiarity, place and (ontological) security – notably for those who consider themselves to unconditionally belong – are the circumstances I will explore (Gilchrist et al. 2001). Territoriality in my preliminary research (see 3.1.1.) was superficially based upon the perceived mobility of others articulated as a threat to local culture and space. Within this formulation, a question such as ‘who defines the conditions of belonging?’ becomes more readily perceptible with the participation of my informants and it also provides a platform around which to frame the answer as to how territoriality is to be refigured (Gilchrist et al. 2003).

Accordingly, I position my theoretical contextualisation of territoriality within a number of semi-formal and formal institutions that house youth cultures since these structures provide access to key social and political benefits and fixes social relations into known and reliable orders (Skey, 2010; see table below). I would argue that these practices and representations are related, as McDowell asserts (1999) to constructions of citizenship and rights to the city. They create discursive conditions through which access to the city is negotiated, denied or claimed and a sense of belonging forged and inclusions enforced or contested.

This will of course have methodological implications. Understanding that my interaction with young people is based on a particular constellation of knowledge and power and a way of representing that which *“provide[s] a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular moment”* (Hall 1992:291). Explaining them in such exhaustive detail (see 1.7) is meant to show that and how discourses are not mental constructions detached from the ‘real world’ but part and parcel of material forms, social relations and spatial practices which shape them and through which they manifest themselves. Through this discursive context, we can understand how ‘childhood’ and youth emerge in particular times and places in very specific ways to produce subjects which carry meaningful identities tied to age. We can further explore how the emergence of discourses of childhood and youth is intricately connected to institutions, scientific knowledge and state policies which produces these subjects showing if, when and how these might have spatial expression (Gilchrist, 2001). At the same time ‘Critical geographies

of children and young people' could be too particular by addition understating the relevance of young peoples' relation to themselves (see also Holloway and Valentine, 2000). As already discussed, it is hard to overstate the effect of recent transformations in the youth policy climate. What can be extracted from the myriad of changes is a neurotic need to protect and/or punish. To restate this from the perspective of Governmentality, the rationale of central and local government is simple (Dean, 2010): to manage society 'well' whatever form the technology of government might take. Actions observed gave substance to different forms of sovereign power, whether disciplinary (like the police) or permissive (like Youth Workers) relating to 'soft' or 'hard' state power (ibid; Barry, 2001:14).

Figure 3: The typical forms of youth service provision



Adapted from Tom Wylie, *Spending wisely—young people, youth work and youth services: an introductory guide*, National Youth Agency (2006)

The philosophies of intervention discussed above (see above, 2.4.1.) translate into various forms of engagement and an implicit recognition that whatever segmentation of spatiality and temporality is offered, the existing power relations will persist and distort it (Davis, 2012). Nonetheless, within youth work, the injunction to 'work with' youth is not just, a task-based imperative (Harris and Wise, 2005) since it also embodies an ideology of power relations. It

means working “where the shifts power from the adult worker to the young people [since] we are...invading their home territory.” (Davies, 2012:86). It was out of this dilemma that detached youth work emerged – partially from a place to reconsider the institutions best suited to sustain such practices and partially from a desire to create a communal space that could be shared as the context for an effective joint enterprise. It is the basis of a relationship between individuals within which young people and Youth Workers can locate themselves [as] a way of fostering a deep knowing.” (ibid:83/89). In this manner, detached Youth Workers consciously divest themselves of the implicit powers resulting from the age status, and so on, and seek, in the liminal space so created to form a situated and more equal relationship with young people. It is in a sense, a risky and pure form of engagement and risks lacunas and duplications in terms of data collection. Nevertheless, it is conspicuously different from “centre based work which can retain the trappings of power in which professional adults in our society are usually cloaked” (ibid:84)

2.5.2. The practice perspectives within youth work

To drill down further into what one should expect if a project is done under a youth work perspective, the literature is also eloquent. The critical geography emphasis of Richard Davies (2012) will be the standard here and in his analysis youth work practice can be reduced down to four principles. The first aspect of youth work is a relationship of trust (Sercombe, 2010): an “*obligation...limited only by our capacity to act, not by a preconceived idea of our role*” (Davies, 2012:83). A second aspect is that it is a co-operative activity that could require both worker and young person to change their world view. The principle of voluntary engagement between the young person and the Youth Worker, which has been, historically, a central principle a central principle of youth work (Davies, 2012; Jeffs, 2001). A third aspect is the communal context of youth work; Youth Workers do not primarily think work in terms of individual, but in larger groups often on a communal setting: an expected and a pragmatic response to large numbers of young people and few workers. Lastly, it is directed towards the development of a ‘better’ life however our young participants envisage it (Davies, 2012). It is on the basis of an understanding of this that this work will also consciously go beyond the borders of youth work practice in certain instances.

As Davies puts it, the first aspect – of trust – can manifest itself in a number of ways. I have often been party to a form of ‘contractual engagement’ in my own work. Here, during the course of the project, me and my participants, each pursuing our own interest, come together and very quickly, at its conclusion come apart. At the end of the project and after an exchange

for mutual benefit – theirs for allowing access to activities which they get for free/subsidised and me for recruiting participants in line with funding requirement – we, very conspicuously each go our separate ways until that time that I can attract them to join another project. An awareness of this dynamic informed my decision to do something different based on my ambition to subvert this relationship- to create a covental relationship. As Davies identified, a covenant is something different. In a covenant, *“two or more individuals, each respecting the dignity and integrity of the other, come together in a bond of mutual responsibility to do so together in bond of mutual responsibility to so together what neither can do alone”* (ibid.89). My wish to create this situation means that I will consciously go outside my usual participants. Partially based on my wish to look at different forms of territoriality (the ‘terra’ version mentioned in 1.2) based on ‘subversive’ street representations (Figure 1) I wanted to recruit a different tranche of young people who could embody the territorial practices of different kinds of youth and space (section 1.7.1). Based on the same understandings of territoriality and surveillance (section 2.2); the same definitions of youth (section 2.3) they would provide the means to create a different relationship with my participants which, in turn would allow me to see “to what extent do young people resist or reconstitute conventional or dominant understandings of territoriality?” (see 1.8.) whilst also providing a means to assess and evaluate the traditional customs of youth work. On this basis of this understanding, I will present proposals to advocate for new set of policy proposals.

2.6. Concluding comments

This chapter positions a particular version of territoriality from amongst the thicket of positions the literature records. My version of this “humanly differentiated space” is data facing since it uses the scale which my participants outline acknowledging the lessons from a TPSN framework (Jessop et al. 2008) rather than any particular ‘turn’.

It also describes an ecology of power and authority – one which attempts to see how power is (re)produced by young people and community inter alia (2.2.2). Still, I do not forget the importance of the interplay between space and place and base my account on ‘lived experience’ by concentrating on ‘defensible space’ (2.2.4.) rather than any pure abstractions. On the basis of that, I contextualise the question of what is the experience of youth by first scrutinising the contingency, the structured zone of possibility and the potential (or not) for vital conjunctions within the simple word youth (2.3.1-2.3.4) and CYP/Youth geographies (2.3.4-2.3.6).

Lastly, by looking at the credo, customs and conventions of youth work, I present a situation whereby the extent that young people can and do reconstitute dominant understandings of territoriality can be recognised. By identifying the traditional forms of youth engagement and consciously going outside it in a single well-situated case study (see Chapter 6). By identifying a situation when a covental research relationship could be created, I would argue, would allow for more opportunity to subvert a conventional understanding of territoriality. On the basis of this, I will show how, where and why territoriality could be reconstituted. By targeting participants who use 'General services' (see figure 3), I present a model of intergration (sections 1.7) that would allow any insights to be transmitted to other types of young people.

My underlying aim throughout this chapter was to describe the epistemological and ontological factors implicit in something as difficult to describe and theorise as youth socio-spatiality. Ultimately, a review of the literature must do more than just synthesize the different literatures of space (territoriality, territorial belonging and TPSN) and youth (Geographies of youth; subculture/youth transitions and vital conjunctions). In short, founded upon my research questions, this chapter showed how I apply the various analytical frameworks that describe territoriality and territory (sections 2.1.1. and 2.2); youth (2.3.1 to 2.3.3) and youth and space (2.3.4. to 2.3.6). On the basis of this, I will explain and justify the interventions I intend to make (2.4.) founded upon the triptych of positionalities that I introduced in section 1.7. It must also show the various ways that both youth and space can be conceptualised into a workable methodology without stretching either theoretical constructions beyond empirical coherence within the next chapter. How this will be done will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodologies in context

“What a wee little person’s life are his acts and his words... [they]are so trifling a part of his bulk! A mere skin enveloping...the mass of him is hidden”

Mark Twain

Autobiography of Mark Twain, 2010

3.1. Introduction

This chapter adds to my unfolding account by describing the difficulty I encountered in researching territoriality. I will also introduce the reasoning behind my methodology – a mixture of theoretical, empirical and ethical factors that evolved into a novel and re-iterative research design. The metaphor I choose to view my work is of a piece of woven cloth. Within this there is the possibility of what Benjamin (1998) called ‘tolerable paradox’. To extend this principle, I can see the accommodation of various theoretical constructs (the warp and the weft) that purposefully views and analyses states of tension. Although this does create an admittedly complex tapestry, I believe it is more academically sincere since it explicitly recognises the existence of doubt rather than subsuming it into an artificially unitary whole (Allen and Rumbold, 2004). I fully acknowledge the pragmatism necessary within this but I view the interdisciplinary approach as one where it is better to be vaguely right than precisely wrong to echo Keynes’ (possibly apocryphal) aphorism. To this end, my methodology involves a mixture of stakeholder interviews and focus groups; participatory surveys; focus groups; interviews; participatory GIS and visual methods. This chapter will be based around underlining the consistent thread between these different methodologies and forms of data and showing how they combine into a coherent (but not too artificially coherent) whole. The rest of this document will set the context around which the research originated; revisit the research objectives; set the outline for the various forms of data used; justify the choice of research sites; describe the research design; outline the participatory focus and finally set the methodological foundation for the theoretical analysis that precedes the empirical chapters.

Each part of the methodology was based upon a certain professional understanding that underpins all aspects of data collection and analysis. As Ian, one of my senior colleagues said:

[w]e use the focus project framework [which means] we don't organise a swimming lesson and then try and find young people to fill that swimming lesson. We go and ask young people what it is they want to do and then we organise activities around their interests. So for example, let's say they like 'football', we try and organise a football team and some coaching. If they want to join a local league, if we can get them, some sort of accreditation out of that, it's all about outcomes.

Ian

The approach behind my methodology was founded upon this '*focus project framework*' as a philosophy and project management style. Essentially, it was a process of learning what people wanted and then aligning their wants with what I wanted to achieve (see 3.5). This must be borne in mind when considering the rest of the methodology. Something in addition to the familiar qualitative techniques of focus group and interview for theoretical and practical reasons. This does need explanation and contextualisation: specifically how to link the qualitative and quantitative methods here and create a relation to space. There was also a temporal aspect to this: the past is recast in light of present concerns and the way that this occurs is, messy, seemingly intuitive and iterative. I was eager to access this implicit knowledge and not to present an overly polished result. My attention was therefore usefully diverted to viewing the ways that young people creatively refashioned their self-narrative (Thompson, 2009) in response to their and my growing awareness of limits of any methodology²⁰. If my participants' behaviour did change, how and why did they explain it? And yet the challenge still remained constructing a methodology subtle enough to harvest the power differentials behind apathy and indifference: when participants couldn't be 'bothered' what did this mean? It was under the influence of these concerns I came to the conclusion that I needed to do something different.

How this 'difference' manifested will form the majority of this chapter. My methodology is sketched out within in its entirety within Table 3 below. Even this simplification needs careful foregrounding within a 'Preliminary Research' section (3.1.1) after which I will put my research objectives into methodological perspective (section 3.1.2.). Next, this chapter will focus on *where* the research was done (3.2); *who* I did it with (3.4 -participant recruitment and research); *how* it was done (3.5) and finally conclude why it was important (3.6.) and the ethical considerations that needed to be tackled (3.7.) with which to, at least, initially attract (and hopefully maintain) their participation²¹.

²⁰ Time, articulacy, patience etc. and other personal resources

²¹ I must also admit to an element of vindictiveness here. There seemed to me a hint of poetic justice in focusing exclusively on the bored and disengaged young person playing with his or her smartphone at the back of the room while I was trying to talk to the group at the front.

Methods table by area and the interaction between the various methodologies

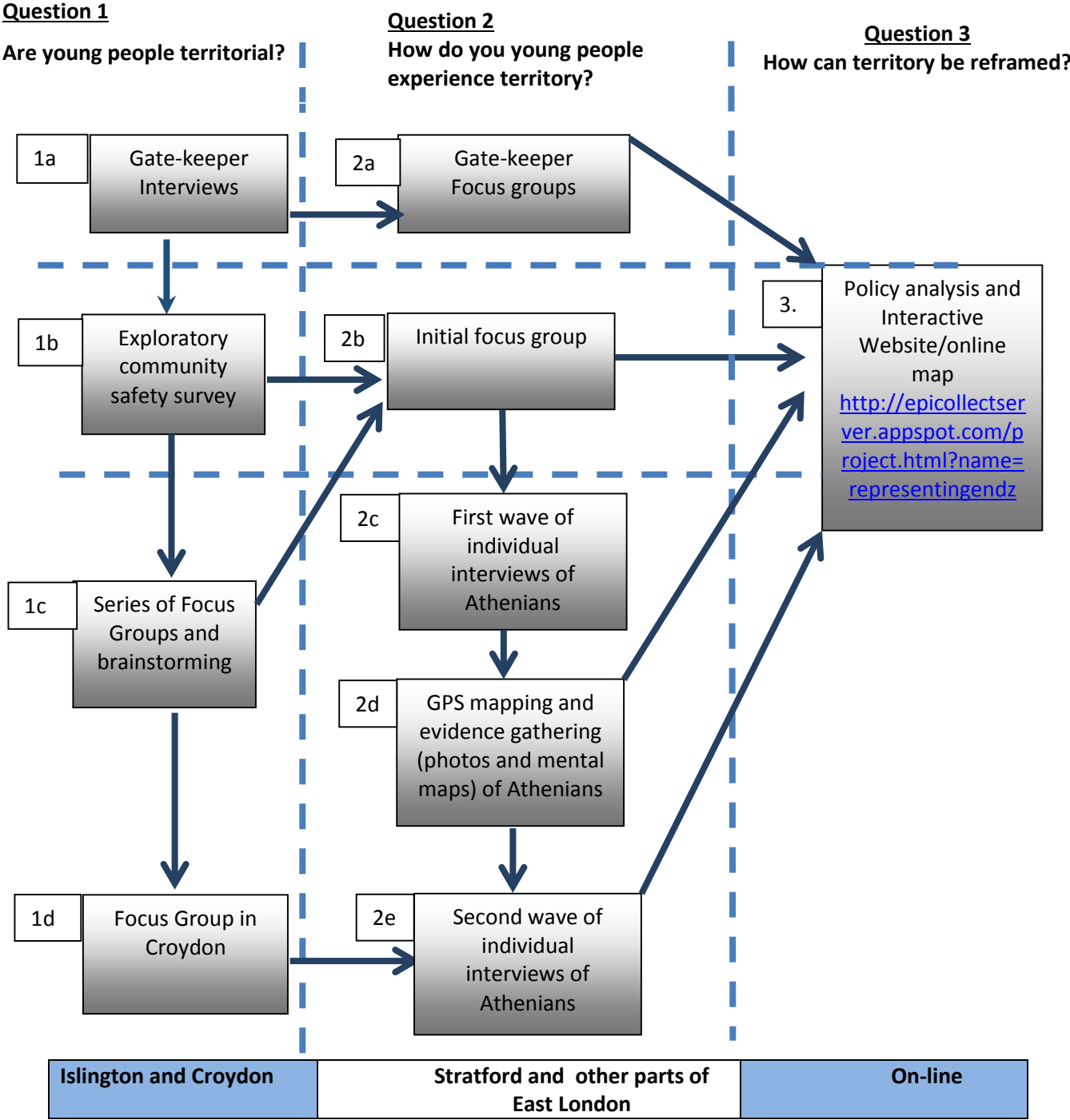


Table 3: The research table in context

3.1.1. The Preliminary research

As stated in the first section, this study partially originated from a pragmatic appreciation of the difficulties I faced in trying to effectively engage young people. I have been working as a volunteer detached Youth Worker on and off for the past 10 years. As a result, I have spent a great deal of time trying to work out how to investigate where young people liked hanging out and how and why they interacted with each other so easily in certain contexts but not in others. Accordingly, this, the preliminary part of my fieldwork was allied to all the benefits (and prejudices) of extensive experience.

At the start of the study, I worked as a detached Youth Worker at a site called ‘the Drum’ under the aegis of City YMCA. This does give a certain atypical research slant since historically detached youth work has had an increasingly residual policy function. It is not quite state approved snooper nor detached bystander but rather somewhere in-between. Its roots lie in an awareness of the street as “*somewhere different*” (Specht, 2010). In policy discourses, its importance is clear since the street is ostensibly the place where young people get into trouble and acquire ‘bad habits’ in a ‘bad crowd’; away from the regulations of work; away from the surveillance of parents and family and are left to their own devices²².

My duties were not solely based around detached youth work. A small proportion was based around a program called ‘Drum Works’ that aimed to ‘develop’ young people who were, in the somewhat clumsy policy nomenclature, NEET (Not in Employment Education or Training). After getting to know them – some walked off the street, some had told us we had helped their friends, some were referred to us through Youth Offending Teams - my task was to let them know about the opportunities for them to gain employment and/or training. There were some parallel projects based around drugs and alcohol misuse education but this (and some work on community safety) were my main responsibilities²³. I helped them look for jobs they were sincerely interested in; refine their CVs and prepare for job interviews.

Still, most of my work, when not out on the streets and estates (see Map 1) was in areas where my team and I knew young people would be regardless of the weather at different times of day, week and season (see Map 1 below). This appreciation of the priorities of the variety of young people who were taking advantage of a surprisingly wide amount of leisure facilities available for free in Islington is the foundation of my study. It was here that I first became aware of youth territoriality. Indeed, Tom Hall

²² Almost ancillary to this is the fact I see detached youth workers first and foremost as informal educators in a position where this is most likely to have effect.

²³ I was, for instance, involved in the StopWatch action group which seeks to work with communities, ministers, policy makers and senior police officers to ensure that reforms to the police service are fair and inclusive.

has written articulately about the power and potential of outreach - of the way that it creates an “emplaced knowledge” of “out the way areas”. In particular how:

to go out ‘on outreach’ for a couple of hours is to move – to drift even-through the city, in a meandering but at the same time alert and receptive mode. Walking pace suits such open inquiries very well. Outreach, then, is walking as a discursive rather than purposive practice.

Hall (2009:578)

This “*discursive and purposive practice*” allied to an “*alert and receptive mode*” was effectively my research apprenticeship and underlays much of the subsequent research. Still, the tradition I have attempted to follow and which will be the basis for this and later chapters are the words of Grahame Tiffany, the Vice Chair of the Federation of Detached Youth work. In his eyes, the best examples of detached youth work:

Works on and from young people’s territory as determined by their definitions and needs, interests, concerns and lifestyles. It endeavours to create a broad based open ended social education in with the interests and problems of young people emerge in dialogue with the youthworker

Tiffany (2012, from 1.58 mins to 2.36 mins)

The minutiae of the methodology is based upon this professional understanding and will be contextualised within the rest of the project. Foundational to my research methodology is the manner in which within the more successful youth projects, the views, opinions and ambitions of young people are given some form of traction.

Map 1: Drum Works Detached route (2010-2011)



Attached is a list of the 20 places that formed a circuit for my time at City YMCA. Work involved a circuit of the 20 places that we found young people liked hanging out. The weather, sporting events, and other local factors changed the order of the circuit. This stage was fundamental to compiling an almost anthropological appreciation of the character of different activity spaces.

1. City YMCA- Fann Street
2. City YMCA- Errol Street
3. Quaker Court (Basketball pitch)
4. St Luke's Court (Football pitch)
5. EC1 Music Project (Community music production centre)
6. Redbrick Estate (Housing Estate)
7. Toffee Park (Youth club and Adventure Playground)
8. Youth Offending Team Office
9. Maccesfield House (Housing Estate)
10. King Square (football pitch)
11. Rahere House (Housing Estate)
12. President House (Housing Estate)
13. King Square Gardens (Housing Estate)
14. Telfer House (Housing Estate)
15. Finsbury Leisure Centre
16. Wenlake Estate
17. Stafford Cripps House
18. City YMCA – the Drum
19. Fortune Park
20. Plavdell Estate and football/basketball pitch

3.1.2. The research objectives revisited

It would seem appropriate to revisit the research questions at this juncture. My original questions were:

1. Are young people territorial? If so which young people, when and how?
2. How do young people understand and experience territory in their lives?
3. How can territory be refigured by voluntary agencies, state interests and most importantly young people and other stakeholders as a resource for more inclusive, cohesive youth futures?

The focus here will be on the first two questions and their translation into a mixed methodology²⁴ – all of which foregrounds a considerable methodological and epistemological challenge. The first question – accordingly – asks professionals whether young people are territorial and challenges them to justify where and when this is the case. In line with the reiterative nature of my project, it then asks young people what they think in the light of various professional verdicts gathered.

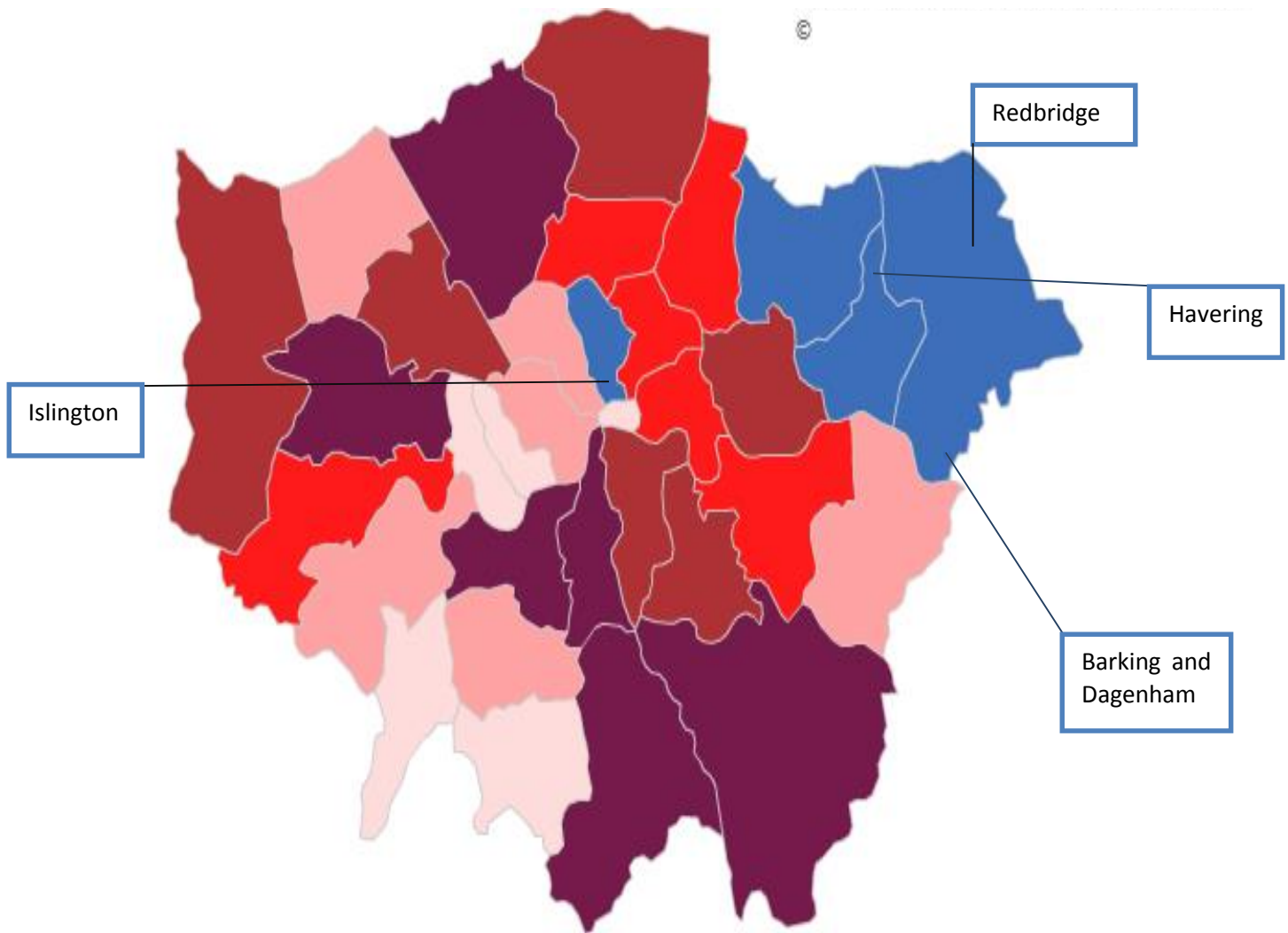
Still, it is the second question that is the site of a great deal of innovation. This was for three reasons – specifically because youth was so hard to define within its own terms (see chapter 2). As the space and time of intense identity work, we can expect experimentation, exploration and the consolidation of different selves: all which problematizes the construction of the ‘right’ methodological approach. A single method brings just one variable to the fore, and by treating it as a stand-alone item could miss much.

Secondly, mixed methods were my solution to the question of how to account for the difficulty of evaluating street practices (see figure 1) – what is actually happening in public space? My starting point was an assumption taken from my preliminary research that territoriality was a term that reified something indivisible in the minds of participants and so served as shorthand for a range of practices and representations. My methodology was based around challenging the taken-for-granted nature of territoriality. The value of an exploratory case study - the first part of my methodology - is that it foregrounds the more in-depth explanatory/descriptive case study (see 1.4). Within this research design, there was a conscious shift from the general to the specific and a corresponding shift in techniques.

Lastly, the unique mixture of methods I will present here is my way of meeting a sub-disciplinary expectation: there almost seems to be an implicit requirement to develop innovative and experimental means to capture data from young people (see for instance Cahill, 2000 or Tucker Faith, 2013).

²⁴ Refiguring territoriality will get its own focus within chapter 7.

3.2. The Research Sites and participants



Map 2. The research sites by London Borough

The scale of the map above (Map 2) shows how my research sites express a number of concurrent themes running through my work. First, my preliminary research had identified the spaces between blue areas as sites of territorial violence (Camden, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham and Southwark and Tower Hamlets²⁵). By asking what my participants experience was, I therefore had an easy topic for discussion. Second, my case study structure (see 1.4) meant part of my remit was to see if a territorial dynamic extended to young people over comparable locales (see below). Both sites shared certain characteristics – such as a high degree of satisfaction with their local neighborhood and concerns regarding safety and policing and the priority they attach to preserving London’s green

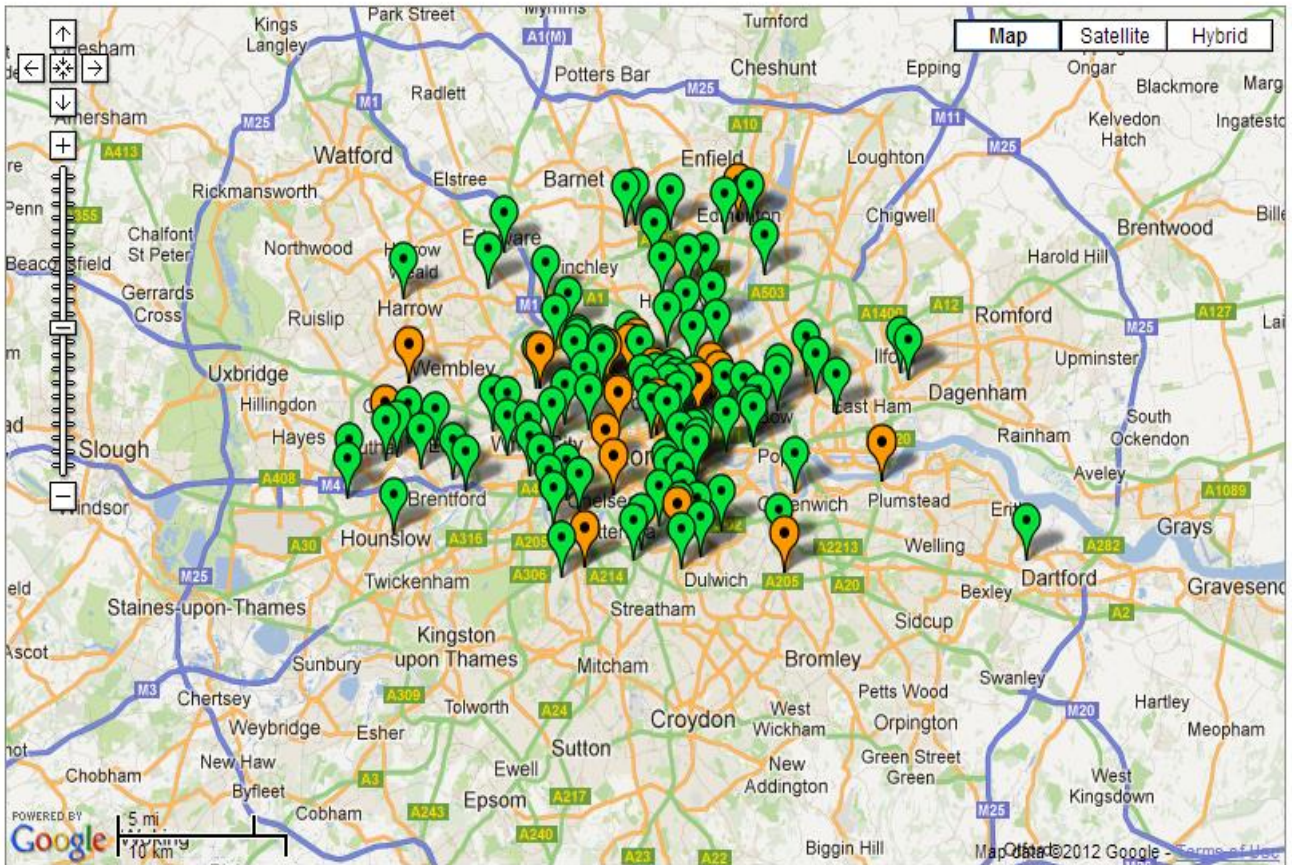
²⁵ Indeed Tower Hamlets was one of the site of Kintrea and Bannister’s study sponsored by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

spaces (GLA, 2009). And yet one area was a traditional ‘inner-city’ area whilst the others were comfortably ensconced in the suburbs giving a clear spatial contrast.

3.2.1. The micro-locations

There was still the question of where precisely to research within my more detailed case-study in the suburbs. As a possible corrective to my preliminary findings to date, I spoke to the researchers of the CAPABLE (Children's Activities, Perceptions and Behaviour in the Local Environment) project²⁶ based within CASA (Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis) who were carrying out a similar project situated in Croydon, on the outer southern edge of London. They invited me to a focus group of their participants and I used their findings as corroboration for my nascent findings within the safety survey (see appendices for more information). Their results did, indeed, parallel my own findings within Croydon. Unprompted, informants spoke about how *“where you are from is what you represent”*; that there were *“places they do not go [because] young people in those areas may question you or behave differently”* and that there were definitely areas they *“didn’t feel accepted [by] other young people”*. Still within this project’s responses, there was an interesting addendum to the places that participants usually visit that gave me a clue on how to segue from ‘explaining’ to ‘exploring’ territoriality (see section 1.4) : alongside the cinemas, malls and shopping precincts that one would expect there was ‘basketball courts’.

²⁶This was a multi-university project that studied children's behavior and perceptions in an effort to understand how young people and children currently use the local environment and what can be done to make it easier and safer for them to move about on foot. It appraised the nature and structure of routes, spaces and networks as used and perceived by young people; it assessed the extent to which the local environment meets the needs of children and their activities and developed a better understanding of the impact of the local environment on children's behavior and spatial understanding in order to create, calibrate and apply models of children's spatial movement. Special thanks must go to James Paskins, Belinda Brown and Kamal Achtuan.



Map No. 5

Map of basketball courts within London. Screen capture from http://www.rangi-robinson.com/london_basketball_courts.php (accessed Sep 2011) and taken from the a website suggested to me by one of my informants “Robert” (see appendices)

Indeed, my detached youth work had meant a slow weekly circuit around the 16 basketball courts based in Islington (see 3.1.1. Preliminary research). As a public space it is easy to see their attraction to councils: they are easy to maintain; all-weather and cheap to construct at a time of increasing budgetary austerity for local authorities. It was this realisation that that led me to seek and identify a basketball team. The number and high quality of basketball courts within London meant that they were a cogent reason to travel since ‘streetball’ was ubiquitous in many estates and I did often see young men and women from different areas playing and competing in the estates that I was familiar – an anomaly that deserved greater attention. It fitted into a definition of community resource that could quite easily fall under the label of defensible space (see section 2.2.4.). As a young urban (black?) past-time it was the perfect ‘canvas’ to illustrate and locate belonging since it was cheap, sociable and

needed no special equipment past a ball. It would also allow me to open up my enquiry to an easily comparable space within and outside Islington *if* I found the right team – a question answered under the rubric of participant recruitment.

3.2.1. Participant identification and recruitment

As stated in this chapter’s introduction, my objectives translated into a number of overlapping research phases. The first phase asked a small sample of stakeholders ‘are young people territorial?’ (1a and 2a within table 3). The second phase was more closely targeted at young people – as participants - asked the same question to some young people themselves whilst creatively working with them to reaffirm or challenge the data that I had already been given (1b –d in table 3). A third phase involved the Athenians and will explain why they were the perfect team for this study (see 3.3 to 3.3.4).

3.2.3. Stakeholder Interviews

Figure 5: The Stakeholders interviewed and their function

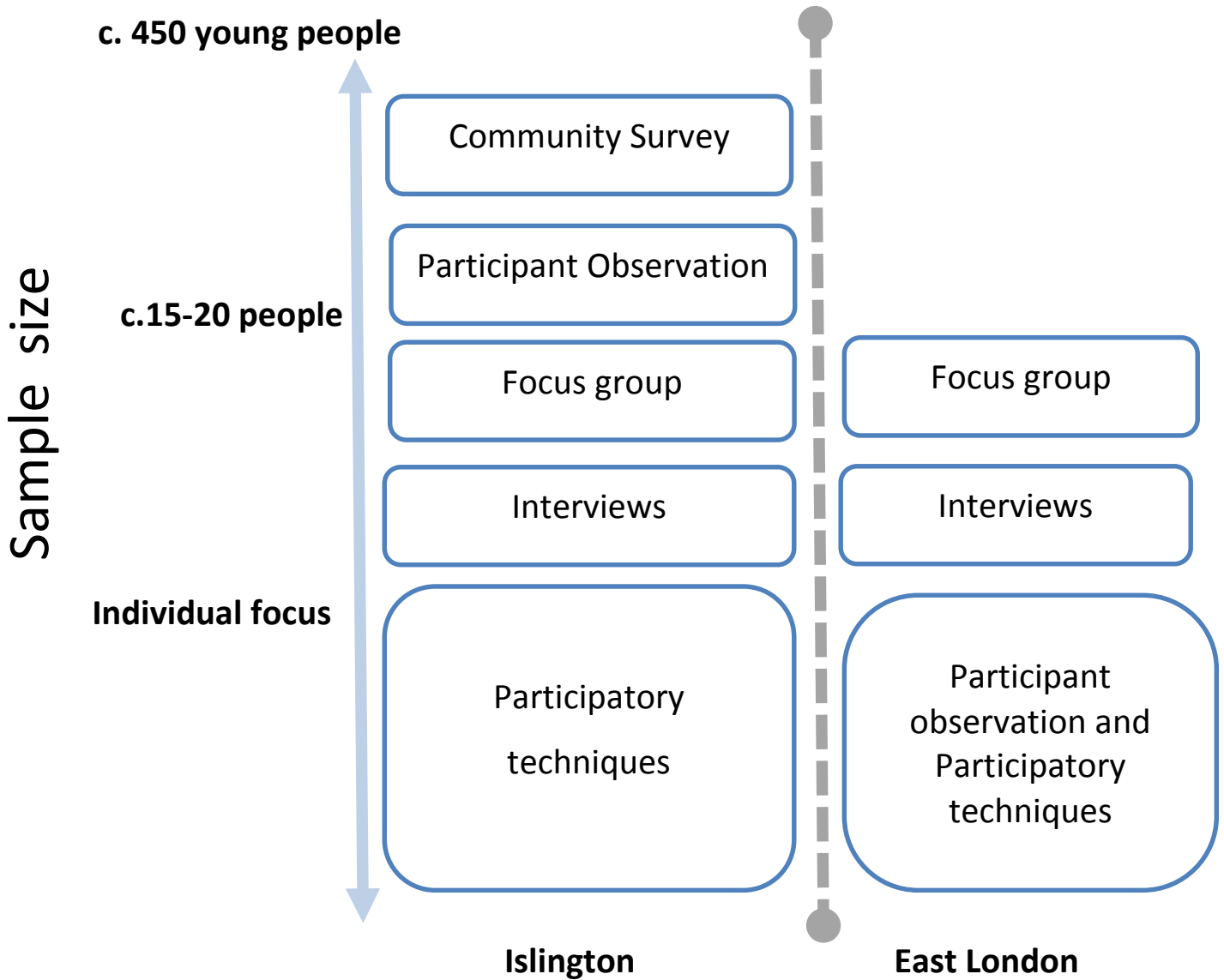
| Targeted/Sp Support Youth suppo | Detached and general Youth work provider | Services for young people (General) | Stakeholder role and number | Form of engagement |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | City YMCA | | 4 Youth Workers including the senior manager | Semi-structured Individual interview |
| | Islington Detached Team | | 3 Detached Youth Workers and 1 senior manager | Semi-structured Individual interview focus group |
| | | The Athenians Basketball team | 1 Senior Coach | 3 In-depth interviews |
| | | The Metropolitan Police | 1 Safer Schools Sergeant 1 Senior Data /Research manager | Semi-structured individual interview |
| | | Arsenal football club | 1 Senior manager and 1 Community Youth Worke | Semi-structured individual interview |

N.B. Each of the interviews was done in each of these stakeholders’ place of work. A profile of each of the stakeholders can be found in Appendix 2.

For the first phase (see figure 5, above), I developed a list of Neighbourhood community officers; police officers; council officers and managers; sport coaches and Youth Workers of varying experience and seniority (see the table below). All were experienced and locally prominent enough to act as

representatives for their institution and all were people I had met through my own preliminary research meaning that I had an understanding of how experienced they were at front-line community work. I positioned them in terms of their expertise as front-line workers setting the foundation for a later contextualisation of their policy resonance (see Chapter 7). Those who I had not met directly, I was introduced to via respected intermediaries. With the Youth Workers, I concluded my research through a focus group and used this as an opportunity to deepen my understanding of youth work. The opportunity was taken to exploit the expertise and knowledge of my co-workers and colleagues and other youth service professionals. Any findings, advice and recommendations about the best way to engage with young people was incorporated into my second phase reflecting the fact that this was a re-iterative methodology and led to various techniques including focus groups.

Table 5
A graphical comparison of the two major case study sites and methodologies



3.2.4. The Community Safety Survey: An Exploratory Case Study

Based on this first part of my methodology, I was commissioned by the Islington Community Safety Board and the Metropolitan Police (under the auspices of City YMCA) to do an exploratory survey into how young people felt about their area when various people became aware of my interests. I, of

course, used the focus project methodology here (see 3.1.). In addition to this, the rationale soon became clear and based around:

using peer mentors - young people speak to other young people. It is a familiar face or not even a familiar face but it is someone that is less threatening; someone who is more on their level you know. It's almost like as Youth Workers we don't approach young people in suits or for formal wear, you know, it always better to be informal by using other young people to empower other young people
Clive Tachie

I used the resources available to me at City YMCA to increase my 'reach' as a researcher and implement this participatory research as soon as possible. In practice, this meant immediately bringing on board young people as co-participants. I recruited a small cohort of engaged local young people that we used as a sounding board for my initial discussion groups. They were the main driving force behind questionnaire construction and survey implementation – a process which used all aspects of their local knowledge and insights.

From their number I selected 2 young people (aged 17 and 19) who both wanted to be trainee Youth Workers. They were chosen and trained by me in social research techniques and given the resources - and payment by City YMCA- to fully implement the survey. They used their familiarity with Islington to identify the circumstances that would ensure the survey was representative as possible. In geographical terms, the survey was concentrated on the East and the West of Islington as these were the wards that the Police Data Manager *and* the Islington Council Community Research Manager²⁷ assured us were the areas to focus upon. My work at the Drum led me to believe this was the only sensible starting point. Indeed these catchment areas cover the 4 largest local estates (see Map 3 below)²⁸. The survey itself, since it focused on young people's everyday routine, unsurprisingly took place primarily on schools, colleges²⁹, playgrounds, parks, shopping malls and sports pitches. For ethical reasons I was in the background for this stage of the research. I did consciously give the Youth Workers the time and space to engage with young people and it was invariably in a manner that would never have occurred to me. Harriet and Rowena (not their real names) were aware of rhythms, temporalities and similarities based on things as mundane as the colour of the school ties within a school which provided catalysts for conversations that I would simply not have considered beginning.

²⁷ Uniquely the same individual – see profile in appendices for more details.

²⁸ The largest estate, Andover, has become (somewhat unfairly) synonymous with crime since Ann Widdecombe stayed there to film a documentary program provocatively entitled "*Ann Widdecombe vs. the Hoodies*" aired 15th January 2007 on ITV. The area was also in the news since Brooke Kinsella's brother was killed right on the outskirts of the estate. See Islington Gazette article, 2 July, 2008.

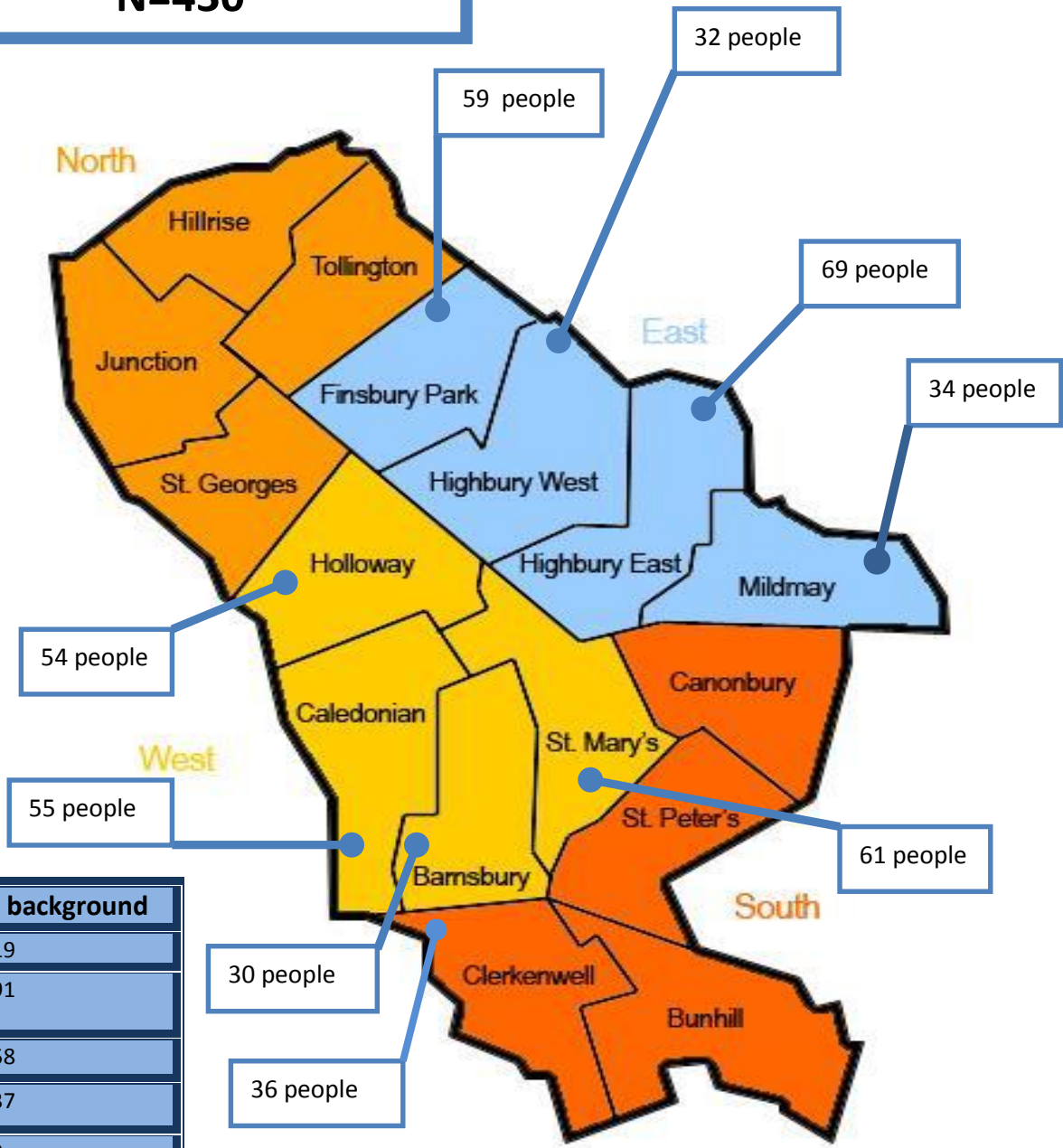
²⁹ Within my research site there is: Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, Secondary School (*West Ward*); Islington Arts and Media Secondary School (*East Ward*); Highbury Grove Secondary School (*East Ward*) Highbury Fields Secondary School (*East Ward*) and Holloway Secondary School (*West Ward*); City University and City and Islington Media College.

Ultimately, as will be shown it gave me access to data that it would never have occurred to me to look for.

Later, my findings will get a separate focus later in the monograph explaining their unique provenance and research value. Still to summarise, it was a survey created by young people, for young people about young people (see appendix 1). This completed the initial investigative stage of my research.

Map 3: The Islington Survey area details and map

N=430



| Ethnicities and racial background | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Bangladeshi | 19 |
| Black African | 91 |
| Black British | 58 |
| Black Caribbean | 37 |
| Chinese | 9 |
| Indian | 18 |
| Mixed | 34 |
| White British | 90 |
| White Europea | 20 |
| White Other | 31 |
| Other | 4 |
| No response | 19 |

| Age ranges | |
|-------------------|-----|
| 13 or under | 19 |
| Between 14-19 | 240 |
| Between 19-21 | 117 |
| 21 or older | 37 |
| Spoiled/illegible | 17 |

| Gender | |
|--------------|---------|
| Female | 209 |
| Male | 201 |
| No response | 20 |
| Gender perce | 49/47/4 |

- Other Variables collected**
- Sexuality
 - Postcode

3.3. Islingtonians and Athenians: Territoriality in collective and individual research perspective

My case study approach and my focus on different areas and different spaces (3.2) had its repercussions on participant recruitment. In line with my aim to interpret my findings within a multi-tiered relational context space, in whatever form, was not the only variable. Through my focus on basketball, I had an insight into a more heterogeneous incarnation of territoriality and group dynamics that still had to be carefully unpacked. The literature had suggested that territoriality acts as container or mold for the spatial properties of events and my focus on a team and more accurately on a basketball team sanctioned a means to witness that. The basketball pitch became the territory and object to which other attributes are assigned: a defensible space (see 2.2 and Dear and Wolch, 1989). I was interested in interrogating the changing importance of place as a mobile social construct in an intersectional way – and thereby examine identity construction in a multiplex manner. Not wanting to deal with the same issues of youth engagement that plague every youth work intervention, I deliberately recruited a different section of young people who were not ‘typical’ users of youth services and who could embody a ‘covental’ research relationship (section 2.4).

It was the collective norms that guide the individual in his/her socially defined view of territoriality that I wanted to scrutinise. Since these norms are not necessarily tied to a particular geographical place, through my focus on basketball, I had a platform to see how and where notions of territoriality were consistent. It allowed a focus on ‘defensible space’ and a shift from “*Representations of the street*” to “*Street Representations*” as way of showing how local attachment describes the extent to which the individual depends on collective social norms, or is ‘free’ to create for example his/her own biography (for example, Beck, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernshiem, 2001; Beck et al., 2003; Giddens, 1991, 1994; Green et al., 2000). As has already been pointed out by Ferdinand Tönnies (1957), these different relations can exist alongside each other in the same society. A young person’s sense of territoriality in practice can then be said to be based in a combination of individualistic/collectivistic views and local attachment/detachment: all emblematic of the difficulty of envisaging young people (McRobbie, 1993). My emphasis on basketball would thus enable me to see social and spatial practices along an axis that emphasised individuation and group affiliation (Dworkin, et al. 2003; Anderson, 2010).

To problematize this to fruitful effect, a long established basketball team also presented a form of self-identification that provided a simultaneous charge of unity and resistance – a source of belonging that encapsulated collectivity, congruity and conflict. This subsection is based around scrutinising this relationship. In short, I use sport as a way of materialising the meaning of territoriality as a complex trade of individual, group and societal exchanges. It was a technique to understand young people that did not reduce actor or structure (Wall and Olofsson, 2008).

3.3.1. Introducing the Athenians: An Exploratory and Descriptive Case Study

In choosing the right basketball team, there were a number of practical issues to tackle. The first issue I confronted was exactly who to recruit and why. I looked for organisations (outside the usual areas of schools or youth clubs) that provided a site for the formation of a collective youth identity; a way of creating commitment and/or participation and a site where people talk about their practices (see 2.4). As somewhere where my youth work background might be useful and which extends practices around which I am familiar: it was unsurprising that I chose a sports club as the focus for this later stage.

Through a mutual contact I was able to gain access to a unique collection of participants. My idea was to scrutinise a form of identity (that of an athlete) that acted as a forum for the views of young people to coalesce (my reasoning around this is the focus of the early parts of Chapter 5). Placing a sports team as the heart of this 'ethnographic' identity gave me access to some of these cultural practices of everyday life – how they travelled, where they travelled and with who that were hinted at in the preliminary parts of this study. I was also interested in looking at perhaps the only territorial and nomadic youth identity that has a collective focus.

Furthermore, I focused upon the intergenerational aspect through their relationship with their coaches lending this wider focus to the study (Vanderbilt, 2007): their relationship with their Coach Cory was an underlying dynamic to much of their narratives of growing up and he will get the focus he warrants in Chapter 7. That aside, I had various criteria as sport gave me the option for some participant observation in the space in which they felt comfortable. The opportunity to 'hang out' and undertake some participant observation had another corollary as well. I became uninteresting and 'part of the furniture' by which time the subsequent parts of the methodology – the waves of interviews - became richer.

Rather than parachuting in and out of the research sites, I wanted to remain familiar to my participants simply because this limited the chance of the young people I spoke to reducing their accounts to narratively interesting spectacle. I was very conscious of how young people might perceive me as part of a community work institution. As that was the case, in talking about spatial identity I was often given accounts of 'badness' and how "*man's not safe no more*" [sic] emphasizing issues such as violence, robbery or drug use. I often had the impression, at least initially, participants played to the audience's expectations (or, in their own words, were 'gassing'). In her doctoral research with anti-social youth in Glasgow, Emma Davidson spoke of how detached Youth Workers had to negotiate the fact that young people were adept at saying precisely what needed to be said to gain access to services. In fact, they often did so with a certain amount of humour and humour (Davidson, 2010). My choice of a sports team undermined this possibility as there was no expectation of me providing access to any service.

It also gave me enough licence to get to know the entire team and thereby select the members of the team that most closely fitted the demographic profile of the young people in Islington that I was working with: essentially they were resident in that area for a number of years and native English speakers. For practical and methodological reasons, I used friendship groups as conduits for research. Experience suggested that this is the best way of contacting individuals if and when they 'fall off the grid'. In addition to this, I found developing and continuing a strong group dynamic was easily the best way of ensuring enthusiasm and commitment to the project was maintained.

Through this tranche of participants, I could see if the tentative conclusions of the exploratory survey were actively replicated by a homogenous outside group giving me a firmer base to in turn formulate my next set theoretical propositions. My initial discussions with them showed me they also knew the areas mentioned in my previous work (Islington, Hackney, central London etc.) very well. Indeed, as a sports team they had to travel around all parts of London ensuring they had an easy and working familiarity with a number of 'bad' areas I knew and a number I didn't. I was also fascinated by the prospect of scrutinising identities that were based in different areas of London which presumably meant that they had developed a different awareness of London based around a different place attachment, place identity and place dependence (see Chapter 2). As Map 9 will demonstrate, the place where Athenians called 'home' was based in three different areas of East London giving a greater complexity to this dimension of data capture (see Chapter 5). I also wanted to look at other local identities in relation to Islington.

3.3.4.1. The Athenians: the socio-spatial context

In addition to the above, the 'right' team also gave me the 'right' degree of socio-spatiality. The lines of difference I wanted were threefold. Firstly, the degree of independence (that is free from adult supervision); secondly, I found a group where participants had a textured modal sense of themselves as being on the verge of adulthood either by leaving home or going to university. Lastly, I found a group that was geographically mobile and thereby had an appreciation of the role of borders in their understandings of 'self' and 'other'³⁰ (Christou and Spyrou, 2012).

I also wanted to scrutinise how ethnic identity aligned with area. As Tracey Reynolds (2013) has asserted, there might very well be positive value attached to 'Black neighbourhoods' by Black youths. A desire to be embedded within networks that double as refuges from social exclusion and racial discrimination across many areas of social life—such as within the education system; the labour market

³⁰ The Athenians provided a perfect combination of these factors. Others – like a famous boxing club in Islington, or Arsenal's training program in Hackney – had one or the other of these variables but not all.

and the criminal justice system could be an undercurrent within territoriality. Despite the apparent problems that are typically associated with 'Black neighbourhoods' for many Black youths, these neighbourhoods do represent urban spaces through which a range of resources are generated including ties of reciprocal trust, solidarity and civic participation (Reynolds, 2013). Her analysis emphasised how these neighbourhoods signify urban spaces through which a range of resources "are generated including ties of reciprocal trust, solidarity and civic participation" (ibid. 2013:484).

There are two corollaries of this. In the first instance, taken from the perspective of young Black men, as Wright et al. (2010) point out, within their own neighbourhoods Black youths are accepted and embraced by family, friends and community members: territoriality might very well be based on this simple dynamic of familiarity (see 2.3.2). By directly addressing this aspect of identity, I wanted to see what was the extent to which ethnicity is an 'explanation' for territoriality. Secondly, I addressed the concern of researchers, policy-makers and practitioners alike, of how Black and minority ethnic youths are increasingly marginalised and isolated from the rest of the city (Commission for Racial Equality, 2005) and thus give a pragmatic edge to the question of how territoriality is to be refigured (see Section 7).

Indeed, very little has been written about black youth participation in community activism and involvement in community programmes as an opportunity for them to examine their understanding of neighbourhood and community relations, their identities within these spaces and to elaborate further on some of the problems and constraints experienced within their neighbourhoods (Reynolds, 2013; Runnymede, 2012).

3.3.4.2. The Athenians: the social aspect

In addition to working with an identity in which an individual's relationship to locality and the extent to which he/she, and his/her norms, are attached to this specific place was strong, there were a number of other variables I investigated.

I found 10 young adults (aged 17-21) on the verge of transition into adulthood. Borrowing the idea that different aspects of identity (like ethnicity) might be situational and contextual (Okamura, 1981), I found a group that regularly moved into and within different social fields with varying levels of adult supervision. The Athenians provided a perfect exemplar since they often trained at a school as an after-hours club. As such, they had bureaucratic supervision by coaches, teacher and parents. They also competed in formal and semi-formal leagues with adults as a team; and finally, they organised themselves without any adult intervention in travelling to games and competing in other semi-formal or informal competitions.

There were other, more functional issues as well. After having to overcome, at times, great difficulties in sustaining the long-term interest of some of the young people within my detached youth work, I constructed a form of social interaction that still used my experience of group and youth dynamics albeit within a different context. They were young people who were already coherently organised around an orchestrated set of ideas of norms, expectations, and status hierarchy (Gurin and Markus, 1988); they situated themselves away from 'on road' status but who were still "on it" (as one of informants termed it) or 'street literate' enough to recognise the representation (Cahill, 2000).

At the same time, the literature suggested that coaches frequently used discourses that drew on narratives of war, conflict, gender, and sexuality to facilitate aggressive and violent responses for enhancing athletic performance (Adams et al. 2010) – all conceivable determinants behind territoriality. This suggests that a line of investigation that conceived of territoriality as perhaps a form of masculine capital. The promise was there to look for a successful team that had already, in some respects, transferred the symbolic capital of athletic prowess from the court or the pitch to other spheres of life in a manner that transcended, subverted or confirmed the parochial anxiety of territoriality.

In addition to this, the "opportunity structures" for personal development and growth for sport are well-confirmed within youth research (Hol, 2001; Long and Sanderson, 2007; Coakley, et. al, 1983) if not unproblematic (McDonald and Hallinan 2005) and offered an easy canvas to view any research outputs (Larson & Verma, 1999; Whiting 2009). The team was not totally 'perfect' in research terms as there was only one girl within that age group and, because of timing, she never became one of participants. Indeed, Batchelor (2009) has complained that youth research often neglects the voice of girls. Whilst that may be so, my goal was to learn directly from the experiences of young people who were involved in territorial behaviour. My preliminary research had distinguished this as something that mainly affected boys.

Leaving issues of gender aside, this group of young people, even at this early stage of research, promised to be a near-perfect case study for many of the themes I wished to explore. I had a group context around which to view the number of complimentary and competing dynamics within their answers as well as to test the outcomes already amassed. I looked at better understanding the way young people materialised a sense of territoriality that not only focused on an individual's understanding but also made it possible to see how they were influenced by social relations and general beliefs. Since it is the interaction with other people that norms and understanding are forged, social relations and group membership is crucial for the individual's understanding (see Wall and Olofsson, 2008; Weick, 1988). I took the chance to fully exploit the opportunity to better scrutinise the unexpected, contingent and the emergent. My preliminary research had outlined but not detailed

the shape of the landscape. Based around Cory's insistence this, I also challenged them to participate in ways that would have been impractical and/or unrealistic within youth work (see section 3.2.1. and section 6). In short, the different embodied subject positions or meaning/identities of my Athenian participants directly addressed Giddens' point about how a:

social identity...carries with it a certain range of prerogatives and obligations that an actor who is accorded that identity...may activate or carry out
Giddens, 1979: 117

...or choose not to in a way that my Islington participants did not. This rich thick conjunction of modalities could be expressed either through practice or language (Schatzki, 2001) guaranteed me an insight into the ways of street representations were actually mobilised and in other ways 'practised' by young people. The potential was to do so far from the restrictive confines of 'conformity' or 'resistance' (see section 2.2.2.).

3.3.4.3. The First Athenian Focus group

My first research intervention with the Athenians is a self-contained example that illustrates the elements running throughout my methodology. As a means of introducing myself to the Athenians and them to me, I started with a focus group. In the spirit of participation (see 3.5 below) and again using the focus project methodology, my new participants chose the venue and the time (see photo below). This was more than a practical issue as I wanted to see the group dynamic within the team – how they collectively problem solved and/or dealt with problems. A sports team has an existing and solid group identity and with a means of resolving conflict themselves: an important consideration since inter and intra group conflict and incivility was strongly suggested as important in my preliminary research³¹. Indeed, the focus group with the Athenians soon suggested my intuition was right.

So trust is a big thing for you?
Femi

Yeah, trust is a huge thing.
Hannibal

So I can imagine in the basketball team, talking about waiting for everyone and you expect everyone to be there, you know that you can trust them.
Femi

Yeah, yeah, yeah, otherwise you can't be successful as a team
Hannibal

³¹ It also became a way of monitoring and measuring commitment. When a participant became hard to reach, I was able to use this group identity to ascertain how committed he was and to bring him back in the project or let him leave.



This venue was chosen by the Athenians and was situated in a local shopping mall. It gives an interesting example of the forms of public space that are valuable to young people and presents the first entry in a taxonomy that will be expanded upon.

Photograph 1.

The Athenian Focus group venue

In this manner, I was able to balance a ‘focus project’ methodology, the comfort and expectation of my participants, my own professional youth work practices and still create a forum where I could collect valid data. Roughly the same procedure was used with the Islingtonians.

3.4. A succession of reiterative techniques

As can be seen, the research design was balanced against a number of competing priorities simply not least the idea, following Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of habitus, socio-cultural constructs such as territoriality might very well be ‘opaque’ to their adherents (Luhman, 1995; Hitchings, 2011; Bourdieu, 1990; Thomson, 2005; Wall and Olofsson, 2008). The mixture of interviews, focus groups and participatory GIS techniques to see the interlinking/intersectional nature of spatial identity, as such had its own dynamic.

3.4.1. Individual interviews

Whilst it would be usual to use individual interviews - and only individual interviews - work by human geographers recently has focused on the fact that in certain very rare instances “*interviews happen after the fact such that they can only ever provide an unsatisfactorily washed out account of what previously took place*” (Hitchings, 2011: 1). Within my work- especially with the Athenians - my rationale was to find an approach that extended the narrative by other means. I did this in two ways – I introduced the GPS mapping exercise (to be detailed below) after this this wave of involvements that established rapport. I also had a second wave interview where I returned to the individual topics that their focus group, first wave interviews, participant observation and GPS mapping had captured to give their accounts that finely grained distinctly individual voice I intended to capture.

In order to gain a more individualized appreciation of my of participants, I interviewed each of the Athenians separately in the weeks after the initial focus group in an area that they felt comfortable and which they suggested – at a park bench off their favourite basketball courts. The format was deliberately semi-structured allowing for new data to be captured but still using the knowledge and insights I had gained from the previous stages of my research design.

3.4.2. GPS mapping and evidence gathering (photos and mental maps)

The preliminary stages of my research had suggested that I was scrutinising a ‘culture’ in the sense of “*a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group*” (William, 1976: 80). My aim in later sections was to make assumptions behind this explicit and unambiguous since, although the youth oriented studies literature canon is extensive, studies rarely depict communities as mobile, active or inter-generationally connected in ways not characterised by crisis. This then was my starting point.

It should be noted that technology typifies much of the work done in this section. There are various reasons for this. In disciplinary terms, technological advancements are often cultural catalysts for major changes in qualitative methodology that expand our abilities to collect and analyse data. Once a new technology is recognized and employed by a few researchers to benefit specific studies, the field begins altering its methods permanently to utilize these new tools. Technology also had implications on analysis as my experience of transcription made clear since placing all the data in a single form allowed me to see the shape of it; the connections between disparate events and the lacunas to explore, as well as to foster a greater analytical trustworthiness through a descriptive audit trail (see 3.5 for greater detail). Leaving this aside for the moment, my ideal is of the active user linking data/theory and method in a coherent whole with the focus not necessarily upon the researcher. The young people I was working with were all ‘digital natives’ (Palfrey and Gasser, 2010; Bennett, *et al.* 2008; Prensky, 2009) and, regardless of age and gender, fascinated by technology which provided me with a ‘hook’.

There was a symmetry to achieve here – providing a space in which to meet practical objectives and yet also fulfil a number of theoretical priorities described below. I refer specifically to:

the problem in cultural studies today... the absence of reference to real existing identities in the ethnographic sense. The identities [usually] being discussed...are textual or discursive identities. The site of identity formation in cultural studies remains implicitly in the and through cultural commodities and texts rather than in and through cultural practices of everyday life.
R. Harris (2006: 15)

The theoretical and practical implications of this will be the focus of the section below (see section 3.4). This section describes what else was used.

3.4.3. Visual methodologies: mental maps

Another stage to the research was the creation of mental maps. I wanted participants to imagine the areas they inhabited and then I used various different procedures to give these conceptualisations empirical purchase. This led me to a re-evaluation of how to co-produce data with some of my participants (see Section 6) and a focus on the visual. My thinking was simple as I became to believe it is important to enter into the lived experience of the participants and since images are more cosmopolitan than words, this proved to be an ideal way to catalyse the research intervention. It was the use of imagination that I was fascinated about: while every writer uses the same language of words, every artist creates their own and it is this new vocabulary that I was looking to access. I introduce visual methods here as a way of fostering creative and communicative potential; as a way to keep things open for my participants.

I also wanted to apply some of the ways that visual media has long been employed as tools for meaning making to my own project. It was used here as a means of expressing subjectivities rather than as a mechanism for capturing reality. I developing drawings and, as will be shown in the next section, photographs as tools for rendering experiences tangible by making clear the intentions of their maker. This was done in a twofold process: first by interpreting the picture and then by interviewing the informant as to why they have prioritised and framed that particular snapshot of reality. As a youth researcher, the possibility for incorporating a participant's intentions and views within the co-production of knowledge was clear. An image after all is "*not an absolute representation of a given state, but a tool to help understandings develop*" (Cooke and Hess, 2007:43).

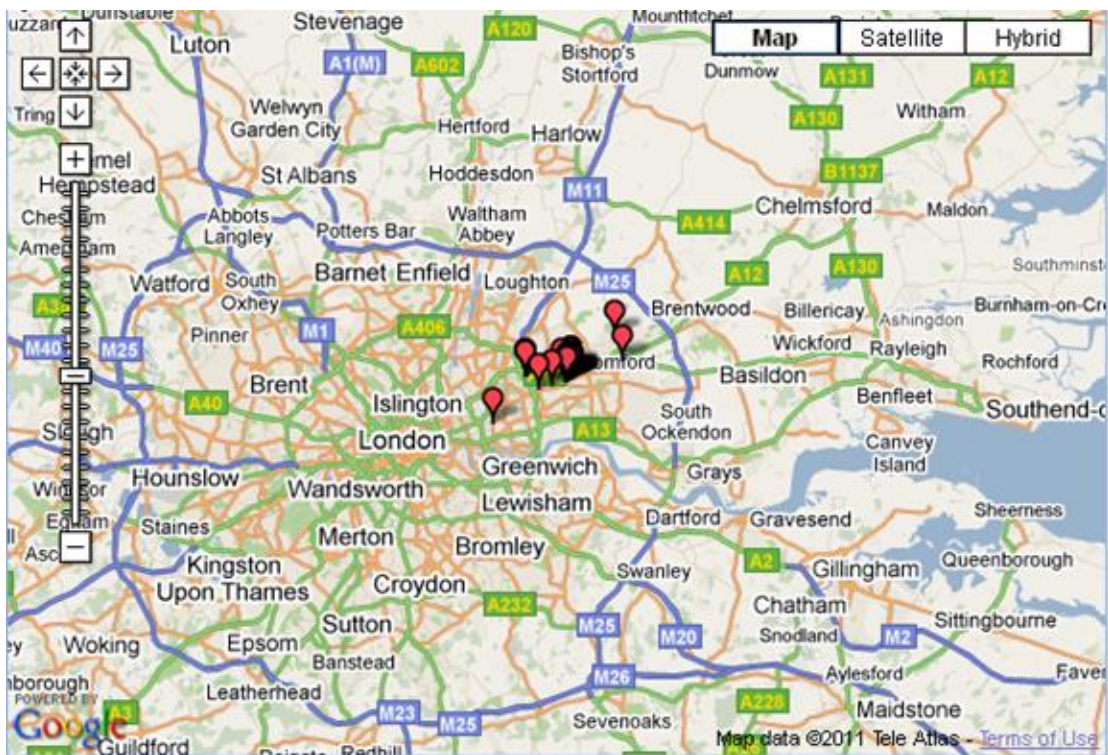
As well as creating a connection to the imagination it later proved a means of reaching towards historical narratives ("**my dad did the same thing**"). The creation of an action sequence and the structuring needed to contextualise (the way the paper to limited framing); indeed even the landmarks used to describe any journey to during the week provided some interesting avenues for discussion. In line with maintaining the fidelity of the participatory approach, it similarly sanctioned a way of ceding the initiative to participants and so successfully captured shifting arrangements whether talking about friends, family, partners etc. and utilised forms of transportation (walking, cycling, underground etc.)

3.4.4. Participatory GIS: Digital maps and GIS as spatial transcript

Maps, such as the one below (see Map 4), present an easy and for most young people, familiar method for interpreting and navigating the city as they are declarative yet analytical. In this sense the markers used present themselves as a spatial transcript and method of sparking discussion of places visited and/or avoided. My intention was to frame social practice in a new way in order to create a more discursive mindset for my participants creating a 'mobile ethnography'.

Mobile technologies also has the potential to scrutinise the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm as posited by Cresswell (2008; 2010, 2011). A mobilised ethnography such as mine allow for different interactions based around the strength of the participant- researcher relationship explaining my enthusiasm for choosing it – the “*range of alternative modes of expression that is particularly important in research with young people*” mentioned above. It could involve ‘walking with’ people as a form of deep engagement in their worldview (Morris, 2004) or what we might call ‘co-present immersion’ whereby I could be co-present within the various modes of movement and then employ a range of observation, interviewing, and recording techniques (Laurier, 2002). Or it could involve ‘participation-while-interviewing’ (Bxrenholdt et al, 2004) in which the I first participates in patterns of movement, and then interviews people, individually or in focus groups, as to how their diverse mobilities constitute their patterning of everyday life.

Map 4
 Map from the early stage of research with the Athenians that provides an early example of this form of interaction



3.4.5. *Epicollect*

As to how these different realities were to be recorded, this and the design issues mentioned previously were ‘solved’ using an app called Epicollect. Designed by an epidemiologist at Imperial

College in London, its uses are as wide as the imagination will allow³². Essentially it creates a password protected Participatory GIS platform by which data collected by multiple participants can be submitted by phone, together with GPS data, to a common web database allowing for the displays and analysis of all the previously collected data, using Google Maps (or Google Earth). As the next section will show, it allows a variety of data filtering options based on scale, time and participant. It is also fully participatory since it requires the active commitment of the participant – essentially I could not tacitly or covertly survey my participants: they needed to actively submit data (Aanensen *et al.* 2009).

³² A conversation with its creator revealed how it had been used to measure stop and search in London; wild life fauna in various locations and even to map the ephemeral process of graffiti tagging all over in New York. The ability to record, time, date, location and even altitude had meant that this app had potential for more than it's disease diffusion mapping provenance. Special thanks must go to Dr. Aahnsen of the Imperial College who was *de facto* software support through this phase of research.

Figure 6
Timeline of the use of Epicollect in the Participatory GIS phase

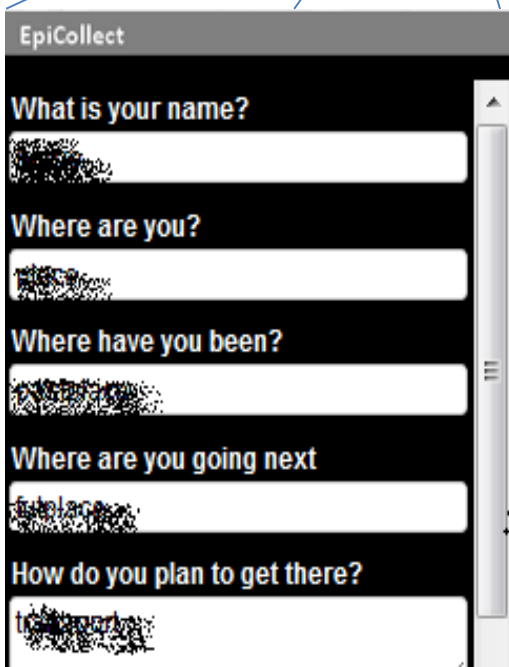
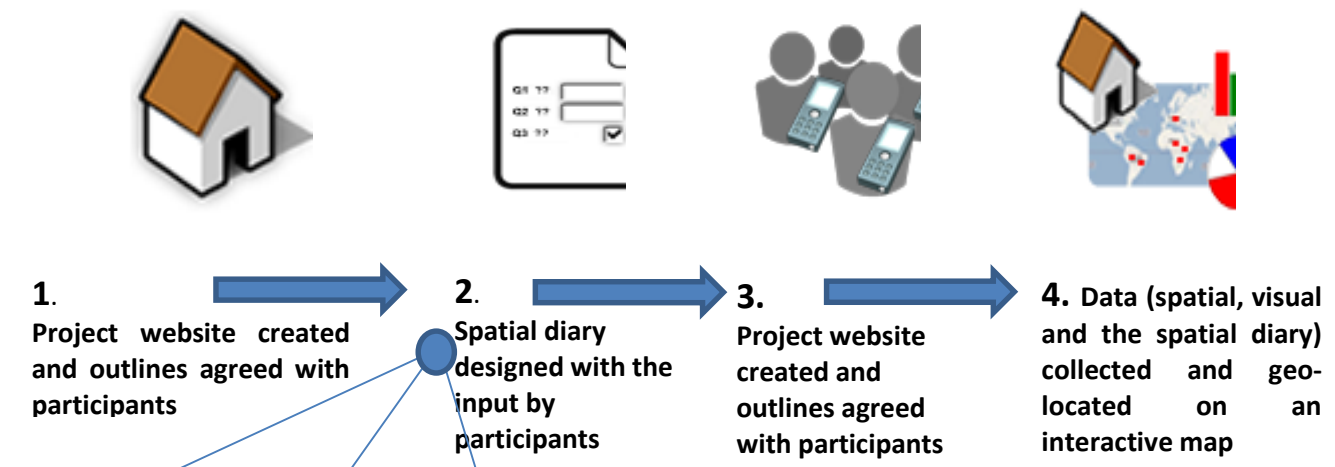


Figure 7
Screenshot of the spatial diary agreed with participants

The beauty of such application is the way that they allow different forms of capturing data in an easy accessible way (the screen capture on the left is taken directly from this phase of research: see Chapter 6 for more details). Nevertheless, serious presentations stand or fall on the integrity of the content meaning that such a method is predicated on exploring a strong participant-researcher relationship rather than replacing it. Still, creating a ‘mash-up’ in terms of content does open up some increasingly intriguing avenues for participant self-expression

For me, this is a new and exciting method for the analysis of data whose benefits are derived from the possible speed of analysis and potential detail explaining why and how some interesting work on crisis-maps in emergency management and disaster alleviation has emerged using these tools (see Meier, 2009; Zook *et al.* 2010).

3.4.6. Photos

Drawings were not the only visual images generated. Photos were used as well to provide a speculative counterpoint to the mental maps of the previous section. The overall question was how do you use an image to assist understanding? It was the fact that participants had the means that can take photos in their own time; they went where I could not and that as a method I would argue that it is participatory as it relates to the political point that this is with research about children and young people as well as with giving young people. To expand on this last point, it was a different method of articulating power and identity: they remained actively involved in the research process on their own initiative. It should be noted that this is also a method in transition (see Baker, 2012; Myers, 2010). In simple terms, young people generally seem a lot more *au fait* with technology and with visual culture in general to the extent that some have argued that Street photography is actually dying out as a tradition since the practice has been democratised to such an extent its aesthetic value has been diluted (Reith Lecture, 2013).

Leaving this aside, taking a photograph is not a solitary activity. Photos are produced within a context, by surroundings and are a social process that requires negotiation and an awareness of group context to appreciate subtleties (Kullman, 2012). Digital cameras do have a subtle effect in the way that there is an instantaneous opportunity to look back at what you have done and re-interpret the scene³³ meaning that I was eager to use this technique only with a group with a coherent identity (see section 5.2). In this vein, it is important to note who is edited in and edited out –to note how friendship groups can be used to include or exclude. Aside from this the issue of how and where they take photos began to come to the fore and how they introduced, reviewed, edited and amended what they produced. It provided another method of engaging and the fact that some took a multitude of photos whilst other only a few provided another level of analysis. Scholars such as Jonas Larson (2008) have shown how (tourist) photography is shaped in shifting choreographies of bodies, spaces and spectacles that is expressive in its own right and cannot be simplified into the sharing of clear-cut meanings (see Kim, 2012 and Allan 2012).

³³ This links into what me and my detached colleagues started to call the ‘facebook effect’. The manner I witnessed in my preliminary research, the numerous ways smartphone photographers changed the atmosphere of a situation because it was being recorded for publication and posterity. I saw how it had made a rowdy group of boys suddenly quiescent and painfully nonchalant or a group of girls who had previously looked bored and apathetic suddenly became dynamic and start performing for their supposed audience.



Photograph 2

Another example of the type of space that young people inhabit taken from the Epicollect app database

3.5. Why bother? The significance of a mixed methodology

As noted before, this research design is sophisticated not just because of its theoretical ambition but also because various aspects grew under the pressure of expediency, pragmatism and my determination to ensure that it was, whenever possible, fully participatory. This section will clarify these points and set them into an overall structure for easy analyses – the points mainly cohere around defining precisely the benefits of participation and positionality.

The ramifications of this were more than theoretical, however. As a youth researcher, the possibility for presenting and curating a participant's intentions and views whilst subverting, minimising or lessening the influence of myself as a researcher had to be taken. As will be shown, the process was designed to interweave on-going sensations of the body as it engages with the figurative and material environment (see next section 3.6 and 3.7) through visual/spatial media - which has long been employed as a tool for meaning making. In this way photographs and drawings were interpreted as mechanisms for rendering experience tangible through the intentions of their creator who has arranged, composed and privileged a certain incarnation of their reality. These images are deeply

entwined in a complex web of associations linking the epistemology of research practice with the perceived nature of evolving spatial processes (O’Callaghan, 2012). In noticing the lacunas, corroboration and contradictions within my participant’s visual/spatial/verbal accounts the analytical process of triangulation, validation or replication was *that* much easier.

Even more significantly on a methodological basis, the data was co-produced. There were numerous axes of differentiation to negotiate. Firstly, my project had been founded on the task of defining a shifting definition of ‘*interpersonal distance*’: that culturally determined space that determines what it is socially appropriate (see for instance Dolphin, 1988; Knowles, 1989; Bradner and Mark 2002). In calculating what seemed suitable and the position on the spectrum of positionality that my participants wanted me to inhabit (policy researcher; academic or Youth Worker – see 3.6), there was a degree of uncertainty that had to be tolerated as I saw which techniques seemed to gain the most purchase (Jupp,2006). Second, the substance of the data itself would be variously constituted different which demanded, where possible, similar protocols and procedures in yet another manifestation of my ‘case study approach’ (see section 1.4). Images were produced here to act as records of reality: as documentary evidence of places and things; of actions and the events they depict before they could be condensed into coherent representations and signifiers. Participants, in retrospect shuttled between these poles as a matter of course. This was quite deliberate since looking for methodological stability would not be necessarily desirable as it can sometimes close off rather than foster the innovative potential of research by stressing pre-established ideas of ‘good methods’ while excluding other equally fruitful modes of expression and participation that emerge unbidden (Kullman, 2012). I sought to embody an afore-mentioned playfully experimental attitude that was recursive and so sought to maximise the possibilities for researchers and participants to understand each other. Research is, after all, always performative and, in providing different ways for my participants to become the performers we negotiated that “*interpersonal distance*” and implemented the collaborative and open-ended aspect of a participatory research methodology (Suzuki *et al.* 2007). Expression and participation are, after all, variable notions that allow for much creativity and transformation.

3.5.1. The design issues

There are myriad ways of envisaging models to represent different aspect of spatial data but, following my participatory ethos, I found something that was content driven in terms of design and ease of input. Conversations with experts in the field suggested a data structure that provides narrative context – a picture or at least a graphical model that meant it was easy to describe or envisage relationships. Something that allowed the documentation of various data forms and granted participants the opportunity to tell their story and ultimately meant a design based around revealing

causality/mechanism and agency. The declarative function of maps seemed to be the easiest way out of this this problem. Bearing in mind the goals above, this meant the system involved had to be multi-resolution/multi-scalar and allow the provision of different types of spatial data 'on the fly'. Ideally, it would be a richly interactive browsing experience that would have some intrinsic sop to ease of consumption giving it a potentially intergenerational slant since generational competencies can be flattened by technology.

Secondly, it needed to show multivariate data: that there should be more than 2 or more variables displayed simultaneously as well as allow the potential for the integration from other data sources. This did present a problem since combining thematic and spatial information might make it difficult to derive answers to questions based around differing epistemologies. Putting spatial data on the web for instance, and allowing users, of varying experience and confidence, the unfettered opportunity to apply such integration raises the issue of how to contend with the heterogeneity of the source datasets and the need for homogeneity in source output. It was here that the participatory ethos of my project again came to the fore.

There was also the question as to how to deal with issues over the protection and privacy of data: an issue of increasing importance and prominence in the 'information era'. How was the balance of authenticity, confidentiality and integrity to be negotiated whilst also taking into account the increased variety and character of data types, the range of network architectures and the emergence of new applications associated with web based facilities?

These were not insurmountable obstacles - as the details below will show. What soon became obvious were the mechanisms by which these issues could be resolved. A mixture of participatory GIS; digital maps and (perhaps most importantly) the use of mobile devices and smart-phones allowed the integration of free text data through a pseudo-SMS style spatial survey; visual data through cameras and GPS positioning and became viable through a coherent digital spatially representative framework that allowed for easily analysis. In addition, the easy familiarity of most people with phones meant that there was very little need for advanced training. Phones also provided an easy avenue for a *quid pro quo* arrangement. If participants would adhere to the project plan, they could use the phone and the £20 I added to the phone's credit every week.

3.5.2. A theoretical justification for a mixed visual spatial methodology

To set out a hitherto implicit theoretical and deceptively self-evident assumption guiding this section: social theorising is actively concerned with the practice of abstraction. This abstraction should be regarded as a perspectival issue - an issue concerned with altering the size and prominence of aspects of phenomena in relation to itself and its original place in spatial and conceptual terms. The power

and utility of visual and participatory approach is that this process of abstraction can actually be done in front of my participants to gain a more embodied appreciation of the production, consumption and regulation of spatial behaviour and practice based upon their positive or negative reaction³⁴. If the process of data production and analysis is 'open' in this fashion it provides a way for a researcher to look at the world in the same way as their participant and for both to better understand the subtleties of identity construction. Within creating participant generated images (drawings, photos and maps) my aim was generate meaning at the very site of production by asking questions of my participants to sharpen my understanding of territoriality.

Furthermore, visual methods, for some of the Athenians, provided a way of expressing 'something more' than language: an 'implicit knowledge' that was hard to express and articulate in ways other than in images. For others, though, it might very well constitute another form of language itself since some were relatively shy in interviews. Different types of engagement were based around giving them 'space' to still be involved even if this shifted the onus onto me as to how to interpret their images (Hull, 2003; Cahill, 2000 and Thomson, 2008). For both types of participants, my thinking was the same: the basis of much of social science privileges approaches based on words and/or numbers. Participants, I assumed would not be uniformly eloquent or communicative and the different methods offered me the chance to find out where and when this was the case and thereby provide a platform to investigate and theorise why. I self-consciously used a number of different visual and spatial techniques, the juxtaposition of which produced a number of images designed to shift viewpoint by shifting genre. A fluid multiplex visual/spatial perspective offered me a comparative analysis of the way sites, themes, representations and flows of information are recognised across spaces and locales with a clear sense of input from my participants. There were a number of consequences: part of the attraction of these techniques is that visual literacy uses a different skillset than textuality opening up different aspects of my participant's identity to scrutiny.

Indeed, we all inhabit worlds in which other senses are equally as important and this aspect of my work taps into this in a development that mirrors recent interest in going 'beyond text' and in designing sensory research methods (Back, 2007; Mason and Davies, 2009). It has been tackled by sensory ethnographers (Pink, 2009 etc.) and non-representational geographers (Thrift, Amin etc.) who have discussed the situating shaping of visibility in practices.

Leaving aside the considerable conceptual evolution of literature, what my basic premise inferred from this body of knowledge is that not all knowledge can be easily reduced to language. Visual images are, after all, evocative and may sometimes communicate what words cannot or communicate in a context

³⁴ This did lead to some new insights leading to new behavior on the part of at least one perspective – see section 6.4.2 and my participant called Jack.

when some would be inarticulate (Eisner, 2008; Gauntlett, 2007). Territoriality might very well remain within a social area hard to easily articulate and express which made the use of the visual as a mode of refashioning an implicit knowledge into something (visually) explicit necessary. Visual objects are, after all, always embedded into a range of other texts, some of which are visual and some of which will be intersected with other images and representations. In using a participatory framework here in co-producing and co-analysing the process of interpretation these techniques would express how a narrative structure was formed by drawing attention to *how* the story is communicated. My choice of methods was, as will be shown, based around this appreciation of the nature of the material researched and on the goals of the analysis

For all participants, my aim was to problematize the production of images since I wanted to draw my participants' attention to how everyday, banal and/or routine images are polysemic (having many possible interpretations). There are good arguments for analysing images in relative independence of their context and just as many to see how and if their production interacts with other images. Ultimately though, the power of such an approach can be condensed into the 5 points detailed below. Collectively all will give an insight into the convoluted constantly fluctuating link between practice, representation and identity that this section sketches out. Each of these points will be interlaced within my later analysis and provide coding categories to interrogate the raw data (see table 4, below).

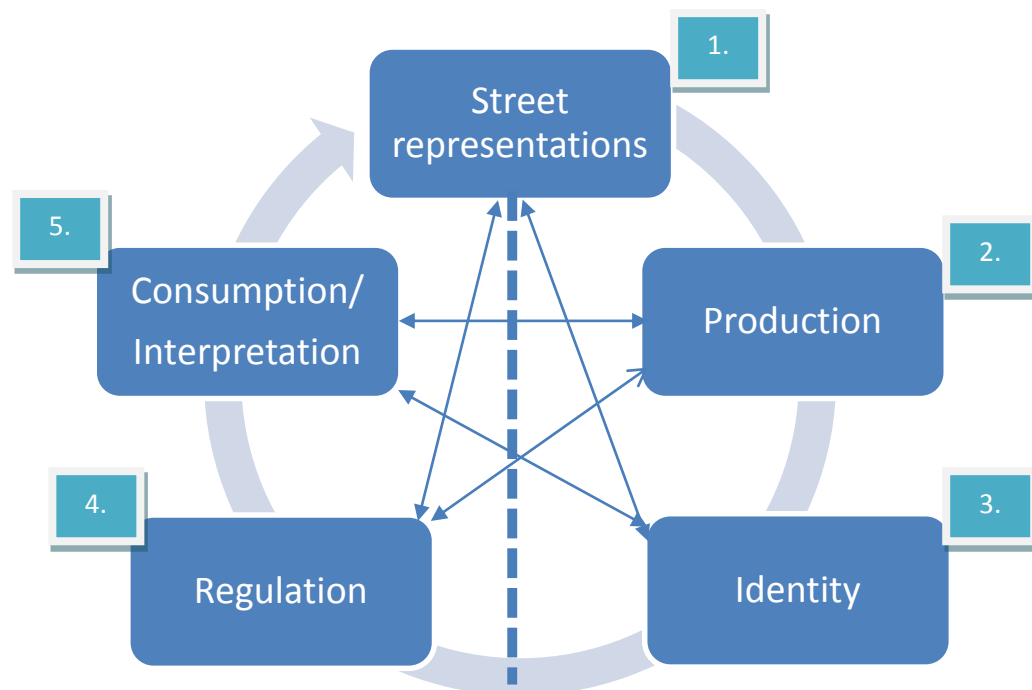


Table 4
Intellectual framework behind my visual/spatial analysis.
 Adapted from Stuart Hall's circuit of culture/signifying practices (Hall, 1997:2)

1. Street representations

My conceptualisation of 'Street Representation' stands as a cipher for an applied, spatially literate youth culture- *"what those on the street actually think of it"*. Street representations cannot be thought of as a singular whole, or paradoxically, as constituted simply by objects. It is more helpful to think of it as a range of meaningful social practices in which visual images' effects are embedded and to use as a research corollary, a series of data research methods that reflect the range of these practices. Visual methods therefore act as a supplement on the interviews and focus group already done. Images are, of course, evaluated with the same caution as employed in the previous sections textual analysis since in the *"selection, processing, editing [of] representation[s]...all languages are equally tricksters"*(Thomson, 2008: 11).

2. Production

The process of visual production did, of course, generate a great deal of data which, like the interviews in the previous sections, needs to be interpreted taking into account the specific social encounter within which they are produced. In constructing these intricate multi-modal accounts, my aim was to investigate the process of how an individual creates new contacts and knowledge of place. My argument will be based on this practice on how this repeats and affirms prior experiences thereby developing or inhibiting new aspects of identity, sense of belonging and mental maps. Within this process, I want to see (in conjunction with category 4, 'regulation') how routine and quotidian practices are continually re-fashioned. My goal is co-curate an understanding of how the relationship between self and place is dependent upon the accumulation of experiences, including complex social interactions, both between and within places (Thompson & Travlou, 2007; Valentine & Skelton, 2007). Indeed, this approach views young people as active producers of culture and not passive recipients of adult constructions (Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

3. Identity

Using these shifting visual/spatial methods here is to alternate between the idea of a visual image as a documentary record and as a cultural construct. By way of this sideways conduit or supplementary engagement I considered how the process of identity construction is either stable or fluctuating. How the drawings, photographs and digital spatial transcripts should ultimately be interpreted as complex reflections' of the shifting position between maker and subject both roles play roles in shaping their character and content. My goal is, through a familiarity with the participants and a long consideration of the content, to identify possible underlying patterns of signification. To this end, excerpts from individual interview transcripts, field notes and focus group accounts will be used to further contextualize them where necessary. Ambiguities of viewpoints and perspectives were seen as a boon

here since they highlight the multiple perspectives taken and were good for eliciting participants own response to the snapshot of their identity I was constructing.

4. Regulation

The same tension between record and construct explained in 'Identity' drives this category. Seeing is, after all, a form of cognition; of prioritisation (Uttal, 2000) and part of my attention was diverted to scrutinising this process. In examining the scopic regime (what is seen and how is it culturally constructed) a great deal was gathered through the juxtaposition of different methods and units of data (single signifier; single image and finally, an aggregate of images). In focusing on correlations here is to also show how an emergent, embodied sociological analysis of visual data should always acknowledge the contingency of meaning and the contextualization of interpretations (Smart, 2009). Investigating how and where this process is not consistent and how the Athenians maintain a sense of identity within this ambiguous space was my undertaking here. In short, it proved to be revealing to see when and how they governed or directed their actions according to some (often unconscious) rules or code of protocols.

5. Consumption/Interpretation

This classification was based around investigating the interactions of two concepts: '*indexicality*' -the property of context-dependency of signs (Prosser, 2006) and '*materiality*'- the physical composition of the object under study. The tension between the two could manifest itself within a number of ways - from the camera angle and composition of a photo to the way that meaning making was explored by the placement of a sign in the material world. Essentially, I was looking for how different audiences (me, my participants, my participants' peers and my participants, themselves, at a later date) would variously read and (re)interpret the data.

To summarise, the three methods of data capture here (drawings; photos and a spatial diary) each have their comparative strengths and weaknesses. Using the three in conjunction to each other not only minimised their respective weaknesses but also, within their juxtaposition, mirrored the composite nature of a territorial culture and identity enabling me to theorise in a creatively playful approach (Kullman, 2012).

3.5.3. Participatory methodologies

Within this account 'participation' has been a word often evoked but never fully focused upon. What it brings; what it does not and how this is to be interpreted within the different parts of my methodology will be my focus here.

To start with its definition first, it is uncontroversial to suggest that 'participation' remains a contested term in theory and practice as various model exist on its ethics and application. Nevertheless, it is

interesting to note how the seminal author Roger Hart – arguably not earliest but definitely one of the most incisive advocates of its potential - was not only a geographer but a children’s geographer as well (Hart, 1987, 1992, 1997). A running theme throughout most accounts is an agreement as to how it is no longer enough to position anyone as unreflexive objects of research. Those who work with children and young people have been evangelical on the benefits of repositioning young people as active participants in the research process if not actual researchers themselves (Cairns, 2001; Kellet et al., 2004).

Consequently, current research views benefits as broadly underpinned by two key imperatives: that children and young people should be studied for and in themselves, not simply as a means of understanding the adult world, or of addressing its concerns; and that researchers should be attentive to the peculiarities and specificities of individual childhoods as geographically, historically and socially situated (Prout, 2005). Furthermore, as Cathy Murray recognised, enabling young people to speak collectively without an adult present is not merely an ideological stance, but also has profound implication for the data collected by providing discourses which potentially provide fresh insights an adult’s presence may have precluded (Murray, 2006:277). The aim was:

to use young people to empower other young people [since] it’s great for both sets of young people. For one, its helping those young people who are more willing to engage, its empowering them; its making them see that they can actually make a difference in their community and it makes them realise that they can actually come up with ideas and actually see those ideas manifest.

Clive Lee

Within this project, the precedent has been well-established as discussed already. My preliminary research stage followed the ‘focus project’ methodology under the auspices of the City YMCA. Essentially, young people were asked what services they felt were lacking and resources were either generated or diverted to meet this goal with the young people, as far as possible, installed as the project managers and evaluators of the proposed intervention. Youth Workers took an advisory/supervisory role. The theoretical and methodological implications of this approach will be the subject of the next section.

3.5.4. Power: definitions, critiques and lacunas

These methodologies are thus acutely self-consciously aware of the need for constant engagement and reciprocity. They promise to access the perspectives of the young people and/or children being researched, rather than the perspective of the adult researchers generating an ostensible tangible form of empowerment (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). Indeed, Caitlin Cahill (2004) has argued that participatory methods generate ‘better’ knowledge than other techniques while Mike Kesby maintains that participatory methods can “*access and valorise previously neglected knowledges and provide a*

more nuanced understandings of complex social phenomena" (Kesby,2000:423). Moreover, they explicitly link ethics and epistemology stating that effective and methodology and ethics go hand in hand. The most succinct description describes how

the reliability and validity, and the ethical acceptability, of research with children can be augmented by using an approach which gives young people control over the research process and methods which are in tune with children's ways of seeing and relating to their world'

Thomas and O'Kane 1998:336-337³⁵

Various kinds of techniques have been devised to empower young people such as Young and Barrat's contention that picture-making should occur without an adult present (Young and Barrat, 2001 and section 3.3). Still, my use of them here is not to suggest that I have a totally uncritical appreciation of these techniques. The term "participation" is clearly a contested one in practice, and one of its main sites of debate is based around the fact that it has become both an *aim* and a *tool* in the ethical quest towards empowering young people and children – a bi-partite approach it cannot totally fulfil (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008. Also see Cooke and Kothari, 2001 and on the other side, Pain and Francis, 2003; Pain, 2004 and Gallagher, 2008) with researchers awkwardly positioned as potential (self-appointed?) advocates for children (Barker and Weller, 2003). Indeed, almost all discourses about "young people's participation" refers back at least implicitly to notions of power although "*less often, however, does [there follow an] explicit identification, clarification and deconstruction of what is meant by power and how power operates*" (Hill et al. 2004).

The preliminary stage of my research also suggested that the possibility my participant was telling me what I wanted to hear had to be borne in mind constantly. This Foucauldian perspective exposes the inherent fragility of such apparent hegemonies. If power always engenders resistance, then the general phenomenon of adult domination will always have to contend with multiple instances of subversion that threaten any appearance of cohesion. Nevertheless, for the most part my participants did reflexively see themselves as adults in making. My conclusion, ultimately became, as a Youth Worker and social researcher is that it is simpler for all (but by no means easier) to engage when the power implications are clear and present and so can be easily rejected or followed by all involved³⁶.

³⁵ This did have implications for interview protocol. At every interview, in response to this sensitivity about power hierarchies and the mythical 'expert researcher', I asked my participants what they thought I was looking for; what they thought I would find and if they had any questions for me.

³⁶ An example can be seen in the Y team. I made clear what the implications for working in my study would be. They had to mark out places where they went on a map and (see Appendices) though there was some lacklustre commitment (or 'gassing'); the vast majority did actually take it seriously only after I had made perhaps the seventh or eighth visit to the site.

3.5.5. Power, participation and methodology

Accordingly, my rationale for these methods only partially depends on their epistemological validity: the degree to which they have a stronger theoretical advantage over more traditional approaches. In more straightforward terms, I understand young people to be autonomous individuals with more or less stable and coherent identities. It does not follow that that these identity produces knowledge: a chain of premises that assumes, in methodological terms, that people are transparently knowable to themselves making a focus on privileging their voices' as the most authentic source of knowledge the ultimate research focus (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). This in turn renders the researcher's task that of simply 'allowing' their voices to be heard. Going back to my literature review (Chapter 2), when I set out the major ontological standpoints within youth geographies, this is not a view I can endorse totally since there is an element of curiosity and emotional maturity within successful research encounters that has nothing to do with age. This is not to say that young people are uniformly competent or universally incapable – merely, in a rather trite restatement of cliché, each situation was taken on a case by case basis.

Underlying this work, therefore, is my understanding of young people as 'different' to adults, yet not inferior; diverse amongst themselves, but marginalised as a group; enmeshed in wider socio-cultural structures, yet possessing their own understandings of the world; and above all as eminently capable (Winton, 2005). Nevertheless, participatory techniques open the possibility of something that 'ticks all boxes' in a manner that has been devalued (Beresford, 2002; Williamson, 1993; Sanders and Munford, 2008). The advantage of using such tools is that they allow the focus of the research to be immediately and visibly shaped by the priorities of participants in that the list of techniques used measure (if not cement) a link with commitment. I use a diverse array of methods available designed to deal with a variety of situations since it is widely acknowledged amongst Youth Workers providing a range of alternative modes of expression is particularly important in research with young people (see also Morrow and Richards, 1996; Johnson *et al.*, 1998; Thomas and O'Kane, 1998; Ansell, 2001; Young and Barrett, 2001, Winton, 2005).

Indeed, this, if anything makes the data richer and thicker since, in theoretical terms, the decision to only commit up to a certain point is empirically interesting. Allied to my focus on the micro-scale, the potential is to expand on this axis and to formulate a stronger deductive conclusion (why did participant Y only use method X and not the others? Could it be because...)

My solution to this was an explicit acknowledgment of "the politics of recognition" (Taylor, 1994; Sweetman, 2009) that directly confronted the difficulty of using images in a way that embodied mutual respect, voice and protection when and where necessary (Wiles and Coffey, 2012). Based around my understanding of the risks, and my view that ethics is an expressive arena, I explained them to my

participants. The vast majority chose to use aliases – though the professionals (police officers, Youth Workers etc.) did not.

3.5.6. Ethical implications of a mixed methodology and participatory framework

It is unavoidable to talk about ethics at this stage³⁷. Though this will be given its own separate focused attention, my view is ethics is as an arena for the free expression of expectation rather than a bureaucratic exercise. In an academic context, this view shifts from the assumption of dependency to a view of young people as competent participants in the research process and as self-contained and capable research participants. This does involve the idea of ‘ethical symmetry’ between children and adults, where the *“ethical responsibility between researcher and informant is the same whether he or she conducts research with adults or children”* (Christensen, P. and Prout, A., 2002: 482). My approach does at least assume this from the outset.

And yet a participatory methodology hides a number of potential approaches under its aegis. Users need to be explicit about their aims and purpose and to be overt about why a participatory research design was chosen at all. To follow Alison Winton’s examination these of methodologies, they share an expectation of:

...an inclusive, appropriate and flexible method of data collection... [Yet perhaps the best way to avoid confusion over the meaning of ‘participation’ would be to avoid using it as an explicit label unless the entire research process is genuinely participatory
Winton, 2005: 169

To go back to first principles and relate this debate to territoriality, I introduced this set of techniques for a number of reasons. Firstly, territoriality is a multi-faceted phenomenon so the task is to create a methodology that meets all these various aspects and combines this within my nexus of positionalities (the topic of the next section). It lends itself to practice like mapping and diagramming and thereby to the human geographer’s interests in scrutinising socio-spatial experiences at varying scales. In this sense, ‘participatory’ approaches can be said to extend and enhance, rather than replace, ethnographic approaches: they attempt to engage with children’s embodied and performative lives.

In short, it acts almost like a solvent between the various theoretical, methodological and ethical differences combining it all into a coherent systematic methodology. As to how ‘participative’ this project is – I present the answer, as participative as it needs to be. In my view participation is like as dance and lets the participant lead when circumstances allow but I take the lead myself when necessary.

³⁷ In a sense the ‘elephant in the room’ in the way that it is large, impossible to ignore and full of grey areas.

There is an underlying issue of power here to address. Since I will contribute to the debate later in the Section (see in particular, section 3.7 and 3.9), I will merely summarise it here. The moral imperative is based around considering how a visual approach should be used amongst those who may express themselves differently verbally as a means to allow us to communicate on different registers (see for instance, Tolia-Kelly, 2011; Kullman, 2012; Barker and Smith, 2012; Lomax, 2012). Various commentators have responded differently to the question of *“how do we represent without essentializing or ascribing some kind of authenticity beyond the social and discursive when doing research on, for example, ‘women’, ‘blacks’ or ‘children’?”* (Elden, 2013:67). To this end, Young and Barrett (2001) have argued that children’s and by extension young people’s contribution should happen without the involvement of a researcher whereas Tina Cook and Else Hess advise researchers to always ask children how they would like to be involved (2007). In part due to the fact that I am working with a sample who self-identified themselves as young adults, my goal was to use both these approaches simultaneously and to see where and how the young people challenged the process – what did they do, if anything to subvert my expectations was patiently recorded as part of the data collection process?

At the same time, I made clear that I was not trying to focus on the spectacular (see Section 1). My intuition was the character of ‘territoriality’ comprised an often invisible set of practices and emotions. I, as a researcher, was very much involved in co-constructing the narrative, together with the participant(s). Consequently, the methods don’t quite reveal the ‘authentic’ voice of the agentic youth nor the ‘authentic’ unconscious voice of the participant. Rather, it is within this very ambiguity that the multidimensionality of the participant’s narrative can emerge.

3.7. Ethical engagements

I have already mentioned how youth work fitted into my experience of research and so was socially situated, ethically aware and participatory before the fact. Linked into this work practice, Pain and Francis (2003) have identified a number of advantages when using participatory methods with young people: they are particularly effective in accessing ‘hard to reach’ groups; participants choose their own level of involvement and they are perceived as the ‘experts’ through the use of research tools tailored to that of the participants.

To reiterate, it is for this season that I used the YMCA institutional framework. As a result, I already have an enhanced CRB check, extensive training in child protection, access to various referral, risk evaluation and mediation mechanisms (see table 6,).

These provided a case hardened approach to dealing with my own safety and that of my participants in projects including a way of resolving any legal issues arising or issues of parental and non-parental

consent³⁸. In youth work there has been an emphasis to follow the lead of the Children Act 1989 and which makes it clear that the need for confidentiality can be overridden if a young person has been identified as in danger. Indeed, as a last failsafe, I also carefully maintained links with experienced YMCA staff and have used them as a peer group to evaluate the safety of myself and my participants.

Table 7

Illustrative list of policies that constituted part of my youth worker legal and ethical training

- child protection: policy and procedure
- Lone working policy
- Personal safety policy
- Incident policy
- Crime and drugs incidence policy

3.8. Summary

This admittedly sophisticated and complex system reflects the different actors (informants and participants) role in the process. It meets the theoretical challenge and fluctuating conceptual demands that I believe must underpin any genuine investigative intervention of territoriality. It adheres to the different shifting priorities of my positionality and ethics. It also mixes methods to ask distinctive but intersecting questions by using different but linking ontological and epistemological categories to enable me to ask contrasting and distinctive questions about the social world. This methodology thereby conceptualizes what I am researching and what I conceive might 'count' as knowledge or evidence.

Subsequently, in the face of this the field of enquiry what I interpreted as the research problem did evolve and this development, I interpret as a methodological acknowledgement of the multi-dimensional aspects of territoriality. Those different dimensions might exist in an uneasy or messy tension. It was these creative tensions and the possibility of taking a risk that I built within my system.

³⁸ This includes a Child protection YMCA course (Level 2); Child protection awareness Level 1 course; policy briefing on the 'Ethical conduct in youth work under the auspices of the National Youth Agency and training on the legal and procedural framework for Child protection

It does contain certain assumptions but my contribution was to build upon these rather than ironing out the distinctive strengths of idiosyncratic approaches.

I am explicitly following a “*Systems thinking*” argument that aligns these strands into a whole and under which emergent properties can do emerge. In describing the different parts, I am aiming at a more than reductionist method that seeks to understand positive/reinforcing feedback and negative/balancing feedback within a system partitioned to manage complexity. It is methodology aimed to evolve and to reconfigure itself. It was the possibility of witnessing the way distinct elements conjoin moving beyond a typical sociology of youth territoriality that describes it in *dynamic* (in time) and *fluid* (in space) terms that I take here. At the same time, the distinction between the system boundary and of the system’s context or environment is kept productively porous (Wilson, B. 1984; Sterman, 2002; Sherwood, 2002; Jackson, 2003).

The effects of this will be described through the rest of the study though in not focusing too much on one system and underlining territoriality’s complexity and confusion, something fundamental can already be discerned about how to intervene it workings (see Section 7).

Chapter 4

Street representations and Representations of the Street.

Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.

Paulo Friere, Pedagogy of the oppressed.

4.1. Young people in relation to Youth Workers

As stated, youth work's statutory basis is patchy and beyond a legal duty for local authorities to provide 'positive activities'; an obligation to provide provision for 'decision making by young people' and a new and emerging responsibility to create new opportunities 14-19 learning, it has little legal substance³⁹. How local authorities provide the range of leisure, cultural, sporting and informally educational activities that fall under this increasingly elastic term of youth work is left open. Beyond local authority youth centres (the usual hub around which youth services are centred); a more targeted provision for vulnerable young people (see table below) and a more specialist provision that deals with issues such as Youth Justice⁴⁰, there remains little legal basis for youth work.

³⁹ Statutory Guidance on Section 507B Education Act 1996 published in March 2008. See also the Education and Inspection Act 2006 which re-affirms and extends these Acts.

⁴⁰ Crime and Disorder Act 1998 section 37 includes the aim of the youth justice system to prevent offending by children and young persons, Section 38 covers the local provision of youth justice services and what those services should be, including the need to pay for it and by Children's Social Services, Health, Probation, Police and Education

Moreover, this situation translates into a somewhat anomalous funding structure - local authorities spend 55 times more on formal education than on any out-of-school service⁴¹. This makes it next to impossible to generalise geographically about youth work what to expect in other areas of Britain despite the fact that its potential reach has long been acknowledged. Indeed, to prove this last point, a House of Commons Select Committee recently pointed out, based on parliamentary research, nearly 85% of young people's time is spent outside of school. It would be harder to come up with another example that better emphasises the disparity of resources. My own experiences are indicative. My preliminary research (see 3.1.1) suggested knowledge is not innocent of power. Once again Foucault's work on the close relationship between knowledge and power is instructive here (1977, 1978) implying, in order to be effective, power depends upon a certain equation of consent if not knowledge and the part of those being 'governed'. Participatory techniques propose one avenue but not a total answer since to encourage young people to participate in creating knowledge about themselves is also to encourage them to take part in processes used to regulate them (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008: 505). My experience had furnished me with a great deal of instances where the increasingly residual nature of youth work had meant that there was always the possibility of young people reacting to my role as the guardian of resources. Many were happy to play the gangster if it meant at the end of the project, they would get the day trips or treats that their project participation warranted.

As stated, youth work's statutory basis is patchy and beyond a legal duty for local authorities to provide 'positive activities'; an obligation to provide provision for 'decision making by young people' and a new and emerging responsibility to create new opportunities 14-19 learning, it has little legal substance⁴². How local authorities provide the range of leisure, cultural, sporting and informally educational activities that fall under this increasingly elastic term of youth work is left open. Beyond local authority youth centres (the usual hub around which youth services are centred); a more targeted provision for vulnerable young people (see table below) and a more specialist provision that deals with issues such as Youth Justice⁴³, there remains little legal basis for youth work.

⁴¹ According to Select Committee reports on the subject, mean spend per pupil for education was £4290. By comparison, mean spending per young person by local authorities on youth services was £77.28 within the financial year 2009-2010. See Educational Select Committee report, Volume 1, "Services for Young People" p7, paragraph 5 and 53 (2011).

⁴² Statutory Guidance on Section 507B Education Act 1996 published in March 2008. See also the Education and Inspection Act 2006 which re-affirms and extends these Acts.

⁴³ Crime and Disorder Act 1998 section 37 includes the aim of the youth justice system to prevent offending by children and young persons, Section 38 covers the local provision of youth justice services and what those services should be, including the need to pay for it and by Children's Social Services, Health, Probation, Police and Education

Moreover, this situation translates into a somewhat anomalous funding structure - local authorities spend 55 times more on formal education than on any out-of-school service⁴⁴. This makes it next to impossible to generalise geographically about youth work what to expect in other areas of Britain despite the fact that its potential reach has long been acknowledged. Indeed, to prove this last point, a House of Commons Select Committee recently pointed out, based on parliamentary research, nearly 85% of young people's time is spent outside of school. It would be harder to come up with another example that better emphasises the disparity of resources. My own experiences are indicative. My preliminary research (see 3.1.1) suggested knowledge is not innocent of power. Once again Foucault's work on the close relationship between knowledge and power is instructive here (1977, 1978) implying, in order to be effective, power depends upon a certain equation of consent if not knowledge and the part of those being 'governed'. Participatory techniques propose one avenue but not a total answer since to encourage young people to participate in creating knowledge about themselves is also to encourage them to take part in processes used to regulate them (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008: 505). My experience had furnished me with a great deal of instances where the increasingly residual nature of youth work had meant that there was always the possibility of young people reacting to my role as the guardian of resources. Many were happy to play the gangster if it meant at the end of the project, they would get the day trips or treats that their project participation warranted. As already discussed, it is hard to overstate the effect of recent transformations in the youth policy climate. What can be extracted from the myriad of changes is a neurotic need to protect and/or punish. To restate this from the perspective of Governmentality, the rationale of central and local government is simple (Dean, 2010): to manage society 'well' whatever form the technology of government might take. Actions observed gave substance to different forms of sovereign power, whether disciplinary (like the police) or permissive (like Youth Workers) relating to 'soft' or 'hard' state power (ibid; Barry, 2001:14).

Considering the government is instituting a 'National Citizen Service' to inculcate an alternative sense of identity, this is more than an abstract question: since institutional impetus has been invested in the form of a new taskforce divided between Cabinet Office and the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS)⁴⁵, the issue is being taken seriously. Are the government's actions here doomed to failure since an appreciation of the complexities of the problem doesn't seem apparent? Can a modern

⁴⁴ According to Select Committee reports on the subject, mean spend per pupil for education was £4290. By comparison, mean spending per young person by local authorities on youth services was £77.28 within the financial year 2009-2010. See Educational Select Committee report, Volume 1, "Services for Young People" p7, paragraph 5 and 53 (2011).

⁴⁵The program runs every October half term and 16-17 year olds are given a residential where they are given 'community work'. (See <http://nationalcitizenservice.direct.gov.uk/>: accessed September 2012)

'National Service' create a form of identity that is more sympathetic to a positive future? My challenge in understanding the ontological and epistemological roots of researching territoriality are, as will be shown in the next chapter, partially based on deciphering the best institutional nexus around which to intervene.

This section is predicated on answering the first of my research questions: are young people territorial? If so which young people, when, where and how? Accordingly, here I have set out the findings of the first section of the research design within its proper practitioner background. The most noticeable characteristics within this first stage were the range, depth and complexity of views expressed. My 'stakeholders' have already been described (see figure 5 in 3.1. and see Appendix 2) but within this group there was a multiplicity of approaches based around their particular institutional purpose. There are, in short, a number of complimentary and competing starting points. Whilst there does appear to be a greater and greater convergence between the various forms of youth service professionals in the form of an emerging professional community practice (Robb, 2007; Moore and Prescott, 2012),

As has been stated, the purpose of the research design was to create cascading study phases (see previous section), each one building on its predecessor and outlining the contours of the complex dynamics of territoriality. This stage collected and contextualised the experiences and opinions of various service professionals talking about their practice and their view of youth territoriality. As such - and as far as possible using their own words - it demonstrates their fine-grained and thick appreciation of place and space; describes their knowledge of temporalities and mobilities but most importantly, it depicts their professional representations of young people in all that categories' often contradictory complexity. Based on this, and the way that positionalities provide different insights, I juxtaposed what stakeholders report with what young people say as a way of problematizing and refining any emergent 'official' viewpoint. Centred on the last chapter's methodological innovations, I describe some of the complexities of a peer-led survey and outline the major theoretical tension points of using a participatory methodology with young people. Since I have used quantitative and qualitative research methods, I take the opportunity to replicate and corroborate my findings within different contexts. I also had a subsidiary aim. In theoretical terms, parts of this chapter are best seen as setting the basis for an evolving definition of territoriality and answering the last of my research questions: how can territoriality be refigured and by whom? It will also be the first example of my bridging of the gap between describing a thorough evocation of youth territoriality and constructing an accurate systematic analysis of it.

4.2. Stakeholder views: a spectrum of practices

To this end, the first section will be preoccupied with the question of what do stakeholders think of the issue of territoriality (4.2 till 4.4). Do they believe it exists? Who does it affect and can it change form based upon different specificities? If so, how do professionals think young people experience it? These findings go some way to answering the question 'Are young people territorial?'

In the second part (4.5 till 4.6), I show the utility of observing and describing practices, processes and representations through various methodological innovations. By making room for participants to reflect on their actions in (Ingold, 2011) I will show the 'taken-for-granted nature' of **Street Representations** and how **Representations of the Street** are put into practice. Whether this is through peer researched quantitative analysis (4.5) or focus groups (4.5.8.) the chance is taken to provide powerful insights and an important point of departure for the next juncture of research and analysis (Allan, 2012). Ultimately, this chapter will show how different interactions between the state and young people create different interpretations of youth and place. I will also assess certain professional understandings of what and how young people perceive their area and juxtapose this with data harvested from by, from and with the young people themselves.

4.2.1. *The Police and young people*

The Police were the best place to start since serious youth violence seemingly characterised the rougher edges of territoriality in all the accounts that I had heard over my years as a Youth Worker especially given the fact that I was already aware what the majority of Youth Workers in the area believed. I looked to discover if there was any consensus between the Police and youth services; to exploit the Police's duty to record and analyse interactions with the public (see maps below) and to see how different their interactions with young people were to mine. As the most overt example of the state's sovereign ability to discipline, what the Police believed about youth territoriality since they encountered it at its most criminal and spectacular, why this was such a good starting point was obvious.

I interviewed two Police officers at different levels of seniority. PC Stuart was a sergeant at the Safer Schools Partnership for the busiest area within Islington. Both Police officers were interviewed at their respective Police station albeit under circumstances that reflected their positions within the Police hierarchy.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ PC Stuart was interviewed in his office with the door open and his superior officer able to hear whilst Keith, by respect of his more senior position was interviewed in the canteen. In respect of his higher rank, I also was invited to call him by his first name.

For PC Stuart, despite the fact that he spent a great deal of time at one or two schools in the neighbourhood getting to know the pupils on his ‘patch’, the interview at his office did mean a change of scenery from his usual professional practice. As an officer in the ‘Safer Schools’ partnership, he provided local detail – where young pupils congregated, how and in what density they moved and how local people tended to react to them. I used this to provide context. Still, it was my long (over 2 hour) interview with Keith Stanger, the Community Safety Manager, in charge of community safety data collection and analysis throughout Islington that provided the definitive strategic Police overview of youth violence and practices. It should be noted that Keith holds a position that was and remains unprecedented and unrepeated nationally in that he is the Community Safety Manager at Islington Local Authority *and* the Police data Manager simultaneously. Subsequently, as the intersection between the two organisations, he was able to speak about the climate of youth transgression and violence in a manner that literally no professional within Britain could replicate since it covered a multitude of agencies across the spectrum of enforcement, surveillance, care and the allocation of resources.

4.2.2. Crime and violence

One thing soon became clear was that the Police- at both ends of their chain of command –traced out a social construction that could be described as territoriality though it differed from mine in its emphasis on crime and violence. Somewhat unsurprisingly, the initial assumption for all was that this was a criminological study: Keith, despite the institutional uniqueness of his role as maven, assumed that I was talking about gangs as well. Still, even this misconception provided context as when asking about territoriality in his role as Intelligence and Data manager he responded:

Yeah. Oh, we notoriously have some very young groups. They supply drugs [but it is] organised by the big groups based in Haringey and one has to [look outside the borough] for the real serious deaths but that is much more high level. The majority is just tit for tat. The trouble is at that level, first some of it is, as you say is PR driven and media driven but they are the ones to be more scared off because the level of violence is random and between gang members or other people just caught in a gang etc. We do get the ones at the highest level and it does tend to be very much targeted.

Keith

That was interesting was how violence, even if it did not have direct targets but instead those “**people just caught up in a gang**” was directed and purposeful. Even if “**the level of violence is random**” there were always clearly identified marks making the motive and purpose of the violence clear. There will be clear implications for my chosen sample of ‘resisters and desisters’ (see 1.2.). In fact, this quote is indicative of a number of compounding and competing dynamics the Police believed important. The overt manifestation of the criminal economy in the form of drugs, the conflation of street practice (the recruitment of “**some very young groups**”); street representation (“**the big groups based in Haringey**”) and representations of the street (the “**PR driven and media driven**” violence) are all implied (see

Figure 1). It was an example, amongst a constellation, as to how the majority of professionals I encountered grasped the complexity of the issue. In their accounts, crime and violence remained a way of linking representation, practice and place within a single easy category. This view's prevalence amongst those that embodied the perspective of 'hard' state power, is a significant research finding since it confirms the archetypal response to territoriality and potentially one that must be challenged or subverted if I wanted to construct a more accurate nuanced incarnation of the social construction on the part of service professionals.

4.2.3. Gangs

Perhaps nowhere is discourse on practice and place; youth and violence more apparent than within the emotive word 'gangs'. It should, of course, be noted that the phrase 'gangs' remains so contested, chimeric and charged that some have actively tried to restrict use of the term to very specific circumstances (Hallsworth, 2008; 2010; 2012). What does remain clear is the term seems to contain a powerful imaginary of the streets for the press (Alexander, 2004; Alexander 2008, Gunter, 2009; Fraser 2012, Sveinson, 2010 etc.); within the policy and practitioner community (Hallsworth and Young, 2004; Hallsworth and Young 2005; Pitt 2008; Gunter and Joseph, 2011) and not least within the criminological and youth studies literature (Hallsworth and Young, Gunter, 2009., Joseph, 2010; M Klein, HJ Kerner et al. 2000; Decker, and Weerman, 2005).

For the Police officers I spoke to these definitional issues were clear. Gangs flickered in and out of categories making them notoriously hard to classify the implication being street violence was not easily reducible to the evocation of coherent spatial antagonists.

Umm...they might want to fight somebody...They were notorious for they might want to run drugs... do some violence. "We are going to fight you because you are now on our block" type of stuff. Umm, so generically, the hardest bit as well is actually around tracking particularly around identifying groups. What do you mean by a gang, how do you identify what is a gang; do they say they are a gang or do they change their name a lot? Some of them are quite open with it are on the on [the] internet.

Keith

In the presence of so many forms of definition, Keith took a pragmatic approach based around "**a really good standard definition**" using Hallsworth's Home Office adopted description that has, intrinsic within it, a focus on criminality. When the interview flowed into discussions of territorial violence and I asked how big an issue they saw it, he responded, it was:

um...quite big. In certain areas it is quite big, in others it is not. It really depends on the group or gang. We can talk youths generally, then maybe not, if we are talking gangs or organised groups of some description then that is different.

Keith

As an analysis, this was corroborated by outside national, local and regional figures (See Appendix 3). The inference was that violence was most marked in professional criminal organisations and relatively rare even then. Territorial violence amongst non-gang members was, unsurprisingly, even rarer. This difference between a territorial organised criminality and young people in territorial conflict was clear, at least, to the Police. Though space was an actor in both instances, for the organised groups, the Police data suggested violence:

does not seem to be very much territorial, because where it becomes territorial [it] is more when they have a purpose for their criminality. So it is either they want to own a postcode because of it is going to be drugs or other enterprise and that is when it starts to become territorial. So the majority of the conflicts that we have are territorial are over drugs – small scale and large scale.

Keith

Assaults or other physical attacks, in their experience, were generally instrumental and rational even when their purpose was based around the intimidation of others or communicated a group's control. Furthermore, despite the ease of elision between violent youth gangs conflict and violent youth non-gang conflict, the Police were sceptical of 'American style gangs' that had coherent corporate style forms of recruitment, branding and easily identifiable areas. Moreover, both officers were clear those involved in organised crime kept conspicuously well away from public space and general attention. Despite the spatial concentration of deprivation in certain estates and even though certain forms of crime and conflict seemed perennial in certain areas, gang crime happened away from easy public gaze. Whilst Keith was certainly clear of the presence and influence of organised crime, he was not sure that the public were fully aware of their presence and threat.

I mean that we have one of the biggest crime families in London in Islington, the Adams family, but they don't... you don't see anybody. They will come to the fore sometimes and something may slip but in real terms...you know they are not stupid. They are not stupid so the public, it like the Krays you don't see them. They do their thing but in real terms it is not your doorstep and it's not in your face and they are not affecting your life really so they don't really need to worry.

Keith

On this point, though there were youth gangs, their boundaries and spheres of activity were not so clear that that territorial violence could fall easily under the category of 'gang activity'. Again, I was told that this seemed unlikely. As to why this was the case: why weren't youth gangs (greatly?) involved in youth territoriality? On this, Keith was clear:

...why bother? You are making money, you are doing your bits and pieces and of course when you have discernible gangs, when they have got the same colour and same groups and they are hanging out with this and that and the other, it's the bit that the public [don't hear].

Gang violence was "professional" or at least organised and so focussed around other gang members and not 'normal' young people. Whilst youth gangs existed in the area and were, in the Police

vernacular, more “**challenging**” than other forms of youth crime, they were not an easy explanation for the very few spectacular instances of territorial violence that I had heard in the preliminary parts of my fieldwork. Youth gangs were dangerous because they:

are focused on something. Maybe it's their age; maybe it's just the level of risk that they have to take part in. They do a lot of the donkey work, whether it's the drugs running, the violence and the serious fighting for the bigger groups and so the bigger groups are more and more clever. A lot more.

This simple finding needs to be stressed: there was no easy equivalence between organised crime and territoriality. Crime when it occurred alongside territorial lines followed certain well-established patterns. Indeed, this point – that youth gangs did not generally persist in territorial violence without a rational, criminal justification – is worthy of emphasis and one that that my preliminary research had suggested. If territoriality did exist, it was not important enough to warrant Police attention aside from their existing focus on organised crime.

On a secondary note, this meant an aspect of my research model was now fully justified. My deliberate starting point away from criminology's disciplinary borders was now vindicated since violence on the scale that the Police would recognise as significant was not fuelled by territoriality. Indeed, my aim to locate this study within the ‘resisters’ and ‘desisters’ was vindicated. Still, this did provide a useful inventory of the scale youth violence and the borders around which to frame the rest of my study. The youth violence that did occur was, as one would expect, multi-causal:

Some if it is postcode related or area related. Some of it is not and it is just name or person focused. I have lots of young people saying that I will not leave this area and some of our Youth Workers say that I will not ever leave this estate.

The inference was territoriality did at least have *some* tangibility in the eyes of the Police. From this, we can posit certain young people are territorial but not to the extent that the Police view it as a serious crime and disorder issue. The alternative was if violence did occur, it was not obvious enough for the Police to investigate it.⁴⁷ In Islington, at least within the eyes of the Police and the council, territoriality could be summarised by either the actions of a small but persistent strain of youth criminality or a larger inchoate group that persisted in executing acts of criminal and anti-social behaviour. The implication was that behaviour recorded by the Police was not discrete but granular so best collected and interpreted by a variety of re-iterative techniques: another justification of the multi-method approach. On this, Keith was clear:

⁴⁷ I managed to view a confidential copy of the Accident and Emergency admissions data for a project ran by the police to test this possibility. A nurse within the ward was given the opportunity to confidentially record reasons for admission in order to see whether there were ‘hidden’ violent crimes. Without betraying any confidences, their data strongly suggested that there was no ‘hidden’ tranche of territorial violence within Islington (see Appendix 3).

no surprise, because you are working in youth work, they are happening where you would expect young people hang out. Angel, Finsbury Park, around tube stations: you would expect youths to be there [and] to hang about

In short, my interactions and conversations with the Police had convinced me despite the sometimes almost declaratively criminal aspect that my preliminary research had suggested, youth territoriality could not be reduced to instances of (organised) crime. How crime was linked precisely with territoriality was still unknown but despite this, geography and the structuring dynamics of demography and class played a real issue in where the Police noticed conflict occurred, or at least where it was recorded. Territorially motivated violence did point to a complex compound of youth, agency, area and class.

4.2.4. Police representations of the street

In his account Keith had mentioned and differentiated between 'spaces', 'place' 'area' and 'postcode': so what were the Police representations of the street (space and place) as a spatial actor within and of itself? When I questioned Keith about this, he expressed how:

um, we do get massive things from geography, there is a fair bit around geography and that causes problems around engagement.

His responses recognised three ways of envisioning the interaction between people and area: the street as location and position; the street as social filter tool to classify crime and violence and lastly, as a way of appraising how young people congregate. To provide context: Islington, according to the government data was ranked 65th out of 533 of the most deprived parliamentary constituencies (see the area profile in the Appendix 4) and yet had some of the most desirable properties in London⁴⁸ creating a concomitant effect on crime and crime prevention that was different to neighbouring boroughs.

If you look around Barnesbury, around Highgate, all super rich, amazing houses, amazing areas and next door you would have Finsbury Park area with its estate. Cally Road where the need is actually horrendous. Some of that does make sense. So some of that sort of thing...you could map out... here if you knew the level of crime or callouts or responses, the public confidence levels, the child poverty.

This simple fact – the variation between different areas within the small space of Islington established the spatial dialectic from the perspective of state services and enforcement. In terms of 'area as location', Keith was able to readily able to situate Islington within London's criminal ecology and show how efforts 'here' and 'there' were different. Islington's positioning near the centre of London but neighbouring certain other boroughs created a unique niche (see map below).

⁴⁸ According to the website home.co.uk, average prices in September 2012 were over £650,000 with detached housing selling for over a million pounds.

Luckily we are not in the same league as others. We are in quite an interesting location because we have Camden, Hackney, Haringey. And Hackney [and] Haringey have got pretty serious organised gangs. We haven't really. We have got youth gangs but they are not in the same league as what you see when you got tit for tat murders and all of that. We have got violence and stabbings and all the rest of it. Usually, what we get is overspill from one of the two boroughs or people from there come across because we border Hackney.

As to how issues of class and geography affected young people, Keith (in a conclusion that was corroborated by PC Stranger) believed the effect was intricate as class, area and young people interacted unpredictably. Coming up with a single, simple verdict:

to be honest...umm...it is tricky. I don't think it affects where they congregate, I think it affect the type of congregation they have. Notoriously, there is no surprise, the type of people in the area, the social demographics of this and the whole area [all interact]

His overview as a member of the Islington Local Authority *and* the Police did mean that he was used to collecting and distilling all manner of forms of data and reports into a an easily interpretable conclusions for local authority councillors and managers/commissioners within the Police service. His views, distilled from these various sources, gave him a general impression of how and where young people interacted with authorities. Within the more affluent areas:

you tend to find more anti-social behaviour and more low level crime and the kids that are notoriously hanging around because they have nothing to do and they are just playing on the swings and shouting abuse.

By contrast, if:

you go into the more deprived areas, which are quite often dumping grounds for want of a better word. [With] social housing [since] they have the problem families and they still put them in the same areas so they have the areas that actually have very high unemployment, so they don't have anything else to do and they don't have the money to spend [to do anything else] so that is where you would find your 'gangs' and your serious violence really starts to come out.

For young people, this meant that 'no go' areas could be, more or less, precisely mapped (see Map 6 below):

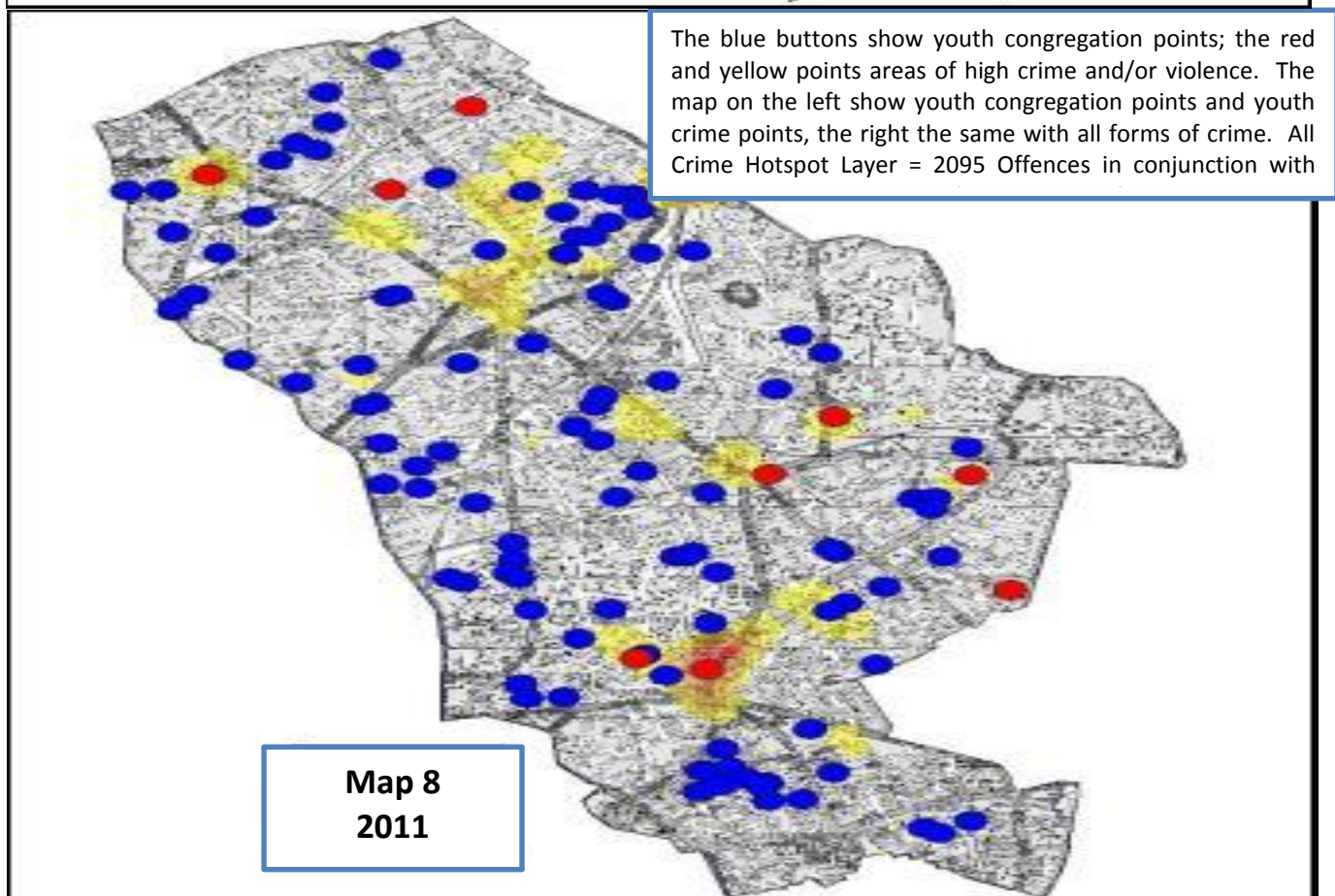
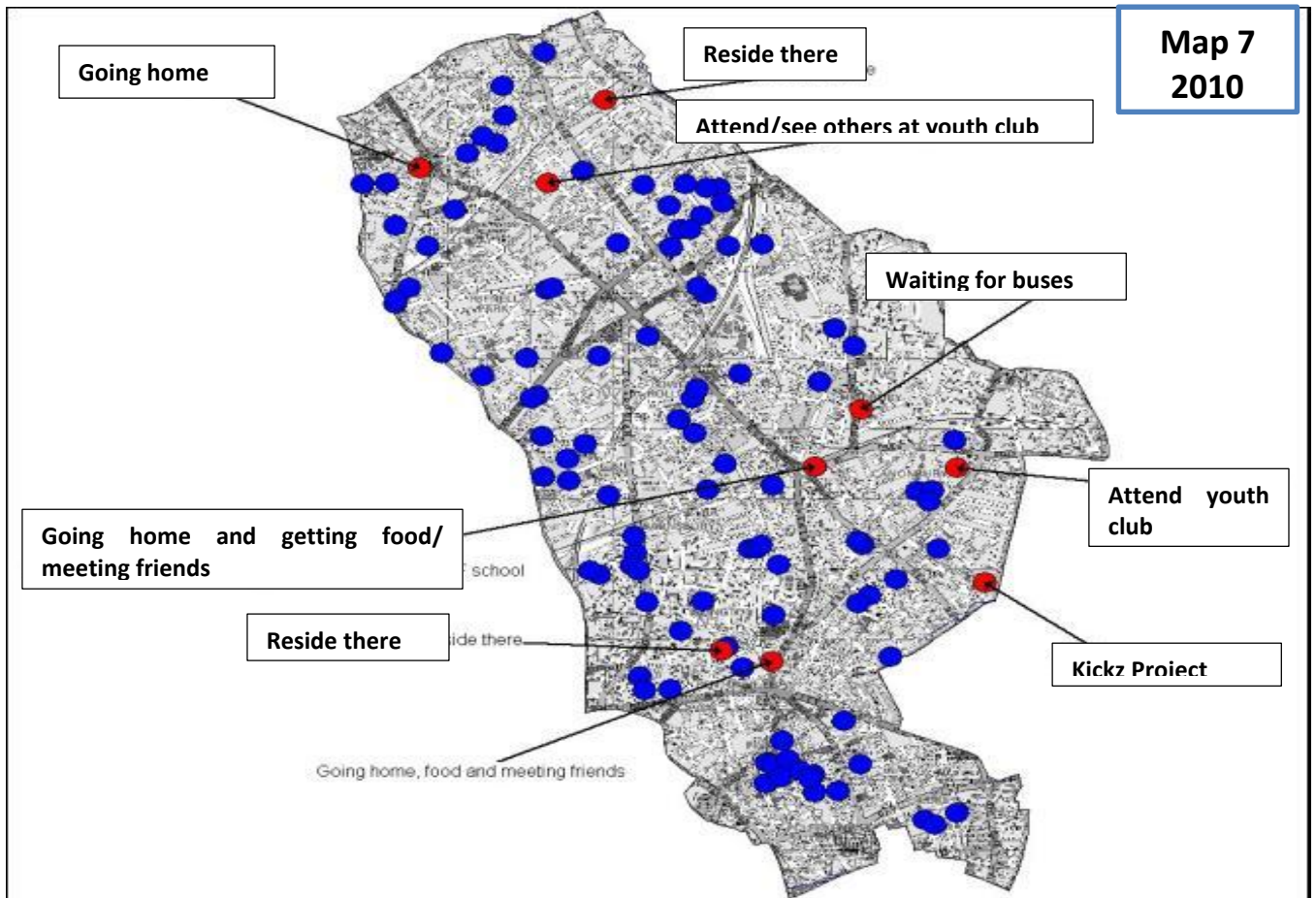
So out of what I have told [you] there would be the north of the grounds around Finsbury Park around Homerton, around Caledonian Road and in the south around Clerkenwell which would map out exactly...Whereas your Barnesbury it would happen in parks and obviously you would get the odd stabbing there but it is much more [organised].



Map 6: Islington in comparison with its neighbours.

The way that these various structural factors of class and youth react in and off each other and can be inferred by the maps below. The red points show the major youth congregation points in Islington whilst the blue dots show the sites of major offences during that time. The yellow heat maps show the ‘areas of concern’. What is interesting is the seeming gap between the two. If nothing else, the differing scales of adult offences and young people congregation confirmed how cities are “intransitive” by occurring at multiple levels simultaneously, pliable and fluid (Hubbard, 2006:165). Young people can and did have ambivalent experiences and understandings of the city and not just through their ability to move into, through and out of urban spaces. Whilst the Police recognised that an important element of young people’s independent geographies was based around this (Benwell, 2009; Gough, 2008) – hence the focus on yellow target areas – it was far from the Police’s main concern. If nothing else, the existence of these maps (constructed as they were by the Police and based on input from schools, youth services, churches, mosques and temples) served as proof of the service’s recognition of how, safe, efficient and affordable public transport, secure pathways for walking and use of their own vehicles (cars, motorcycles, bikes) are important priorities for all but especially for young people (Skelton, 2013).

Youth Congregation points within Islington according to Police Intelligence



As stated previously, for the Police territoriality was in and of itself not a significant crime and disorder issue because of the absence of professional or organised gang presence. Bearing in mind the way that social deprivation affected service provision, Keith did express this almost as a partial source of frustration since it affected:

...where you put the resources. You target these big groups which would probably would have the most effect but you are not dealing with the immediate when you have got [to deal with those] groups running around which are doing the stabbings. With the public you would get a lot more outcry about 13 year old kids, 14 year old kids stabbing themselves to death because they are the ones the members of the public [remember]. It is right there on their doorstep and they see it and they worry about for their kids and everybody else and the serious stuff is still going on but they don't necessarily know [or even notice].

Keith

Indeed, the few instances of territorial violence that had occurred– **“13 year olds or 14 year olds...running around stabbing”** each other- were in some respect distracting in their **“immediacy”** since they stopped him from **“targeting those big groups”** that he believed posed a greater problem.

4.2.5. Summarising Police views of youth territoriality

To return to the question posed in my first chapter “how does territory influence a sense of place and understanding of identity both individually and collectively on different scales?” we can confidently point towards a number of interlocking conclusions. To use the now familiar triptych, in terms of **Representations of the Street**– the professional perspective of those who worked on the street - the two Policemen confirmed the professional conception of the connections between area and social interaction were themselves complex and evolving. What deserves focus are those structural variables that Keith saw as significant: housing type and tenure; public confidence; the level of child poverty; the area’s demographics; the (transport) links and proximity with other criminal markets since all affected the level and type of crime. All acted as functions in that complex equation that explained how where and why territorial violence occurs.

In terms of **‘Street Representations’** (what actually happens on the street), I was proven right since the Police’s duty to record different forms of street involvement was condensable into a number of convincing insights. Ultimately, the relationship between territoriality and crime or violence was proven to be tenuous at best. The crime and violence on a street level rarely had a direct territorial motivation since even within the small sample of cases that did occur **“the level of violence [was] random”** (Section 4.2.2.). ‘Gangs’ – whether youth, professional, organised or whatever – can and did act in a territorial manner because **“they want[ed] to own a postcode because...of drugs or other enterprise”** but they typically kept well out of public gaze (4.2.3).

Lastly, in terms of what actually happened on the street – **Street Practices** - the relatively few instances of territoriality motivated youth crime and violence that were recorded did have certain characteristics. Paramount amongst them was the fact that **“you would generally find the areas that are more affluent...more anti-social behaviour and low level crime”** whilst in their more deprived environs, **“that actually have very high unemployment...that is where you would find your ‘gangs’ and your serious violence”** (see also Kintrea et al. 2013; Deuchar, 2009). In short, area **“affects where [young people] congregate [and] the type of congregation they have”** (Section 4.2.4).

In summary, this confirmed the Police had a nuanced view of territoriality – or at least their ability to hold in mind parallel versions – a finding that will be significant when my research aim of ‘re-figuring territoriality’ is achieved. However, there are limits to these insights. The fact that Keith was *the* data manager for the Council with access to youth, adult, welfare services *and* the Police (with corroboration by PC Stranger), did mean that I could state with a great deal of confidence, that the outputs above were applicable to Islington in its entirety, but past that? Since even these outputs were only valid to the Police and to Islington, the challenge evolved: where these insights applicable to other services that dealt with young people? This, will of course be answered in other chapters.

4.3. Stakeholder views: Youth Workers in context

Despite the puissance and insights this above perspective brings, it comes from a standpoint that emphasises space, surveillance and power. If territoriality was not a synonym for youth crime and violence, as the Police had argued, what was it? It is here that the disciplinary limits of criminology seem more obvious in distinguishing an embodied experience: it is at this juncture we can see the utility of a multi-faceted perspective. The aim of this section is to illustrate how each of the cascading research phases fed and extended its predecessor: from the Police, to Youth Workers to certain young people themselves. Whilst the Police were able to fill in detail on the type of conflict they noticed (re)occurring between young people (one incarnation of territoriality), it was the Youth Workers that added substance to the question as to what *archetype* of young person might be affected when actions were not overtly criminal. To this end, I interviewed and conducted a focus group with a range of Youth Workers across the gamut of youth services available within Islington (see figure 5.) in an effort to give an added tangibility to the otherwise abstract question of who were the ‘resisters’ and ‘desisters’ (see 1.4).

As I had discussed within the methodology chapter (see sections 3.3.1 till 3.3.2.), this was a way of confirming or rejecting the assessments and reflections that I, myself, had harvested as a Youth Worker talking to young people myself before I had formally started my doctoral project. Indeed, the sections 4.3.3-4.3.4 all report a breakdown of the themes young people had suggested to me and the responses of my colleagues. It allowed me to speak to Youth Workers as an ‘insider’ and critically examine their responses. I present it as way of creating context before investigating the text of young people’s practices.

4.3.1. Youth Workers views in institutional context: the different forms of Youth Workers

The narrative commences with the City YMCA where I volunteered for over 10 months as a Youth Worker. This stage was characterised and is evidenced by participant observation and a number of interviews with Clive Tachie, who I worked with the closest on a number of projects; Andre, an experienced Youth Worker working on parallel projects and finally Ian, the project manager (see Appendices and previous section). The second part was based on my work with the *Y team* at the turn of last year (2012). It involved travelling and working in trucks such as those shown below (see Photo 3). Interviews also followed the same pattern of recruitment by engaging at differing levels of seniority and experience within the same organisation. I interviewed Clive Lee (to be subsequently known as CL); Martin, the project leader and finished with Christine, the Islington manager of detached youth services. As a form of triangulation, I held one focus group with all of the *Y team*. I also interviewed Dean a coach at the Arsenal football club sponsored Kickz project. Dean was a prominent local personality and as a former gang leader/highly successful drug dealer, provided an insight which none

of the others could quite match and added a level of triangulation and corroboration to the points and findings that I had already found.

In this way, my ambition to gain a strategic overview of this particular form of practice from a variety of practitioner perspectives was fulfilled: an ambition that will get the focus it deserves when the question of how to refigure youth territoriality is brought to the fore (see Section 7). For me the opportunity was to be able to talk to a core of community professionals that dealt simultaneously with any number of young people from a number of organisational perspectives and to translate this into something that had empirical resonance: all of which would give the social construction of territoriality some tangibility.



Photo 3: The Y Trucks

Part of this preliminary triangulation stage of research meant I volunteered with the Islington Detached team. Work involved setting out in one of these 'kitted out' trucks above and going into different areas of Islington – effectively a mobile youth club.

4.3.2. Youth work and young people

A full contextualisation of Youth Services will be the subject of another section (see Section 7) as a prerequisite to answering my research question “how can territoriality be refigured?” The most that is needed at this point is a cursory overview. To go back to the outline defined in my introductory chapter, we can divide services into universal, specialist and targeted services (see figure 3 within Chapter 2). Universal services remit is self-explanatory but on the other extreme, specialist and targeted youth services usually saw young people whose principal problems could be myriad and multiplex. The main issue to be tackled was however:

um family, there is a lot of family problems for a lot of our young people. They [are often] still in care. A lot of them are in contact with the Police

negatively. You find a lot of them from YOT [Youth Offending Teams] or on tag [surveillance by the Police by electronic anklet tagging] or awaiting trial just come off probation, those sort of things or pregnancy as a lot of young people will have kids

Andre

Despite the fact that that family circumstance, background, familiarity with the Youth Justice system or any other issues was often highly visible in the life narratives of the young people, for all this, all the professionals saw each person as more than the compound of multiple forms of deprivation. Most were insistent that they worked with 'normal' young people. Though this is not to suggest that this is all that is needed to provide an effective service (see Cooper, 2012, Batsleer and Davies, 2010 and Robb, 2008), it does illustrate how young people were not viewed as passive victims of a social pathology although the degree to which they were seen as fully actualised agents of their own destiny was fluid (see 2.2.3.). Still, what all stressed was the routine banal nature of professional practice and the need for this to underline the agency of young people. On this last point:

whatever it is, if you are a young person and you looking for...looking for job then you looking proactively for a job then are you likely to find a job. If you are a young person who is looking for trouble; looking for a challenge and that is where your energy is focused then you are more likely going to find it. If you are looking for guns, then you can find it. If you are looking for drugs then you could find it...You know whatever you are looking for...

Clive Lee

As a highly experienced project worker confided to me as an aside, young people are young people and not a walking embodiment of social problems. For territoriality's link to that declarative form of violence that focused on publicising one's criminal credentials (see 4.2.2), this meant:

it's down to the individual. You know. Two people living in the same area with have totally different perceptions of that area based on what their outlook is...what is attractive to them to a degree

Clive Tachie

The interviewee who best personified this standpoint was Dean. As a self-confessed former gangster, he was blunt about the dangers and attractions of youth crime and the risk of straying into the wrong areas. In one anecdote he embodied a whole range of themes when discussing his shift from a drug dealer to youthworker and describing some of the challenges that persisted from his previous role.

[smiling] money was good. And then, ummm, I sort of had it 3 months when I was good and I was just sorting out my house. Money was low. I wasn't used to making £100 a week but I was surviving and I was getting used to it and then I had my daughter. I think I had her on Xmas, that Xmas. I had her on Boxing Day and she said cool, you want to go to McDonalds so we went to McDonalds where no-one would know me. I was sitting in McDonalds at the window and then some boy was looking at me at the window. I was like "who is this?" and I didn't recognise who it was and then he came in with a knife and tried to stab me in front of my daughter. I managed to sort of get out of the situation without getting hurt, without hurting him. I wasn't really

worried about him more about my daughter. And then, from there, it is pretty much straight lines.

Dean

He epitomised and corroborated some of the points made by the Police – the motivation and total focus on money; the way that could lead to spectacular occasions of violence and the fact that instances like this are far from the norm. Indeed, though this episode was an instance of territorial violence, the person who attacked him was another ‘gang member’ rather than a ‘normal’ young person.

4.3.3. ‘On road’ culture

Despite this link with crime, it did appear that the circumstances involved around territoriality were contradictory or at least based around a complex or fluctuating set of beliefs. My pre-doctoral experience as a Youth Worker had uncovered one resonant phrase that reoccurred again and again – when young people described themselves and each other as ‘on road’. I wanted to use this stage to find out what this phrase meant and if this had any application to my study. Though the phrase has already been given some attention (see Gunter, 2008; Gunter 2010 and 2.3.), the Youth Workers were articulate about what it signified. In a reflection of their position on the spectrum of youth services, Andre – an experienced Youth Worker and long-time resident of Islington and project worker with ‘at risk’ young people posited:

On road...hmm...when young people talk about road they are talking about more than a physical space. Again that culture. In some ways it is a whole different set of rules for young people, it’s not all [gestures with hands] and not bother about it. There’s a whole different set of rules. When you refer to on-road, you are referring to the physical space as well as those set of rules that run parallel to them. When you are on road things can hit the fan. When you are walking on road and some man tries something on you, you act in a road [fashion]. It’s got all the rules of the jungle

Andre

‘On road’ cultures, to refer back to the second section (see 2.4), is a means to unpack the complexity behind libidinal and transgressive dimension of territoriality influence the young attitudes, values, behaviour and dress (Gunter, 2008). The multifaceted aspect of Andre’s conceptualisation can be contrasted with Andre’s line manager’s thoughts. Ian, was a little more reflective, perhaps exemplifying the fact that he routinely dealt with a different category of young people and not just those who were given the professional label of ‘at risk’.

Yeah, I think that is probably some mythical thing that they picked and liked the idea of it. I don’t know. I think that means something completely different to different people. Ummm, I think that means for me that would mean, almost like a little gangster, a little wanna-be. Someone who can, who has got lots of little contacts, places, and who can call on people to get whatever he or she wants to do whatever they want to do. To make money. I think it is the black market side of stuff, it’s the stuff, the under...cover, underground stuff...

Ian

Still, leaving this aside, the principle's pervasiveness amongst young people encapsulated a great deal of what happened in the street informing street representations and street practices to an (unknown?) degree. As to the type of young person it affected, there was some ambiguity.

[It] is a not a term [not] just any young person uses, it's more something you will find in the street savvy kids. You won't find one from the local grammar school going 'on road'.

Andre

Ian, by contrast was more expansive in his definition.

So there will be a young person that goes to school and is a 'normal' young person and just gets on with their life and they are quite simple to engage and they are the ones who you would expect to go to college and university and kind of progress with their life and careers and possibly in parallel with that is on road and is trying to live a different life. So yeah, those two things do, yeah, run parallel and it is common to get people moving in between those and so it is kind of...you are trying to promote the more [positive]

Ian

Within these slightly differing accounts, it is possible to see the awkward position of structure and agency. The invocation of 'school' as an avatar of 'structure' also shows the complexity of the term 'on-road'. Still, as spatial practice, representation and lived space in a conceptualisation of *Lefebvian* sophistication that linked directly to my now familiar trinity (see table 1). This is not to suggest that the representation has this same clarity for those who perceive it both first and second hand.

I think that there is whatever you want to call it, the road, the street. Young people see the kind of...dangerous glamorous side of stuff and that can often be the anti-social stuff but there is a lot of...you can get a lot of money involved in that if you want to make some money, sell stuff, do whatever you want to do. So there is the perception of money and respect that goes with that and I think that can be quite attractive and with all the hip-hop, I personally do see that that is not a great role model, these hip-hop artists. The things that you hear about, I think that does have an influence on young people....

Ian

At no other time was this more apparent than when talking to Dean, the former prominent gang leader in the full 'criminal' sense that had gone on to 'change his ways'. Detailing the shift and the challenge of shifting to a self-confessed gangster to something less dangerous, he was eloquent about the challenges of 'on road' culture and 'normal' life.

I was living a life, how can I say it of a criminal but there was football session that was started on my estate from Arsenal but then one of my mates got offered a part time position there and he was really enjoying it but if I am honest with you, I just had a baby and needed money so I didn't really want to carry on doing what I was doing and making my money doing illegal things and then it got a bit on top. Police raided my house, once twice a week and I got kidnapped twice within a month.

Dean

Within each of these of these three incarnations and invocations of 'on road' culture, - Andre's description of it "as **more than a physical space and [different] set of rules**"; Ian's "**perception of money and respect**" and as the site of Dean's misadventures, it is possible to view the power and utility of the conceptualisation. It is a bridge between spatial practice and behaviour: both implicit components within territoriality and a community.

4.3.4. 'On road' culture and territoriality

The power of the 'on road' principle as geographical imaginary; behavioural norm and spatial practice is clear. It can and does provide an important component within territoriality. As an instrument of control, 'on road' inspired violence would provide the motivation and mechanism for territorial control; a means of communicating a behavioural norm and dramatizing a shared narrative as well as creating an easily definable community of 'insiders/outsideers'. As a way of policing the border between those who were from the right "endz" and those outside "caught slipping" could it provide the sense of resistance, belonging and membership that my initial research question was looking for?

In addition to this, it had an obvious influence as a classificatory tool in my recruitment of research participants. Gunter describes a great deal of fluidity and movement between the centre ground and the margins, by a sizeable number of young (mainly black) males (Gunter 2008). He witnessed young men who normally occupy the centre ground of Road culture intermittently becoming embroiled within the world of 'badness', perhaps through their associations (friendly and antagonistic) with rude boys, or as a result of 'drift' (Matza, 1964). My thinking was clear: since these young males' involvement in deviant and criminal activity is both transient and sporadic, the concept will therefore act as a permeable recruitment filter to identify those who are 'resisters'/'desisters'.

Indeed, a further question not yet answered by the data at this stage but presented by the theory was where race and ethnicity stand within my developing interpretation or territoriality? I introduce race and ethnicity not as an aside, but as an emerging product of this inquiry that will add complexity and sophistication as well as extend the still nascent scholarship based around 'on road' and 'badness' (Brookman and Bennett, 2011; Densley, 2012; Ilan, 2012). By seeing if the dynamic mentioned above ('on road' culture as imaginary, norm and practice) can be applied to those who are resisters/desisters and who are black men, I hope to see if there is if something important about street practices can be discerned (R. White, 2008; Grund *et al.* 2012: again see next section).

4.3.5. Youth Practitioner understandings of street practices

Aside from as a corroboratory source for examples of spatial markers, youth practice and custom such as 'on road' life, this part of the research design revealed how the professionals formed and used a granular appreciation of youth practice, temporalities and the dynamics of socio-spatiality.

It's interesting, there are different things that happen, the holidays, Easter and stuff but young people seem to be very knowledgeable about who lives in their area and when someone comes in it is quite evident that they are not from around there and they are known and picked on or targeted, their bikes have been stolen, or things have been taken, they have to go through a kind of interrogation about who they are and who they are seeing, and if they give names they are okay and if they don't they are beaten up and stuff can be taken and get out of this area.

Martin

Findings like this were fundamental to creating my own accurate comprehension of 'Youth space' - that is "*space [in terms of] a practice, a doing, an even, a becoming – a material and social reality forever (re)created in the moment*" (Dodge and Kitchin, 2005:172). The question developed into when and where these occurrences happened. It is hard to know the substance of these lacunas. I noticed within my own growing awareness as a Youth Worker, the way that various young people displayed an intricate appreciation of temporalities and witnessed how youth lived experience is often experienced as routines and had a seasonal dimension. A nascent question from my field notes, at this time, was what form of practices was needed to maintain them? It was my growing awareness of this and my increasing ability to access forms of street knowledge and notice patterns in the young people I was in contact that led me to formulate a new set of questions and to notice certain spatial markers. This was a stage that led me to ask posit a set of questions based around signifiers of difference and present them to my co-workers.

One of the most prominent markers of relative difference was clothes. Leaving aside the way that school uniforms were read and embodied (see 4.4.1), I did notice that a great deal of the young people wore sport clothes or at least 'sport branded' clothes. My supposition was confirmed by others despite the fact that the area stood next to Hackney where young adults and adults routinely wore a highly individualised form of dress perhaps under the influence of the number of art and fashion school students who went to Central St. Martins in Kings Cross or the London College of Fashion in nearby Shoreditch. It was this juxtaposition that made it:

quite a [easy thing to notice] and so it's kind of a lot of sports fashion and it's not always 100% sports but it's kind of branded by sports brands, it's that sort of thing that they are looking for, that kind of [different] image.

Andre

Still, rather than as a straight-forward marker of locale, he suggested that it was more to do with practicalities based round a plain form of clothing: it was functional, hard wearing and easy to maintain.

Yeah, there is not a lot of cash as well to be a dandy as well. You have to go to H and M and you have to go to Accessorize. You don't need to accessorize a tracksuit. It's just two pieces of clothing that are easily washed and they can be used.

Andre

Moreover, even within this simple uniform there were filtering mechanisms differentiating what young people wore and how this was constructed and performed in a manner, in phrase redolent of Freud's Perry's observation about **'the narcissism of small differences'** (Bloc, 1988).

I guess it's kind of taking what is there and just doing it better so instead of wearing a scruffy tracksuit, you wearing a nice tracksuit that says look at me, I am top of the pile. Wearing H & M stuff and you know wearing nice skinny jeans and looking all dandy would class yourself as outside of normal amongst your peer groups which would probably nullify the kind of status you gain by wearing these clothes

Andre

Still within this, Andre was clear that despite the lack of sartorial peacocks, **"there are many different versions of masculinity walking about"** and how the mixture of **"bravado and boys"** could and did lead to **"conflict in areas"**.

It was my wish to find out more about this last point – specifically about boys and perhaps link this to a performative incarnation of masculinity – that I asked Clive Tachie on an unspoken assumption within both his and Andre's account.

Just a couple of things as well...you said 'boys'. Do you think that conflict and all the rest of it and all that hassle is necessarily a thing that only affects boys. Would it ever affect girls?

Femi

Umm...[thinking]. Yeah...I think girls...it's about mentality. Girls that umm have a mentality same as the boys. They most definitely...even maybe more so, it could happen with girls. Girls might have a tendency to maybe...yeah...I think maybe...[pause]

Clive Tachie

It could definitely apply to girls?

Femi

It's about mind-set and again there may be some young males which it totally doesn't affect them coz they...they...that's not what they deal with.

Clive

In short, he wasn't sure why this was the case aside from invoking a hard to classify **"different mind-set"**. My verdict on this was that his very indeterminacy flagged out the area as ripe for further investigation⁴⁹.

Ultimately, it was this research phase that acted as a way of confirming/extending the initial research findings generated by talking to the Police and explaining the relative lack of violence past those who offended for instrumental reasons. The stakeholder interviews and focus group had implied that there was something deeper or at least more complex than a simple absence of people beating each other

⁴⁹ The manner in which another aspect of my research unfolded hinted at different types of trust and confidence between girls and women (see 4.5).

up when I was being told the exact opposite by a significant minority of the young people I was encountering especially in the preliminary part of my research.

4.3.6. Transport

To expand on these ‘lacunas’ mentioned above: a major one was transport. To focus on the physical *action* of travelling here, rather than its representation (the next section, 4.3.7) I am alluding to more than the transport of bodies. I see it as inevitable that young people will experience urban im/mobilities differently too; even if they use the same means of transport as adults—cars, buses, trains, cycling, walking—they will experience it in distinctive (but sometimes similar) ways (Aitken et al., 2008; Freeman and Tranter, 2011; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Jones, 2008; Jeffrey and Dyson, 2008; Katz, 2004; Matthews et al., 2000; Skelton, 2009; Skelton and Valentine, 1998). At its most complex, it was a fluid relational process around which one can view how certain social interactions and beliefs tangibly manifested (see section 2.3.). Some young people spoke, sometimes hyperbolically, as if any commute was based on an expectation of violence and unwritten codes of conduct. On this last point, Clive was insistent:

a young person here knows that he will not literally go to an estate inSouth London and hang out or even in North London...they hang...they...they stick to where they know. Now these are what they refer to as their own ‘ends’ so every young person knows that ok, this is there block and this is where they hang out and so they know that it very unlikely that another group of boys will just come and roll up.

Clive Tachie

There were a number of questions to ask here: why was this lack of exploring so seemingly obvious? And why was Clive so insistent that it was still a ‘he’ that hangs out on an estate? In answering these questions and in an effort not to essentialise or ‘other’ young people, he was quick to contextualise this in a manner that seemed to suggest commuter ‘corridors’. For him, there was nothing remarkable about territoriality in either its youth or adult incarnations: there wasn’t anything different from any commuter journey’s unsocial toleration of others in a shared public space. Clive was quick to compare territoriality’s sedentary effect with the same grudging acceptance of outsiders one has on a commute to work: toleration along certain highly ritualised spatial and temporal terms⁵⁰ (Edensor, 2011).

I can’t say in all instances but it probably wouldn’t make sense and I would say that I would be very surprised even if I was walking here as somebody who works in the area if I just saw a group of unknown boys in the...ok maybe they just came to see their uncle or their aunt and but I would be quite surprised if they was just hanging around for no reason. Umm because that’s when the confrontation might come up because what happens is that maybe

⁵⁰ One insight from my fieldnotes demonstrates this point. On a youth project taking some young people from one part of London to another, I had to speak to one young man and explain to him that he had to allow people off before he got onto the tube. London Underground remains out of the budget of most young people and it was interesting to see how they had to negotiate the etiquette that most commuters don’t even realise that they are adhering to.

with these young people who haven't got a lot what they then hold onto is their territory

Clive

For Clive, at least, territoriality was obvious, embedded and implicit.

you don't really think that territory or territoriality is a real issue here then?

Femi

[thinking]. I think the reason why it's not an issue is that young people...they know [the areas] they will avoid at all costs.

Clive

Andre, to expand on this point, viewed territoriality as a more conscious curtailment of mobility based upon previous (bad) experience of surrounding areas.

I think the average young people I am talking to, they are a lot more constricted.

Andre

In what way?

Femi

They don't move a lot generally because of a lot of young people I speak to generally have conflict in areas.

Andre

What type of conflict?

Femi

Fights for some reason or the other.

Andre

Still, it was Christine, who suggested that both agency and structure had an influence of how and why young people travelled when I put it in those terms to her.

I think young people will travel and I think it is half and half really [between agency and structure]. I think you have got the ones that just won't and I think it is not like in the media...they won't travel and some will as long as there is a reason. I mean, they might need support or encouragement or whatever it might need and sometimes I think it is a confidence thing.

Christine

In an aside that alluded to the way that youth transitions often had a spatial aspect, (see section 2.2.3) she continued:

Some if it is just generally being a teenager. The issues, the angst, the low self-esteem, the paranoia, the feelings of who are you friends with and especially now with all the social networking stuff.

Christine

In contrast to what Clive had related, Christine, from her vantage point of greater experience in youth work and Islington, had suggested that young people had an understanding of transport qualitatively different from the adult commute to work when using public transport. Her contribution had

highlighted how transport could be a barometer around which to measure confidence and the transition to adulthood. By her rationale, the immobility contained within territoriality might very well be a development stage (see Chapter 2). This does raise questions to be answered later: though exploration is significant for young lives and can perhaps act as a correlate to ‘development’, what are the limits here (Thomson and Taylor, 2005; Holdsworth, 2009)?

4.3.7. Mobilities in empirical context

As stated before (see section 2.3.6.), the danger remains in indiscriminately applying mobilities until the principle it describes has no traction: indeed, if everything is mobile, then the concept has little purchase (Adey, 2006: 76). The Youth Workers then, were fundamental to attributing the context around which mobility and transport can be delineated in a move that extends the remit of geographical theory into something more than sedentary knowledges (Cresswell, 2008). In short, services provide a point and a context within which around which to measure mobilities and to evaluate it.

To expand: access to services provides a way of envisaging and calculating what economists call an ‘opportunity cost’⁵¹. In more detail, the degree to which young people actively avoid using services in the ‘wrong’ area was the way in which I had first heard of territoriality. As such, it provides a setting around which the fear and avoidance strategies discussed above can be put into some sort of framework and the circumstances around it better appreciated. In an important sense, this shadows the best work on the subject and follows Hague’s account of the unwritten “*right to mobility*” that highlighted how access to services can act as a barometer of its ubiquity. By providing a social and institutional canvas immobilities can stand in sharper starker contrast. The assumption is that against a clear backdrop where a certain degree of mobility can and should be expected, its absence is easily noticeable and identifiable (see Hague, 2010; Urry, 2004).

On this subject Youth Workers did have something to say on the growth of avoidance strategies since it was preventing the commission of their duties.

Well Islington 6 square miles of London and even that 6 square miles you can divide you know estates, wards. Young people divide it up and they won’t go from Cally from Cannonbury Hub because, this is what we’re talking to connexions workers they are saying well when Cannonbury Hub is up and running there will be white line. There is the Hornsey Hub one which is where the Arts Centre, but young people won’t travel that distance. And not all of these are at school. It sometimes feels like early morning and late afternoon travelling to school is okay but after that timeslot you can’t travel or move around.

Martin

⁵¹ It is essentially a way of calculating the value of ‘that which might be’ if choices were made differently (Buchanan, in Durlauf & Blume, 2008)

Its absence is therefore indicative of how different interpretations of place, some interpenetrating, others in conflict, co-exist. Indeed, Cresswell speaks about how the very practice of mobility can come with a code of conduct that regulates expectations and behaviour: a situation that might very well have its own correlate here (see Cresswell, 2011. See also Craggs, 2011). Travel to and from youth services provide more than a context to characterise travel as motivated and purposeful. To expand on this point:

we found years ago, I remember doing some research about 10 years ago and it wasn't from the point of view of crime, to be fair it wasn't at the point of what is seen and serious youth violence and the group that we were working with, they wouldn't even go from one part of the borough to another and as far as going even out of the borough, even places like Camden, that was like a different thing. West End is only...but they have never been there so we did this program with them, but it was sort of a bit like a tourist thing but it was getting to know London. Do you know where Big Ben is? You see Big Ben on the news but do you know? 'It's somewhere by the river'? Let's go there. Let's go and find it. Let's go and see what it looks like. So we did a program which worked really well actually because I think then they had a sense of London belonging in a way because I think in a way, they don't. They see the London eye, they never get there.

Christine

In short, what does an ignorance of London mean when an individual lives less than 7 miles from its centre? As a temporal stage, adolescence and young adults is usually thought of as an age linked to some form of exploration and the broadening of (literal and metaphorical) boundaries (see variously, Thomson and Taylor, 2005; Hollands, 2002; Chatterton, Hollands, 2002). Linked to this, it is interesting that the *mythos* and narrative of London as a global city and local playground, how common talk of this was amongst youth professionals (Sassen, 2001; Block, 2006; Ball, *et al.* 2000). The way that some young people were sometimes somewhat contemptuous of this trope was

part of the debate ...and this is obviously what we are trying to change. It's about travel, it is about using different places rather than using their own place.

Christine

in a manner that hinted at physical mobility being a precursor to social mobility as well as a personal developmental stage. It was also interesting to note if and how ignorance of the lack of resources within the city represents a gap and had an active, agentic edge: a wilful ignorance. For the Youth Workers I spoke to at least, their account had a rather despairing historical contextualisation. Some were unsure why the people they spoke to were so ready to passively accept this. Martin in a more reflective mood was able to talk about when:

I think that, I've been here three years on the 1st October, and I just think that is incredibly sad, I was 11 in 1979 but I would come from Sidcup into London and travel anywhere in London and never felt at threat. London was my capital city, my playground and literally I had a travel card and went

anywhere. 6 mates and we would go wherever, whatever was on. Even at 17 we came to music festivals, and as an adult I can still do that. As an adult I think it's tragic not to be able to move around and you know I wonder what they do at the weekend. Do they go and watch football matches? Do they travel somewhere? I used to go from Sidcup South London to Camden, or the Marquee, and there was stuff going on. It wasn't all love and harmony. I had long hair as a biker and there was skinheads or whatever, there was stuff going on. But it wasn't about your postcode and it wasn't on your doorstep you know, you. You were a target because of what you wore rather than where you were from.

Martin

Further conversations with Martin had meant that I knew he was perfectly aware of past academic emphasis on subculture and clothing (the Birmingham Centre for Culture Studies thesis) in a way that say Clive Lee and Tachie were not. As an older man and as a Youth Worker of over 20 years' experience, he was continually bemused by the modern incarnations of youth culture and the practices that sustained it. When he spoke about how:

people don't want to travel, they only want to, I loved in South London but I came to Holloway Road and didn't think anything of that, people still travel, but the world of London seems to come down to something incredibly small.

Martin

There was a clear note of confusion to his voice. He was not sure why young people were satisfied with this situation. His articulacy underscored the difficulty of comprehending territoriality from a professional perspective (see Section 7). As Skelton noted wherever there are relations, then there are networks of power (Skelton, 2013). This would render mobility, and its opposite here territoriality, a spatial snapshot of youth geographies of power. Furthermore, as Ruddick states "social subjects are created through the city" (1998:345 cited in Skelton, *ibid*: 472) meaning that this fixity had troubling implications for the identity formation for young people that cohered around a territorial code.

4.3.8. Territoriality in empirical perspective

Still, there was the question of how did Youth Workers view territoriality? Disregarding my stakeholder's role as a sounding board, how did the network of Youth Workers I had formed view territoriality as a phenomenon in and of itself? Given my introductory premise of it as a flexible social construction situated between street practices, street representation and representations of the street, I was interested to discover what they actually said on the subject of territoriality.

Collectively, they spoke at length about the dynamic multi-tiered nature of youth territoriality. All spoke about it as a process they recognised *albeit* in various different ways. Indeed, one of my research findings that now deserves mention is *how* proximity to young people themselves provided a different space for reflection. It was Ian, Martin and Christine – all experienced managers who no longer personally provided front-line services - who were perhaps a little more contemplative. Still, it was

Christine, the most senior manager and only Christine who could have made the following observation about territoriality in its effects:

I think that sometimes it is a confidence thing, it is that comfort zone of just staying put. In fact, one of the researchers that I was working with, he did an interesting thing. Well, he is from the philosophy end so he gets a bit marked with all the psychology side of it all but he is quite a toughie in his own world but he was doing something with a group out in Germany funnily enough and it was like, he was talking about young people just standing in a street corner. They just meet and they stand there and they meet people and stand there for hours. One goes and another one comes and that is just their spot and so he was getting their workers, German Youth Workers to you know, and they couldn't get it, they just couldn't get it so he said right, you just going to stand out there and he got them to just stay still, well not stay still, but stay in this particular spot and see what it felt like to observe for you know a couple of hours and he said that is was just really interesting because, they are so used to being busy that they are not used to it⁵².

Christine

Her ability to ask what German Youth Workers were doing and to even question her own practices “**from the philosophy end**” are testament to her reflexivity, awareness and subversion of institutional pressures. She was able to situate her own practice and that of the young people she met directly or indirectly. Through her and her team, she was able to provide some much needed local context in understanding the canvas upon which young people’s actions could be interpreted. The size of the Islington; its shifting demography; class structure; gender and migration patterns had a likely influence where young people hung out since:

You know Islington is a small borough but if you were to map it out; if you were going to go to the north of the borough.you know if you are looking at it from class; gender, you have all those differences but lots of similarities too. They are not like, you will get that. In the past, for example, the south had always been seen as very sort of white working class. Hardly any sort of you know immigration whereas the north was much more of a mix. Much more Caribbean; commonwealth, lots of refugees in Finsbury Park area but you didn't really get that in the South.

Christine

Her image of territoriality located it as an intergenerational spatial discussion that encompassed a number of factors invoked above (gender, migration, ethnicity, locale and class). Furthermore, I would characterise this complex, conflicted and multi-tiered appreciation of area as central to my own inchoate interpretation of territoriality. In this, it appears that she had formed her own interpretation of youth geography. Broadly speaking, as stated in 2.2, much of the research exploring youths in city contexts has tended to focus on young people as active agents of social change and the social resources and relationships utilised by young people to achieve their independence and aspirations in these spaces (Tienda and Wilson, 2002; Briggs, 2010; Reynolds, 2013; Jeffrey, 2010). The opposing narrative has been to emphasise the challenges encountered by urban youths that results from urban poverty

⁵² I was never able to find out any other details of this project.

and their increased likelihood to engage in risk-taking behaviour (Reynolds, 2006; Browning *et al.*, 2004). What Christine's and her peers contribution does is to emphasise a synthesis from these two poles: how urban spaces might actually represent social resources for young people in the formation of their social (including ethnic) identity – a question that has received comparatively little research attention (for an exception to this see Reynolds, 2013). Evidence suggests that neighbourhoods across many UK cities and towns are becoming increasingly racially, ethnically, culturally and socioeconomically heterogeneous. Whilst some commentators have argued that such 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) should be celebrated others have pointed out how multicultural neighbourhoods might reduce the barriers to social integration by encouraging 'mixing' and 'cultural hybridity' among inner-city youths (Alexander, 2007; Reynolds, 2006, 2013; Heath, 2008; Goulbourne *et al.*, 2010; Runnymede 2010)⁵³

Following Christine's view, it appeared to be either a reflection of fear and/ or heightened place attachment balanced by adolescent boredom which had an inertial yet catalysing effect (the stereotypical migratorial 'push'/'pull' factors). Leaving aside her analysis of the structuring effects of area, space and place, it would be appropriate to point out how my experiences had highlighted that young people themselves, were far from uniform - a view that this stage of research confirmed. The contradiction within and between various groups of young people emphasised that far from being homogenous there should and would be a contradictory and liquidly multi-tiered view of territoriality - an outcome that was confirmed by her and the other youth professionals I spoke to and would have to be tackled on an empirical level (see section 2.3.3 and 5.2.1).

I think it is funny because everyone seems to think that young people are territorial and they do that out of safety and I think that there is a bit of that and you will find that with certain groups they won't go out of their estate because they are comfortable and they know it....they have got no reason to. To be fair there are plenty of young people out there who are incredibly lazy...so whether it is fear of crime or whatever, they can't be arsed to move themselves around that much. Some if it to be fair is because of safety, it is because it of their own safety and so they don't move from one estate to another because there is this different group stroke gangs that they don't want to walk into and there is lots of things in Islington at the moment. Lots of groups; gangs; crews...all of that
Christine

Who it affected, when and what was behind territorial behaviour – either concerns over safety or just adolescent laziness – was very much left open in her mind presenting itself as an issue I still had to resolve. However lacking in facilities, these places were still, in her mind, places that young people felt

⁵³ There is also the view that migrant and minority ethnic youths born and raised in multicultural neighborhoods have greater opportunities to integrate socially and to achieve social mobility when compared with their first-generation migrant parents (Platt, 2005) suggesting that there was an intergenerational aspect to this socio-spatial dialogue.

they belonged to and in turn, belonged to them (Pickering *et al.* 2012: 950). Nevertheless, even within these omissions, all Youth Workers acknowledge how young people can and did have ambivalent experiences and understandings of the city, and their ability to move into, through and out of urban spaces was accepted as an important element of their independent geographies (Benwell, 2009; Gough, 2008). For young people – as for all urban inhabitants - safe, efficient and affordable public transport, secure pathways for walking were important priorities for gathering urban experiences (Skelton, 2013.)

4.4. Summarising Representations of the Street

The Police, to revisit some of their conclusions, had expressed how their understandings of territoriality were mediated through a (logical) institutional focus on crime and youth gang prevention. Their emphasis on monitoring youth congregation was always going to be based around identifying and understanding likely sites of offending despite the detail and intricacy of the data they collected. Though this was not my focus, it did provide some powerful insights such as the likely areas of criminal offences and the most common forms of youth crime: understandings which will inform the rest of my study. It also offered an interpretation of area around which my aim to frame ‘resisters and desisters’ would be more sharply focused (see next section for more details). What was significant was how they interpreted the relative lack of violence amongst young people and how they distinguished territorial violence from gang violence. In essence, the Police had highlighted the complexity of the issue; the rarity of violence and the possibility that territoriality, if it did come to their attention, would often register as low level “anti-social behaviour”.

This set the scene for my interrogation of Youth Workers. Acting, as first, a sounding board for the insights that I had amassed as Youth Worker myself, and then as a data source in their own right, they collectively underlined the significance of a particular intersection of youth and institutional agency. They complicated and contextualised the interconnected nature of social processes within representations of place. This stage gave empirical heft to theoretical constructs such as mobility and how this connects with some related geographical mythos (‘on road’ culture) that I believe underpin territoriality. It gave substance in delineating territoriality as a forum for practice and site around which meanings could be communicated through differing markers such as clothes and, potentially, gender. The stage had presented a way of measuring territoriality through the role of a Youth Worker who saw territoriality as a youth ‘opportunity cost’ in preventing certain young people accessing the services they provided. They (the Youth Workers) also described and encapsulated some of the challenges to professional identity whilst even providing an international comparison with Germany. Overall, the Police/council phase I present as confirmation of territoriality’s existence whilst the youth work phase represents a fuller comprehension that reports and recognises its intricacies.

Chapter 5

“The word "education" comes from the root e from ex, out, and duco, I lead. It means a leading out. To me education is a leading out of what is already there in the pupil's soul.”

— Muriel Spark, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961)

5.1. Peer Review in context

As also stated within my previous chapter, I was commissioned to help organise and supervise a survey with Clive Tachie, by the Islington Community Safety Board (ICSB). To give some background: the ICSB's remit is to act as a hub for Police engagement and consultation with the residents, business people and visitors of Islington on behalf of the Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC) within Islington. It is 'owned' by the 'community' and legally, is not an instrument of MOPAC, Islington local authority or the Police but is rather, a 'community-led' initiative funded by MOPAC. Its remit is to monitor Islington's wards and ensure citizen focussed, fair, accountable and responsive policing and council community safety activity for Islington's communities as well as to provide a forum for information flow in all directions between Islington's Police, local authority, partnerships and the local community.

To return to an argument touched within my literature review, this approach is not unproblematic. An interest in policy research is inevitably an interest in power and politics, and must mean addressing these in our own experiences and understandings (Massey 2002; Lake 2003; Routledge, 2004; Pain, 2007). The classification of young people as a form of community whose views must thereby be consulted is based on a couple of questionable assumptions. The idea that community is something that the poor and/or underprivileged need has remained a resilient, if at times subterranean, assumption within British public and social policy (Hoggett, 1997) and it has some certain unwanted repercussions. It obscures the fact that defining young people as a community is a political decision since **“the idea of community is saturated with power [and a]s such is a contested term”** (ibid.14). The very idea of young people form such a community is often policy shorthand for socially excluded

young people⁵⁴. My co-option of the type of young people that I saw as a Youth Worker (typically NEET) was thus a strategy for their easy incorporation into local policy discourses (see chapter 7 for more details).

For ease of corroboration and triangulation, I used a peer-led survey to gather statistical information by using those who were closer to the issue and corroborating findings with a focus group of those that were part of the original survey. I self-consciously mirrored the mixture of research methods that preceded this stage by combing quantitative and qualitative data. As stated before the advantage of this approach stands in its positioning as research tool *and* analytical construct: a corresponding shift from 'context to text'.

To revisit the justification from my methodology chapter, it promised 'better' research by accessing potentially 'hard to reach' young people by establishing a rapport *with* young people *through* young people via a common language and a generational understanding that I could not match (see section 3.1.2).

Despite or because of the rich mix of outcomes and further potential avenues for enquiry, in theoretical/methodological terms there was a parallel process occurring. Young people as a category for research often fall victim to geographers' propensity to fetishize the margins and ignore the centre (Pain and Hopkins, 2007; see also all of sections 2 and 3). It was this realisation that motivated me to draw upon my own insights, those of the Police and of my co-workers. In short, three different sources of data that acts not just as triangulation of this explanatory case study following Denzin (1989) as a personification of my belief that 'content is context'⁵⁵.

Based on this foundation, I wanted to look at how and if these ideas actively constitute and reflect a 'reality' that young people would recognise; how are these issues actually employed and performed by young people? Since it is an issue that is shaped *by* young people it seemed reasonable for it to be researched *by* them as well. There are innumerable potential questions to ask at this stage. Still, Christine's invocation of fear over safety on one side and sheer laziness provided a way for me to be able to reduce these questions into a simple survey: how prevalent was 'fear' and to what extent was it as an obstacle to mobility? As suggested within the previous chapter, the combination of these accounts is meant to transcend their formal sources, as my account draws increasingly close to the target population until I can form a position around which young people can talk for themselves. In

⁵⁴ I was not asked to investigate the views of the young people who were pupils in the numerous private and independent schools for instance.

⁵⁵ Essentially, the form of data collection contributes to the method of analysis.

the first instance, this is through a peer-led survey that was followed by a representatively sampled focus group of some of the survey respondents.

5.2. Participatory research as an analytical filter

Leaving this aside, as a filter of data collection, peer researchers provided a powerful research tool and not just as another pair of eyes as co-analysts. Details such as temporalities and rhythms: which bus stops were the best to talk to people when the schools and colleges finished; what school uniforms meant and even what the colour of a tie in a school uniform signified all furnish my research diary accounts of this time. Minutiae like this were fundamental in choosing who, when and how to approach young people to respond in the survey. It was this mode of data collection – on the street and in person talking through the survey for individuals or groups which had such a profound influence on judging the target population – a form of generational kinship. Still, leaving aside the methodological benefits, this form of research has certain theoretical, disciplinary, policy and professional implications which ground the study within certain discourses.

In theoretical terms, my insistence on peer researchers was my attempt to overcome “**spatial binaries (inside/outside) by advancing concepts of ‘space of betweenness’**” (Katz, 1992). It remained important to recognise how, despite the plethora of spatial metaphors, the theorization of space as a research setting has been curiously abstracted and removed from the concrete ‘place’ in which it takes place (Sin, 2004; Anderson, 2004). By virtue of being virtual insiders, it did mean that two young trainee Youth Workers that implemented this part of the research were often able to ask questions in a way that I was unable by framing the issue of fear in an empathetic locally resonant way. It was my effort to explore and activate the unconscious expertise of both co-researcher and survey respondent. What also became increasingly clear was the sense of the feedback between the spatiality of the interview site and the construction of an interview is a two-way process the socio-spatial dimension of knowledge creation has to be acknowledged and brought to light (Sin, 2003). The meaning of symbols organised in social space are never singular and it was fascinating to watch them shift - sometime within the time span of a survey encounter⁵⁶.

5.3. The questions in research context

To return to the original issue, this section is based around answering providing answers to the question “**are young people territorial?**” To this end, and in unpacking the various hierarchies of thought this covers, I have been moving closer and closer to the views of young people. The shift from research context to text has been a gradual one here and the questions I deemed tailor made for my

⁵⁶ I stood in as a bystander for the vast majority of the surveys.

participatory approach were equally delicately constructed. The focus here is on fear following my own introduction to territoriality (see section 1.1 and Christine's last statement in section 4.3.9). As an emotion, it had been evoked as a reason as to why young people actively avoided exploring new parts of London and it seemed apposite to resolve the question of how far fear was an issue? What (if anything) was there to be afraid of? And where?

Since the literature suggests that survey reported claims of fear of crime are often unreflective of the broad range of reactions (Kinsey and Anderson, 1992), three groups of young people were involved/consulted and participated in the construction of the questions above. First were the Youth Workers within YMCA: Clive Tachie, Andre and Ian were all closely involved in formulating what I asked. I used this stage to come up with a list of questions that they thought would gather the richest answer. Essentially, *what* should I ask? Second, I tested the viability of the question by asking what a group of 10 young people who lived in a nearby hostel and were local to the area thought of them: a stage of refining and readjusting that was based around how I should ask questions. *How* should I ask these questions? Lastly, I tested the survey on a group of young people I had got to know very well my on detached youth work circuit as a pilot or 'concept testing' stage. *Why* should I ask it?

Each of their responses were collected, aggregated and where possible, distilled into a tick-box response the entirety of which is on the next page. The relevant question can be found below. The rest were aimed at answering questions from the brief I was given from the ICSB – the reason why my data is not presented in the order it appears in the questionnaire.

Figure 8: the community survey questions

1. How safe do you feel in Islington?
2. What is your main crime and safety concern?
3. How threatened are you by your main crime and safety concern?
4. Who could you express your main crime and safety concern to?
(one from a range of options)
5. Have you been a victim of crime within Islington with the past 12 months?
6. Is there an estate/area in Islington that you have crime/safety concerns about?

The questions I introduced to the survey. Note the 6 questions here (my order) out the 8 questions in total in the questionnaire below. The two extra were due to the demands of the ICSB for specific data.

The procedures and protocols were adapted from the protocols of the now defunct Survey Research Network and YMCA's 'focus project' policy (see Appendix 2 for more details. A copy of the questionnaire can be found below).

My stages of questionnaire construction and refinement suggested there is no singly accepted definition of 'fear of crime' but rather awareness that it is not a fixed trait that some people have and some do not. It is the "*transitory and situational phenomenon*" Fattah and Sacco allude (see Fattah and Sacco, 1989:211) - looking at these three different groups to ask what they thought, made sense to me as an inclusive strategy. In other words, since fear and safety will affect people in myriad mutating ways as we move through our life courses influenced by our own experiences and spatial, social and temporal situation (Valentine, 1990, Stanko, 1989 and Pain, 1997) asking a range of people at different stages at different times to me seemed justified on the now familiar triumvirate of theoretical, disciplinary and professional levels.

Figure 9: The ICSB questionnaire in full

Questionnaire

**Islington Young People's
(aged 14 – 21 year old)
Crime Concern Survey 2010**



1. What is your main crime or safety concern in Islington? (Please tick one)

- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sexual Assault | <input type="checkbox"/> | Hate/racial crime | <input type="checkbox"/> | Drug dealing | <input type="checkbox"/> | Knife crime | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gun crime | <input type="checkbox"/> | Street robbery | <input type="checkbox"/> | Assault on buses | <input type="checkbox"/> | Vandalism and Graffiti | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Intimidating dogs | <input type="checkbox"/> | Gangs | <input type="checkbox"/> | Bullying | <input type="checkbox"/> | Drunken behaviour | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Broken street lighting | <input type="checkbox"/> | Postcode rivalry | <input type="checkbox"/> | Moped /bicycle theft | <input type="checkbox"/> | Dangerous moped riders | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Stalking/Harassment | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (Please specify): _____ | | | | | |

2. How confident are you with the police being able to deal with your main crime or safety concern? (Please tick one)

- Not confident fairly confident confident very confident

3. How threatened are you by your main crime or safety concern? (Please tick one)

- Not threatened fairly threatened threatened very threatened

4. How safe do you feel in the borough of Islington? (Please tick one)

- Not Safe fairly safe safe very safe

5. How could the police better tackle your main crime or safety concern? (Please tick one)

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| More Stop and Search | <input type="checkbox"/> | More Victim Support | <input type="checkbox"/> | Curfews/Dispersal zones | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| More police patrols | <input type="checkbox"/> | ASBO's | <input type="checkbox"/> | More CCTV | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please specify): _____ | | | | | |

6. Who would you express your crime or safety concern to? (Please tick one)

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Crime Stoppers | <input type="checkbox"/> | Community police officer on patrol | <input type="checkbox"/> | Visit or call police station | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Council | <input type="checkbox"/> | School, college, University tutor | <input type="checkbox"/> | Youth worker | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Parents/family member | <input type="checkbox"/> | Do nothing and hope that the police are aware of the issue <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

Other (Please specify): _____

7. Have you been a victim of crime within Islington in the past 12 months? Yes No

If Yes, please specify: _____

8. Is there an estate/area in Islington that you have crime/safety concerns about? Yes No

Where? _____ Why? _____

5.3.1. How safe do you feel in the Borough of Islington?

I must draw attention to the wording of the question which was left open for my respondents to interpret. I was consciously trying to bypass the logic of comparing ‘objective’ risk and ‘subjective fear (Youngs, 1988; Sparks, 1992) as I intended to use this question mainly as a baseline around which to calibrate the rest of the survey. Nor did I want to make any attempt to contextualise the “**assignment of any of the currently available polarities (high/low, warranted/unwarranted, reasonable/unreasonable, and appropriate/excessive)**” (Sparks, 1992:125). I also very conscious of the use of the word ‘borough’ rather than ‘area’ or ‘locality’ in order to generate answers that were not situated within an appeal to an individual’s spatial circumstances: I consciously rejected using the word ‘community’ in order not to hint at a more convivial set of social relations or a nostalgic mythos.

| | Not safe | Fairly safe | Safe | Very safe | Grand Total |
|-----------------|----------|-------------|------|-----------|-------------------|
| Actual response | 44 | 199 | 131 | 47 | 421 ⁵⁷ |
| Percentage | 10% | 48% | 31% | 11% | 100% |

Table 8

Since the figures suggested the majority of my respondents believed that Islington was safe (‘fairly’, or just ‘safe’), the remainder of my task evolved into picking out precisely what this meant.

5.3.2. What is your main crime or safety concern?

Founded upon the previous answer’s general ‘broad brush’ approach, this section is an example of how my intricate overlapping participatory methodology can and did evolve into uncovering new avenues for further investigation.

In condensing the questions, submissions and suggestions given by all those involved in the formation of the question, I came up with three coding categories (see table below for details). These were those concerns based around **area**; **intimidations** (specifically the potential for encountering hostility and aggression in certain situations: table 9) and encountering **violence** in its various forms (see appendices for a more detailed breakdown of these categories and the survey responses).

⁵⁷ There were 9 ruined questionnaires here – 2% of the total.

| Summary of Crime concerns | | |
|---|----------------|------------|
| Coding category | Actual figures | Percentage |
| Area | 22 | 5 |
| Intimidations | 163 | 38 |
| Violence | 212 | 50 |
| Ruined or anomalous responses ⁵⁸ .(see note in appendices) | 30 | 7 |
| Total | 427 | 100 |

Table 9

First of all, the very multiplicity of potential responses must be borne in mind before we even consider the way that responses were configured. The detail in which respondents were able to imagine concerns based around ‘area’ (a mere 3 ‘concerns’) compared to ‘violence’ (6 concerns) and ‘intimidations’ (7 concerns) I took as indication of young people’s sensitivity towards perceived or actual antagonism. Indeed, the focus on violence and the emphasis on knife crime does represent a significant outcome in and of itself. This led me to ask *where* this happened. My research diary notes of this time record how there was a significant majority of young people who gave some variation of the line “**I’ve always felt safe as I have always lived here**”. This ‘neighbourhood dogma’ - to borrow Karen Evans description of her field site in Salford - seemed to equate safety with familiarity and length of residence within the area (Evans, 1997, see also Evans, Fraser and Walklate, 1995). This becomes ever more fascinating because I was able to pinpoint areas where this dogma was not so prevalent since the survey was based around amassing information from different areas at different times: pinpointing ‘unsafe’ locales was relatively easy (see appendix 1 for more detail). The most obvious example of this was Finsbury Park.

It was only in conversation with PC Stuart (see section 4.2.1. above) the Schools Safety Officer (see Chapter 7 for further details of youth services) that I was able to theorise as to why this was the case. A large amount of school and college pupils – a Police estimate gave it at more than 50% - do not live in Islington and come from, variously Hackney and Finsbury Park and have up to 45 minute journeys

⁵⁸ These were the people who ticked more than one ‘concern’. Their responses were nonetheless collected. See the appendices for further information.

to go home. Accordingly there are a number of schools in Islington - 9 secondary, 54 primaries – reflecting its status as one of the youngest boroughs in London (Source: ONS). Within each secondary school there are, on average, 1,000 people. Consequently, there are a range of transport nodes and corridors where young people congregate. Finsbury Park is a transport intersection between Hackney, Archway and Islington and within it there are various parks and spaces where you can expect to see many young people in the afternoon. It soon became clear that after a day at school/college cheap food became a priority to many and an opportunity to meet other young people socially. Accordingly, McDonalds, a Kentucky Fried Chicken and a kebab shop on Finsbury Park Road became very busy. Add to this fact that there are some issues with certain schools traditionally having a historical ‘beef’ with others and the recurrent theme- a dynamic and evolving motif that fits in to the account of territoriality that I have been building by emphasising routine, spatial occupation and mobility.

The implication was that the areas that generated the most anxiety were transient and typified by a high footfall and anonymity. From this, could one infer that it was the act of travel or to areas that were associated with commuting or transport that made one insecure?

5.3.3. How threatened are you by your main crime or safety concern?⁵⁹

| | Not confident | Fairly confident | Confident | Very confident | No response | Grand Total |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Figures | 153 | 213 | 39 | 19 | 5 | 429 |
| Percentage | 36 | 50 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 100 |

Table 10

The account became more intricate when the above results are brought to the fore. Based around gauging the aforementioned level of insecurity as a baseline whilst trying to estimate the degree to which crime was an issue, the results above did confirm certain emergent aspects. It must be noted that only a minority – albeit a significant minority of 36% - felt unconfident. This suggested most felt able to situate themselves somewhere along the spectrum of feeling ‘safe’ despite the intricate pattern of dangers that could be imagined (see later). Nuance was added to this picture by recognising how

⁵⁹ There is a small issue of timing and narrative within the presentation of crime concerns. The first question focused on identifying crime concerns; the second, on how well the Police dealt with it and the third, looked at seeing how serious this concern was. Whilst I would not have chosen this sequence of questions, I was assured by the participant youth workers; the concept testing stage participants and Clive that this made sense and the question did not test the efficacy of the Police but the severity of the crime concern. (See Appendix 3 for more details).

the relatively high expectation of violence did not seem to translate into a lack of ‘confidence’ suggesting that respondents had strategies to deal with this insecurity. The situation seemed to corroborate Clive’s statement that:

**a young person here knows that he will not literally go to an estate inSouth London and hang out or even in North London...they hang...they...they stick to where they know.
Clive Tachie, 4.3.1.**

This also seemed to corroborate Childress’ view of territoriality – how physical presence; regularity of attendance and thoroughness of occupancy were communicative ways of showing territoriality. I was told how people “just know” the places where people stay away from and if there was any conflict whilst feared, it was not unexpected (see Childress, 2004; see Ingold, 1987). Ultimately, despite my search for a definitive statement, this was an ambiguous and so perhaps expressed the limits of this research intervention and the need for my reiterative methodology.

5.3.4. Who would you express your crime or safety concern to? (Please tick one)

| Who could you express your concern to? | Responses | Percentage |
|---|------------------|-------------------|
| Parents/family member | 99 | 24 |
| Community Police officer on patrol | 68 | 16 |
| Youth Worker | 57 | 14 |
| Crime stoppers | 51 | 12 |
| Do nothing | 40 | 10 |
| Other | 9 | 2 |
| Visit/call to Police | 39 | 9 |
| School/Uni college tutor | 29 | 7 |
| Council | 24 | 6 |
| Community Policy officer | 2 | 0 |
| School/college tutor | 1 | 0 |
| (blank) | 0 | 0 |
| Grand Total | 419 | 100 |

Table 11

This question presents a departure from the account that I have so far been constructing and I introduce it as a quality control mechanism. I wanted to see if the position I had placed Youth Workers – as closer to the Police and better able to hear young street narratives - was actually justified. The responses did suggest that in the absence of the strong family ties and the presence of a Police officer to deal with the problem, perhaps the best placed profession or role to hear about issues related to community safety were Youth Workers. The question became one of proximity to the respondent. In the absence of a direct connection to the person involved, without the possibility of solving the crime or safety concern, Youth Workers seem relatively well-positioned to hear about safety concerns. Of course, this finding must be predicated on the fact that Youth Workers were the ones asking the

question. Nevertheless, within the confines of this study, I was confident that I was accessing a form of data that was not easily accessible.

5.3.5. *Have you been a victim of crime within Islington within the past 12 months?*

The propositions behind this question were simple. How far was territoriality implicated within crime and violence? What was the scale of the problem? Was there a higher level of victimisation amongst young people that was not reflected elsewhere? I had become used to hearing spectacular accounts of violence as a Youth Worker and was interested in learning to what degree were these true. Was there a small (mythical?) category of predatory young people who had not crossed my youth work orbit? Or was I seeing, as Sibley (1995) has discussed, a general tendency to fear stereotypical ‘others’ who are marked out by their colour, class or some other apparent impurity whose presence threatens disorder to mainstream life and values. A high response to this question would have meant the presence of these social ‘others’, that as a Youth Worker, I was not hitherto accessing. A high figure would also provide an easy explanation to territoriality –a notion of the ‘dangerous other’ manifested in the geographical and social distancing of threat which many people employ in order to feel safer. A low figure would provide ballast to the belief that violence happens to people unlike ourselves, in places we would not use or would use with more care (Pain, 1997b).

| | No | No response | Yes | Grand Total |
|------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|
| Figures | 363 | 6 | 59 | 428 |
| Percentage | 85 | 1 | 14 | 100 |

Table 12

The result did suggest that a sizeable minority had direct experience of the crime and/or violence but like with all surveys, answers like this lead to an impulse to question more. As an impression of the issue, it does stand out as some evidence of a small minority of the young population of Islington having some first-hand experience of crime (how it was defined; what form of crime etc. is of course left open).

5.3.6. *Is there an estate/area in Islington that you have crime/safety concerns about?*

| No | Yes | No response | Grand Total |
|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|
| 347 | 62 | 17 | 426 |
| 81 | 15 | 4 | Percentage |

NB: This question did allow space for a respondent to say where and why.

Table 13

Away from the trope of the unpredictable strangers, there were other ways of embodying what Garland (1996: 461) has called '*criminologies of the other*' – the association of danger with 'the threatening outcast, the fearsome stranger, the excluded and the embittered'. I wanted to see if this could be spatialised within a so-called 'neighbourhood effect' (Sampson, et al., 2002; Leventhal, et al. 2000; Covington, et al.2005). Linking fear of crime with an identifiable locale would be an important step in formulating a simple output around which I could measure territoriality. The low figure suggested that this output did not exist. Those that did actually identify an unsafe place (a mere 14 people) mentioned 10 different areas and even though the majority of which were estates, this might just reflect the wording of the question⁶⁰. Still, to look outside the confines of the study, the only comparable youth survey – the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England Survey (LSYPE)⁶¹ - asks exactly the same question and receives a 70% negative answer (see appendices) suggesting that young people in Islington did generally feel safer than a nominal national average.

5.4. The Focus groups

In order to get a richer sense of the survey's research outcomes, I presented a short summary to two focus groups of survey respondents. The first focus participants group were recruited from each of the six survey areas (see map 3) whilst the second were mainly recruited from a YMCA hostel (see the appendices for more details). Following the wishes of both groups, their responses were anonymised. What was obvious was that neither group saw anything surprising within the idea of territoriality.

5.4.1. Street practices

Whilst they said that it was "**not so bad down in London**" (though none reported any great knowledge of areas outside of London), they all did suggest it 'was worse if you were young' suggesting a transitional or intergenerational aspect to territoriality. Though very few spoke of their mobility being personally constrained, it was clear victimization, crime, violence, harassment and fear had some role to play in their experience of the city. Within the first group, this was clear when one respondent volunteered how:

I know guys who have been stabbed for £10 of drugs.
19 year old white male

Still, it was this intergenerational perspective that generated the most discussion. Though all agreed that territoriality, to an extent, was learned behaviour, Kintrea's definition of an intergenerational adherence to historical boundaries had limited application here (Kintrea, *et al.* 2010). Still, this might very well be a reflection of the fact that all bar 2 of the 7 participants were not born in the area. Rather,

⁶⁰ Indeed, it is interesting to note that looking through the survey transcripts all of those that identified an area as unsafe lived gave an origin postcode outside of Islington.

⁶¹ Collected by BMRB. Social Research; NOP World and MORI, the survey had 7 reiterations and over 15,770 participants.

the consensus formed around the idea that it was “younger’s fault” [sic]. “Something” had changed. One believed territoriality was inevitable, since:

There is nothing else you can do. You have to change a whole generation. Basically, it’s a line that everyone is following. You go to kids and say “don’t sit in the street” unless you give them a PS3 [Playstation 3: a high end computer games console]. Even if they have a PS3, they are always thinking of taking from another person: having 2.

19 year Afro-Caribbean girl

...echoing the focus on acquisitive crime that underpinned my previous sections (see 4.2). Others expressed this as ‘blame’ and it was made even more explicit when one person volunteered:

This may sound narrow minded but young people nowadays are ignorant. It’s not even the drugs, it’s the chavs...they can’t stand up for what they are trying to say. It won’t sit well with their friends. Back in the day if my brothers had a fight, if someone younger, they would go down. Take off their shirts and have a fist fight. Nowadays it’s like a gun fight, or taking a knife, and is how silly situations escalate into killing someone.

20 year old mixed race boy

In this, I heard an echo of Keith’s representations of the street (see 4.2.3) that linked serious violent crime to certain degree of performance. Still, this respondent focus on structure became more interesting since most agreed that young people were far more vulnerable to a lack of resources and the developing appreciation of their own nascent agency. The blame for the situation was put squarely on the shoulders of young people in an interesting reflection of the power dynamics that researchers usually ascribe to ‘adultist’ perceptions of power (Vanderbeck, 2008; Roche, 1998; Valentine, 1999). Nonetheless, others did attribute this situation to a more complicated state of affairs.

You have to wonder why kids are hanging around at certain times. Where are the parents? What is going on? Cuts in the union? Who want to go to college? How do you survive? If your parents got other kids to feed, you know, you are not going to college knowing you could work, but there’s no work so kids are hanging around the street and getting bored, so they find something to occupy their time. So they thieve.

20 year old Afro-Caribbean boy

Whilst another gave the argument a more political slant.

What you see on TV, 70% of them [young people] are not working, what is that message to us? Don’t go to Uni. They are all on job seekers.

19 year old white male

Still, there were some who cohered around a more individualist, agentic edge.

Actually, I think instead of worrying about how to change the world, first of all, you have to change yourself, to influence you, and the choices you make for the people around you. You can show people the way, but if people are used to their life being a certain way, if they are used to violence, then that is just it.

20 year old white girl

Leaving aside this last partially dissenting opinion, what all the respondents united around was a form of ‘othering’ that was generational. My challenge was to see what was behind this: either a novel method of creating ‘Criminologies of the other’ based on age (see 4.5.6) and/or a sense that

territoriality was something that one ‘grew’ out of once one ‘got on’ with the process of becoming an adult (see section 2.2.4.).

5.4.2. Crime

It is unsurprising that crime emerged as a topic of discussion given the provenance of the survey. My most obvious research finding was a conviction that violence was never truly random. One exchange exemplified this outcome:

Did you hear about the 15 year old who got stabbed in Victoria?
(19 year old white male)

I knew the guy, so I was angry, this guy who got stabbed. You feel bad. It’s mad.
20 year old Afro-Caribbean boy

What kind of person did he have to be to be involved? I think that is how I think of it. He could have been the nicest person on earth but at the same time he could have already shot someone and you wouldn’t know. You hear it and think “oh well”. You never know. That’s what I mean. It could be karma coming back, and it doesn’t make me feel any different now. Maybe a little more careful.
19 year old white male

This exchange was indicative of a number of processes: first, the way that it was presented pointed towards ways of learning about events on the street – “**I knew the guy**” – through channels other than the media⁶², secondly, and more significantly, it provides further evidence of the view that crime – even serious violent crime – was never seen as random or, even in this instance, totally undeserved. Nevertheless, despite this view, the idea that the Police could do more was unanimous. On the one side, it was expressed how there was a general air of suspicion whenever they, as young people, were present, either alone or in groups in public space.

I don’t like it sometimes when people look at me and I go into a shop and security people follow me everywhere.
18 year old black male

Overall, however, an accord was reached about how many did not trust or like the Police believing they were over Policed yet paradoxically under protected.

When you look at crime related to young people they are not really seeing the young person’s view. We need to understand where young people are coming from. They are talking to parents, Policemen, councillors.
20 year old white girl

...an opinion that will get more focus in Chapter 7.

⁶² The event itself was reported in the Guardian “Victoria station stabbing: 20 arrested over knife killing of teenager” by Glenn McMahon The Guardian, Friday 26 March, 2010.

5.4.3. Gender

Still, this research intervention was one of the few when gender practices were invoked without my prompting. One contribution in particular generated some noticeable gendered street representations.

It's just about knowing what is right and wrong, being streetwise. I can see what you are like from your walk. Yeah. If I see someone, I might cross the street, if that keeps me from getting mugged, being dead, then yeah. If someone is walking behind me with his hoody covering his face, I will cross the road. I'll hold onto my phone so I can make a call. I'm a girl. I've got priorities. Girls are more...Usually when I go clubbing, I make sure that I leave with someone. Walk with friends. We all wait together for everyone to get the bus. Even when we went out the other day, the only reason I'm going out because I know someone is coming home with me. I'm not silly.

20 year old black female

To break this down, the conflation of 'being streetwise' (a supposition that seemed to focus on the agency of the participant) seemed at odds with what else was said – although, the rest of group did react in support of this statement. How she **"can see what you are like from your walk"** established how she perceived she had the skill to negotiate dangerous situations because of a particular awareness her gendered vulnerability (**"I am a girl"**). Despite the fact that I find this statement problematic (do boys not mind getting mugged?) it was agreed to with nods by the rest of the group (especially the girls). This stands as somewhat incongruous in the overall tone of the focus group since it started and remained till its finish somewhat boisterous: an observation that I took as indicative of its importance. It thus provides a gendered interpretation of the idea that I posited above of how violence was never perceived as random yet it was 'different for girls'. Still, the idea that **"I am girl"** and this automatically meant something so implicit it needed no more explanation was intriguing though the group and the other respondents said no more on the subject. Nevertheless, it did provide some justification for why an interpretation of territorial violence might very well be gendered (Pickering et al. 2010; *ibid.*2012.). Her insistence on coming home with a group of girls would appear to mean that her mobility was, on an individual level constrained. The implication, paradoxically, was that a *group* of girls might very well have a mobility that a group of boys might not. Since Clive had suggested that it was **"very unlikely that another group of boys will just come and roll up"** (Clive Tachie, 4.3.6), the boys tended to believe they were not welcome in new/unfamiliar contexts. In a situation analogous to also Christopher Harker's study (2009) of student im/mobilities in Palestine, perceptions of gendered vulnerability could, within certain parameters, be repackaged as strength by girls since they were not seen as a threat.

5.4.4. Area

Still, it was the conversations about area and discussions of their **"main crime and safety concern"** that generated the richest data. The boys in this group viewed territoriality as based on an clear and real

risk attuned and diminished by a hard won appreciation of street practices and/or a critical assessment of the 'word on the street'.

If people see something, for example, from my own experience, there was a road where a young boy was stabbed and my friends avoided that road, that road for a number of reasons. Someone had got stabbed, different factors, you think about when you hear someone got stabbed. Some of the stabbings don't even make the paper. Some people get paranoid and think that they can't go anywhere
20 year old mixed race male

This incarnation of territoriality had built within it a certain appreciation of 'street practices' and how to read them which were, sometimes hyperbolically, exaggerated.

Certain areas, some people, I am Crips [so I am not going to go into] I'm not going to go to Brixton. I think it is not even the area. It's just the people in the area. Even in the posh areas there are shootings and stabbings. It's not just the area itself.
20 year old white male

Leaving aside the reference to Crips⁶³ which seemed somewhat unlikely (Galbraith, 1993; Klein *et al.* 2000), it did show how my participants linked violent crime to area and class ("**even in the posh areas**") and saw nothing intrinsic in the area ("**It's not just the area itself**"). They also felt ready to challenge each other about the role of myths and unfamiliarity with neighbouring locales.

If you avoid an area, you make that area bad. That's why a lot of people don't go to Hackney. But if every person did not care every time something happened, then trust me, there would be nothing there. I've lived in Brixton. There is nothing there. It's just what you hear. No one ever spoke to me. Why avoid a place just because you hear of something happening.
20 year old mixed race male

In his account of delegated agency (**If you avoid an area, you make that area bad**) he undermined the street mythos by paradoxically stressing his own highly polished skillset of street practices: **if [only] every person did not care [like him]** there wouldn't be any issue. In a mixture of bravado and experience, he was suggesting that there were things to worry about but it should be, on balance, ignored.

5.4.5. A focus group follow up (part 2): the riots

The context of my second focus group is almost as important as the text it generated. Firstly, I recruited participants mainly but not exclusively from residents of a supported housing hostel that was run by the YMCA that acted as a transition point between independent living and their often chaotic personal circumstances. I actively pursued recruiting this group of people as they were "**desisters**" to my last

⁶³ The Crips are a famously formidable large street gang that originated in Los Angeles in the late 60s. I interpret this as braggadocio since I have never seen any other sign of the gang. Still, this invocation of US gangland glamour does allude to one version of 'on road' culture.

groups “**resisters**” (see section 3) and they were on the cusp of a very clear transition to adulthood through independent living and it was a way of giving the data an added triangulatory richness (see appendices for more detail) as well as providing a short sharp research intervention after 9 months of youth work with them⁶⁴.

Secondly, the exact date was on the 9th August 2011. The auspiciousness of this date cannot be overstated since it stood right in the middle of the August 2011 riots. Far more has been and can be said about this so I must stress the confines of the study. Undeniably, the riots stood out as a highly fruitful background around which to discuss issues of safety, belonging and mobility to the extent that within the focus group, much of the survey findings were not as fully discussed as I would have wanted but other, far more fruitful discourses were uncovered. One exchange typified this on the subject of looting –

Its opportunity isn't it?

Young mixed race male: 17

It's whether they are too shook [see glossary] to do it, if they are too shook, you are not going to do it, you are going to wish you did it.

Afro-Caribbean male:19

For me, the sheer novelty of the situation was an opportunity: the near carnival atmosphere of the riots did create a background which stood in opposition to the official conventions and mores both of ‘adult’ and ‘youth’ worlds where issues of belonging and safety could be discussed frankly. Within an overall exchange on youth territoriality one participant declared the riots overall were:

...a positive thing. Instead of us being scared of walking down the wrong turning going into the wrong estate, the only people who are scared is the Police

White male: 19

Another asserted:

I feel safe, for the first time, I feel safe to walk around anywhere.

Mixed race male: 17

Nevertheless, one participant felt able to say:

In some ways it has brought young people back together but the other day in Edmonton, when there was a few of us around, there was some other people in other areas, and this Edmonton guy said to the other guy who was not in the area “why are you in my area?”. So yes, okay, certain people don't care where we come from but there are certain gangs who would just stab people [anyway].

Afro-Caribbean female: 22

⁶⁴ They often asked me why I was working there and it was a chance to ask them. There was a relational (between young people) and comparative aspect here: the same categories of people were interviewed in one of the only other doctorates on youth territoriality published. Emma Jackson's work on youth territoriality self-consciously focused on a homeless shelter meaning I was looking for some form of triangulation here. (See Jackson, 2009)

It's true, but because of the rioting, everyone is looking at everyone thinking that could be a person to spark off a whole thing. No one wants to get close to people they don't really know.

White male: 19

Indeed, the riots made one thing clear. All were aware of an ever-present complex calculation between relationality and identity *between* and *among* young people whenever they encountered someone new: the riots merely made it more explicit. It seemed clear that young people create socio-spatial networks through the division of space and identities into those interpreted as threats or friends (Pickering *et al.* 2012).

To shift the discussion away from the riots, I introduced a local newspaper article (see appendix X) that described how a young person was recently stabbed in the local area. The young people were unimpressed and unperturbed as they said they didn't know the person; nor what he did and what the circumstances were. The implication was that there would have been a "**wasteman**" (see glossary). Rather than proof of apathy and callousness, it was rather evidence of different knowledges and representations of the street being put into practice through strategies of avoidance that I referred to in 4.5.2. It also suggested a form of knowledge that ran up against official media discourses of feral youth. The young people I spoke to definitely believed in what they heard rather than what they were told.

I presented to them the example contained within Rob Ralph's discussion of 'gang affected youth'. In this article, when discussing the boundaries of the areas of 'Anytown', several young people in study described how the space between two local fast-food takeaways - a mere 500 metres apart - as marking a boundary. I asked if my focus group can and did empathise with this or come up with examples that mirrored this situation. Most cohered around the idea that their safety was undermined by a fear of acquisitive crime (theft and robbery) in a way that:

Even before the riots started, it weren't safe to walk down the road anyway, there was always danger because of some madness, not from this area, people fighting over a bit of pavement, it weren't safe before the riots anyway, society hasn't changed its kind of sort of developed into, instead of fighting people for no reason, let's go and rob for a reason

Mixed race male: 17

What is noteworthy is how "**danger**" was based around people "**not from this area**" suggesting that familiarity had some effect here. In fact, further discussions appear to come up against the edges of 'on road' culture: it was evoked and all could recognise the principle of territoriality though there was disagreement as to how it precisely functioned. In fact, as Gunter posits, the majority of young people involved in his Road life study resided in an uneventful centre ground, with a small minority taking up the extreme margins. My focus group seemed to embody this. Within the social world described by Gunter, the importance of familial and peer group attachments are hard to overstate and potentially

stand as near proxy to territoriality. The need for 'back up' as a bulwark against acts of bullying, violence and robbery in unknown areas was mandatory (Gunter, 2008:356). This state of affairs stands as analogous to the low levels of violence my focus group alluded to and intimidation invoked by Andre's description of the "jungle" with "different rules". Still, one young man responded to this.

I would refute every claim made there. I think you are robbing because you can rob. It's a simple situation where you are presented with an opportunity and you have an excuse, if you don't use the excuse, you just look like a bad person.

White male: 19

He essentially emphasised the agency of every young person and the opportunities for subversion, experimentation and resistance especially within the circumstances of the August Riots. Indeed, for him, the riots were a superb example of this: the 'best thing' about the riots was the way 'Peckham Boys' and 'Braes (see glossary) from Hackney' no longer had 'beef' for those 3 days. Perhaps in a once in a generation manner I was able to witness the fragility of street representations and the impermanence of street practices. Trying to understand what was so different and why will be a significant part of refiguring territoriality.

5.4.6. Summary of the survey and focus group findings

The survey serves as testimony to the scale of ambition of my research aims and project phases. As stated in section 4.4., it must be seen in connection with my overarching methodological and theoretical purpose.

As I attested in the previous chapter, whilst I hold some bias against a purely quantitative approach, since it can reduce a complex narrative to the interplay of variables and impose a strait jacket of linear thinking, I believe that, as part of a mixed method, it can pay clear dividends. As the corroboration of already incipient themes, it was invaluable. What the survey and the focus group verified was that youngsters *did* behave in a territorial manner by keeping away from areas that they perceived to be dangerous/and or risky. My focus on fear, as a reaction to this harassment, proved extremely fruitful. I can quite clearly show this by a very calculated focus on one area in slightly more detail⁶⁵.

Take Finsbury Park: as the setting of some of my detached youth work rounds, I had heard second-hand of fights being arranged after-school and personally witnessed the anxiety that certain young people on their way home from school and college - an anxiety assuaged by walking in large groups. The survey allowed me to test and quantify this supposition. Indeed, this area stands as an anomaly since it was one of the few areas where, in the survey, more young people *actively* asked for more Police Stop and Search in response to their crime concern (see appendices). That did, indeed, confirm

⁶⁵ There were other anomalies and areas that deserve the same focus uncovered in the survey but Finsbury Pak was the most obvious.

there was a general sense of unease amongst young people travelling through the area – a view that my focus group described and confirmed they experienced. Despite the routine, banal nature of the school/college journey; the presence of friends and the dense public transport infrastructure nodes (railway, tube station and bus depot⁶⁶) some did indeed describe a feeling of disquiet. This, as a standalone example of my recursive methodology, acts as testament to the potency of a multi-method approach. By first noticing the dense processes and representations as a Youth Worker within the area, I was able to make my feeling substantive through the survey: to make tangible a ‘representation of the street’. Secondly, by making this feeling concrete in quantitative terms, I could discuss and confirm it with my focus group and discuss its potency as ‘street representation’.

Still, in response to territoriality’s refiguration, on the back of this, I at least had what Keith would describe as ‘hard evidence’ and that had the potential to present a case for Police intervention through the conduit of the ICSB. By first interpreting as a ‘representation of the street’ under the aegis of service professionals, I was now more confident in confirming how physical structure, location within the city and even opportunities for mobility were all significant factors in how area was perceived by young people.

Nevertheless, there were other powerful reasons to take this approach: as a method of peer engagement and data gathering tool it was *highly* effective. And in hindsight, my emphasis on creating the ‘right questions’ to ask, vastly expanded my local knowledge and appreciation of youth practices as well as opening up certain avenues for future inquiry. Principal among them was where these findings replicable and or corroborated within areas outside of Islington – a question that will be my underlying focus in the next chapter. The challenge for me was to take this research outcome and new vistas of insights into the next chapters.

In addition to this, I also had to deal with the residual questions, remaining puzzles and methodological limits this chapter had presented. The picture of appeared to be that for young people, an often repeated real and clear fear of violent theft and yet confusingly, no small lack of confidence. On a spatial level it was clear that young people had an understanding territoriality yet again there was no clear territory (see 4.5.6).

⁶⁶ The bus 29 which went from Wood Green to Trafalgar Square was until recently was a “bendy bus” meaning that it was possible to travel from the deprived locale of Wood Green to central London via Finsbury Park for free if one kept an eye out for bus inspectors. At the same time, Finsbury Park idiosyncratic design meant that there were no tube barriers for reasons of fire safety. This meant that it was perhaps the only station in London that one could walk onto a tube without paying a penny or seeing a conductor.

5.5. Conclusion

To return to the introduction, we must remind ourselves that this chapter is predicated on answering the first of my research questions: how does territory influence a sense of place and understanding of identity? There are certain corollaries here: *are* young people territorial? If so which young people, when, where and how?

What this chapter also follows is the theoretical outline of “Representations of the Street”, “Street Representations” and “Street Practice”. To take “Representations of the street” is to take a view held by my stakeholders that emphasised transgression and assorted ways of dealing with it in a spectrum of approaches and solutions that was contoured around each institution’s organisational purpose. The focus on services was thus used to add a sharper critical edge to my understanding of young people’s social, economic and cultural realities. It did also show how the Police had emphasised areas of high crime with the intention of predicting and then unravelling the possibility of young criminal behaviour whilst the Youth Workers, by contrast, had taken a different path. Their accounts had, by reference to ‘on road’ norms and behaviours, explained how and why a certain low-level white noise of nuisance and harassment might occur.

To take ‘street representations’ is to acknowledge the existence and power of imaginaries like ‘on road’ culture. My approach follows this view whilst also underlining the significance of agency and the interconnected nature of social processes within representations of place. It also confirmed the operation of fear, crime and safety concerns within the young population of Islington. Both ‘stakeholders’ had gone some way into delineating territoriality as a forum for practice and site around which meanings could be communicated spatially through differing markers such as clothes, leisure patterns, transport and, potentially, gender. The list of tentative conclusions, outcomes and results this chapter introduces suggest that a complex and near contradictory multi-tiered appreciation of area would be central to my unfolding description of territoriality.

Within my focus on “street practice” there is however, a tacit category around which to arrange my findings – ‘class’. There is the vexed question as to how issues of class and geography affected young people still to answer. PC Stranger and Keith believed the effect was intricate since class, area and young people mixed and interacted in a number of unpredictable ways: a view given some tangibility by the survey (see appendices). In point of fact, within the Youth Workers description of ‘on road’ as **“some mystical thing...that means something completely different to different people”** (see section 4.3.3.) class is invoked. Moreover, the survey stands as (circumstantial) evidence of the classed complexity and dynamism of territoriality seeing how its findings are situated within Islington’s highly heterogeneous levels of deprivation and privilege. The intricacy and lack of easy coherence is, to a

certain extent, expected and understandable. Indeed, the overarching meta-narrative is one that adheres to MacDonald et al.'s (2005) account of the continuing importance of class and place for young people. Furthermore, the Kintrea et al. (2008) reached a similar conclusion in their study of territoriality and territorial conflict in six British cities, stating that all the areas they encountered with 'territorial conflict' were areas containing persistent pockets of multiple disadvantage (Kintrea et al. 2012). Even more than that, the focus on street practices – on what happens on the street – was given spectacular and dramatic substance within my focus group discussions at the August 2011. As this canvas for these questions it – as a once in a 20 year occurrence – proved the extreme circumstances that were necessary to alter the dynamic of territoriality: the **“best thing”** about the riots according to one of my participants.

Still, in a development that will get due consideration in later chapters, I present this chapter as yet another example of how the theory/practice dualism can be challenged (see Imrie, 2004) and how the mainstream structure of geography has often placed more value on high theory of (Turok and Bailey, 2004. See also Panelli et al., 2002) at the expense of different forms of knowledge. Following Rachel Pain's argument on how this distinction is too clear-cut for a porous area of research and praxis, given the efficacy of plenty of critical applied research (Pain, 2004), I present this research phase as a potential compromise. The 'solvent' between practice and research can be a participatory methodology (see section 3.3).

Ultimately, this approach described here acts as a riposte to those social theorists that have downplayed the importance of place, noting that growing geographical mobility has resulted in everyday experiences becoming increasingly disembedded from physical location (Calhoun 1991, Giddens, 1984). I suggest the answer to the research question, "are young people territorial?" as a simple 'yes' and as further example of the tradition with youth studies, that has been critical of postmodern, post-subcultural theory that places too much emphasis on agency and the individual (Blackman, 2005). And yet by first situating an answer within the Police and youth services, I demonstrated how different interactions between the state and young people created different interpretations of youth and place. Since most of the areas I worked in were deprived Pickering's point of how:

the continuing importance of the home area can be perhaps in part explained by specific locational and transport deficits and by the stigmatising attitudes of outsiders, including employers towards residents

Pickering *et al.* 2012

To use the classifications of territoriality in in Chapter 1 and 2, it did appear that the 'terrare' form of territoriality was in rude health: areas like Finsbury Park suggested instances of tyrannical space that present a version that was 'normal' for many. Still, there were curious subversions and inconsistencies

within the account of my participants. Use as an example of when, where and how youth territoriality is subverted. Whilst— like some of my participants in the focus group - could and did navigate through around restrictions or at least felt capable of doing so. Second on how even this normalcy can be subverted.

...applied. Moreover, whilst all of my informants in this study agreed that territoriality did, indeed exist, there were certain inconsistencies and differences that add depth to my unfolding account.

Chapter 6

A closer look at Street Representations and Street Practices

Sports do not build character. They reveal it.

Heywood Broun (attributed) James Michener, *Sports in America* (1976)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter expands my analysis of the views of young people on territoriality presented in the previous chapter. It details how a specific type of mobile young people spoke about the practices, representations and shared meanings that underlay their incarnation of youth geographies, territoriality and belonging. By focusing on a group of young that were mobile, I will convey how a second form of territoriality It draws upon the second stage of my methodology – a case study of a basketball team – and introduces a more nuanced understanding of territoriality by refracting it through a particular set of site assembled subjectivities. It will show how to what extent can and do young people resist or reconstitute conventional or dominant understandings of territoriality?

This chapter also introduces itself as a move closer to the '**Representations of the street**' and '**Street Practices**' that will underpin the later parts of my discussion (see 1.4). Within this shift, we witness a more intricate relationship between agent and area. I will also explore new dimensions within the concept of socio-spatiality: a process mentioned but not developed in the previous chapters. Parallel to this, I will pinpoint and identify those areas of variation that reveal more about the patterns, processes and changes that underlined youth territoriality as experienced on an individual and in aggregate basis. To this end, I have shifted the focus to another area of London for empirical and theoretical reasons and to triangulate and corroborate my previous findings. I will show how doing so is the best way of uncovering the manner in which the distinctiveness of place is continually remade by the same and different processes. In short, I intend to see if the findings outlined in the previous chapter are specific only to Islington and if not, why not?

I did this by looking closely at a fully formed manifestation of youth culture as a background canvas around within which to view my previous findings and to develop new ones. 'Culture', here, I take mean the everyday symbolic expressive customs – the '*textual practices*' - that produce some kind of material artefact or a fluid abstraction whether it be a representation, image, performance, display, space, writing or narrative⁶⁷ (Lister and Wells, 2001:61, see 5.3.1). Furthermore, as Shildrick and MacDonald (2006: 126) argue, scholars could fruitfully construct a list that provides: "*a proper, holistic understanding of youth [based around] a closer appreciation of the ways in which young people's leisure and cultural lives intersect with wider aspects of their biographies*". This chapter is my interpretation of this approach. I will show how and where space figures within my participants' biographies inside a group that, how and if territoriality is actualised by a group who are far too active to suffer from the adolescent laziness that one previous participant had suggested was a partial component of territoriality (see 4.3.8.). In brief, I focussed on how young people spoke about their practices (Hitchings, 2012) and my determination was to map out some of the tensions between spatial identification and competition within a sporting context. Based around these outcomes I will illustrate how "**territory and place-based encounters influence a sense of resistance and/or belonging**" (see 1.1.).

I examined the circumstances around which a group of young men spoke about how and why they felt able to travel around deprived and not-so-deprived neighbourhoods safely. I explored how a group of young people managed the expectation of fear and violence when they moved through and utilised places within and beyond their immediate residential neighbourhood. More than this, I present this chapter as an in-depth analysis of how, when and why space becomes an important part of young lives and how place interacts with cultural and leisure biographies. I reported the mixture of representations that connect to the fluid, complicated amorphous battery of practices that underpin a youth appreciation of space. I will also show how and where a feeling of community can gather (see section 2) by first presenting how these representations play out in aggregate (5.2-5.3) and then for the individual (5.3-5.5). In this manner I will show not just show processes are remade through the same and different process (see above) by spatial variation and how this can be altered, distorted or reaffirmed by group dynamics.

As stated in the introduction (section 1.6) and methodology (section 3.3.4.), the data was collected through a focus group and two waves of individual interviews six weeks to two months apart. The

⁶⁷ As will be shown, I present the word 'narrative' as a way that a story with recognized characters provides a framework around which to recognize the motivation of small, identified cast of characters.

Participatory GIS section which interrupted the two waves of interviews will get the separate attention it deserves in the next chapter (see 6. 4. in the next chapter).

6.1.1. A Summary of the Last Chapter's Findings: the analytical context

In 4.2. I argued the Police believed a certain level of violence and anti-social behaviour territoriality existed that had a different origin than 'gang' and criminal behaviour. My participating Youth Workers had spoken about some of the practices, norms and beliefs that underpinned what they thought underlay territoriality (such as 'On Road' culture). The survey, by extension, had described the youth ecology of Islington in a manner that added nuance and complexity to this account by, for instance, tracing out some of the literal and metaphorical areas that were more immediately threatening than others. Still, it had methodological limitations and theoretical ambiguities. Though the survey did show how respondents could quite easily envisage a great deal of practices that might explain their reluctance to visit other areas (their main "crime concerns". See 4.5.1 and 4.5.2), there seemed to be a paradoxical lack of fear – a supposition supported by the focus groups (see 4.5.3). The survey and focus group described 'On road' practices and what was needed to be 'street wise'. Whilst there seemed to be a consensus amongst my participants that territoriality existed and persisted, its pervasiveness and exact function was still unclear. I had reached a methodological limit here. Whilst my experience as a Youth Worker had given me access, there was a possibility that my professional position did mean that participants were responding to me in a 'professional' manner (see also Davidson, 2010). Based on this possibility, I put into place something consciously different. It was appropriate to view territoriality outside Islington's borders and thereby gain the figurative and actual distance necessary to see how divergent youth social-spatial codes co-existed and conflicted. Add to this the high internal differentiations both within and between neighbourhoods in Islington (between gender, generations, family trajectories and background, leisure careers, schooling experience, housing background etc.) and I was deepening my understanding of structuring dynamics by focusing on specific variables. Shifting the research site was the best way of discovering the understandings of scale, knowledge and practice that underpinned territoriality as well as extending my appreciation of how young people related to other young people. I was not necessarily looking for similarity or difference but I was trying to grasp how the same social processes can be remade in different ways. I believed that this would answer "how is territoriality experienced?" in a richer sense and thereby deepen our understanding of its prevalence and incidence (see also 2.3.3.).

As will be shown, questions like these are not discrete or granular but reveal a complex and interacting representational topography. Still, within previous attempts to map this landscape, as David Robinson has highlighted, there has been a tendency within the literature to construct places and people as mutually exclusive competing explanations, with research seeking to establish whether there is an

explanatory role for 'place' after the individual characteristics of the population have been taken into account (Robinson, 2011). I was, by focusing on a mobile group of young people, seeking to test this dichotomy.

6.2. Re-introducing the Athenians (Part 2)

I have already found the group – introduced in section 3.2.2.2. - through a number of contacts by the time I had finished the survey in Chapter Four. They were a highly successful and long established sports team that fulfilled the long and complicated list of criterion listed in the third chapter (see section 3.5). The team (given the pseudonym the Athenians by me) were chosen after several long conversations with their American coach, Cory, a former NBA (National Basketball League) player. Their members had, when I first met them, recently successfully completed a fundraising drive that had taken them all over London to fund a basketball camp in the States. In addition to this, members of their team had represented their school, their borough and their city, meaning that I would be able to mine seams of identity greater than their immediate area. They were all from East London but had often trained individually and collectively on courts throughout London and as far afield as Manchester and Wales.

My reasoning was clear in choosing them as a case study: I had found an identity that had an interesting balance or tension between the group and the individual. Bearing in mind Clive Tachie's view, given from the benefit of his long experience, how territoriality is:

down to the individual. You know. Two people living in the same area will have totally different perceptions of that area based on what their outlook is...what is attractive to them to a degree
Clive Tachie (section 4.3.2.)

...they embodied all these prerequisites. As Thomson and Holland noted in their wide ranging survey of youth authority and agency, a majority of young people tend to distinguish their own personal authority, the values of their particular friendship group(s), the informal and formal values of the institutions they interacted with (like school) and the values of the wider culture (see Thomson and Holland, 2002:107) along separate axes. In relation to my research, the Athenian setting was ideal for seeing how a communal participation in a sport (and thereby a culture) provided a mechanism within which to access the private self and to report how space interacted with the leisure and cultural life of a group of *very* active young people.

6.2.1. A group introduction

To start, I want to outline the circumstances around which I was first introduced to the team by their coach at a site they often train at within East London: I was allowed into their locker room. It is hard to overstate the symbolic significance of this considering how many authors have discussed the importance of this unsurveyed space (See for instance, Stoudt, 2006; Pascoe, 2005; Adams and

Anderson, 2010; Anderson and McCormack, 2012). In hindsight, this provided a hint of the significant access I would gain to their lives over the next 6-8 months: indeed, even Cory did not often venture into there. Regardless of this, it was only after nearly two months hanging around with them and watching them play basketball in a number of venues, I began to collectively and individually interview my new participants.

So it was, after 6 weeks of me shadowing them from my initial introduction in the locker room that I arranged with the team to meet them for a first formal focus group. It gave me the opportunity to see if they were truly suitable; for them to see if they would like to be involved after I told them what my project would entail and both us the chance to negotiate how to proceed.

As the participatory survey of the previous chapter had highlighted, the space in which an interview, or some other form of research involvement, takes place can be crucial in yielding important information regarding the way respondents construct their identities (Sin, 2003). It was with a great deal of interest that I noticed they suggested we meet at a nearby mall. Their choice gave an indication of what William Kowinski (1985) noted, in a widely read book, how shopping malls had become "*not only normal but essential*" (p. 36) features of youth social life. Aside from as a research site, it proved theoretically useful in confirming a number of things. The unsupervised nature of this site itself; the simple fact that the Athenians proposed it and their description of it me as "**ours if we get there early**" was it is proof of Childress contention (see Childress, 2004; see section 2.2. and 2.3). These young people can and did have a certain incarnation of territoriality based around the *de facto* occupation of space that was more concerned with the location of individuals within space than any configuration of ownership. More than even that, it signified that I had found the right group.

6.2.2. The collective context

This group of 11 boys (one dropped out without doing the Participatory GIS section of the research) were recruited because they all had certain characteristics. All were state school educated up to higher education (sixth form college); over half (6 of the 10/11) had grown up in single-parent families and all of them were roughly same age (the youngest was 17, the oldest 20). As a sample, they constituted a group that was large enough to see variations of a theme yet small enough to pick out individual voices and to focus upon them.

There was congruence in terms of the background. By design, all were young black men – a characterisation that Gunter argues are more familiar with the world of '*badness*', perhaps through their associations (friendly and antagonistic) with rude boys, or as a result of 'drift' (Matza, 1964, see also chapter 2; Gunter, 2008; 2003). This would also allow me test an affirmation about how for boys:

It's about mind-set and there may be some young males which it totally doesn't affect them coz that's not what they deal with.

Clive (Section 4.3.3.)

In terms of how they were situated spatially, they all lived close to each other i.e. within walking distance with clusters of 7 or 8 regularly in and out of each other's houses. They all, however, met up around 2 or 3 times a week to train or to hang out. Smaller groups met up socially and to play basketball in other parts of London but all looked forward to meeting up regularly at least once a week. All the boys soon enjoyed a strong, near fraternal, bond. Each had lived in the area for a number of years (the longest for 20 years, the latest from 2009) and each affiliated themselves very closely to Newham as a borough in a situation that contrasted nicely with the Islington borough focus of my previous chapter. They all knew each other extremely well with some having an acquaintance that stretched as far back as primary school and had strengthened due to the time they had spent together⁶⁸. Basketball was a huge part of their lives although the degree as to how, how long and to what degree this had always been the case was personal for each player. The vast majority had played for at least 3 years: all of them, though, characterised their adolescent years with playing basketball.

As young adults, they had the advantage of being able to look back at their childhoods and adolescence and reflect upon what has been called the "*niches, pathways, trajectories and navigations*" that they had negotiated (see Evans and Furlong, 1997: 1. See also Evans, 2002 and Valentine, 2003). I was as equally interested in their perspectives as boys (Frosh and Phoenix, 2002; Phoenix, Frosh and Pattman, 2003) – and athletic boys at that (see Anderson, 2008; Anderson, 2005; Anderson 2009). Their different ethnicities and its relation to sport also gave me a useful easy platform upon which to segue into discussing ideas of difference and prejudice (Nayak, 2005; Hylton, 2003; Mangan and Ritchie, 2004 and section 4.3.4).

The information and the research position that I had crafted implied that I could and would soon generate data on the very particular subjectivities that they personified: individually articulate yet collectively organised; athletic, black boys. Overall, I was interested in using the group context to see how taking responsibility of others - here in a team context – generated a different sense of sense of self. These young people who had chosen close interdependent relationships with others like them were perhaps constructing a different model of adulthood than my Islington participants.

⁶⁸For a closer outline of the team as individuals, please see the profile of each team member in the appendices

6.2.3. Transitions and trajectories

My early conversations with them and their coaches confirmed their self-description as ‘normal’ – neither adherents to an educational counterculture that celebrated ‘*badness*’, nor one that emphasised ‘*laddishness*’ despite their chosen sport's emphasis on athleticism (Gunter, 2008; Mac an Ghail, 1994, McDowell, 2003). Indeed, they fitted into the notion the literature suggested of ‘ordinary kids’ – what Stephen Roberts identified as the ‘*missing middle*’ in youth research (Roberts, 2011) who “*are politically and socially unproblematic, ‘safe’ and [ostensibly] unable to enlighten us further*” (Roberts, 2012:204).

Nothing better typified this ‘normalcy’ than their wish to go to or to continue at university: all bar one of the eleven had gone onto higher education with the hope of going to university. Six of the ten were in the middle of writing up their UCAS forms when I first met them. Of this six, a sizeable minority (three out of the eleven) were going down the more vocational route of BTECS (Business & Technology Education Council) or GNVQs suggesting a mixed level of academic ability within the group. Two of them were already at university: one of their number was exceptionally high achieving having successfully completed his first year at an extremely prestigious Russell Group university (see table below).

Table 14: Athenian’s proposed university and qualification

| Name | University | Qualification |
|------------------|---|--|
| Hannibal | University of Buckingham | History and journalism |
| Alexander | Applied to go to Buckingham | Music production |
| Mohammed | University of London | Pharmacy |
| Paul | Aspiration to become a professional basketball player | Major in Sports Admin |
| Luke | University of Loughborough | Chemical Engineering |
| Tim | Tier 2 University⁶⁹ within the United States | Unknown |
| Obi | Applied to go to University of Buckingham/ Roehampton and Brunel | Business Studies |
| Jack | Not going to university | Not applicable |
| Keith | Applied to go to University of Buckingham/ Roehampton and Brunel | Business Studies |
| Ed | Applied to go to University of Buckingham/ Roehampton and Brunel | Sports Therapy and Rehabilitation |
| Robert | Student at the London School of Economics | Accountancy and Finance |

Indeed, this case study is dissimilar enough to my previous chapters to further my analysis of territoriality since the Athenians were more educationally high achieving and/or ambitious than my Islington participants. Still, the reality was more complex than this since this sense of ambition had been carefully inculcated through their coach, Cory and had meant each had thought long and hard of home, their area, the prospect of leaving and the chance of returning to both ‘as adults’. What was clear was that their varied educational positioning needed unpacking in spatial terms. Even the one extremely high achieving outlier within the group presented some interesting questions since he had decided to stay close to home in London. He had not taken the opportunity to go Oxford or Cambridge that his academic prowess warranted but chose instead to stay in the South East, near his family. Set

⁶⁹ The second tier of American universities was something roughly equivalent to an institution outside of our elite Russell group universities.

against this, at the other end of the spectrum, was the single other Athenian who had decided not to go to university and to instead start work.

As will be shown, the Athenians' choice of where to go to university overlay a certain understanding of geography. Even at this early stage, this line of questioning hinted at introducing a subtlety and a temporal dimension to how this group of young people viewed their transitions to adulthood, their relation to space, and by extension their incarnation to territoriality. As an in-depth case study of mobile young people, I was eager to test the transitional element of territoriality and the class element that was only implicit within the earlier phases of my research. Was there a "*working class localism (with local patterns of socializing and 'old' friends)*" that contrasted with "*middle class cosmopolitanism (being geographically mobile, maintaining links with family and socializing with 'new' friends and work colleagues)*" that underpinned territoriality (Thomson and Taylor, 2005:329)? Evidenced through their choice of university, their view of education and their evolving sense of home, belonging and socio-spatiality, my focus groups and interviews will bring to light these dynamics in a way that the previous research phases had not.

6.2.4. Collective research in practice



Photo 4: The focus group mall

The first formal introduction with the group occurred at this shopping mall within East London. The picture was taken by one of my informants at a later stage of research

Part of the data collection and analysis lay in patiently evaluating the carefully cultivated team dynamic Cory had cultivated by recognising and utilising social hierarchies the boys maintained and constructed on court and off and how this found individual expression. Once I understood this, it made the process of data collection surprisingly easy: as stated previously, all the Athenians displayed a reflexivity that my previous participants had taken months to feel comfortable enough to exhibit. A large portion of this has to be put down to the influence of Cory. He had in the past, for instance, made them stage a debate about their identity as black men and why some of them refused to call themselves British. More than that, he had urged them to each talk to him and each other about where they saw themselves in 5 years' time; he even obliged them to write essays about films and/or literature they

were interested in and to keep up at least a C average at school or college. If their grades fell below this, they were not allowed to train with the team. They were, in a sense, primed to talk about issues of identity in an articulate manner before I had met them. Indeed, the Athenians were more immediately vocal about the challenges they faced as a group of young men. This meant that I was able to easily transfer this momentum into questions about their lives and circumstances in a progression that hindsight tells me was *far* easier than I expected.

Within this particular set of circumstances I met the Athenians in a mall in East London for a focus group. As mentioned before, I was keen to meet them collectively in a setting that they felt comfortable. Their captain's Tim's declaration of how "**we always meet up and go together**" at our very first meeting presents my starting premise as it presented their relationship to space as a particularly thick web of social, spatial and temporal connections between the group members. Principal among this was *how* they travelled. As one of their members confided, this was very important.

Oh yeah, we would meet on the platform and say, ok, everyone meet at Stratford at this particular time.

Hannibal

When I asked about this, whether this was a straightforward strategy ensure their safety, or to make the journey more interesting, a team member replied "[it's] **both. It's a team thing making sure we're on time [and] a team bonding thing.**" They justified it as something more tangible than some unthinking reaction to fear over safety as a reason for their behaviour here. The way that they congregated and socialised together alluded to something that was more than simple convenience. The extent of this was clear when Jack declared they would all even divert quite a way to meet a friend and then "**we would make our way back**".

It confirmed the importance of the group and substantiated my belief I had access to a forum for them to talk openly about the nexus of fear, safety and socio-spatiality that the previous phase (chapter 4) had indicated underpinned territoriality. What was patent was that this case study would add something tangible to that surprising absence of fear that had been part of the last chapter (see section 4.5.3). They implemented the same street practices that my survey/focus group participants had referred to (avoidance strategies; travelling in groups etc.) and even spoke about how they had used these techniques in Finsbury Park (see 4.5.4).

6.3. The Focus group themes

Though the focus group outline and topic guide can be found in the appendices, it will be useful to go over the themes uncovered. As it was the culmination of a great deal of preliminary research and lasted more just under two hours, it will form the basis of a great deal of this and upcoming chapters.

To flesh out those aspects of their biographies that I hadn't been able to speak to them about previously, I spoke to them about their background, about their aspirations and, most fruitfully, their views of London as a place to live, to grow up, to hang out and to 'play' (that is go out 'raving' or partying).

My first theme was based around exploring details about how they saw themselves. Discovering whether they were in college and/or planned to go to university gave me the opportunity to place them in socio-economic context furnishing me with details that I could expand upon when I interviewed them individually (see 5.4). All of them had been to college and the vast majority were planning to go to university or were already there (aside from one notable exception who was working). They jointly stressed the importance of education alluding to a determination to “**better themselves**” that Cory had inculcated within them. What was novel was the extent they subscribed to this: a number of them were planning to go to university on the back of basketball scholarship either in America or in Europe since they could not envisage being able to afford to go to university in Britain⁷⁰.

What was also intriguing was how it was clear that their views of London were evolving – something apparent even at this early stage. Nevertheless, they each felt happy to list a group of places within London they felt confident to be say they each knew well, had hung out in or visited regularly (see table 15, below). Despite this, there were already nascent differences of outlook and interpretation of area in spite of the wilful creation and maintenance of a team identity that they repeatedly stressed to me as important.

⁷⁰My conversations with some of them during the course of my participant observation led me to discover how some of them had never considered university before meeting Coach and they were enthusiastic but realistic about the prospect of any way to overcome the hurdle of paying £9,000 a year for university.

| North London | East London | | Central London |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Islington | Barkingside | Hackney | All of Central London |
| Haringey Green | Stratford | Shoreditch | (defined as zone 1 on the tube map) |
| Tottenham | Forest Gate | Ilford | Liverpool Street |
| | Wanstead | Isle of Dogs | |
| | West Ham | Chadwell Heath | |
| | East Ham | Beckton | |
| | Seven Kings | Leyton | |
| | Goodmayes | Bethnal Green | |
| | Becontree | Bow | |
| | Romford | Dagenham | |

Table 15
Aggregate list of all the places the Athenians said they knew, had hung out in and visited regularly

As a precursor to a more in-depth individual interview and as a prelude to my visual participatory approach (see section 6), I asked them in pairs to map out the areas in London that they were familiar with, often went to and/or felt comfortable within (two examples of the map can be found below – see Map 9 and Map 10). Their microscopically detailed knowledge of East London contrasted starkly with their merely microscopically small knowledge of other areas – particularly West and South London⁷¹.

The breadth of the maps and the way that they quickly and easily allowed the discussion to flow from areas of moral and spatial consensus (places that are safe) to areas of uncertainty (the risk of violence and racism) confirmed my belief that I had found the right team to work with. They were quick to confirm **“Everyone knows each other in East London”** and acknowledged that **“Being basketball players we have to travel, and especially East London.”** Still, what was attention-grabbing was the areas they *didn’t* mention and what *wasn’t* said despite their self-confident declaration that they were happy to travel anywhere near their neighbourhood. Stoke Newington, Hackney, Bethnal Green, Poplar and Bow (see the green area in Map 9) were left untrodden despite the fact that these areas were adjacent to the places they hung out. Even more than this, two of the team actually *lived* in Bow and Poplar respectively. The implication that there was a gap between what they said and what they did obviously merited more analysis. The intimation for me at this early stage was clear, obvious and exciting: I had an immediate platform for further questioning. It did, after all, seem to provide an ostensible straightforward confirmation of territoriality in practice. I had found the right group for an

⁷¹ My conversations with Cory and first introduction to them defined the parameters of the map. My individual interviews with them did show how some – particularly Mo – did go South of the river. For the majority of them, it was terra incognita.

in-depth and fully participatory research phase that would untangle some of the complex and contested spatial norms and practices that the first phase of my research had shown.



Map 9.

An example of the map that I introduced to them and asked them, in groups of two to circle. The green area is added to emphasise the sizeable area that they did not mark as safe.

Nevertheless, the potential was there to do more than report the existence of places they did not go. As mentioned before, the close nature of the group gave me an avenue around which to explore how they *actively* spoke about their practices to each other and to me individually - how far to focus on the 'everyone' that "*everyone knows each other*" and the "we" in the "*we have to travel*" in the quote above. The possibility was there to see how far space was an active agent within their biographies, leisure and cultural lives. More than this, what was also of interest was how the team provided another layer of analysis to my developing view of territoriality. It seemed apparent there was a degree to which the team itself seemed to provide an oasis around (an occasionally?) hostile local environment and the focus group hinted at this. As one member eloquently put it:

With our particular age group – I mean, obviously, we are at an age – 18, 19, 20 – where everybody is really going their separate ways. I mean, you can't afford to be playing basketball every day and there are certain things that are happening. Either you are starting the working path or going to the workforce or go to university and do your education. The challenge is really trying to get to where you want to go so that means everybody's time schedule is not going to be the same. We won't always be able to see each other.

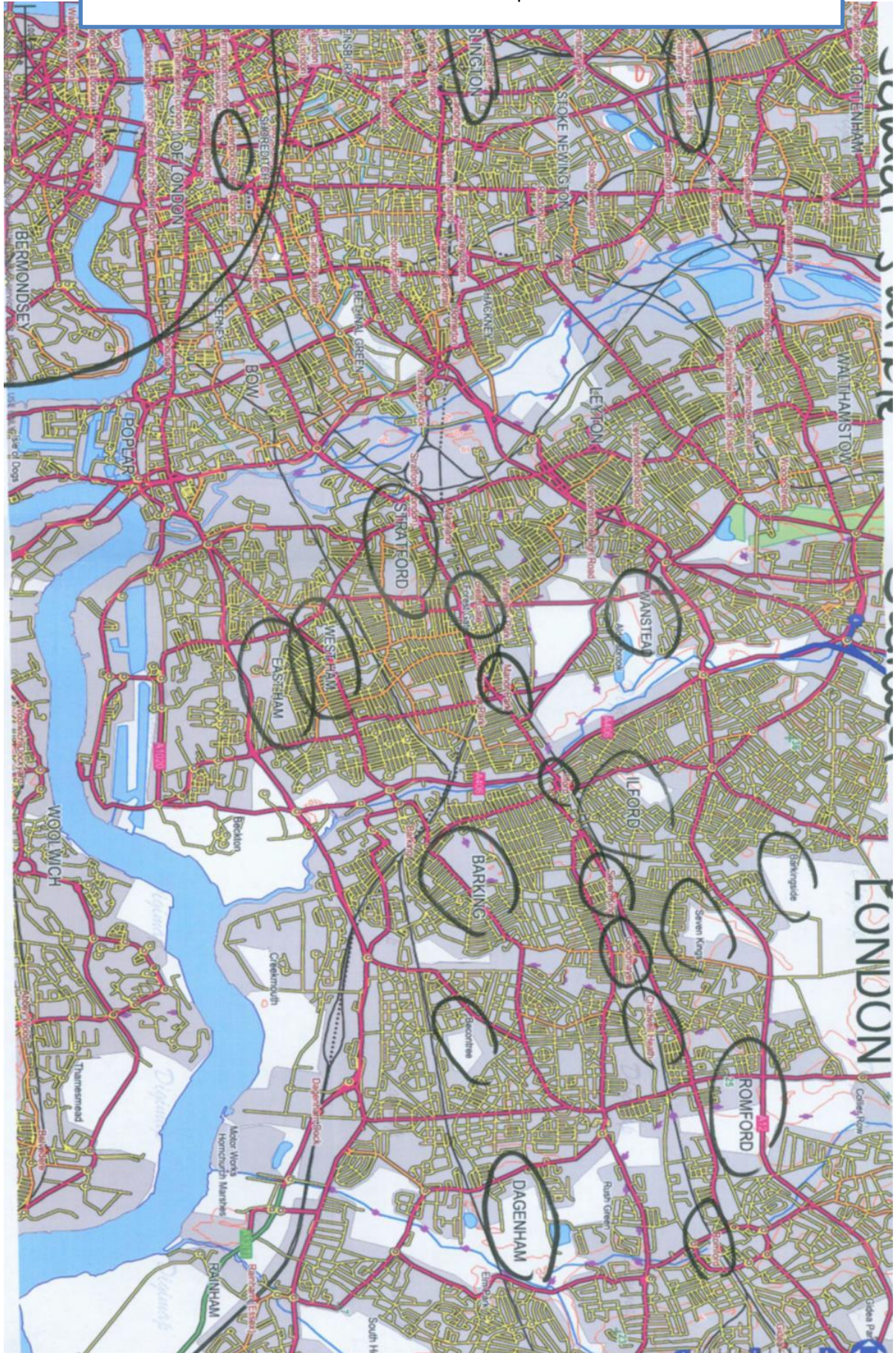
Jack

Their group's joint transition to adulthood did mean that the team was breaking up: a development that they viewed as bittersweet. They were eager to see what happened next but ambivalent about leaving the area and each other. Essentially, space was part of their narrative biography meaning that

I had an opportunity to find out the degree to which belonging could be re-spatialized as they moved to adulthood; to also see how the dynamics of socio-spatiality and belonging in action and how multiple scales of home were (re)constructed when “**everybody’s time schedule is not going to be same**”. The way that they equated travel, mobility and transitions suggested that home and territory were physical and emotional; a social positioning and sense of belonging. At a ‘critical disjuncture’ or transition point (see Chapter 2), I had the chance to see operation of one incarnation of territoriality and perhaps the creation of a new one.

Map 10.

It details the areas the most adventurous pair of Athenians felt familiar



6.3.1. The importance of narrative

What became immediately apparent was the form of collective interaction of team members amongst themselves and, as will be shown, when they were speaking to me individually. As a group and in both their individual interviews the Athenians related to me in the same manner by using stories and storytelling: each presented me with a narrative. By narrative, I mean to describe a story that unfolds in time, with a (perceived) beginning and a (projected) end animated by real or imaginary participants in a configured relationship to each other (see Polkinghorne, 1995; Hermans, *et al.* 1992; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Nor is it just a theoretical concept; it is or at least can be “*the context for interpreting and assessing all communication – not a mode of discourse laid on by a creator’s deliberate choice but the shape of knowledge as we first apprehend it.*” (Bell, 2006:9). And as such it gave me my first insight to how territoriality could be represented as a practice.

It has only been relatively recently that geographers have focused attention on the power of stories as artefacts in and of themselves as opposed to ciphers of different ‘turns’ (see Cameron, 2012). The utility, presence and ubiquity of narrative in my research is explained by a story’s ability to be realised through a variety of texts and forms in a manner that mediates and constructs reality (also incidentally providing theoretical justification for my case study approach: see section 3.1.4). The repercussions of this insight mean that I present narrative not as a textual form. The way the boys presented the events they had witnessed, the places they went and the characters they had encountered followed the same pattern and *this* warrants consideration. Within their accounts I began to see the stories as productive, participatory ontological actions that might call into being alternative worlds (Gibson-Graham 2006, 2008; Cameron, *ibid*) rather than as ‘*mere anecdotes*’. Within the connections that they made, it was easy to notice what Lorimer (2003) has already called into focus - specifically the way that stories attend to the small, the personal, the mundane and the local whilst also expressing the particular voices of their creators. Although the Athenians did use other discursive modes (description, argumentation and exposition) narrative was by far the most common, as will be shown below.

The narratives *themselves* demand attention. The Athenians spoke to me and to each other in a manner that communicated the familiar in novel ways and gave a personal narrative flavour to what they experienced. It was in this way, near the end of the focus group; one of my participants told me:

one of my close friend’s cousins was killed [by territorial violence]...Yeah, the boy only got killed because they asked him where he was from and they said the wrong area and just...

Keith

Whilst the significance of this instance will be placed into perspective later (see section 5.4.3. on gangs), there are other points to be made here. It was the way friends were used as a near proxy for self to present events and decision making in hypothetical and actual situations that propels this into

something different than locker room gossip. Stories, after all, do not simply symbolise, they affect, they move and they provoke reaction and indicate something of how the audience is conceived. And more than that, they were shaped to fit the narrator's expectations.

6.3.2. Street representations of London

What was presented to me were a series of tropes that put into perspective the routines, tasks and the micro-cultural activities the group undertook - activities such as travelling. It provided a canvas around which the unanticipated and irregular or the routine and banal could be evaluated and novel encounters with others judged. Even more than this, it provided a way that the roles the Athenians inhabited, at that time, could thereby be assessed. A foundational proposition that the Athenians all believed was how:

All parts of London have all got their differences but, if you were looking at London from an outside view, you wouldn't know the difference. We live there so we see the differences, the way they talk, act. There are differences.

Robert

Even more than this, these "differences" were clear and palpable if imperceptible to strangers.

When you step inside and let's say someplace looks exactly like East London, you have got the same shops, you have got the same high street, you have got the same KFC, you have got everything else like that. How would you know? Let's say you are from Mars, and you are looking from two different parts of London, how would you know which is which?

Femi

Just from the feel of it. You can tell by what everyone is wearing and just stuff like that. Yeah, that is one of the main things looking at how people can, well youth can at least tell where someone might come from and how they act.

Jack

When I pressed them about what these markers actually were, one Athenian replied:

From East London, you can tell by the way they dress; the way they walk, round there. It's the language, like, North London they would like be 'steeds' here would be like 'steeds' here we use words like 'nang'⁷². West London is a bit different.

Mohammed

As one of the first mental images presented, they suggested that their understanding of their area was multi-tiered. It was based around a belief that London *was* different and more like a series of villages than a unitary metropolis; second, these differences might not be visible to an outsider. To take one example, things as innocuous as the colour of the bins the council provided in residential areas could be significant.

Around here it is blue, baby blue. Around Stratford it is Red. Others are green, orange. Woodford is purple, and Dagenham is white.

Mohammed

⁷² See glossary

Lastly, and most importantly, it was only through the accurate reading of these differences that one could be kept safe. Despite their limited territorial confines (see table 15 above), the team were proud – even slightly boastful of their London origins and spoke about London as being mainly pretty safe. ‘Trouble’ when it did occur was either due to ill luck or some deficit of understanding on the part of the victim. The way this was portrayed was in a manner that exhibited how self-reliant they were – how things generally were:

**[A]lright actually. Yeah, I think it is relatively safe. It is just the odd hiccup.
Hannibal**

By this rationale, to extend Caitlin Cahill’s ‘street literacy’ metaphor, canny street practitioners were able to ‘read’ the city and thereby minimise the prospect of violent territorial confrontation (Cahill, 2000; see section 2.1.2) – a self-description that the group were quick to ascribe to themselves. The group itself were vocal about the dangers. Indeed, to underline this and to provide another example of a narrative, one of them confided in me:

**I heard of one guy in Hackney, the guy was from E9, and he was near E8, he got asked where he was from and he knew he couldn’t say E9, so he said he was from Glasgow! It worked, but it can get a bit serious.
Luke**

Within this anecdote, there was an echo of the ‘On Road’ culture – a cunning that invoked Andre’s description of it as “*when you are walking on road and some man tries something on you, you act in a road fashion*” (see Andre, in section 4.3.3.). The inference for the project was to see how the Athenians personified or avoided ‘On Road’ culture within the rest of this chapter.

6.3.3. Repping your endz

Whilst I was interested in how street practices were read and expressed in a manner that kept one safe, I also found out here how they were vigorously asserted. I now had a platform to ask what “*reppin’ your endz*” actually meant. One of my fundamental reasons for choosing a sports team was to see how this phrase could be articulated, practised or represented. I was eager to see if and how the subtleties of ‘home court advantage’⁷³ - a feature of all successful sports teams and the Athenians were no exception – were comparable to a form of territoriality? Could there be a channelled form of sporting aggression that could be explained by a territorial coda (Mizruchi, 1985; Pace & Carron, 1992; Glamser, 1990)⁷⁴? What was clear was in sporting terms, as their Captain, Tim declared:

**We represent London when we played in [a national] final for basketball. We played against Manchester and we were the only London team to make it through so we were representing London.
Tim**

⁷³The simple idea is that a sports team play better at home for psycho/socio-spatial reasons that is reproduced a territorial ethos in a controlled manner. It was with interest I heard a team-talk about how they couldn’t let another team “**walk into their home and do what they wanted**”.

⁷⁴In line with the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* distinction in chapter 3, my participant observation did show me how the Athenians played far more offensively (that is to say confidently) when at ‘home’.

For them, the idea of repping was very important and seemed significant as it resonated as the expression of something greater than themselves as individuals and/or a team through an accentuated stress on place. Still, as in all else, context was all important. When talk flowed onto how one could 'rep' in a positive manner, their captain Tim said:

When we went to North Carolina, we were ambassadors of our country then.

...to proud nods by the rest of the team. This ambassadorial view of self - where each player saw themselves as an archetype and personification of the area - is a trope that, as will be shown, is interwoven into their later accounts. The aspect of self that they stressed here was one that communicated their views of certain socio-structural features of London.

How do you think people make the choice as to whether they represent their Endz as a positive or an aggressive choice? How do people make the choice of how they represent London?

Femi

It's mainly about who they know or where they are from: where they grow up, mainly from their friends.>

Paul

<It is due to boredom, they have nothing to do. They are brainwashed by the things they watch, like Boyz N the Hood. I used to watch that all the time when I was growing up⁷⁵.

Mohammed

My interpretation was that the Athenians were accentuating an emphasis on social structure ("**who they know or where they are from**") and place ("**where they grow up**"). It demonstrated that the Athenians understanding of both conceptualisations were far from monolithically one-dimensional since even this interjection was later qualified by another member. For at least one person in the group 'Repping' was an issue that couldn't be easily reduced to young people living in 'bad areas'.

I see it in this borough. I don't want to start naming areas, but there is one part of the borough. It is the poshest part of the borough and we have done a lot of community work in the borough, so we know where the money goes. When there is money left over [it] always goes to that borough and then recently a gang has come out of the borough and its all posh kids trying to think they are gangsters.

Obi

The inference was the Athenians believed that class, agency and *machismo* had a sizeable role to play though repping and territoriality were not so easily correlated to deprivation and inequality. In a partial contradiction to this, the group still stressed how characteristics of identity had a perceptible effect on their experience of the city. To show this, I asked:

Do you notice that everyone in this table including me is black? Do you think it would be different if you were white or Asian?

Femi

⁷⁵The famous 'gang' film by John Singleton. As will be shown later, Mo's statement will prove important as a former self-confessed gang member and gave an inkling as to why he acted like he did in his former role.

Not in London, it is more of a class thing. It's not a race thing.

Luke

This emphasis on class was not uniformly agreed: it must be said, some of my participants vigorously nodded and others were less than totally enthusiastic in support. There seemed a subtle and tacit rejection by a minority⁷⁶- *albeit* a small minority - of this emphasis on class as more important than race in explaining territoriality. In part, this could simply reflect the difficulty in defining race – a debate the boys had had amongst themselves a number of times. Meanings ascribed to 'race' are after all, produced or managed in social relations and the boys had alluded to different social relations and locales. Notwithstanding the whys and wherefores of the question, the first area of less than total consensus among the group was marked and an immediately important research outcome. The implication was that the experience of class, space, ethnicity and belonging was individual and distinct. It implied that their views of London were more susceptible to differences of starting point and consequent experience: a theme that will be laced through their individual narratives. Moreover, this discussion of area introduced another theme:

What about postcodes then? Is it important?

Femi

When you are younger, it is. It is how people identify themselves, who you are.

Joseph

This suggested a transitional element to their particular incarnation of 'Street Representations' since postcodes were only important '**when you are younger**'. To expand on this and link the idea of transitions to education (and thereby class and region), a later exchange within the focus group made this even more apparent upon a secondary analysis. It was the Athenians who had gone to university and who were now back in Stratford for the holidays that presented more detail to this part of the focus group than their still-at-college peers. One informant, in particular, declared how he viewed his area very differently now that he was back. It had made him reassess what:

Being a Londoner [means]... Normally there is a stereotype; we're loud, rude, alcoholics and party all the time....They say you can't speak English properly, although, I've been to university, up north and they say we don't speak English properly, everyone seems to think we personally know the Queen.

Luke

...giving him a sharper sense of who he is and what that meant. The link between a territorial and spatial identity to undercurrents of mobility and education had now been outlined and will be fully fleshed out later.

⁷⁶As has been noted in Chapter 3, I used a Pulse Pen which allowed me to record audio whilst writing. By recording the actions of the Athenians and linking this to what was being said, it meant that I could create a thick description of the focus group. See appendices for details.

6.3.4. Summary

To recap: the Athenians displayed a large degree of confidence in themselves, as would be expected of a group of athletic, self-assured boys. Within this, there was an echo of the lack of fear that the survey uncovered in Chapter 4. The previous focus groups had intimated that safety could be maintained through the application of a form of street smarts (see section 4.5.8): a verdict that the Athenians reaffirmed.

The Athenians had also confirmed they believed in the importance of certain incarnations of identity-attributes; ascribed some contested significance to class, to ethnicity and yet accentuated how area was very important in differentiating young people they did not know. They had also given my research a new aspect to develop – specifically through their spatialised description of their transition to adulthood.

What was also of interest was their use of stories to accentuate points, to convey emotion and to punctuate their accounts within a shifting emphasis that depicted the interplay of agency and structure. The Athenians used it as an idiosyncratic way of showing social structure whilst emphasising their own capacity to affect events through a rhetorical mechanism shaped by the personality of the teller. In theoretical terms, this fits into the growing literature on the use of stories to show a sideways engagement with theories of discourse, power and knowledge within Geography (see section 2; Cameron, 2012). The Athenians' understanding of stories as a site for thinking through the workings of power, knowledge and geographical formations at the most intimate scales reaped immediate dividends from what was, at this stage, still an early stage of research. There are other issues to negotiate here since stories were variously used by the Athenians' as an object of knowledge; as a form of practice and as mode of expression. This is not even to mention the difficulty of assessing a story's replicability and validity - of conceptualising stories as "*not just local and particular, but not easily universable and generizable either*" Naylor (2008:271).

Nonetheless, these personal narratives translated the somewhat abstract concerns of territoriality into practical reality. It also gave a clue as to how it was used to foster an embodied group identity by representing a collective identity affirmed through 'repping'. This, of course, must be set in context of the team but even the way that no-one overtly contradicted the other was telling. Narrative was used as a reassertion of a pattern and, after all, needs an audience regardless of it is the same story being (re)told. It remained a powerful way to cement group solidarity much like that described within Benedict Anderson's superlative "*Imagined Communities*". My research challenge therefore evolved into investigating if the stories they told each other and to themselves as individuals were in any way different and what did it mean if it was? As the later sections will show, through this conduit I would discover how territorial belonging was a set of processes by which social subjects consider themselves

linked to a community that is imagined and the way that this belonging is created and recreated in the telling of a tale (Anderson, 1983).

6.4. Territoriality in individual focus: fitting in and moving on

Since narrative was such a large part of the accounts, some thought had to be given to how and where I would hear what the Athenians had to say. To this end, I interviewed each of them twice – once in a room close to where they played basketball, dragging each one off the court for a half hour. The second interviews were done at a venue of the individual's choosing – a simple fact that provided an interesting counterpoint to what was being said – as will be shown. The second time I interviewed, they had already undergone the Participatory GIS that is the subject of the next chapter. This break, and focus on where people did actually go did mean that on the second individual interview, the resulting data was richer. The pause in interviewing seemed to provide a moment of reflection that was useful in according them time to consider some of the subtleties and provided me a more nuanced definition of territoriality. These two waves of interviews did also add a level of triangulation to their accounts as well.

In terms of the unfolding argument, the themes of both waves of interviews will be conceptualised as “*fitting in*” (sections 5.4.) and “*moving on*” (section 5.5) – metaphors which give a positional sense of the ‘youth’ aspect of territoriality. Section 5.4 will describe some of the tactics, practices and actors around which this local incarnation of youth territoriality cohered: what keeps people in. Section 5.5 will outline other undercurrents such as how, when and if one had to ‘move out’ to ‘move on’ (Reynolds, 2009; 2013).

6.4.1. Fitting in: Space, Safety and fear

“Fitting in” was a refrain that zigzagged through much of the data at this stage. It seemed to denote something more than a merely a social undertaking for the Athenians. A number articulated how ensuring they conformed to other young people was a way of also ensuring their personal safety albeit the degree to which this was the case was contextually contingent. Leaving aside the differences, each Athenian saw safety as an on-going concern despite their very different ways of dealing with it (as will be shown: see table below). As to what safety meant, I left this deliberately ambiguous and to be inferred from context in a manner that later proved illuminating when juxtaposed against the background of each individual Athenian. Equally, as would be expected from a group of young men, they presented a spectrum of views. Nevertheless, despite their diversity, all were filtered through a compunction to prove that they were able to cope with whatever issues they encountered. Each had a different relation to what they called home and slightly different motivations in moving and becoming mobile. Still, there were some strong correlations in views and Obi was emblematic of the group when asked if he ever felt unsafe, he replied :

No, not in London. I would be willing to travel anywhere really. I think that people only find trouble when they go to the deepest and the darkest of places like if you were in Ilford you would only find trouble if you turn left down there and find yourself in an alley or a park or something but if you were just walking through Ilford through the town centre going shopping, which I have done quite a few times, then I never find trouble.

Obi

In this respect, the group were ideal at showing the variation of a theme. As will be shown, the ways that they dealt with safety – which, for some at least, was clear and tangible danger – can be placed on continuums of action (negotiation or avoidance), and outlook (passive or active) as can be seen in table 15, below.



6.4.1.1. Active avoidance

Tim, the captain of the Athenians, presented me with arguably the clearest and most overt correlation between territoriality and personal safety. As a young Londoner born in South London, the move into East London when he was seven years old was based upon the wish for “something better” by his mother and made his-description of past and present intimately connected to place and locale. Indeed:

It was like it was dangerous because it was like that was one reason that my mum moved me out so I could get away from all of that because all my cousins and all my family...they were involved in all of

that. So she was like ok, we are moving out to the suburbs, green grass, trees but now it is changing, it is just getting [really bad].

Area, place, belonging and territoriality were all overt and clear concerns for him and the site of a particular form of misgivings. To this end, he was expressive on the dangers of being “rushed” (physically challenged) and told me how he had often:

got guys come and approach me and ask whether I got anything, I just talk like normal and say I don’t have nothing for you rah, tah, tah⁷⁷.

For him, this soft attempt at mugging typified his experience of young people outside of Redbridge (with the sole exception of ‘Central London’). As a result, he was clear about what he needed to do to stay safe and this meant something as simple and all-encompassing as only rarely going to places that were new and/or unexplored. For him, even seeing young people in East London he did not recognise was a signifier for trouble since:

You only go to certain places if you are looking for trouble. If you find people from certain areas in your area, they are probably looking for trouble, unless they are visiting families.

Consequently, for him territoriality was intimately connected with the unfamiliar and he reported how the risk of going further than that meant that:

people are going to recognise that you are a new face...and then they are going to try and approach you and you have got to keep humble and if they pull out a knife, you got to know what to do, you can’t like fight over a phone. Just give up.

The threat of robbery and violence (in that order), though not personally experienced was real enough to severely curtail the places he visited or even said that he wanted to visit.

Redbridge I feel safe really but anywhere out of Redbridge, I wouldn’t know what to do so I have to keep my eyes open

He spoke of how he actively avoided going outside the Redbridge area unless totally necessary – a stark and unconcealed substantiation of territoriality.

6.4.1.2. Active negotiation

Hannibal presented me with a subtler manifestation of territoriality. As a local in Havering and Newham since the day he was born, his relationship within East London was intricate and profound. Indeed, my field diary reminded me when I met him for the second interview at a burger bar he liked, he was constantly saying hello and greeting by name any young man that passed by him on the short walk from the station. Given this, it is easy to understand how he was insistent that territoriality:

doesn’t really affect me...it doesn’t really affect me. I mean especially living in the area.

He was proud of his area and used his intense involvement in East London as a way of bypassing the possibility (or expectation) of ‘trouble’. Even more than this:

⁷⁷ Tim had a verbal tic whereby he punctuated his interview with syllables like this to make a better story.

Most people know you and if there is...I mean that there are a few people that really [you] don't want to be involved [with but] they know you from the area so they are not going to hassle you... I have been to so many areas across London and I think it is one of the most peaceful areas in comparison and I will never complain.

Still, he was prompted to deal with issues of safety more directly than Tim based around a different set of motivating factors. As an 18 year old and partially due to the fact that he took sport so seriously, he had only recently begun to discover enjoy the joys and distractions of the local night time economy. As a self-confessed extrovert who was developing a burgeoning taste for 'raving' in local and Central London nightclubs, house parties and pubs he was obliged to be relatively mobile to look for new experiences. He did, indeed, travel to other areas. He had only recently begun to socialise outside the people he already knew but was always cognisant of the dangers. If anything, he was always on the lookout for them. As to how he did this? His main source of information was from his large group of friends. They had all told him how:

They have been dancing one minute and a whole crew of people can come in and they mess up the whole party or someone could have said something bad and a fight starts and one of those people on the one side belongs to a gang that is in that area and they want to bring their guys and that person wants to bring their guys. [Pausing to think]. Most of the time that actually happens when I think about it.

This did make the pursuit of new experiences; girls and a good time a task that had spatial implications. By preference, based around past experience, he had learnt:

If you want to rave people will say central London is definitely the right place, totally, they hope the security would be better

This preference was total and based on past hard-earned knowledge. Ensuring there was an efficient manner to restrict entry, to eject troublemakers and to maintain order were prized by him. His last attempt at hosting a house party for the Athenians and friends had resulted in 'drama' because some:

young people like messing up and trying to start something up. Like, it was almost like, 'this again'. We had to get in the shelter room. Something happened, I don't even know how to explain [it]. It wasn't even minor at the time because the girls were screaming and was actually a bit weird and then I heard that someone had a gun and I thought OK...a bit scary but ummm...I don't know...boy, it is a little different when you get a little bigger.

Leaving aside the fact the transitional aspect of this ("**boy, is it a little different, when you get a little bigger**") - it is striking that he had even considered designating an area of his house a 'shelter room' illustrating that 'trouble' was and remains a realistic possibility for any gathering of young people in that area. Whilst he negotiated with the troublemakers - since he knew them - others were kept conspicuously away from attention to minimise the potential for violence and for repercussions in the future. Territoriality for Hannibal meant an on-going compromise between new experiences and the prospect of confrontation.

6.4.1.3. Passive avoidance

Luke, however, personified a very different incarnation of safety/territoriality equation. He shared with Hannibal a long and rich association with East London – his family had lived there for at least 2 generations – but he had a very different reading of its dangers. On the subject of territoriality, he was almost reticent to admit it was an issue:

nah...I have heard about it, I have heard about the whole postcode wars and if you are from the wrong area and they see you slipping. It is more like, they see you and they have never seen you before they see that as a reason to come up to you and ask you a whole load of questions or take your stuff or do whatever they think necessary to prove a point that this is *their* area. I have heard about it but I am lucky enough to have never experienced it.

Luke

He described himself as happy to go into new areas but aside from being ‘sensible’ did not see it as a great issue. Within this, I had a confirmation of a whole range of previous findings. It served as corroboration of Martin’s statement of how “when someone comes in it is quite evident that they are not from around there and they are picked on or targeted [or] they have to go through a kind of interrogation about who they are and who they are seeing” (see 4.3.3). He also confirmed how territoriality was performative (“This is their area”). Still, his version of De Certeau’s strategy remains qualitatively different from his peers since Luke as an exemplar of territoriality and safety, stands as a fascinating outlier. As a position within the constellation of different views possible he was remarkable. His contribution suggested that personality or some attribute of agency had a part to play in experiencing territoriality. In contrast to the streetwise protagonists of my focus groups in the previous chapter (4.5.3), who actively and directly looked for ways to avoid or divert attention (see 4.5.3.1.2), he suggested it was possible to just ignore it. Territoriality placed him somewhere very different from the rest of the team in that he was aware of it; happy to talk about it but his inexperience showed it was possible to avoid. By not looking for it and not engaging in any number of activities that might have placed him at risk (like going to Romford on a Friday night), it meant issues surrounding territoriality were more of a theoretical possibility than a clear and persistent threat. He ensured his safety by never knowingly placed himself in danger in a way that suggested that he no longer even thought about this and saw no real inconvenience in doing this.

6.4.1.4. Passive negotiation

Still, it was Robert, the last of my of safety strategy exemplars, who presented the most complex negotiation of geography of any within the Athenians. He had grown up in Bow – an area which had over the last dozen years or so earned a reputation as being somewhat violent. For him though Bow was generally:

...pretty quiet. It was like [had] the gang culture that you would expect...so loads of the kids actually joined a few gangs in Bow. There was a little group...a gathering...a little gang gathering when I used to go out but it wasn’t too serious. I don’t think it was too serious. I think the most serious thing that actually happened was someone getting stabbed in the back of the head.

Robert

Despite this spectacular example⁷⁸, he did not see Bow as deserving of its violent reputation. He considered the possibility of becoming a victim of violence as far from remote but nevertheless, the issue was very much in the past:

I think it has been an issue for everyone: well at least for everyone in my vicinity when I was growing up. Especially when I was at Bow Boys school, like when I was in, when I was in Year 10, we had a whole group from Homerton boys because Homerton had just got shut down and we had a whole group of Homerton boys so there was even further educating about the gang culture especially around the Hackney area and I knew one guy and I think he was on the...I can't remember specifically but his house was basically on the border on the Martha Square gang, Fellowes Court and another one so where ever he went... he was always like getting his watches jacked [stolen forcefully]. Well obviously, I can't say that I have experienced that too badly. Here and there I did but nothing compared that I heard [others] talking about.

He was one of six children meaning that he furnished all his examples with either what his siblings or his siblings' friends had said. The inference was that he was very well known in the area since the network of people he knew was exponentially larger than everyone else's in the group based on a thick tapestry of familial contacts. Founded upon that, he had the same ability to negotiate his way out of potential violent conflict that Hannibal had shown though both boys had gained this skill through different avenues.

What was also noteworthy and an emergent theme is the issue of transition and maturity and territoriality: it was more of an issue for Robert **"when I was growing up"**. He described to me how now that he had returned home after his first year at university it was **"different"** but he still thought in a territorial manner -though perhaps the areas he kept away from were different. The process of transitioning was very gradual and:

[blows out his lips....and sighs thinking] I remember coming back to Brixton when I started Uni, I was like ahh....Brixton...I am going to Brixton [mimes looking anxious]. But right now, I wouldn't be idiotic enough to go to Brixton very late roaming the streets....it would be idiocy.

For him, territoriality was invariably something he associated with adolescence. Since reaching young adulthood:

I wouldn't be as quivery as I was when I was, I don't know, a younger age. And especially when you grow up in size, I think a lot especially a lot of the nonsense, the robbing phones and all rest of it, a lot of it happens by young people as well so they target other young people as well. I am not being general.

As a confirmation of themes within territoriality, this was salutary. As well as showing how one could avoid the dangers of territoriality; it illustrated the resources that could be brought to bear to stay safe but most importantly it confirmed a number of other dynamics. The instrumental purpose of violence; the

⁷⁸For the record, according to Robert's recollection, this person survived the incident which was over five years ago.

‘targeting of young people by other young people’ and even a temporal dimension to where to go and when (“**I wouldn’t be idiotic enough to go to Brixton very late**”) pointed towards further questions to ask in fulfilling my wish to analyse how the experience of territoriality was embodied (see next section).

6.4.1.5. Territorial Safety Strategies in practice and representation

Territory and territoriality thus contained a multi-scalar conceptualisation of safety. It was linked to the idea of home and comfort and meant a physical space for Tim; an emotional and social positioning to subvert for Hannibal; a near-mythical crime and safety issue for Luke and a battery of spatial memories for Robert. Still, Robert’s contribution did pose the question as to how far were their views of territory were evolving? Leaving that aside for the moment, the different views of the boys presented an almost elective set of socio-spatial identities and complicated any simple collective account of place *despite* the shared history the boys had forged.

Indeed, the only parallel the boys shared was their view that their security had to be ‘managed’ solely by their own efforts. In this, this research outcome does exemplify the point made by Goodey, in how boys’ fearfulness, ‘is progressively downplayed as normative adult identities are adopted’ (Goodey, 1997: 402). Within this, she and other commentators have implicated not just age, but race, sexuality and class within ostensibly straightforward accounts of safety and fear amongst boys. There was an assumption that all the boys seemed to follow that if the perpetrator of violence can see its effects they are unlikely to stop, and so the only way to escape violence is to show one is not ‘shook’ and hide its effects (Thomson and Holland, 2002). For these researchers, this is explained by way of a culture of heterosexual masculinity shapes risk, fear and the nature of associated coping strategies and constraints (Stanko and Hobdell, 1993; Walklate, 1995; Goodey, 1997) making the issue of safety emblematic of a wider conversion to adulthood – ‘moving on’. It remains safe to assert that, as yet, the spatial dimensions of men’s fear of crime are not well developed, though studies such as Hay (1993) suggests that this fear does lead to tangible constraints on behaviour and use of space for a large proportion of male urban residents. Nevertheless, in analysing my young sample group, I am describing an evolving situation. What remains interesting is how far the Athenians each stressed how things were different now that they were no longer adolescents; how getting physically bigger (with the exception of Tim) had changed how they perceived their safety. How far territoriality can be elided with transition is a question that will be left fruitfully open at this stage.

6.4.2. Fitting in and belonging in practice

Within the confines of my study, discussions about safety did confirm three unambiguous research outcomes. First it appeared that ‘fitting in’ was a project with greater consequences than potentially being seen as unsociable or ungregarious by strangers. Some strongly believed in the prospect of

violence if the challenge was taken too lightly. Secondly, I had confirmed the status of each of the Athenians as those who were not interested in trouble – the ‘resisters or desisters’ of chapter 2 – a conclusion that will have greater prominence when their description of ‘slipping’ (next section) and of gangs (section 5.4.3.) is placed in conjunction with how they viewed safety. We will be able to see what they were resisting and desisting. Lastly, ‘fitting in’ did have a benign aspect - it was more than keeping safe since it was a characteristic of belonging. It suggests that it is multi-dimensional and encapsulates a collective identity, a certain reading of place and vocabulary of practices. As a definition, I use ‘fitting in’ and ‘belonging’ as synonymous though I will define ‘fitting in’ as the dynamic, agentic part of the reckoning. Both however imply a continuing link emanating from and to the individual connecting them through wider social structures through participation in local socio-cultural traditions and banal everyday activities. What follows next is an outline of some of the most important examples of this as they were described to and a justification of their importance in understanding how territoriality is represented and practised (Skey, 2010; 2011).

6.4.2.1. Slipping

‘Slipping’ was a word that I had heard numerous times in Islington and one that the Athenians had used themselves in the pre-interview stage. The use of the verb itself was surprising and hard to grasp (‘slippery’?). It seemed to have both voluntary and involuntary connotations that the boys spoke about often eliding something that took considerable courage with something that was crassly risky. My research diary notes furnished me with examples of how it had meant, variously ‘being off guard and careless’; putting yourself in a position where you’re vulnerable and/or deliberately entering unfamiliar areas where violence was a potential consequence. As was becoming *de rigeur*, I was often told by all the boys it was “**difficult to describe**” and then furnished with an illustrative example.

Jack gave me the clearest demonstration of ‘slipping’ in effect. He had lived in the United States for a number of years and so had an easily noticeable soft southern American twang to his accent which, though marking him out as different, he had also been able to position as something positive (he was similar but not *too* similar).

Well, there was a time when I was approached by a group of guys and I don’t look at them in fear and I don’t look at them as if I am looking down on them. I just say, for me I have seen worse and for me, and for a group of guys to go up to me, I am just like ok “what’s going on?”

Jack

So what did they say when they walked up to you?

Femi

I mean there are a few times when this has happened, [when people have] came up to me and said where you from, where are you going and what are you doing? [This time], I said Borough, I am just chilling and not really doing much and had to go see a girl real quick. And they said what, you from America, you know what I mean, and we just had a conversation [and then I said] ok, ok, and I got to go now.

Jack

What is significant here was how it encapsulated all three senses of the phrase mentioned above. It did entail 'being off-guard'; he was subsequently but it was the negotiation that I would point towards – **"I didn't look at them in fear and I didn't look as if I am looking down at them"** – that is noteworthy here. It was just one component of a very quick calculation that he was describing. The result of this negotiation showed he was to be neither a push-over nor a threat; the invocation of a neutral area as Borough which had no real gang presence (or none that Jack was aware of) confirmed this; the mention of a 'good' reason to be there (**"had to go see a girl real quick"**) that the unknown boys could empathise with and the presentation of himself as someone different by speaking about America were all revealed in one single instance. As socio-spatial assessment and calculation of risk, it was illustrative but its conclusion must also be borne in mind – the way that the story finishes with **"ok, I got to go now"** is revealing. Once the danger was past, or at least nullified, he got out of the situation as soon as was polite.

Still, this was not the only aspect of this practice and representation I was told. There were other constituents within 'slipping'.

I will tell you a funny story, I bumped into somebody. I was coming here [to training]. I can't remember what day it was, during half-term and I bumped into a guy, and I was waiting for the bus and a guy was looking at me. And at first I was like, why is this guy looking at me for? And then he was like "Luke!" and I was like yeaaaaaah...[shook his head in mock apprehension] How does he know my name? And he was like "we used to play basketball together at Valentine's Park" which is at Ilford and I genuinely didn't remember him though. I actually had no clue. I had no clue.

Luke

This extract doesn't pay justice to the range of emotions that he was communicating – the wary anticipation (**"a guy was looking at me"**); the fear (**"why is this guy looking at me"**) to sheer relief at the story's conclusion (**"I actually had no clue"**). The implication was that there was a level of routine within where he went and how went there – new faces and experiences were not necessarily expected or even welcomed. He was still apprehensive despite his belief that territoriality was not something that he needed to be too concerned about (see previous section on safety, 5.4.1.4).

'Slipping', in both instances conveyed by Jack and Luke, expressed something essential about territoriality, about how routine habits established norms of practice which made breaking them immediately clear and apparent. The breaking of these norms did not need someone enforcing it to evoke unease. As to why Luke was so anxious about somewhere he called home? He had just arrived back from his first year at university and he was feeling somewhat out of sync with what he used to do and who he used to do it with.

And you will get that a lot when you have been out of the area for so long and then obviously your face just reappears and suddenly someone just happens

to recognise you and I mean, sometimes it is surprising when you bump into someone you know for ages and you can walk, I have done it before, you can walk straight past somebody deliberately just to see if...Yeah, and they haven't seen you.

Luke

'Slipping' was, according to these examples, a transgression of the code of seeing and being seen that territoriality encapsulated. On the one hand Jack epitomised the way that one needed to be invisible if 'slipping' into new areas. Luke showed another aspect of this – the instances where a person was expected to remain conspicuously visible in what was ostensibly home. Still, what both boys conveyed was the emotional toil and cognitive effort needed to navigate the city.

6.4.2.2. Raving

This tension between visibility and invisibility, socio-spatial calculation and a wilful vulnerability that 'slipping' described was most pronounced when the Athenians enjoyed a night-out either as individuals or as a group. Learning to navigate the attractions of the local and central London night time economy brought with it a certain anxiety since, among young men, there is an element of performance and display when enjoying yourself which heightened the possibility of conflict since one was vulnerable. As a result, every Athenian could describe an occasion when they were out and they, themselves, were either involved in some confrontation or one of their close friends were. However, each did employ strategies to employ to ensure that conflict was minimised. A common way was to only go out in a large group of friends which did, of course pose a logistical challenge of organising a large group of people. Nonetheless:

let's say if I was having a drink I'd want someone else [there]. I mean, I'm not a big drinker, I have tasted alcohol, I more so want someone to have fun with as well as feel safe if something happens, so you're not by yourself, not to say if someone wanted to get in a fight with me, I don't want them to get beat up, but numbers is always good.

Jack

Nonetheless, all of the boys were aware of the paradox - how a large group of unfamiliar boys - and rowdy and/or drunk boys at that - could look like provocation. Indeed, in some instances, it made them more vulnerable since there was a need to 'back-up' their friends meaning they had to make a quick assessment of the situation.

If I [saw something happening] it depends on how big it is going to escalate. If he is a good friend of mine I tell him "you know what, I think you need to get out of there" and I say me and you, I need to leave. If it is nothing to do with me, I leave and if I see it calming down, I just stay and continue going on.

Hannibal

In order to hedge this risk, some did try other tactics such as limiting where, with whom and in what numbers they went.

I stopped going to house parties because an incident happened a couple of months ago. We were at a party, me and some of the Athenians, we were in a girls house, and another girl was in the house and she asked one of us where we were from and we were all from Ilford so we said that and she called someone down to, and we had to stop her from making that phone call. Her boyfriend was in a gang, she thought we were affiliated with the Ilford gang.
Obi

Moreover, some even preferred only going out to Central London. The presence of bouncers, bag searches and CCTV cemented their safety since there were generally no 'Crews' in the centre of the city. Indeed, this acted as corroboration/explanation as to how and why the entirety of central London was deemed as 'safe' in the focus group maps above (see section 5.3.).

6.4.2.3. Clothes

'Fitting in' did not just mean adhering to a code of behaviour but also meant ensuring that one displayed the correct signals. Remaining inconspicuous or, in the right times, highly visible meant one had to wear the right clothes to make certain the possibility of being robbed or "rushed" (see glossary) was minimised.

I know some people, specially some youths...some youths would look at it like if someone is wearing something rich or something, they would look at it like it then just take it. Something they didn't have and they are looking to get at it. So they looking to go robbing. There are a bunch of people that I think that are actually looking to do that.
Hannibal

And to this end, "something rich" could mean something innocuous as a colour.

It's like...ummm...[pauses to think]...if I was looking at it, umm, people from south London, from what I can see and when I have been there, or through the media, I don't know, they kind of have a more like plain, plainness to themselves. I don't know how to explain it. You know like very neutral colours, if you know what I mean
Stephen

An urban camouflage was suggested that did not draw attention to itself and was as innocuous and anodyne as possible.

Ummm...it is conscious in my head. Most times when I am going anywhere else, I go black. Black is a neutral colour or white. You don't like wear any specific colours. Like you don't wear, like a fully red outfit for example. [If] I was going into an area where a red flag is not good, it might attract some questioning.
Ed

As well as no bright colours there was an unspoken expectation: no real high value and/or high fashion items were to be put on show. To display them was to court the possibility of being robbed.

You know those new Beats⁷⁹ headphones. I know a couple of people that have that but sometimes they have that and they might wear it on a road trip somewhere but if they are walking around or something, they might just put it in their bag or something like that.

Hannibal

As the section on safety had affirmed, one's agency was expressed by keeping safe and it appeared that clothes in particular and self-presentation in general were an important mechanism in achieving this.

6.4.2.4. Stop and search

Still, the need to fit in was not only limited to escaping the notice of other young people. The police were far from a benign presence. Though only a few had been stopped and searched, those that had often had to run a virtual gauntlet in addition to evading the attention of other young people.

I have been stopped and searched loads of times, outside my house, I just have to be like that's my house right behind me, I'm not coming from anywhere

Ed

It meant that areas close to home and even home itself could be yet another obstacle to traverse and explained why the Police were not perceived sympathetically nor as a solution to issues over safety.

Indeed, as one would come to expect, these tensions were presented to me in an anecdote:

We were coming out of Cosmos in Romford an all you can eat Chinese restaurant. We were outside the station, and waiting for a bus to come. Some [of us] were waiting for a train and the Police come over and stop and search Andrew. They [the police had] heard on the radio that certain places in the West End had been robbed and Robert fit the description and other stuff. Whatever and the person that they are looking for is actually wearing all blacked out clothes and Andrew was actually wearing a pink T shirt. So it kind of threw us off, like did you stop and search us for the hell of it. Even then it was like we just came from a Chinese restaurant and that has happened plenty of other times,

Hannibal

Again, this transcript doesn't quite express the disbelief and disdain that this Police explanation was accorded. Robert was perhaps the most academically successful within the group, the hardest worker (his nickname was 'Robot'), and on top of studying at LSE, he was an organiser of both his church choir *and* his local youth club. The other Athenians looked at him as someone to admire and the idea that idea he might commit a crime was ridiculous and for many solidified the reputation of the Police as merely another obstacle to overcome. It appeared that even if such a high achieving individual as Robert had similar issues with the Police as my Islington cohort (see 4.5.3.) there were issues that again, would go straight to the heart of refiguring territoriality.

⁷⁹ A highly desirable set of headphones created, styled and manufactured by the hip-hop producer Doctor Dre. They are renowned for their durability, quality and price: an entry level pair start at around £150.

6.4.2.5. *'Fitting in' and belonging: a brief summary*

To show the other side of non-transgressive aspect of territoriality is to show how 'Fitting in' and belonging was something that one achieved through physical and mental exertion. Creating that "*ease with one's self and one's surroundings*" (May, 2011) that defined belonging on a local level, the Athenians implied, was an effort that emphasised the significance of everyday life. Whether this was through the application of socio-spatial codes of practice and mental representations that 'slipping' or 'raving' comprised or materially symbolised through clothing, a common culture was formed. Territoriality, could be variously embodied through the confrontational behaviour of 'slipping' in manner that spelt out its limits; it might be personified through the libidinal value of raving in a way that affirmed its self-patrolling function in certain spaces, or presented through the material culture of clothes. And it remains very much a 'youth culture'. In public space, the blindly interventionist presence of the police buttressed institutionally through stop and search personifies this lack of focused adult regulation. Still, this is not to suggest that territoriality was solely something that originated from representations, beliefs and consequent actions of the Athenians. There was, as will be shown, an expectation that territorial mores could be firmly patrolled and oft-times enforced.

6.4.3. *Fitting in: Gangs, safety, and sport*

The invocation of 'others' to explain how and why they reacted in the manner they did was sometimes given substance by the way the Athenians mentioned 'gangs'. Anyone within the group could have said what Hannibal expressed

**You just have to be smart really. Like because, but yeah, like all of the gang stuff does exist but you just tread carefully.
Hannibal**

The consequences of not 'treading carefully' were clear in the minds of the Athenians. For Keith this inattention brought to mind the period when '**a friend's cousin**' was killed- three years previously when, over one summer, a number of people he knew were hurt and some were even killed.

**[this time] didn't really change me as much as it was like, it wasn't really someone so close to me. I feel like umm, they gone now, what can I do? It was just like someone died and around that time everyone kept dying and it seemed like it was getting closer and closer because, the first person I had heard of, I had never even...I didn't even know them and when they died and then it continued coming closer and closer and the closest person that I had known that had died
Keith**

Despite this, Keith was not the most expressive within the group on the subject of gangs. That title belonged to Mohammed who confessed how he was once a member of a gang. For him gang violence:

is mainly because of postcode wars as I see it. It is just because of postcodes. Postcode is mainly designed for post, as we like to see it and help to get to someone address but the teenagers see it as a territory nowadays and even within their own area, for example, lets take for example Hackney which is E5 till about E8 but if you are not from E5 and you are from E8, there is war.

Mohammed

For Mo, area had a symbolic capital which, in his past, had to be defended against interlopers.

6.4.3.1. *Gangs from an Athenian perspective*

Mohammed remains an outlier within the group as the only person that had direct personal experience of crime and gangs. He not only shows the diversity of outlook and experience within the Athenians but acted as confirmation to much of the substance of what had been said recently. Gangs, violence and territory from Mo's perspective were inextricably linked and founded upon notions of ownership and access linked to drug market monopoly. Even more indicative was the role of outsider and transgressor that gangs seemed to hold in the local figurative landscape.

They were trying to pressure me into all sorts of different drugs and alcohol but I am Muslim so I am not supposed to be drinking alcohol and they were like ahhh, you a scaredy cat, you a pussy or this and that just for not trying out and the way that I am, if I don't want to do something, I will not do it even from young so I was like cool, I am just not going to do it.

Mohammed

The limits of what he wouldn't do became clear when, in order to remain part of the in-group, he was given a clear task:

they asked me to steal a purse at a house-party, one girls mum and I just thought it was all too much.

Rather than an example of simple adolescent daring, Mo was clear that it was meant to be the passport to another level of group affiliation and a greater variety /severity of crime. Refusing to comply had clear corresponding repercussions.

Well, yeah, they did give me a beating and they left me there in pain and it was like one o'clock [in the morning] and I don't know what I was doing at that time but it was kind of the mentality that I had so did get beaten up and they kicked me out of the gang

For Mo, this episode of his past was formative. If anything this confirmed his faith in Islam, 'the right thing to do in life' and meant that he was far more critical of gangsters than *any* of his team-mates especially when and where it concerned his family. For the others, their experience was more distanced. Predictably, I was given a number of old stories about what used to happen and how hard a bad reputation could be to erase or forget.

[It] must have been at least like 7 years ago. Yeah 7 years ago...and then um.... The escalation of that took place in Bow and someone got shot by a blank. He was in critical condition but he survived. Yes, I think that is why I was never that much in the area, there were gangs, the Bomb Squad....[I met them at a party and] when I said I was from E13 they started singing the old tunes, from rap and that, but a few of them are in prison so that is why that died down but I know the majority of the young people from my area used to go and hang around in Bow and that was where there was almost like, like an alliance between E14 and Bow and then there was a break down, my area is E14 and Canary Wharf is E14 as well. It's *still* going on now, one of my friends had a party, he moved out he used to live in Bow, but he has moved to Isle of Dogs, he lives by himself, so then he had a little get together for his birthday

and invited all of his all Bow friends and then all of a sudden somehow all of the [old crew's] people found out about it and came to gate-crash, but I was thinking how do you know, this was going back about 5-6 years, I wasn't really expecting them to go on like that anymore.

Robert

A number of things seemed can be inferred from this. The use of weapons was a tangible symbol of the possibility of violence; the mention of rap and partying a corroboration of the importance and danger of raving and libidinal culture in providing a space and opportunity for confrontation. In a manner which *all* of the Athenians could extend and accentuate, all knew personally and socialised with those who did (self) identify as gangsters. All spoke about how reputations were built and retained; violence was far from an abstract possibility and remained an implicit threat since local memory was somewhat persistent (“**I wasn't really expecting them to go on like that anymore**”). Old and presumably forgotten actions had the potential to ferment unforeseen future repercussions even amongst those from the same school, neighbourhood or area. Accordingly each of them had found ways to manoeuvre around the potential dangers of these rare but important social interactions with local gangs. Each used roughly the same strategy. All the gang members:

know what I'm about, that I'm about basketball. They know I won't try to do what they do, they tried when I was younger but once I got part of Athenians they knew I'd changed, they didn't see me for so long as I trained through the whole summer, all holidays, everything, so they understand that basketball is where I am.

Keith

As for how he related to the gang members, there was an obligation to knowing what is happening locally (explaining Luke's apprehension in 5.4.1.3)

I've got used to knowing who is where and who is doing what. Right now, I say hello so it's not like I'm ignoring them, I don't know them, so if anything happens to me, at least I know there might be some people to help me, but I'm never going to get involved, or try and be involved in what they are doing.

Keith

Basketball was therefore useful and important in cultivating an Athenian local identity of 'familiar strangers' vis-à-vis those potentially violent elements within their neighbourhood making the sport's symbolic capital hard to overstate. For various members of the team, it allowed a nodding acquaintance to those elements that the boys identified as 'on road' creating distance but still allowing the Athenians to keep abreast of any issue that might inadvertently affect them now or in the future.

6.4.3.2. 'Youngers', girls and gangs

Still, this is not to suggest that 'gang' members were an easily visible category that each of the team could identify, negotiate and then tactfully withdraw. The reality was much more complex than that: aside from those with an established reputation, there was a need to be wary of those who wanted to

develop one. The Athenians' anxiety was that this category was wider than the typical "*bad man*" (Gunter, 2011) or young black male creating more and more uncertainty.

Indeed, a number of the team identified girls just as likely as boys to instigate some form of violence. Whilst those Athenians with older and younger sisters did say that this was especially but not exclusively towards other girls, the fact that some of these 'wannabes' carried weapons meant that boys still had to be careful. On top of that, part of the team did suggest that girls themselves could be a threat in and of themselves in a particularly novel form. "**Stick up girls**" were attractive girls that seemed apparently interested in you, who invited you to an area outside of your 'endz' and then ensured you were "**rushed by bare amount of guys**". Aside from adding an extra level of fear and complication to the already terrifying process of courtship, the fact that some of the boys were able to volunteer names to people that this had happened to suggested that this was more than a local myth. Even more worrying for the boys was a story that was repeated to me by several of them.

There was one time when me and my boys, there was Obi, Han and one of the boys that was there previously and we was in Stratford and we was just coming home and grabbing something to eat and some boys, little boys came and just like took our basketball. So we asked for it back and then we went to KFC and then we was ordering and we looked around and looked outside and there was 30-40 different guys and we was like what's this and we was like 'what's this'. So they come to the shop and come up to Obi, Han and like pick out a pocket knife. And they say, "what have you got for us?" And we say, we don't have anything for you what are you talking about? And they are like, nah, come outside let me show you something... and I don't know because God must have been on our side because some black man came in with his wife and he was like 'is there a problem here?' and the boy was like, no, no, no. And he was like leave these boys alone, rah, tah, tah and the guy just drove us home in his car.

Tim

There are a number of things to take from this. First of all, it emphasised how even familiar areas could become dangerous. Stratford was somewhere I met a number of the Athenians to interview and so stands out as somewhere mundane not least because it is a major transport hub as it had a tube, bus *and* rail connection. Second, and more significantly, it illustrates the intergenerational and intragenerational dynamics that had to be negotiated if violence was to be averted. Even "**little boys**" were a potential threat in this climate implying that the Athenians had to be wary for both known and unknown threats. The transactional way that they were threatened – not any hint of macho braggadocio but an almost friendly "**what have you got for us?**" alludes to an almost commercial negotiation. The lack of force or ferocity again shows the way that confrontation was prosaic and not spectacular especially when founded on the now typical motivation to rob and steal. What is also fascinating is how the "**little boys**" were stopped in their tracks by an older man. It appeared that whilst one generation was able to prey on the one immediately above them, the intervention of the one above that was somehow too much. Indeed, it did seem that the Athenians' connection and

understanding of what those younger than them thought was limited to a small circle. In this, it echoed a focus group participant's quasi-nostalgic assertion "**young people nowadays are ignorant**" (4.5.3.1) and perhaps, explained it. It did mean that they were acutely aware of the difference that just a few years could make to how someone acted in public.

in most cases about one thing about the correlation between repping your ends and gangs but in some cases my little brother, I mean he lives in a certain area and sometimes he might scream out E this or E that and I know that there is no correlation between gangs and him. He is just proud to live in this area. His friends might come round and he just likes his area.

Jack

Still, this disconnect with other younger people could explain why each and every one of the Athenians subscribed to the idea that things were different than when they were young – a nostalgia that was surprising.

6.4.3.3. 'Fitting in' and growing up as a basketball player

'Fitting in' and conforming therefore had a spatial and socio-spatial aspect. Within this there is the potential to see how territoriality stands not just as (street) representation but (street) practice giving a theoretical and empirical underpinning to an otherwise austere abstraction. Shared common patterns of talk (5.3.2) and behaviour (5.4.2) provided a pole around which to navigate spatially and a store of local memories around which to position oneself. It meant only being present in certain areas at certain times and only acting within certain prescribed times (see 5.4.1.3). Still, my sample population remains young people and so symbolise something of a moving target. The research challenge remains emphasising the creativity and agency some used since resistance might be too strong a characterisation on a couple of cases there was a subtle subversion here. Previous studies (1996) have examined how residents manage fear of crime in high crime, inner-city areas of Salford, that have strong local identities and where 'being local' matters since 'your *place* in relation to crime *places* you in a community of belonging and exclusion' (Evans *et al.*, 1996: 379, emphasis in original). To do this, I will need to emphasise 'moving on' and the role that basketball played within this for the Athenians: it defined and regulated a great deal. There was a developmental, a maturation aspect to this as well. Indeed, Keith was typical of the Athenians when he outlined the sacrifices he had to make to ensure he was a good basketball player:

So I was figuring, I think I kind of [need to] be careful I need to stop going [out], and I wasn't really going out much anyway but I kind of need to understand where the right place to go; when I shouldn't really be there.

Keith

Within this account of space, gangs, raving and so on, basketball stands as a silent undercurrent to 'fitting in'. Sport stood as a cache of representations of space, masculinities and collective behaviour (ToSha, 2000). To place this within a territorial perspective, the rich knot of beliefs and cultural

practices it codified made it difficult to draw any simple distinction between the global and the local. Indeed, basketball's American origin represented a global form of culture that transcended the specificities of place, and yet in response to the local terrain, it changed territorial behaviour. In the minds of the Athenians, the sport was a mirror and basis of present and aspirations and fears. It was, in the minds of the more talented members of the group, intrinsically linked to their future as well. Obi, for instance was able to say:

I am currently trying to get a basketball scholarship and I have got a few [American] schools interested in me but it is quite a long process waiting for someone to get back to you

Indeed, in hearing them speak of basketball games and players was to hear a new narrative and proof of how part of the sport's appeal was in how it metaphorically reflected back dramatized versions of real life⁸⁰. Even more than that, it regulated a great deal of their internal relations. It created an internal structure, a group identity and allocated roles within this. In addition to the numerous times that they had called their relationship as close as brothers, it did mean that they had certain well-regulated ways of dealing with conflicts

**We have got that sort of mutual understanding so I can go up to the Captain and say go home today, you are not doing anything today and we have that kind of mutual respect for each other and we have come a long way⁸¹.
Mo**

In addition to this the very routine nature of training became valuable. The sport provided vehicle or persona that allowed a certain amount of spatial licence. Indeed, Mo was clear:

**Apart from hanging with Obi, what really got me out of the gang [was basketball]. Obi was the one that introduced me to the team and that was really and that was the time when Coach Cory asked me, do you want to come try out for this team. Since that day it was all basketball for me.
Mo**

It even allowed him to go to areas that were renowned for having a 'bad reputation' amongst the others.

I have been to Brixton, Leyton, Whitechapel, a lot of different places so you go and pay maybe a pound or two for a 2 hour session and they pick a random team and you play and well, I like mostly in the summer I like to go and out and play in these different places and indoor and outdoor and maybe just set a mark somewhere, so I know as I am the guy who can really shoot a ball or maybe who crossed off this guy so that is mostly what I like to do. That is mostly the reason I go out and about.

⁸⁰ Off-the-record conversations about the upcoming Olympics confirmed this. It became a proxy battle an interesting addition to the question of ethnicity since the story became one between Britain and the international great rivals. The underdog players competing against better-equipped rivals embody our culture's populist David-versus-Goliath mythology

⁸¹ In a manner that reminded me of the way that the air is always so much clearer after a thunderstorm, I had the impression that there had been a great deal of conflict before and this smoothed process was the result of something hard-earned. My interview with Cory, their Coach, confirmed this intuition.

...meaning that its value is hard to overstate. It created a group identity cohesive enough to go to other places, competitive enough to be respected by local 'rude boys' but was not in the least way threatening.

6.4.4. Moving on: growing up and moving out

Despite the similarities between my Islington participants/informants and the Athenians, there was a considerable difference between these young people. Not only were the Athenians more reliable and likely to turn up when asked but the data they gave was itself qualitatively different. Nowhere was this difference starker than when the Athenians started to talk about “**moving away from areas**” and what they wanted to do in the future. This does have considerable theoretical and empirical repercussions not least in providing a working example of how 'moving on' is a central motif in young people's accounts of adulthood and the different ways in which it is manifest also reflects inequalities and power relations (Holdsworth, 2009). The sociological literature on youth transitions is replete with metaphors of space and movement. 'Making the move' from child to adult along their various 'pathways' whilst growing 'up'. 'Moving on' I use as a phrase which includes 'growing up' and 'moving out' to outline the different ways the process reflects the specificities of place and the creativity of agents. On an analytical level, the fact that the Athenians were so cohesive did mean that comparison with other young people was straightforward and it is at this stage that comparison between members within the group becomes interesting. The distance between Islington and East London shows how young people growing up must make their moves (through local space and forward to adulthood) on shifting ground. In their localities the Athenians are tied to the immediacy of physical and social space to differing degrees, and factors such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality and social class are significant in this. I illustrate and explore these themes through my Athenian descriptive case study in order to see how resources and agency are animated in practice (see 3.1.4).

I follow Holdsworth's starting point by arguing against the use of fixed typologies, suggesting that young people are torn between competing forces in relation to notions of home, tradition and fixedness on one hand and of mobility, escape and transformation on the other (2009). The inference was that territoriality was one of many manifestations of this complex placed process of growing up and territorial behaviour was something one grew out of (“**this was going back about 5-6 years, I wasn't really expecting them to go on like that anymore**” in 5.4.3.1). The ways in which these tensions are negotiated at the biographical level slowly reveal themselves in a spatial project of self, through which young people work towards the kinds of men and women that they want to become, drawing on family, community and cultural resources in the process (Thomson and Taylor, 2005). 'Moving on' means different things in different places and young people within the same locations engage differently with mobility and the opportunity here is to see this process in play. Notions such as cosmopolitanism,

localism and exile are useful as they make these choices visible, suggesting a more nuanced configuration of 'exclusion' and territoriality that combines material inequalities with the specificities of place and the creativity of agents.

6.4.5.1. Education and mobility

In comparison with the Islingtonians the crest of the difference was the university choice and the decisions the Athenians made about the role and purpose of education: each was fundamental in outlining the dimensions of mobility. The decision of where and why to go shows how one can be a cosmopolitan⁸² without leaving home (like the transnational Jack: see 5.4.2.1.) or a local who has travelled the country (like Luke⁸³ in Loughborough, see 5.4.1.3). Here, we can also see the importance of both physical and cultural mobility as aspects of a form of reflexivity that is increasingly a marker of cultural distinction and privilege in the new economy (Adkins, 2003; Skeggs, 2004).

In policy terms, locating student mobility within an historical context is to trace how a particular form of mobility (moving away to study) emerged as an elite practice in English Higher Education. Others have commented how the historical cultural traditions of a small number of elite universities in England have continued to structure discourses about mobility, rather than reflecting the diversity of contemporary HE institutions or of the young population it ostensibly serves (see Thomson, 2009; Christie, 2007; Holton, 2012). Leaving that debate aside, it is clear that the Athenians believed in no single 'right' way of going to university. In this, they follow the example of the students interviewed in Thomson and Thompson's work (2009) which contrasted a form of sedentary localism synonymous with territoriality against a form of cosmopolitanism. Both "*can be understood as two sides of the same coin, always in conversation, and playing out in often unexpected ways*" (ibid: 326). For the Athenians, it remains the case that going to university was synonymous with leaving home for the first time and the opportunities this was assumed to offer young people.

I think university is a chance to explore something else and have a good reason to go somewhere else...I think stepping outside your comfort zone is part of why some of us are going to university. Tim, even though he is in the States, he has applied to go to the University of Birmingham
Obi

There were a number of examples to show these two sides – mobility and territoriality in dialogue: the

⁸² As mentioned in chapter 2, I conceptualise cosmopolitanism is a multi-dimensional process whereby "*ever more aspects of individuals and organisations everyday are defined by their connection with things that are not local to it*" (Beck, 1990, quoted in Latham, 2006:96)

⁸³ Luke, actively began to actively like the smaller scale of campus life.

Loughborough is definitely a lot slower than London. Everything in Loughborough is a lot like more relaxed; you can pretty much do your own stuff on your own, like pace. Like, it's not like you have to be in London transport here where you can pretty much have to be in a rush, pretty much just do everything you want....it's different.

most striking of which is personified through the figure of Tim. Going to the United States under a basketball scholarship stands as somewhat incongruous to the individual who had described how he did not like to leave the area (see 5.4.1.1.). Though a significant part of this was based around avoiding paying tuition fees, it does show the ingenuity of agents prepared to access a form of cultural capital that would previously have been denied to them as a matter of course⁸⁴. Within this, it is hard to not see the footprint of Cory their Coach but his charismatic contribution to the Athenians will get its own focus in chapter 7.

6.4.5.2. Reasons for going

Conversations about leaving East London dominated a great deal of my discussions with the Athenians though their reasons for leaving were varied. On the one hand, some cited the increased likelihood of getting a job once you had a degree. All told, the decision to go to university was not taken lightly. As Luke said:

ummm....I mean it is a tough decision obviously. It is something you want to do but I can see why a lot of families are thinking 'oh right, how am I going to send my kid to university now' because nine grand a year on tuition fees is just like, well it is pretty daunting if you look at it maybe. But I mean a lot of people just think it is worth it at the end because you come out with a degree but when you hear about it, I think I heard one thing like, I think umm one in four like black university graduates have a job so it is just like you see the debt and you see one in four have a job and you are like: really? So I mean really, if you want to go to university then it is like worthwhile and not only the fact that you have gained your degree but [you are] living on your own. The fact is you have learnt those life lessons that you have learnt just being on your own.

Luke

Each of them was very much aware of the need to directly address the question of what their future held since Cory, their coach, had underlined the importance of this numerous times citing how it was far harder if **“you were a black man”**⁸⁵. The challenge he had presented to them had an element of testing yourself and taking advantage of the resources available to fulfil one’s potential. Even if one did not want to go university, Cory had presented the transition to adulthood as something that would have some spatial repercussions whether as a rite of passage or an opportunity to find a career. This did not necessarily mean leaving London though as Obi said.

I [don’t] want to stay at home [but] the opportunities in London, I think are endless. You can do anything you want to in London. You can come to London and get into any line of work. That’s the main thing for me.

Obi

⁸⁴ According to the 2011 Independent Labour Force survey, just under 24% of the population of Newham, Barking and Dagenham in addition to Havering have a ‘Level 4’ qualification. A ‘Level 4’ qualification is Degree (for example BA, BSc), Higher Degree (for example MA, PhD, PGCE), NVQ Level 4-5, HNC, HND, RSA Higher Diploma, BTEC Higher level, Foundation degree (NI), Professional qualifications (for example teaching, nursing, accountancy). (Source: ONS)

⁸⁵ A belief that was proved by events since the Office of National Statistics had recently cited how it was twice as likely that a young black man would be unemployed than their white counterparts. Young (16-34) white unemployment stood at 13% whilst for black African and Caribbean it stood at 26% (International Labour Force Survey to September 2012. Source: ONS)

What was interesting was I was able to interview the Athenians as they had just finished school and college since the first interview was just before their GNVQs/A levels exams and the second just as they were getting their results – they were literally on the cusp of transition. Although they were sorry to leave each other and the shared narrative that they each had written, the group identity of the Athenians was generally supportive of this change. Indeed, each person seemed activated by the prospect of becoming familiar with somewhere else:

I just wanted to go through everything that everyone is going through instead of just sitting at home because, if I ain't going to uni, I ain't doing anything...I want to leave to leave because there is nothing here but I just can just go and experience something else. Going to be out of the house and looking to be free!

Keith

In addition, going to university was an intergenerational and/or family affair. There were a number of ways to show this link: Luke's parents were both teachers although he was insistent **"I wanted to go to university for myself as well"** whilst Paul and Stephen were brothers whose Pastor father expected them to further progress themselves by going to university. Mo's father was a doctor in his native Somaliland making Mo's decision to become a pharmacist partially a response to his father's position and his attempt to continue into the life narrative of his father within a medical science. Indeed, both these motivating reasons already listed (employment and family) were combined within the figure of Robert:

My Mum isn't the most financially stable. I just want to help her out. I remember when you were asking me about how I managed through it, I don't know, maybe my Mum had good values, I tried to listen to her a bit, my brother probably helped me, my triple brother went there too, and helped me share it, and maybe curtailed my need to go out too much, I remember one time I was going to go and get involved in one of these school vs. school scuffles and he was like what are you doing.

Robert

Success in employment and educational terms was a way of showing his family how well he had learned the lessons that they had shown him. Moreover, family in general and parents in particular tended to be a relatively unquestioned source of authority with each of their mothers being especially admired: it was, in essence, a haven of safety as well as a source of expectation interwoven into the account of becoming. The differences in background with my Islington cohort were minimal and, as will be shown, the difference in attitude can be personified within Cory (see Chapter 7).

6.4.5.3. The effect of staying and result of going

It can thus be seen the opportunity to become mobile did not always effectively weaken any attachment to their localities and communities despite the way the literature suggests that this is invariably case. Mobility does not mean undermining social structures by increasing individuation as some have observed (see, for instance, Thompson and Thomson, 2009). For the Athenians, the reality was more complex than this. It remained more than possible to be successful *and* still hold a close and

persistent affiliation with home and territory. Despite its bad reputation; despite its potential for violence *all* the Athenians continued to see East London as fundamental to their biography. It is difficult to envisage a better example of the agency and creativity needed in order to do this than Robert. He exemplified this pragmatic and shrewd awareness of the lack of cultural and educational infrastructure balanced by a robust local pride brilliantly. He was one of the few that planned to go to university amongst his school friends yet:

I remember one [other] guy, there [weren't] so many. I looked [up] at so many people in my school and there was a [really bad] pass rate of GCSEs. My year got the best at 42%. Still didn't get to make the local paper! I was speaking to my brother and said I never regret going there because the experience has hardened me and shaped me as the person I am.

Robert

Certainly, findings from my own study and other recent works would tend to support this assessment (see Reynolds, 2013). In general, those Black youths who tended to 'move on' and to progress socially typically lived in households with social and cultural resources and networks that they could utilise for their own benefit. It is remarkable that the Athenians, themselves, acted and became one of these network nodes. As a group, the Athenians, rather than seeing the neighbourhood as restrictive and constraining their opportunities for success, noticed how their neighbourhoods offered them a place of attachment, security and belonging from which to build social progress and mobility: an **"experience which has hardened me and shaped me as the person I am"**. In essence, the possession of these networks and resources created a compromise state between 'moving away to get on' and 'staying' for these Black young men. Even Robert stayed within London to stay close to his family and consciously did not look too closely at Oxbridge as a destination despite the potentially higher chance of employment afterwards.

Moreover, it did appear that the Athenians had a different self-perception once they had started university. Coming back home, they had added a layer of reflexivity to how they perceived themselves and how others saw them - whether this was as simple as going to North London to meet someone they knew in Loughborough, like Luke⁸⁶. He had begun to wonder how strangers would look at where he grew up. In addition to this both he and the others, as a rule, once they were at university all became far more likely to explore London. Unexpectedly, it was Jack as the only member of the team that did not plan to go university that we have an outlier who might more obviously shows how these dynamics played outside of the group median. My initial interview with him had suggested an active avoidance of territoriality (see 5.4.1.1):

You know, I mean, as you get older, you try to stay away from trouble if you can help it and what I have heard about Hackney, is that it is not the most welcoming place in London so I tend to...If I don't have a reason to go there, I

⁸⁶ This might be better exemplified within the next chapter within the figure of Mo. See Section 6.4.3.

am not going to go there but then I can say that about any other place. I don't have a reason to go to, let's say Leyton, I won't just go and walk Leyton.

Jack

...in a manner that echoes some of what was said in the previous research phases⁸⁷. Nevertheless, even this spatial identity had a transitional element surrounding it for him since he was happy to stay because in his own words, he didn't "**know where to go**". It did make him somewhat different from the other Athenians:

They did wonder why I chose to leave school but I just explained to them, that I was just like the decision I made. They didn't pass any judgement on it....well basically, I just said like education is the road that I should take for myself to really get to where I want to go. There are different ways to get to different places and I just think I can get to it without going through education. I mean, obviously, I have my basic, you know. The dilemma is still I don't know what I want to do. I was considering doing something in the direction of Business but that's very broad. Then I looked at apprenticeships. There were different apprenticeships that I was offered but nothing really stood out too much so I just thought I would continue working.

Jack

The overall theme that ran throughout Jack's sense of self-identity was one that oscillated between constructing their own incarnation of independence and maintaining a spatial sense of belonging. Even for someone who was not going to university "**education [was] a road**" and positioning metaphor.

6.4.5.4. Summary of transitions

So why was it important? What do these undercurrents within the identities of young people tell us about territoriality? Firstly, it shows the fragility and complexity of 'street representations' behind territoriality: of where and easily how they can be changed. The length of time that I was observing the Athenians made plain how and when a territorial code applies and the various themes within it (safety; fitting in and belonging) but when and how it suddenly became less relevant – when and how one 'moved on'.

The Athenians stood out as a 'near' family network and a node of crucially symbolic cultural, social and material resources that was unprecedented in my experience. Despite the closeness of the ties between my Islington focus group members, the Athenians attachment to each other and their area was extraordinary. And for the most part, this was a role that they inhabited themselves and for each other without any routine adult intervention aside from seeing Cory once every week or so. The team provided a literal and metaphorical form for travel and a jumping point for their transitions into adulthood.

⁸⁷ "**Now these are what they refer to as their own 'ends' so every young person knows that ok, this is there block and this is where they hang out and so they know that it very unlikely that another group of boys will just come and roll up.**" See section 4.3.6 and the contribution by Clive.

6.5. Conclusion

Robert's was one of many accounts presented of young people who chose to remain in or close to 'Black neighbourhoods' where resources and opportunities for social mobility may be limited. This raises the question as to why these youths choose to remain in comfort zones where resources are limited instead of venturing out into unfamiliar territory where they stand a greater chance of success. Perhaps Granovetter's classic paper, *'The strength of weak ties'* (1973) has particular relevance in seeking to understand these young people's experiences. Granovetter's work suggests that different ties generate different resources. The 'strong ties', in this case most associated with ethnic-specific bonding ties of the 'Black neighbourhood', imbue individuals such as Robert with a sense of belonging, practical resources and coping strategies in the face of discrimination. In contrast, 'weak ties', such as those crossing racial or social class lines, and which are generally found outside 'Black neighbourhoods', enable individuals to develop networks and resources outside their own immediate networks and with people belonging to different social and cultural backgrounds. It is important to stress, however, that the value of these 'weak ties' is very much dependent on an individual's ability to utilise these ties to their own advantage and to access further resources, knowledge and capital. To a large degree, entrenched forms of societal inequality or social mobility are determined by intersecting and interrelated forms of capital: cultural, social, economic and symbolic capitals (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992)

Within this – the importance of narrative, street representations, slipping, fitting and moving on – this chapter presents various important propositions. It is a step towards understanding how territoriality contained a dynamic process of social positioning and belonging. I also hope to have shown how notions of mobility are central to the Athenians collective and individual sense of self as they make the transition into adulthood. Whether this was in the form of access of an independent social life, being able to move around your community safely, travel as leisure (in the form of holidays) or movement as a rite of passage in the forms of going to a university (Taylor and Thompson, 2005). It also emphasises how historically contingent this: the part that mobility plays in narratives of transition is historically and culturally specific since the character of youth transitions shifting in response to extended dependency and the expansion of higher education.

Moreover, the Athenians also present various signs as to what can be done to enable my Islington participants to develop the same psychic and emotional resources that enabled their East London equivalent. What needed to be done to navigate within and out of territorial confines and how to transcend these structural factors? What structural factors needed to be considered to shape normative meanings of youth mobility? Within this, the figure of Cory becomes very prominent. As he stated:

One or two of them have been jumped [mugged] but we have had so much time towards looking at something that is much bigger than an East London postcode they now recognise that they are more, my guys are more now about London. They are not about East, West, South, North London, and that is because of the different experiences they have had to go through since they have been with me, not just that I have taught them. We have travelled, to Manchester, Belgium, my guys now want, now represent London England, that has become something far removed, they all now want to go other places, they all want to do that.

This question – of the correct form of intervention – will be returned to in chapter 7.

Chapter 7.

Pictures of Territoriality

The map is not the territory

Alfred Korzski

7.1. Introduction: Youth culture and Landscape through a visual and spatial medium

This part of my thesis moves closer to *'what actually happens on the street'* the idea that I introduced within the first section (see 1.4.). In moving closer to an understanding of territoriality and the culture that underpins it to show how it constitutes a relationship between place and people that involves shared meanings and spatial negotiations the previous chapter had detailed but not fully fleshed out or characterised. On the basis of my broad interpretation of youth territoriality as *"the human tendency to adopt specific spaces for different uses"* (see 2.1), this chapter is predicated on finding *what* places and uses. By using and refining the concept of a youth 'culture' and 'landscape' to decipher territorial practices on a day-to-day street level I will show *"How young people experience and understand territoriality"* as asked in the introduction to this monograph (see section 1.1).

A sizeable part of this chapter will be based around extending the deepening our understanding of 'youth culture' past the idea of 'fitting in' that ran through the previous chapter. My intention was to look further than the material practices (such as clothes, 5.4.2.3); spatial behaviour (see Table 15 and Maps 7-10 in the previous chapter) or leisure activities (5.4.4.2) that I have previously described. This **'giving and taking of meaning'** needs a more robust theoretical framing. In order to achieve this and to focus on the spatial aspects of this production and exchange of meaning, my other theoretical conceit is Tilley's concept of a 'landscape'. To define this more precisely: landscape is a malleable form ready moulded by human agency that, in its turn, also shapes humans. It is in process; never completed and constantly being added to as a progression where the relationship between people and place/space fluctuates within a constant dialectical process of structuration (Tilley, 2004; Giddens, 1984 and see section 2.2.3). The advantage of this notion is that it allows the identification of a series

of named locales linked by mobility and stories whilst drawing attention to the subtle borders between 'place' and 'space'. 'Landscape':

is a cultural code of living, an anonymous 'text' to be read and interpreted, a writing pad for inscription, a code of and for human praxis, a mode of dwelling and mode of experiencing. It is invested with powers, capable of being organised and choreographed in relation to sectional interests, and is always sedimented with human significances. It is story and telling, temporality and remembrance. Landscape is a signifying system through which the social is reproduced and transformed, explored and structured... Landscape above all, represents a means of conceptual ordering that stresses relations.

Tilley, 1994:34-35 and 37

Based upon this understanding of landscape, my belief is that we need to form a richer view of youth practices and spaces to create a more discursive 'picture' that extends the 'narratives' the Athenians had initially presented to me (see 5.3.1.). 'Landscape' provides a way of creating a coherent, interconnected link between youth understandings of the social, the cultural and the physical showing how time and space in particular are components of action rather than mere containers for it (Giddens, 2013 and chapter 2).

The practical implications are clear and provide a methodological point of departure open to the possibility of territoriality taking place in different kinds of relations, situations and places (see chapter 3 and sections 4.4-4.5). To extend this understanding, my approach was based around capturing interactions in young people's everyday lives in a manner sensitive enough to interpret the very diffuse ingredients in the 'territorial' idea. For this reason I now shift my method of data interrogation to something more self-consciously visual and material. It is my way of considering space as more than an abstract dimension since I wanted to see how perception, interpretation, practical activity and the cultural work of explication and discourse could allow for a subtler, more embodied appreciation of territoriality (see section 3.6. for a full summary of the techniques used in context of the other parts of this study).

In doing this I also wanted to consolidate the discipline of Geographies' reputation as a dynamic and practically orientated discipline that can critically incorporate new modes of visual production, consumption and vocabularies thereby illuminating new aspects of (street) practices (see for instance M. Crang, 2010; Dickens, 2008; Nayak, 2010; Rose, 2004, 2009). In this, I will be combining this tradition with Gillian Rose's well-respected urge to use a 'critical' approach when interrogating visual medium. What this meant in practise in an emphasis on:

the visual in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded; and that means thing through power relations that produce, are articulated through and can be challenged by, ways of seeing and imaging

Rose, 2007, xv

In this, the discipline does seem particularly well focused and located to connect a body of work on visual methodologies with its participatory sub discipline's history of 'doing' and engaging with imagery well beyond plain visual analysis (see for instance: M. Crang, 2003; Rose, 2007, 2011; Kullman, 2012). Certainly, as one commentator has highlighted contemporary research collaborations between a visual culture and geography represent almost a new orthodoxy within the discipline – a:

'neo-visual turn' that represents a new disciplinary orthodoxy in its drive towards participatory research, impact and engagement within the academy.
Tolia-Kelly, 2011:135. (See also section 3.5; 3.6 and 3.7).

This highlighted how the images collected and presented here were created by the Athenians and follow the same research intervention pattern as those described previously (see section 5.1-5.3). What follows in the rest of the chapter is a contextualisation of these different techniques.

After this, there will be a more in-depth account of what was done; what the data suggested and a description of what can be deduced from the data in isolation; relative to other parts of my study and finally what can be discerned from the all the visual data in aggregate.

To this end, section 6.2 will describe the process of mental maps and drawings that I asked the Athenians to do. It will explain the emergent themes this revealed this and place them into their wider conceptual context.

Section 6.3 will communicate the major findings that ran throughout the 90 photographs that were taken by the Athenians. My focus will be on where, when and how the photos were taken to give credence to the way that specificity of place is created by seeing how the boys erected typologies of particular kinds of space through which the identities of places are co-constructed.

Section 6.4. will reveal how this evidence can be further refined into an understanding of the opaque social and cultural processes contained with territoriality. By presenting it under different circumstances and bearing in mind the mode it was collected- via camera-phone and a mobilised qualitative GIS (see section 3.6.) – other significant research outcomes can be understood.

Finally, this chapter will conclude by recounting how and where the data corroborates or complicates any unfolding definition of youth territoriality based on the outcomes of previous chapters.

7.2. Drawings in a territorial research context

Since I have now made the case for a reflexive research processes that, as Spyrou says, "*accepts the messiness, ambiguity, polyvocality, non-factuality and multi-layered nature of meaning in "stories"*" (Spyrou, 2011:162; see also Smart, 2009), the other issue to consider was timing. As has been made clear, by asking the Athenians to draw, I was investigating territorial mores through a conduit that

deduced practice from the way that “*pictorial symbols can be used to make precise and accurate statements even while themselves transcending definition.*”(Ivins, 1973: 8). In describing the borders of implicit knowledges or something hard to describe except through metaphor and analogy, the projective drawing exercises was introduced close to the end of my first focus group with the Athenians (see section 5.3). The use of drawings to describe pictorial images as expressions of the unconscious emotional aspects of images allowed for a certain degree of access to different levels of consciousness and spatial calculation that I wanted to be interwoven into all other parts of the research – as will be shown in the following section. The drawing process does not, after all, recognise or more accurately does not make a distinction between different times, such as past present or future. It also has no means of expressing contradiction and negation, which means that contradictory elements are quite compatible and exist side by side. It proved provocatively productive when each participant was re-introduced to the work at a later date as I talked over their contribution with them individually. And in various fields (particularly psychoanalysis), the methods have often been seen as providing insight into the ‘unconscious’ of the participant’s drawing as offering symbols for the researcher to interpret and analyse (Leitch, 2008: 52). Since it was introduced so quickly, it afforded an easy subject for further questioning.

7.2.1. The drawing process

In short, I was using a form of interview elicitation using drawing and maps. The first stage of this was to ask the Athenians to “*draw something*”. These drawings were made in response to some basic ‘scaffolding’ instructions (Prosser and Loxley, 2008: see table 17 below). Since it was a creative task, it encouraged reflection and going beyond standardised ways of answering questions leaving time for participant to think deeply about what I wanted them to consider (Gauntlett, 2007). A focus group was ideal for this since it gave a flavour of what I wanted; it allowed me to gauge group dynamics as well as giving me plenty of scope to ask detailed questions on an individual basis. This, I would argue, is a necessary point of departure for an analysis of drawings – where it is applied on the project management cycle since we must take into account that meaning is not fixed, and that interpretation – as interpretation of words expressed in a later interview – needs to be seen as suggestive and be contextualized thoroughly (Smart, 2009: 303).

I have a little exercise for you. I’m going to ask you to do a map of places of where you like in London: just where you are comfortable. You can draw what you want. I’m going to leave it totally to you. You can use that as a map or drawing or whatever. Not even just safe areas...you can make it as big or as small as possible: it can be London, boroughs, England, the world. Whatever. There is no right or wrong, just play with it.

**Table 17: The framing questions for the drawing process
(transcription from the group interview)**

There were other reasons for placing this process right at the front of the forefront of the research process and not because it invoked curiosity and interest. Their lack of familiarity/training with these methods was an advantage since it did mean that the regulation and 'tidying up' of each person's iconography was less covert and more likely to be readily available as a subject to be interviewed subsequent to this. The drawings are part of the whole picture and cannot be separated from the talk, or the entire research encounter, between me and the Athenians.

So how did the Athenians deal with this task? Some started to draw immediately; others after looking at what others have done; some excusing themselves by saying how they were not good at drawing and when cajoled, committed themselves to the smallest possible degree.

What they did all share was a 'beautification' stage, when after drawing whatever came to mind, they made it presentable: it was also a period when they didn't want to show me, and on some occasions, others what they had done. Using the typology discussed in chapter 3 (see table 2 in section 3.3.2), it shows the border from a mode of 'Production' to that of 'Regulation' and whilst I was not able to record what or how their contributions were tidied up, it does show how external conditions can be influenced by an inner reality and vice versa. Aside from what the participant drew, the points to interpret were, variously, compositional (content, colour, spatial organisation) or based around the participants' use of space; the order of appearance of elements or finally, an interactive element that hinted at the way that images create particular relations of the world outside the picture frame.

| | |
|----|--|
| 1. | Home and intimate space |
| 2. | Private, parochial and public space |
| 3. | Representations of spatial location and navigation |
| 4. | Institutions of work and education |
| 5. | Miscellaneous and idiosyncratic representations |

Table 18: Key to visual coding categories within drawings

7.2.2. Emergent themes


In order to allow the reader to interpret the themes and give some sense of the circumstances they were produced, I will discuss the themes individually and number them using the coding categories of the table above, then founded upon this, review their combined significance. ‘Drawings One’ till ‘Three’ will show variations of the major themes, whilst Three to Six will show some other particular, distinctive underlying points that only fall into context once the individual who drew them is considered. By focusing on both, the nascent nature of various implicit knowledges will be seen whilst simultaneously paying attention to their settings– a combination of circumstances when the distinct value of the method can be acknowledged.

7.2.2.1. Home

Within each of the drawings, ‘home’ is represented at where the figure 1 is and remains unsurprisingly, a powerfully resonant icon ever-present in this section and evoked through nearly all the photos of the next section. Indeed even the very absence of an icon to epitomize home also spoke eloquent volumes: in ‘Drawing Eight’ since, Obi, was at the time experiencing considerable domestic change as his parents were suffering significant marital turmoil. This meant that home was no longer the refuge it was for the others and consequently he was, by far, the most mobile and exploratory of the group (see appendices for more details). Even this ‘exception-that-proved-the-rule’ confirms how the home is a powerful symbol of independence and interdependence for many young people. Indeed,

as the locus of a site of imaginative geographies and variously, a set of feelings perhaps about belonging, inclusion, and (unconditional?) acceptance, it is unsurprising that it was the first thing many wrote on the page⁸⁸. Its placement was key: right at the beginning of most of the drawings, located in the upper left-hand corner if the picture was read like a sentence, or at the centre of the account in the middle of the page. It seemed to centre, to anchor and to display the home as a set of feelings and ideals in addition to the actual location where people live: a vigorously dynamic signifier balancing the dichotomy between 'space' and 'place'. Furthermore, 'home' in this incarnation was the materialisation of identity anchored somewhere between past and present. Within talk of "leaving home" that the Athenians spoke about, home was also linked to memories of places that they had lived in (Mallett, 2004) and aspirations for what thought, or aspired to believe their home might be in the future. Though this can often be linked to normative notions of family at particular lifecourse stages, it was my participant's understanding of home "*based on emotional attachments [and the] traditional theorisation of the home have categorised it as a private space, often constructed against...public space*" (Ahmet, 2013:622) that will provide the next stage of analysis. Essentially, what did they think of *after* they had thought of home?

7.2.2.2. Public, private or parochial space

It is instances of the symbol  that that the divergent attitudes and outlooks of the group was clear. As the second icon on the page, it was the second thing that people thought of once they had thought of 'home' and was typically somewhat individual. In term of what it represented, this can be covered by the catch-all phrase the 'public realm' although this label smothers the fine distinctions they made within this and their other research encounters. Within their drawings, for instance, areas outside of home oscillated between different representations of 'publicness' often within the same picture on more than one occasion (the basketball and/or college of Ed's Drawing One). Rather than as a measure of indeterminacy on the part of the participant, I interpret this as an acknowledgment that the geography and topography of the public arena would inevitably be varied, contradictory or complex. To revisit my previous statement, the public realm may be defined rather broadly as those non-private or quasi-private areas of urban settlements where "*individuals in co-presence tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another*" (Lofland, 1989: 453; see also Sennett, 1977). Still, while this simple classification is intuitive, it is too simple to avoid distorting the empirical situation it is meant to explain here. As I implied before, this division between public and private

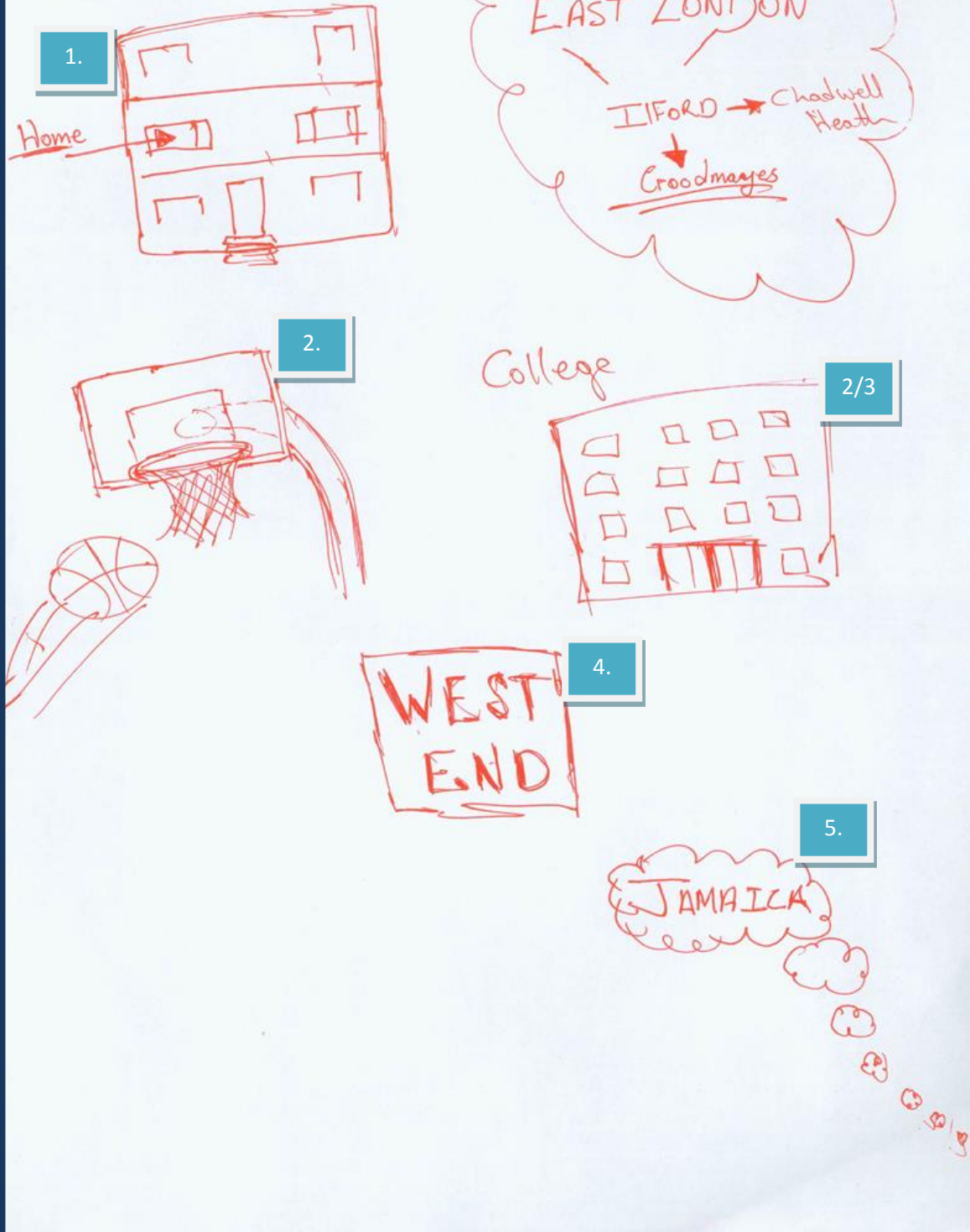
⁸⁸ I did investigate how various people (mainly my fellow PhD students) responded to the priming questions contained within Table 17, aside from those who did draw maps, the first thing that many did draw was how 'home' and this invariably meant a house in the top-left hand meaning the drawing was to be read like text. Within the Athenians, the only other person who did not follow this pattern was Tim (see Drawing Four). Since he was on the verge of being accepted to an American university for a basketball scholarship, it would be safe to assume that this was the first thing that was on his mind.

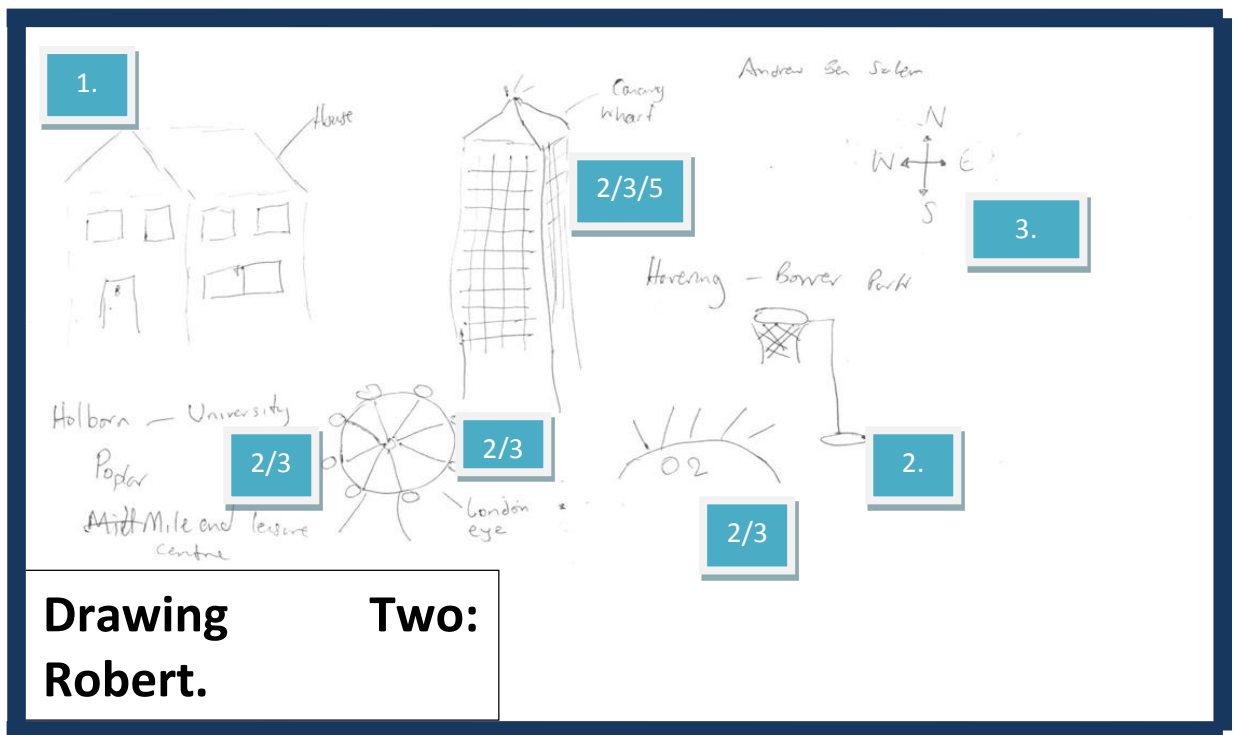
might not be critically consistent since the division is substantiated through a set of felt experiences within the everyday and which represent points where each Athenian's individuation, background and socio-spatial navigational prowess interact. Projections of personal safety (see section 5.4) thus remain an implicit part of their assessment. Nonetheless, my tri-partite distinction of public, private and their synthesis parochial does not necessarily capture *all* of the complexity behind these Athenians representations but it does provide an easy means of comparison across the team. To this end, Lofland identifies three kinds of urban social public space: the public, the parochial and the private (Lofland, 1989: 10). Private territories are typified by being populated by intimates ("home" and people invited to one's home) whilst the 'public realm' has already been partially defined. It is within that intermediate 'parochial' space between the two categories that I focus on here. It is an area characterised by "*a sense of commonality among acquaintances and neighbours who are involved in interpersonal networks that are located within communities*" (Lofland, 1989: *ibid*) that the Athenians symbolised so idiosyncratically within their own particular drawings. Unsurprisingly, for many, this community was based around basketball (see Drawings One, Three and Four). This is exemplified brilliantly within Drawing Three which progressed in clear waves from the private, to the parochial to the public in a linear manner. In addition, all the drawings show the imprints of their author's individual character. Whilst presented in an undeviating fashion in Drawing Three it is shown to have a more complex typology in the other drawings. Robert's contribution in Drawing Two shows his mutative definition of public and private fluctuating between his university and Canary Wharf and convey where he spent great deal of time. His particular socio-spatial fingerprint is obvious since he had just started an internship within a financial consultancy near Canary Wharf and passed a great deal of his time there and at the London School of Economics in Holborn.

What I also want to draw attention towards is the way the team used basketball as a space that lies in-between this categorisation of somewhere public or private and novel can be discerned: specifically their identification of a basketball court as a lived and named locale example of a parochial youth space. Within this analysis, one small note must be inserted here since it remains an invariably urban phenomenon. Within smaller or less dense community spaces there would not be the need to evolve this spatial category since there would be no pressing justification for the barrier between public and private (Trell, 2013). In addition, attention must be drawn to the relatively similar age profile of the team. As Ahmet, (2013); Lloyd et al. (2008) and Malone (2002) have suggested during adolescence, young people might very well use their neighbourhoods and public spaces to develop their social identities. These public spaces "*become an important stage for display and exhibition, for trying and exploring new identities*" (Lloyd et al. 2008:22) in a manner often un-noted by adults and replete with layers of personal, local and universal set of meanings and attachment. It stands, as perhaps, one personification of territoriality: or at least one with a permeable filter to be further explored within my

other research iterations like the drawing below since some of the group had lived in the area all their life but others had arrived in early childhood.

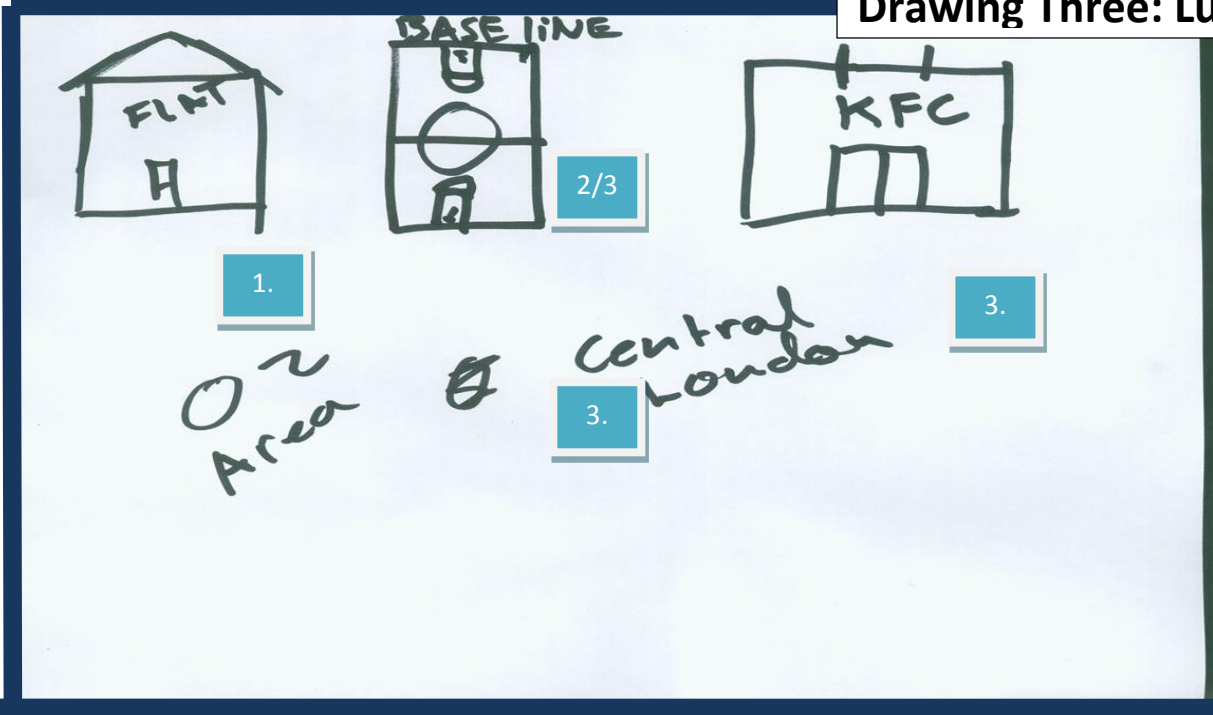
Drawing One: Stephen





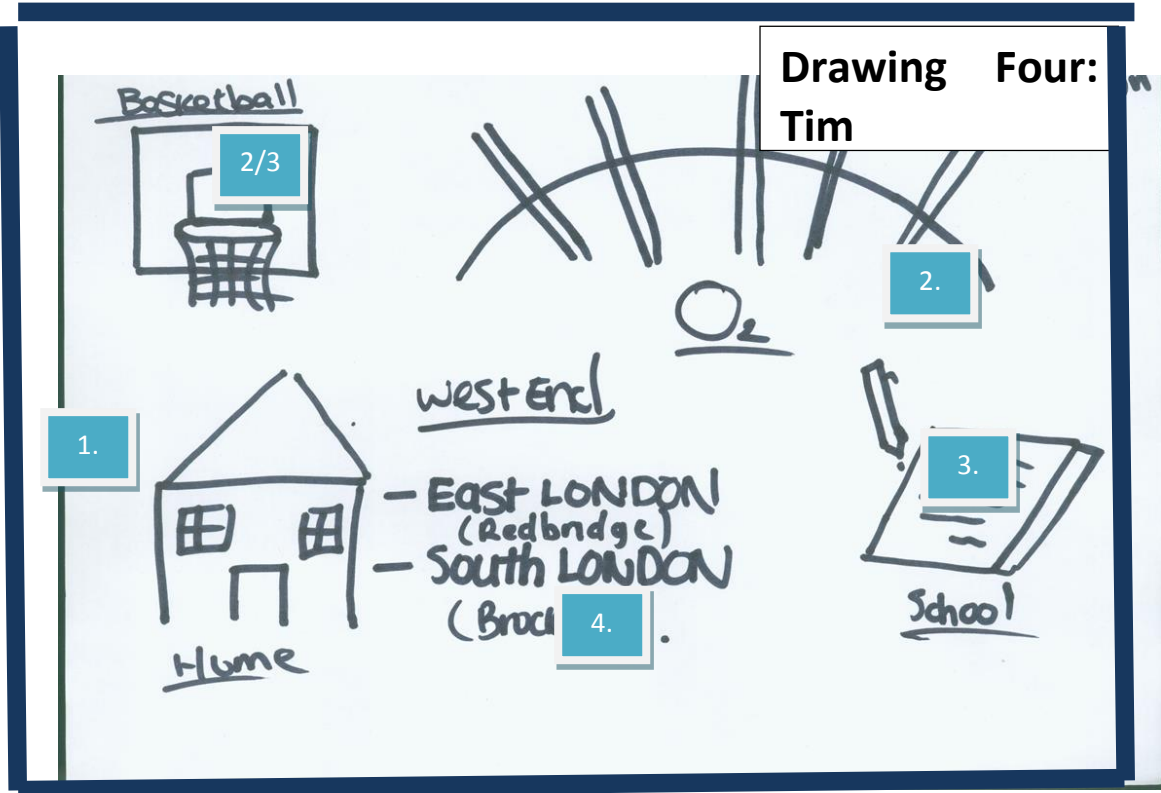
Another finding of note was the manner in which the Athenians shared recognition of the importance of landmarks that characterised the London skyline and yet used different ways to evoke this. The O₂ centre and the London Eye featured in many like in the drawing above (Drawing 2) and mark an important feature in the literal and figurative landscape. What is also notable were the occasions when the 2. symbol seemed to denote something familiar but on another scale than the intimate and the everyday confines of home or parochial space. It was interesting how the O₂ Arena (formerly the Millennium Dome) was used to symbolise this gradation of space that placed London as a city and global metropolis. Nevertheless, even the symbols of globalisation - those that fixed and connoted London's position as a global city - were local. Rather than Big Ben or Buckingham Palace or London Bridge say – the boys chose a very proximate national monument that was less than 20 years old.

Drawing Three: Luke

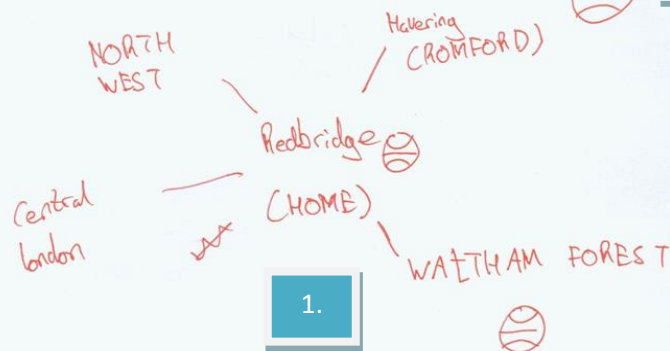


Interestingly, brand names like KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) had their emblematic resonance here - as does Vue (the cinema chain). The implication, suggested by various well-established researchers finding, alludes to the importance of consumption spaces such as shopping malls as central parts of many young people's geographical imaginations and social worlds (Vanderbeck *et al.* 2000; Valentine, 2004; Matthews, *et al.* 2000)

Drawing Four: Tim

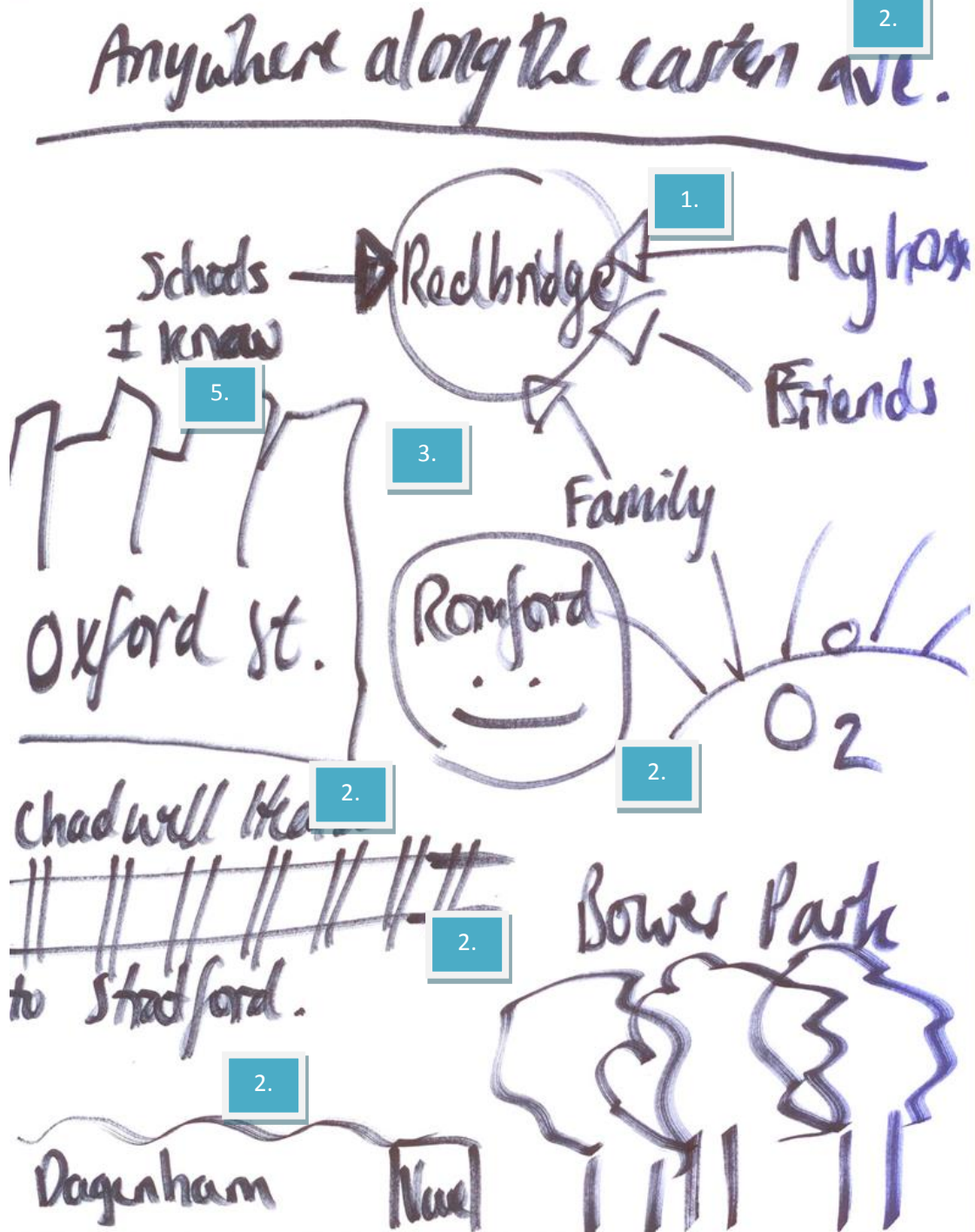


Drawing Five: Keith.



This is not to say that all the participants equally displayed the same level of interest, commitment or ease with this type of research intervention. The cursory contribution above (Drawing Five) suggests that this is not always the case for all the Athenians and commitment could be fluid and contingent on the research encounter. Nonetheless, the opportunity was there to interact in other ways – either in a manner that was more private, with less scope of ridicule – such as through the participatory GIS – or there were the more individual interviews.

Drawing Six: Hannibal.



Drawing Seven: Jack

West End westfield


Oxford Street

2. 
shopping

3.  

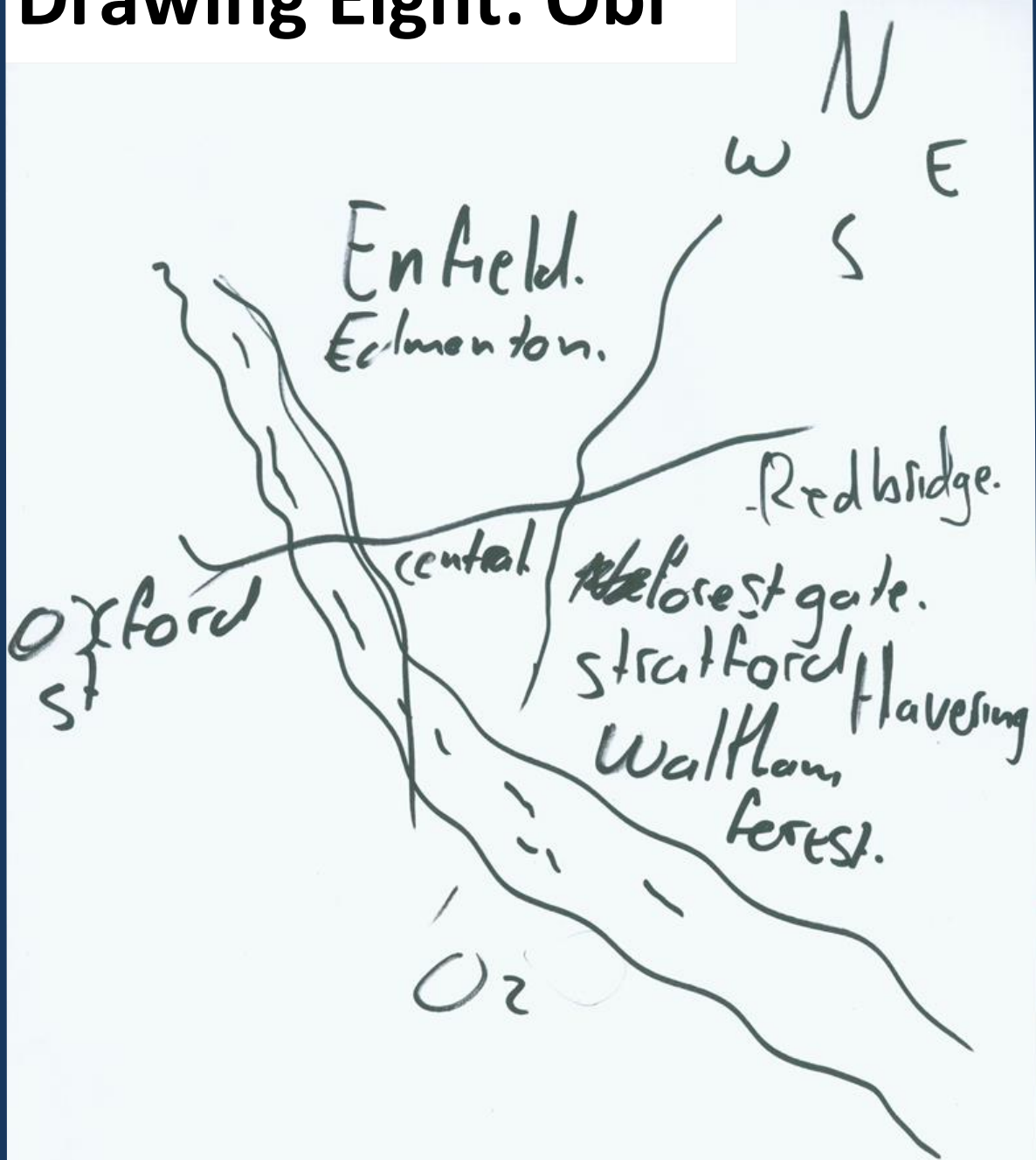
East

Chadwell
Basketball


Stratford


1.  Bow
E3 Home

Drawing Eight: Obi




7.2.2.3. The imprints of Personality and history

One increasingly valuable discovery was how each drawing was marked by the individual character in terms of the space taken over the page - Drawing Six. The variety of icons used; the links between the icons and even the emotion conveyed (the 'smiley' right at its centre) corresponds into exactly the personality of the extrovert Hannibal. In showing the links between Romford and Redbridge; the landmarks like the O₂ Centre and whilst simultaneously giving a sense of his how his cultural and spatial compass was focused on so many disparate things, something essential is communicated of his vibrant and dynamic personality. Indeed, as one of the few that did not have a basketball court but rather a park with the  symbol, he stands as someone different to the rest of his group. Christie Park, the park that he drew, was one of the main spaces that his team played but his recording of it as a green space signified by the trees correlate to the way that basketball was, for him, merely another social arena. The density and 'busyness' of his drawing also shows the way that his mental internal topography correlated to a rich and complex external positional, locational and socio-spatial narrative. Indeed, juxtaposed to the rest of his team this becomes far starker and clearer. Where the external world was usually based around some aid to navigation such as a compass. Moreover, all of Hannibal's contribution gives this relational sense of the how the outside world related to this rich socio-spatial landscape. In the most striking example of Indexicality – that “*property of context-dependency of signs*” (Prosser, 2006) introduced in 6.1.1. - it shows the interrelationships between the various elements of his social and the spatial life. It reveals a great deal of where he goes, who he goes with and how this all interpenetrates the other elements of his life. Romford, Redbridge and Dagenham stand as important areas there with the train station being especially significant.

This stands in marked contrast to the authors of Drawings 5 and 7. The latter was fashioned by, the already introduced Jack and underlines his introversion (or at least in comparison to Hannibal). The amount of white space in his drawing and the fact that he did, at that stage find this a difficult task to fulfil since he saw himself as in a somewhat liminal stage. In fact, as the only one actually employed and not planning to go to university what was also conspicuous by its absence was any sign of his workplace – a point that will be more significant later on in this account.

Drawing Eight was by Obi and portray him as the most mobile of the group – a fact that has repercussions on what and how he drew and vice versa. He stands as highly spatially literate and one of the few who drew a map aside from Keith's Drawing Five. Nonetheless, he was unique since he was the only person who did not draw some artistic construct of home – a verdict correlated to his disrupted home life - as stated before.

In all, these findings give a snapshot of each actor's subjective perceptions of physical space and give an indication of how it is individually defined with perceptual and physical boundaries dynamically

related to agency and action and how this is related to feelings of self and identity (Abbot and Chapman, 2009. See also Hall, 1969:115). Little illustrates this better than the author of Drawing One-Stephen's sketch (where the  is situated) and his 'daydreaming' of Jamaica. Set in context of the focus group and the commonplace strictures of home, identity and mobility that crowded the rest of his drawing, it underscores the continued relevance of this aspect of history and biography and a chosen ethnic identity. In his own words:

**I would consider myself as Jamaican but a part of me is feels that England and London. Jamaica is always going to be my real home. Where I was born, where I was from, where I belong.
Stephen**

In combination, these examples chosen were presented to exhibit the variety and diversity in which these places could be "*interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined*" (Gieryn, 2000:465) or 'produced, identified with and against, regulated and consumed/interpreted' (see table 4 above).

7.2.3. Summary

The underlying research effect has to be the Athenians' recognition and depiction of the mutability of space whether this is defined as home, parochial, public or private. The complexity of the drawings expresses how and when these places are unstable. The manner with which this fluidity was communicated here and within the other methods (often by the same person) illustrates the multi-sensory apprehension of territoriality that I was trying to craft through different ways of construing an 'image' since the use the word of the has been expropriated by any number of institutionalised discourses from literary criticism, art history, philosophy in a way that shows that there is no unified theory (Mitchell, 1986). The word 'image' is a phrase that has a range of concurrent and conflicting definitions with numerous repercussions on how to interpret it. Indeed, the coding categories I constructed to understand these drawings can be based around the use of mental images (dreams, metaphors or memories); optical images including text to convey mirrors/representations and projections (like Drawing Six's train tracks); or finally, graphical images like the pictures, designs and maps found in every drawing.

What the less than tightly codified nature of these categories conveys is the volatility of "Street Representations" when actualised into "Street Practice" (see section 1.1) by placing alongside different images to produce, consume and interpret. The manifold ways different aspects of identity are bordered is reflected in the different ways of regulating them (see table 4 in section 3.5 above). This drawing methodology is not stable or strictly systemised but it is rather meant to mirror a multi-sensory, multi-aspected apprehension of territoriality. By offering this palimpsest of visual representations, it is also offering an avenue into how the mind envisages itself: a matrix of analogies that connects theories of representations to cultural practice.

7.3. Using a phone to navigate socially and spatially: Taking photos and using a digital map

Within the form of research here, technology is being used as a supplement to traditional research – not as a substitute. In this, my inspiration has been to borrow Benjamin’s ‘imagistic approach’ based on his Arcades project and see images as explanatory partialities expressed in fragments. Photography, within this tradition, is not a practice that simply ‘documents’ the city, but rather, it situates the researcher at ‘*important points in the sphere of imagery*’, (Gillock, 1997: 18). What I am considering here is the representations of the everyday: those representations of the objects, people and situations in their lived realities that the creation of photographs recorded and altered within a specific social context (Oh, 2012). Of course, with the rise of the ‘*selfie*’ (a self-portrait done at arms-length) and the ubiquitous tagging of photos on Facebook, this social context is being re-constructed.

What researchers have agreed is that people increasingly use mobile social networks to transform the ways they come together and interact in public space through mobile social networking (Shannon, 2008; Humphrys, 2010; JR Höflich, 2006a. JR Höflich, 2006b.). Indeed, a small number of the Athenians did actually download Twitter and Tumblr on to their phones and appeared to broadcast their whereabouts and thoughts to a wider audience. The way that these services allow members to access networks of friends or potential friends through mobile phones provides an interesting complicating dynamic to what is public and/or intimate contained within Sherry Turkle’s startling aphorism of the dangers of being “*alone together*” (Turkle, 2012). Leaving this aside, the use of smartphones does provide a new research challenge and opportunity (Marvin, 2013; Licoppe, 2013, Pain and Grundy, 2005). Further, Wilken has argued for the need to examine “*the way that mobile media influence and shape place and place experience, and the way that mobile phones use is integrated into the flows of everyday life*” (Wilken, 2008: 47, see also Humphreys, 2010). In a material sense, camera phones are becoming increasingly relevant to young people’s own style of expression and interest in images especially within the increasingly pervasive use of a ‘*selfie*’ within social media⁸⁹. The camera and the camera-phone especially, is a ready-to-hand mechanism to create “*not an absolute representation of a given state, but a tool to help understandings develop*” (Cook and Hess, 2007: 43) by focusing literally and metaphorically automatically at arm’s length on an image excluding or emphasizing location or company. An image taken under these circumstances stands as something instantly deletable, editable, geo-locatable and shareable. It stands as an artefact that locates itself somewhere within

⁸⁹ Instagram, a photo-sharing website has over 90 million images labelled #*me* or #*selfie* (source: BBC article Self-portraits and social media: The rise of the ‘*selfie*’. Accessed 7 June, 2013) although there, at present remains no real literature on this (see Jenks, 2013). Leaving aside the manner in which the social platforms have allowed people to take more aesthetic photos that connect (thanks to the ubiquitous hastags) with complete strangers across the globe has given a new vigor and inclusivity to photography. See, for example iphoneart.com; wearejuxt.com or instagrammers.com.

the private and transient. Yet through mobile data networks one can shape a shareable persona that includes our location and paints ourselves as someone alive, dynamic and in progress, perhaps explaining its popularity amongst young people (Ito, 2005). Researchers have already noted how and what the camera sees and from whose perspective is connected to the daily experiences of making images and also that by staging and performing mobility practices, we might also depict activities that might easily escape representation (see for instance, Kullman, 2012). In short, a corollary of the work was to see if geo-location has been used to change the way that people interact and congregate (Pain *et al.* 2005).

Like the drawing section, I presented the same basic raw materials to my participants and challenged them to consider what they wanted to document. Though this was not the blank A4 piece of paper of the last section, I did use the same brand of camera phone for each of the Athenians. I also reset the device to what it was when it was fresh out the box and amended the technical set-up of the camera so the results were readily replicable and consistent (see table below for a list of all the features that were restored to the same and section 3.6).

7.3.1. A general outline of the photos

The points around which the 90 photographs were analysed followed the same general pattern as the drawings above. Coding categories emerged around content (what was in the picture); spatial organisation (how was it composed); focus (what was the perspective taken); the light (see Photos 15, 18 and 20) and finally expressive content (how did it 'feel'?). Whilst photo-elicitation is hardly a new method, linking the geo-location; the practice of taking the photo; a quick digital survey *and* the labelling of the photos within interviews afterwards was new. Taken as a whole and as a standardised source of data, it did mean that creativity and novelty was less marked than within the drawings despite the Athenian's familiarity with the technology – like most young adults, they all had a mobile phone. Nevertheless, only a small number took the time to obviously compose a picture (see Photo no. 19 in 6.3.4. as one of the few in this category). Most of the photos seemed to be taken "on the move" (see Photos 8, 9, 10 and 11) and they were not carefully composed, framed photos since they were often blurred and indistinct. This seemed to be a deliberate tactic. As Mo said:

I loved taking photos on it. It was pretty simple: I have the zoom. It was like a very high tech camera, so it was, it was easy to capture the moment I felt, if I was like this is a nice place to capture it, it was bang on, it was ready to capture it.

Mo

Additionally, there were a number of linking themes the photos orbited around. Firstly, in most of them, the absence of any careful or deliberate composition, the photos documented something representational rather communicating an aesthetic. The 'focus' was typically based around describing space: a conclusion that the photo-elicitation period within their individual interviews confirmed. Doors, entrance ways, televisions (as a domestic cipher), signs (such as at the gym, roads or station) made very specific place signifiers. Consequently, in terms of content, there were a large number of images of buildings pictured inside and out and areas labelled variously 'shopping' (see photo 14) 'home' (see photos 2 till 7), 'training' etc. all of which substantiated the brief I gave them of giving me snapshots of their daily life.

The spatial organisations and focus of the camera person also merits comment since many pictures were through windows - either from looking out of bedroom windows, or transport (see Photo 10). Indeed, many of the pictures were of travelling or symbolic of having stopped or just started travelling

(see photos 8 till 13). Though this will be of more significance in the next section (6.4), what should be noted is *what* their choice of taking photos of points on a journey said about their routines and how this seemed to capture ostensibly banal moments and punctuations in journeys (see section 6.3.3. for more details). In terms of spatial organisation and perspective, what also marks itself out as important is what isn't there. There is a vacuum within the photos based around a lack of people. The interviews did suggest that there was an etiquette in when and where photos can be taken – an informal code that suggested photographing people without their consent was unreasonable (see Photo 16)⁹⁰. It did also present the question as to what extent do people 'make' places? Issues like this could not be answered by the photos solely and were instead confronted within the photo-elicitation section of the second interview (see Figure X in section 3.4. in order to understand the chronology).

⁹⁰ The interviews did reveal one exception to this rule. Luke did tell me how he tried to convince a group of girls that he was part of an 'important research project' and needed to take their picture. As an addendum he could, while his phone was out take their number. Though he was unsuccessful in both counts and leaving aside his *chutzpah*, this episode did show how the phone as a material artefact had embedded itself within social networks even if this is only within courtship rituals.

Photo 5: An example of the photo elicitation



7.3.2. Domestic spaces



Photo 6.

One of the many entries based around 'home' (roughly a fifth were based around the home). Notice the large amount of possessions piled around it and the three computer consoles based round it. It appeared the boys had taken over the lounge. The privacy and control that this would seemingly represent must be contrasted with the manner in which the Xbox, computer terminal and Playstation 2 can be used to access a virtual public space and to contact other people over the world to play the same game with them or talk with them (Bovill, and Livingstone, 2001)

As a matter of course, this section manoeuvres within the work on children and young people that has documented the ways in which activities have shifted from the streets into homes (Zelizer, 1985;

Aarsand and Aronson, 2009). This simple fact that many of the pictures (around a third) were taken within the home does provide a glimpse into wider subtleties of domestic power and control and some of cascading spatial repercussions (see McNamee, 1998). Any analysis that describes the contours of appropriate and inappropriate areas – a politics of space and time and of where young people should and should not be – would invariably confront this migration. Accordingly, Photo Two (above.) is the sitting room of one of the boys and as such, it is also another example of a particular motif of ‘home’ started in the previous section (see 6.2.2.1.). It was one of a number of images with a television and so is emblematic of the spaces that the boys described as ‘home’. What is noteworthy is that none of the photos were bedrooms or other private spaces. This like Photo 2, 3, 4 and 5 were *shared* domestic spaces.



Photo 7.

One of the few well-composed pictures and it is hard to know sure if this was deliberate or not. Also had a television in the background and not the focus of the piece. Notice the viewpoint of the photographer at the back.

That all photos taken in the shared space of the living room (or kitchen) seem contrasted with the ‘typical’ private spaces of the home ‘the bedroom’ – also leads to other questions. What is even more attention-grabbing is an easily overlooked detail: specifically the fact that sitting rooms were the

location of the X box there and Playstations. As multi-media devices (variously, a high end gaming system; a multi-platform marketplace for digital goods and a payment system) with which one is able to contact and play with others outside of their four walls meant that public and private were conjoined in a way that that erodes any easy dichotomy (Livingstone, 2001 and 2007). There, is as yet very little work on youth gaming activities in a family life context (see Aarson and Aronson, 2009 for one of the few exceptions to this rule) but certain things can be deduced here. The number of photos meant it appeared it was no longer totally apposite to say it was mainly girls “*who resisted boy’s domination of the streets, that is using their homes as the base from which to explore aspects of teenage culture*” (Griffiths, 1988:53). Whether this was simply because the Athenians were different; some other expression of their age (Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 2009) or their class (Abbott-Chapman, Robertson, 1999) or of a gendered identity (Ahrentzen, et al. 1989) or even an intersectional interaction of these identities (McCready, 2010) is the topic of another monograph not so purely focused on territoriality⁹¹. Nevertheless, these images do extend and corroborate what was, in the section above, (6.2.2.1) an abstraction. These pictures make concrete how the home could be a source of familiarity, security and expression of identity, whilst simultaneously contextualising the sense of comfort and anchoring that it constituted. Each adds something essential to the Athenian representation of home. Furthermore, in geographic terms, the fact that the photos areas are clustered, suggested safe or comfort zones (see next section for more information of this).

The argument, here, is that conceptual divisions between public and private obscure these dynamics and power relations. Rather more important are the locations. Home, it appears was that place which enables and promotes a changing perspective providing an anchor, a starting point to a motif of transition that was implicit within accounts of the Athenians ‘**moving on**’ (see 5.4.5.). In one commentators words it is and remains that “*place where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of difference*” (hooks, 1991: 148) extending McNamee’s description of home as a base (1998).

⁹¹ Aarsand and Aronson have implied a number of lines that further research could develop. One aspect suggests relating Latour’s theory of heterogeneous networks that emphasize agency and materiality (game technology). Their chosen form of investigation is a more discursive analysis of intergenerational encounters to “*to describe how ideas, meaning, information and pleasure are constructed in relation to ICT, and this moral order is related to families identity work and their use of objects that separate private and public spheres*” (ibid:500)



Photo 8

One of the photos that evokes the cosiness and domestic appeal of home and remains unusual because it was his Grandmother's house though he did admit it was 'round the corner' and he was there a great deal. Notice the way that the colours don't match on the sofa giving it an eclectic, homely feel. The relative lack of attention to aesthetic detail renders it more a 'lived in' space – it looks lived in and comfortable. The shoes dumped on the floor give another indication of the everyday. Like photo Two, it suggests almost a domestic form of territoriality where the boys have taken over the shared space within the house.

Photo 9

Another photo that for me conjures up the random, intimate, domestic, personal and familiar nature of 'home' for the Athenians. The perspective from the window fleeting, shifting gives an easy contrast of what the home is balanced against. Also note the trophy balanced on the window sill adding a personal touch to the room stressing the importance of basketball and juxtaposing the personal with the parochial

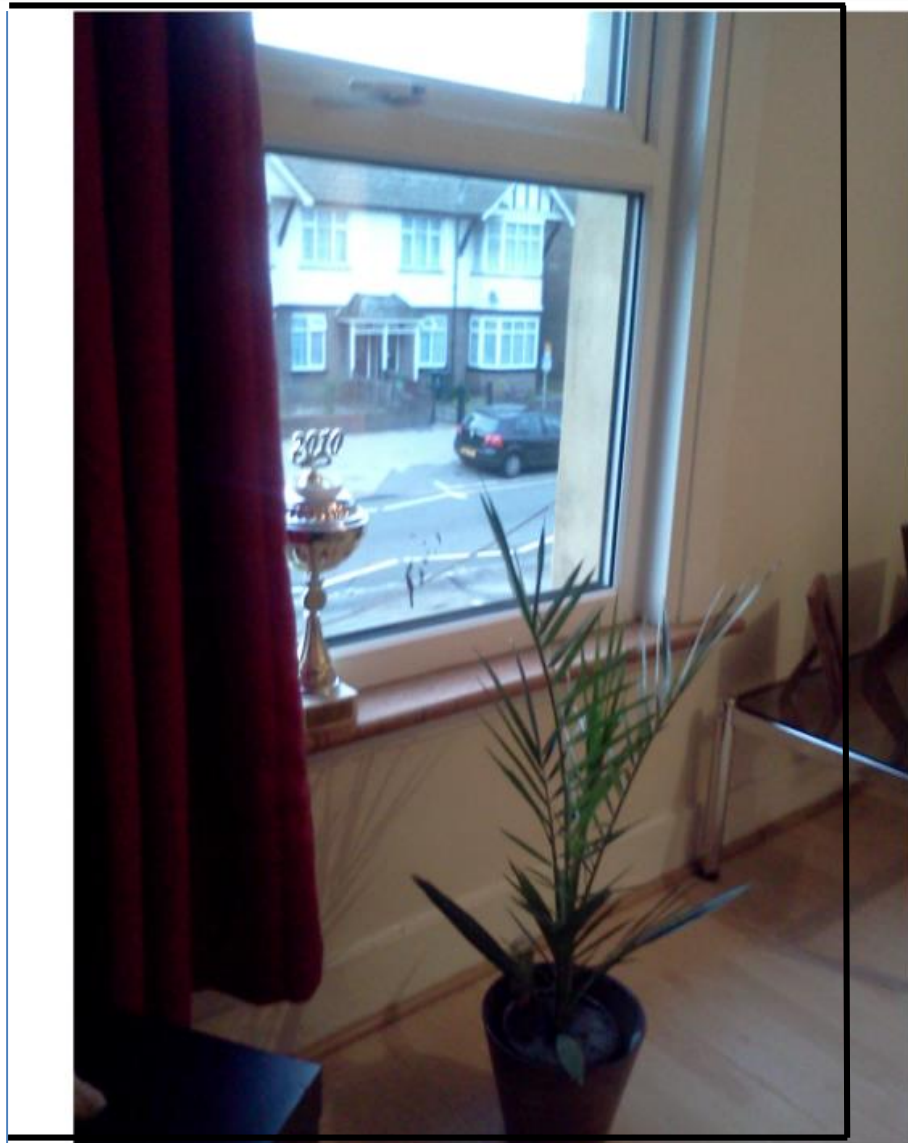




Photo 10

This epitomizes another notion of home life in the sense of the comfort that this engenders.

As a 'snatched moment' with the Athenian's girlfriend on the sofa in her pyjamas and a pillow, relaxing on the sofa. She is not visible since doesn't want to be identified giving an indication of the code of etiquette of not photographing people without their consent or collusion.



Photo 11.

This photo was chosen because the way it links the idea of the different locales of the private and the parochial. The basketball's position near the exit is a symbol of the way that basketball as a sport and practice is a liminal agent – able to straddle the private (the bedroom) and the parochial.

7.3.3. Public spaces

It was with more than a detached interest that I approached the research section based around ‘public’ and ‘publicness’. The literature is replete with examples of the significance of public space for teenagers (see Valentine, 1996, 1997 and 2006; Lieberg, 1995 *ad infinitum*.). This section adds to this by presenting a vivid lively theoretically fluid account that contains different comprehensions of ‘public’ within other locales and locations that have been hitherto only implicitly systemized within the data⁹². Indeed, as will be shown, my more explicit focus on this characteristic added yet another new stratum of understanding to this multi-tiered understanding of public, publicness and socio-spatiality. Though aspects are novel, it does have certain conceptual antecedents.

It remains a given that public spaces are particularly important to young people, who do not want to socialise at home but want to no longer frequent those institutions or areas particularly focused on and for younger people. Since these young people do not have the same ‘backstage spaces’ to withdraw to as adults (Lieberg, 1995, Childress, 2004 et al. See section 2.1.3) the tension is clear and one that was manifest in a great deal of my professional practice as Youth Worker (see section 3.6). What was public and what this meant for the Athenians stood therefore as the crux of territoriality or, at very least, as a spatial description of where territorial conflict usually occurs.

The representations that ran through these photos therefore have a certain added meaning in signifying notions of ‘public’ and ‘public’ space. Still, an overarching emergent finding was how residual and transient a certain form of ‘public’ space actually was. The first clue of this can be gleaned from the particular perspective of the photographer in each of these photos- a great deal seemed to be based around capturing moments in transit (see photos 9-12) provoking certain feelings of ephemerality. As Keith said:

**I just took photos while I was walking. Just click as I walk around.
Keith**

Alternatively, destinations were recorded and although these were normally more composed than the other photos, they were all ‘long shots’ (see photo 13) and embodied the destination through encapsulating some imposing form of architecture or other form of representation (see photo X). There are a number of things to take from this. Firstly, it showed how this was not a group of boys that ‘hung around’ at all. Though the occupation of their parents showed that they were not middle class (see appendices for more details), it appeared that equated ‘*hanging around*’ as “**not doing anything with your life**” (Keith) and thereby being a nuisance. This internalisation of Valentine’s ‘adultist values’ (2004) showed how location was significant and “*in order to get to the town centre*

⁹² Within the data I had collected, coding categories spontaneously developed based around public as ‘people’ – see chapter 7; public as an adjective of ‘space’ –see above (6.2.2. and 6.3.2.)

meeting places, they had to cross what many of them saw as potentially hostile space” (Watt and Stenson, 1998:259). In a manner that reinforced the point made about those street savvy strategies necessary to keep oneself safe (see 5.4.1-5.4.3.) public space seemed fraught with certain anxieties not least meeting those who did uniformly ‘hang around’.

I’ve got used to knowing who is where and who is doing what, right now I say hello so it’s not like I’m ignoring them, I don’t know them, so if anything happens to me, at least I know there might be some people to help me, but I’m never going to get involved, or try and be involved in what they are doing. Yes, coach told us the stories about him growing up, what he was involved with and how he got out. If he is telling me stories about how he got out I’m going to make sure I don’t get in.

Keith

Indeed, the photo-elicitation interviews also uncovered concerns over transport. For some, it had meant that the chance and opportunity to travel was significantly curtailed until one had a car adding another (capital) cost to the messy business of becoming an adult.

Let’s say someone calls me and says ‘lets go out’. We might suggest going to places we haven’t been before because it’s easier to get to when you are driving and if anything goes wrong it’s easier to get out of if you are driving. [Getting a car] It’s definitely something I’m working towards, yes.

Jack

For others, it meant a sense of place-attachment that created its own inertia since:

Everyone knows where they are. There is nothing we can’t find in East London.

Keith

Thought this did not automatically translate into territoriality, as various Athenians were at pains to stress.

I don’t feel that just because I’m from East London I’m the only person who can walk around East London. I’m not going to be territorial and say get out, I like to mix around a lot of types of people.

Jack

What these photos also seemed to embody was a feeling of the routine and the banal. For some, it showed what leaving the area would mean since:

I want to experience something new. Myself I don’t want to stay here forever, living the same life, I want to do something totally different that I never thought I could do before. I think going to University is just part of life, it’s just another step to education really, so I don’t know, just seeing the world, not staying the same, the same routine every day.

Keith

Certain forms of public space, for some of the Athenians, were not the refuge that the literature suggested that it might be mainly because it was uncontrolled or ‘undomesticated’ (Francis, 1989; Koch and Latham, 2013). Indeed, even the very act of travel meant certain worries had to be faced.



Photo 12

A somewhat typical photo of the type of public space the Athenians documented. Public space, it appeared was somewhere you pass through on your way to your 'real destination'.



Photo 13

This photo, taken by Stephen when 'out with his friends' stands out because of its relatively good composition designed to show the attractions of a quiet undeveloped area. If nothing else, it shows the way that attractive green spaces are important for all age categories, not just urban youth.

In a manner that again alluded to socio-spatial safety issues in chapter 5, Jack told me of one incident that had happened relatively recently at a house party that he had gone to that was outside his usual circle of friends. It had been mobbed by a group of boys local to the area.

The girls carried on and all the guys just stayed in the back until the guy whose house it was talked to them and saw who they were and what they wanted. Because that happened the vibe just died out and everyone left, and then there was an incident at the bus stop. We got on the bus and they were asking question, "what endz are you from?" and I thought of you. They asked me and I ignored them and then they asked a friend of mine and he said what he said and there were 15 of them and 4 of us and it wasn't a thing where you could say okay guys put your hands up, we might have to do stuff...no, no, we were humble and just made our way home, it was almost a scuffle and I had to pull one of my guys out of there. It was funny I was going the same direction as they were going, my friends were going in the opposite direction, so it was going to be awkward, I just let them get on the bus and I got the next bus, I got word from one of the girls that they did attack an elderly man.

Jack

Though, this type of encounter is far from novel – Back described in it his work, for instance in the early 1990s and Watt and Steinson’s gave an example of it outside London in their study in the late 1990s and there are new subtleties to portray (Back, 1993; Watt and Steinson, 1998)⁹³. Back argued that in certain areas, territorial ties and allegiances amongst white and non-white young people are being created so as “*shared locality offers an alternative identity option to divisive and exclusive notions of “race”*” (Back, 1996:71). Though most of the people that Jack were hanging around with were black, it did not appear that race was a concern either for him or his interrogators.

**They looked 17-18-19-20, majority 17. More so my age. Foreign also...maybe Portuguese. They looked black, but maybe a little Spanish.
Jack**

Rather than racial appearance, what appeared important to these “**rude boys**” was the ‘correct answer’ to the question “**what endz are you from?**”. That this was the case made the patterns of conflict and cooperation, nuanced and hard to traverse. Still, it did appear that the fact that Jack did not know these people was a source of worry and not their ethnicity suggesting that the circumstances of race and ethnicity had changed since the 1990s.

In addition to this, public space also showed the importance of weathers and season. The few days of good weather within the summer that this research period fell into are typified by movement, by change and by just chilling out. Indeed, Photo X was one that I used in a photo-elicited interview and Robert responded how it was just:

**another day. A friend of mine came over and we just walked around. It was hot, put on some basketball shorts and just enjoyed the weather.
Robert**

It was clear that the weather did change where the boys went and was also a factor within how they got there, how often they went there and why (see photo 12). Within my portrayal of the various determinants of socio-spatiality, some attention should be given to the sheer visceral pleasure of hanging out with friends on a nice day.

⁹³ Moreover, even Obi described something like this occurring in Chapter 5 (see section 5.4)

1.



Photo 14

Somewhat atypical photo – the Athenians did not normally take the tube mainly because of the high cost of travel relative to bus or train. When they did, it was a ‘special occasion’ as in this instance when they had just gone to see off one of the group who was travelling to America on a basketball scholarship.



Photo 15

One of the photos that typified the routine nature of walking around and the boredom that this might engender. Obi had literally called this place 'nowhere' in his geo-location label. It appeared that areas like this were not anyone's territory alluding to the fact there were different taxonomies of space to further explore.



Photo 16

A strong and simple representation of the importance of mobility for the boys. The fact that this Athenian was on his way to central London only reinforces the importance of moving and mobility into and out of the suburbs (see Watt and Steinson, 1998)



Photo 17

An image placed here mainly because of the clear blue sky that is one of its main foci. It is symptomatic of one of the many photographs that showed how the weather could be a catalyst for movement as this was a day when all the Athenians were out and about.



Photo 18

An example of one of the vast shopping malls that are a significant stage for a certainly significant part of the Athenians' social life. Still, it was only used as an area to meet other rather than to shop because of the way that public transport tended to be focused around getting into and around these city centre retailing zones.

The photo above (Photo 18) was one of those malls that the Athenians occasionally frequented when the weather was bad and they wanted to get out of the house. Or as one Athenian explained:

It's okay, nothing special. It's a good place to shop, I mean every time I went there I didn't necessarily shop, it's just that if someone were to call me up and say meet, that's where we would meet up
Jack

In a motif suggested by the literature (see Vanderbeck & Johnson, 2000; Taylor et al. 2000), it did also appear that security guards could be provoked by their presence meaning that it was not an automatic destination. It was here that my policy to allow the Athenians to choose their collective and individual research venue paid dividends here. My research diary tells me there was a slight shift of register in terms of bodily practice. Within the mall they acted with a studied passivity and disengagement. In all, they acted in a manner designed not to draw attention to themselves. As to why this was the case?

A lot of times if they [security] see a bunch of people young, and stuff like that they sometimes disperse people. I have seen I think there was one incident a group of guys just hanging around a food place, and there was a group of guys that security did move out. Me, personally I don't have a problem but they are noticeable.
Jack

In summary then, the Athenians had highlighted the residual nature of public space and its role primarily as an arena to 'get' to somewhere even though this had given an inkling to the materiality of this form of public and publicness. It had emphasised transport and mobility by showing representations of movement and moving. Not least it had also showed the temporal and seasonal allure of public space.

7.3.4. Parochial places and places of play

So if the Athenians did not hang around on 'public space' apart from malls, where did they go if they were not at home? The answer (again extending the motif from section 6.2.2) lies in parochial space. To expand the idea is to depict a form of space where young people were not seen as polluting or contaminating (Valentine, 1996a; 1996b and 2004). The data suggested that there were different species of public space and the borders between public and parochial was contained in what Lofland described as difference between '*locations*' and '*locales*'⁹⁴. By 'location' he defines those genus of streets in which the physical segregation of different categories of people (what he idiosyncratically called 'lifestyles') is maximised. By contrast, a '*locale*' are those areas that remain attractive to different sorts of populations (see Lofland, 1989 and also Strauss, 1976).

⁹⁴ By location...a street in which the physical segregation of "lifestyles" is maximised – "that is only persons of similar values and identities are likely to be found...In contrast, a locale is a street that draws to itself different sorts of population. [Locales] are "bounded" or identifiable portions of nonprivate space in which the inhabitants are likely to be dissimilar and to be strangers or merely categorically known to one another." Lofland, 1989:456

Moreover, the stage of participant observation that was interwoven into my methodology (see Chapter 3) did mean I was looking for and found areas that showed how social groups could often be structured by age, in a sense that accentuated the sharing of spaces and facilitated bringing peers together while simultaneously also creating a continuity between generations (Skelton, 2000, 2001; Morris-Roberts, 2004; Hörschelmann, 2008). As Matej Blazek (2011) – another youth researcher by way of youth work - has realised these spaces are important since they provide a certain cultural autonomy through which young people create their own social worlds in a manner that had a power and reach that professionals could not match (see also Skelton, 2000). My pre-research (see section 3.2) and my time with the Athenians in particular showed how ‘chilling’ or ‘hanging out’ was important. An arena for young people to use different body language registers, socialise and observe others underlain by a relaxed attitude that underpins a complex form of networking and social interaction (Lieberg, 1995; Vanderstede, 2011. See also Cele, 2013).

So where were these places? Where did these individuals and groups go to accommodate the presence of others whilst maintaining their own preferences and need for personal space? The answer was, as befits a basketball team, a number of basketball courts based around London (see Map 5); public parks, leisure centres and gyms. These were the ‘locales’ (Lofland, 1989) of a ‘*self-organising public service*’ (Mean and Tims, 2005:9) and shared youth resource in which local values and experiences were hammered out. This section will be populated by the most striking examples of this parochial space. What these images don’t record will be the substance of the accompanying text as I will describe the way the Athenians acted in these areas.

The ‘magic ingredient’ that shifted those areas of transient public space to the category of parochial areas seemed youth control and participation. That form of youth interactions made these areas of open and partially structured sites of unpredictable encounter so enticing⁹⁵. It did also allow for a certain amount of informal conviviality. There is the view that migrant and minority ethnic youths born and raised in multicultural neighbourhoods have greater opportunities to integrate socially and to achieve social mobility when compared with their first-generation migrant parents (Platt, 2005) though it does appear that this can be confined along territorial lines (Reynolds, 2013). It should be said basketball was a notable exceptions since the sport stood as more than a reason for the boys to meet up and train: it allowed new friends to be made. As already asserted, the Athenians habitually trained in a number of parks; school gyms and playgrounds in a manner that re-emphasised Childress’ contention about how territoriality did not revolve around the *de facto* occupation of space. As

⁹⁵ Though malls were undoubtedly important, I do not add them to this category since the control had to be on the part of the young people and away from potential surveillance (see Vanderbeck *et al.* 2000; Valentine, 2004).

remarked before, territoriality practices were more concerned with the location of individuals within space than any configuration of ownership (see 5.2.1.).

Moreover, as the motivation as to why Athenians like Mo and Obi travelled to relatively unknown areas or those with 'bad reputations' like 'South London', it showed how these young men could and did form networks of their own choice mainly with boys both older and younger than them. Indeed, as to why basketball and sport in general was a superlative conduit for inter-ethnic, intergenerational and inter-localised interaction (not to mention the surprisingly large number of girls who played), there were a number of factors behind this. As already mentioned, there was the large amount of basketball courts (see Map 5) and, to this list can be added the fact that these courts often were free; they had easy access and availability. This did mean that their good physical access could and did create a more welcoming atmosphere that corresponded with most courts extended opening hours. Founded upon these physical features was a strata of social features based around how these areas were regulated by loose invitations by peers and others embedding these places within social networks. The fact that people seemed to congregate at a site of sporting activity did seem to mean that these invitations created some kind of exchange based partnerships that moved beyond presence to participation although, on a nice day, there were a great deal of spectators. I personally witnessed different groups playing at different times – one day in August the shift and integration and transition from school kids on their way home; to older kids on their way back from college to even a couple of men on returning from work was seamless and unconscious. It was a delicate and unforced spatial choreography of discreet good management which also allowed for the expression of subsidiarity and self-organisation. The manner in which groups formed and reformed spontaneously in order to maintain a competitive balance between teams seemed to be a surprisingly resilient mechanism that achieved sporting parity and forestalled any chance of conflict.



Photo 19

One of the main parks the Athenians played in at least 3 or 4 times a week in rolling 3 on 3 games that lasted for hours that had its own enclosed basketball court. The shot here was at the end of one of these sessions. What is also remarkable within this photo is the standpoint of the courts. Nearly all of them took at least one photo of the court but some took a photo looking out from it; other looking in conveying a meaning that I have not been able to interpret.



Photo 20

One of the few photos with people. As a result, notice the perspective that suggests the photo was taken surreptitiously. It is in the corner and everyone's attention is focused on something else. Nevertheless, the gym was ever present in these boys weekly routine giving an indication of its use as a source of masculine capital group for teenage boys/young men. As elite athletes they did have a routine that not only included gym work but yoga, and for one Athenian, ballet as well suggesting that there were other more gender flexible notions of the athletic body in play here.

This is not to suggest that these were areas characterised by sweetness and light since the aggression, volume and sheer physical energy of much of the games could very well have been intimidating to onlookers. Still, this exuberance and display of forcefulness also endorsed their ability to allow others to play in an arena that balanced competition and team-play. What stood out was the fact that this was the only time when the polite persona the boys uniformly adopted was dropped. They were loud, confrontational and verbally provocative to each other and to their opponents in a manner that was perhaps only possible in a competitive context. The basketball court stood out as something where aggression was expected but came with the belief that it should and would be channelled constructively. The great deal of time I spent of time watching them play basketball in even only semi-competitive training sessions revealed, a well-focused and socially sanctioned release of concentrated aggression that at times seemed to transform itself into symbolic violence.



Photo 21

This image stands on the other side of the coin of Photo 19 given the perspective is on the court - looking out. Given the labelling data - the respondent said simply 'played basketball, going home' – this gives an easy to overlook externality. It is an indication of the barriers to parochial play that adults don't necessarily have to negotiate – the lack of light needed to continue playing outside.

Indeed, the length of time I spent with the Athenians began to reveal something else. For the Athenians, routine and repetition stand as a large part of their commentary. Routine, in yet another re-iteration of Childress' argument, gave a 'right' to reside: occupying space gave a right to remain there. It was only by returning and playing time after time that subtle distinctions could be made within this small sporting democracy and thereby more sanction to act allowed. By picking teams in their informal competitions, individual Athenians had their informal authority acknowledged. Indeed, this and the reputation of being a good basketball player allowed some to travel as far afield as courts in Brixton (like Mo) or parts of Hackney like Obi. A comparison with Islington is instructive here since the same routines had a different connotation. In Islington, routine was chaotic and based around a pattern founded on boredom and 'nothing else to do' on my detached route (see 3.1.1). For the Athenians, however, it seemed a more deliberate, purposeful construction: a formula to be built upon and then transcended rather than something that had its own inertial drag.

7.3.5. Summary

The photos thus give an appreciation of the rich multi-dimensional representations scattered through the various facets of the Athenians social life (home, mobility, in public and at play) whilst simultaneously allowing some vestiges of the circumstances of their production to be documented. The use of a mobile phone –a ubiquitous and unremarkable appendage of social life- sets into proportion the various social practices that underpin and surround my territorial research object. By looking and confirming the importance of domestic life and home as a mooring, the significance of mobility can be properly recognized; the ephemerality of public spaces appreciated and the importance of parochial and play spaces realised. It provides a forceful living emblem of Ingold's definition of place and landscape as a "*lived and material terrain owing its character to the experiences it affords those spending time there, and shaped, in turn, by the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage*" (2000: 192). In short, we can use images to gain a vivid view of how people see themselves and their environment and how and when they locate themselves within said environment.

There are a number of emergent research outcomes here, only noticeable in aggregate, that fit into an overarching themes started in previous chapters. Firstly, the emphasis on home and on the domestic sphere is variously interpretable. Whilst some have argued that it is indicative of the process of infantilisation – that young people are now more economically dependent on their parents than has ever been the case (Jeffs and Smith, 1990) - the manner in which the Athenians did territorialise shared parts of their home deserves focus. Second, it does appear that the idea of transition is inextricable with this narrative. Scholars have noted the culture of childhood and youth is increasingly controlled by parents ensuing that youth culture is now more often taking place in supervised and protected spaces (James, 1993; McNamee, 1998): a conclusion the drawings and photos do verify to some extent. Third, in another interpretation, they might simultaneously or contrastingly be recording a more intense focus of what the Dutch or Scandinavian countries would call *gezellig*⁹⁶: or an increased focus, in precarious times, on the 'cosy', the 'comfortable' or the easily 'controllable'? This section, if nothing else, poses questions rather than provides an answer.

In addition to this, there are certain other socio-spatial conclusions we can assert. Following Goffman, the difference between 'public' and 'parochial' places is more readily decodable. It is based around that category of social expanse in which when:

⁹⁶ The Van Dale dictionary describes this as:

¹enjoyable, pleasant, sociable companionable; in good company (of: very sociable)

²(van ruimte) pleasant, comfortable, (knus) cosy: een gezellig hoekje a snug (of: cosy) corner

Van Dale, 2005

an individual enters into the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him. [Consequently] the individual is likely to present himself in a light that is favourable to him
Goffman, 1959:3/7

Within this parochial space, in which the still highly influential idea of 'impression management' holds sway, another aspect of socio-spatiality is perceptible. Parochial space persists as important since it is 'backstage' space where "[t]he performer can relax; he can drop his front" (ibid:112). Even more than that:

One may feel obligated, when backstage, to act out of character in a familiar fashion and this can come to be more of a pose than the performance for which it was meant to be a relaxation
Ibid, 1959:134

As a causal account, this accurately describes the very different behaviour that I witnessed within the same individuals on court and in public Goffman's theories have merit. They do seem to outline the very different of practices within their various social theatres in a manner that adds heft to my still developing theory of youth territoriality. In created a gradated, multi-aspected view of the phenomenon, there are still lacunas here and avenues to explore that also understand and describe the world as experienced by my subjects. On this visual foundation, we can build a more temporal cartographic grasp of the lived reality of territoriality.

7.4. Time geographies

The purpose of this section is to deepen and conclude the phenomenological appreciation of territoriality that I have been building. I hope to also partially subvert (or at least add complexity) a purely 'topographical' notions of space within my depiction of territoriality (see appendix 3 as well). In this, I am following that tradition of social geography that believes that symbolic or metaphorical aspects of spaces can be easily separated out from 'actual' spaces. To follow the tradition of Hagerstrand, I attempt to view which activities are occurring in which particular locations for particular time periods. In addition to asking myself asking grand questions of 'why' or 'what it all means' that preoccupied my participants and me in the preceding sections, this section should show the utility of attending more carefully to mundane questions of practice and consequences. My focus will be on what particular configurations *do* and *how* they are done (see table 20 below as to the precise questions that these configurations uncover. See section 3.6.3 for the methodological implications of this).

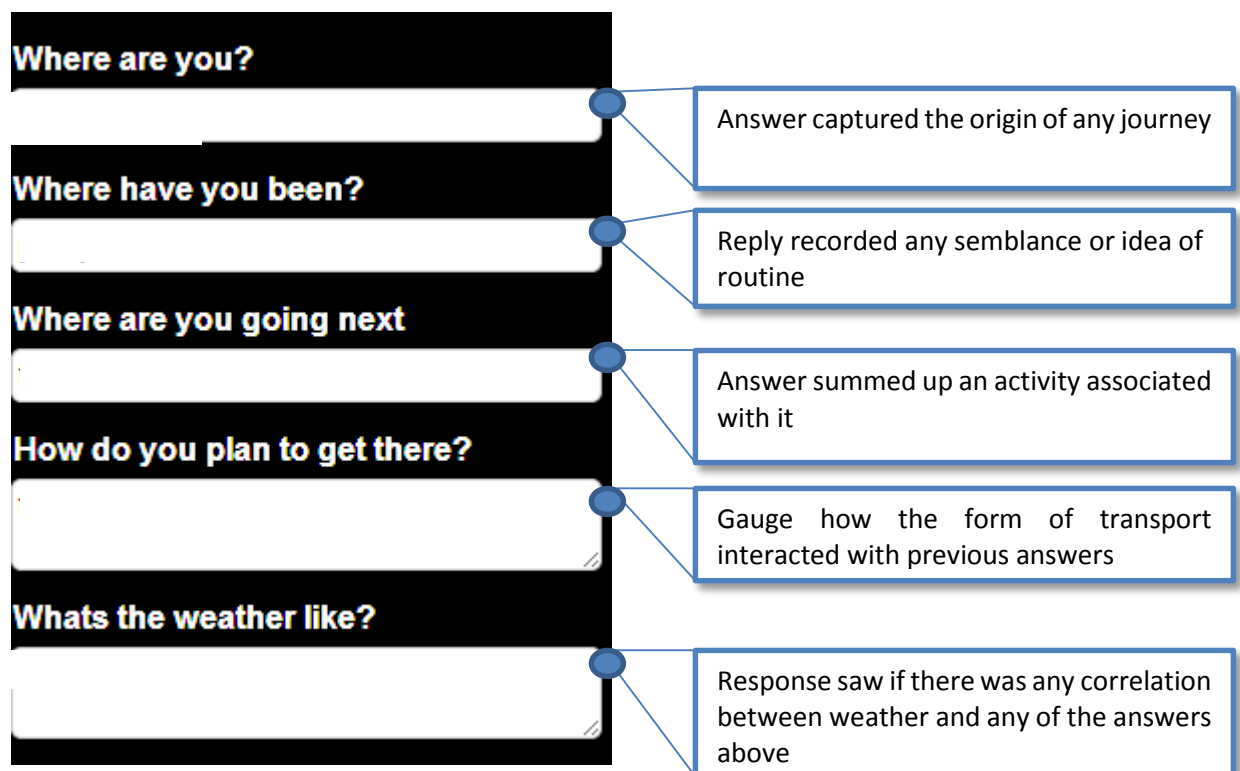


Table 20.

Screen capture of the mobile phone app, its questions and the particular social configurations it was designed to appraise.

n=98 responses over 2 weeks

This, the final category of my methodology, was based around fulfilling my goal to combine data that juxtaposed Cartesian space with imaginative space in order to see how they interact. The Epi-collect app (of which table 20, Map 11 and Map 12 are screenshots) collected time and space metadata (who took a photo, when and where they were). This steady accretion of qualitative and quantitative data gave me the chance to see any correlation between space/time and the answers to table 20's questions. This was my way of envisaging territorial place and space as an existential and experiential event since it depicted the kinetic activities of human beings as they orientate themselves in connection with how people and environment are constitutive components of place.



Map 11: Aggregate of Spartans wanderings

Shows the range and variety and location of the data forms. The red dots have a photo attached, the blue, have none. This map is inserted as the canvas for the rest of the discussions. It shows the location of the each of the single data points across collected through this entire cycle of the research project. What is easily noticeable is the concentrated focus on East London relative to the rest of the city.

7.4.2. The fragmented *flâneur*

I use the phrase ‘fragmented *flâneur*’⁹⁷ to also label a youth practice that has slowly been generating its own literature and which a part of my methodology was meant to directly address. In investigating young people’s mobility and motility, it was worth asking to what extent did a mobile phone itself shift, alter or extend a young person’s territorial range? If, when and how a young person did use a mobile phone to navigate, what did this look like?

To return to the literature to provide an appreciation of what is thought a recent review by Pfaff’s (2010) confirmed how research on mobile telephony has mushroomed almost as fast as the adoption of the technology itself. Still, this remains for me a concern here since Leyshon et al’s call for:

greater attention...to be placed on young people’s interaction with materiality, in this case mobile phones, as communication between young people and their peers and adults are no longer exclusively face-to-face encounters within specific places
Leyshon et al. 2013: 590

Commentators like Gubi have investigated teenagers’ use of mobiles in South Africa and found, inter alia, that virtual contact facilitated interaction in physical (public) spaces⁹⁸ whilst also suggesting young people were becoming more adept at maintaining social relationships virtually than in physical space (see also Turkle,2012). Within the disciplines of Children and Mobilities studies, responding to the widely held view that mobility among 10–13-year-olds in Denmark was restricted compared with previous generations, Romero-Mikkelsen and Christensen also investigated the issue (2009). Using mobile phone surveys and GPS in a manner similar to my own methodology, they found that parents both limited (with rules) and facilitated (with rides and companionship) the mobility of their children. This study’s conclusion was concurrent with Pain *et al.*’s investigation of an older sample of participants through more traditional qualitative methods that suggested mobiles offer some a paradoxical measure of empowerment. Moreover, through an arm’s length parental surveillance of young people in their use of public spaces and both parents and participants negotiation of risk had altered since it allowed a form of monitoring. Still, within this study, there was some indication that communication reshaped rather than reduced moral panics about young people’s presence in the public arena. Despite these studies innovation, reach and analytical incision, mobile phone use as a spur or stimulus to spatial exploration is relatively under-researched, or it is, at least within a young London context.

Whilst, I found no direct data to refute any of the findings of these studies, there were certain events inferable from my work that extends their conclusions. Since I reset each of the phones to their original factory setting, the absence of *googlemaps* or any other navigation map seemed to negate any

⁹⁷ The phrase itself was coined by O’Callahagn (2012).

⁹⁸ but that one result “*may be the re-emergence of racial boundaries as they organize to meet in physical spaces*”(2007: 11)

inference that the phone itself was an aid to manoeuvre through the city in a spatial sense⁹⁹. It appeared that the phone was being used for something else – particularly through its capacity to allow one communicate at anytime and anywhere through text messages. For ethical reasons I did not read or record any of the Athenians text messages, though I can say that paying for the credit for each phone did give me an indication of where the vast majority of their phone use was directed: a conservative estimate would put each Athenian as sending over 95 text messages in a week. It did appear that the ability to connect synchronously or asynchronously (and noncommittally) was prized by the Athenians for its ability to give greater control over interactions (Madell and Muncer, 2007)¹⁰⁰ especially since a number, on their own cognisance, added *Facebook*, *twitter* and *Tumblr* apps to the smartphone. For the current youth generation, Fox's (2001) account of young adults being embedded in perpetual networks of 'gossip at-a-distance' as a technique of affirming the self within disparate networks that only infrequently met face-to-face contact, here seems accurate.

Whilst each generation does have their own specific likes and dislikes and a particular way of communicating or expressing themselves, there are certain spatial innovations here. For Larsen et al. (2006: 39) mobile phone cultures produce "*small worlds of perpetual catching up and small talk on the move that serve to blur the distinction between the presence and absence of actants*" and my participant observation suggested might be more involved within the process just 'small talk'.. To an unspecified extent, it appeared that young people now used each other to navigate around like socio-spatial nodes and I often saw one Athenian summon another through a tersely worded text demanding their presence at such and such a time. Within the huge amount of texts that each of the phone was used for, there are a number of questions to ask and a research agenda that extends beyond the borders of this work. In particular, questions could be based around the frequency of such communication; what sentiments are expressed and what is the nature of the social networks revealed by social media contacts? The rhythms of public space had a virtual dimension in which the presence of other friends acted as magnets suggesting that the flâneur metaphor that I used for this section meant. The Athenians, to borrow Skelton and Gough's summary were virtually connected with locations and people they know, yet corporeally disconnected from the spaces they passed through (2013).

⁹⁹ The phones were the newest model available then and at the time, each of the Athenians was candid enough to admit they could not afford something with its processing power. It is unlikely they had another phone that they used to navigate.

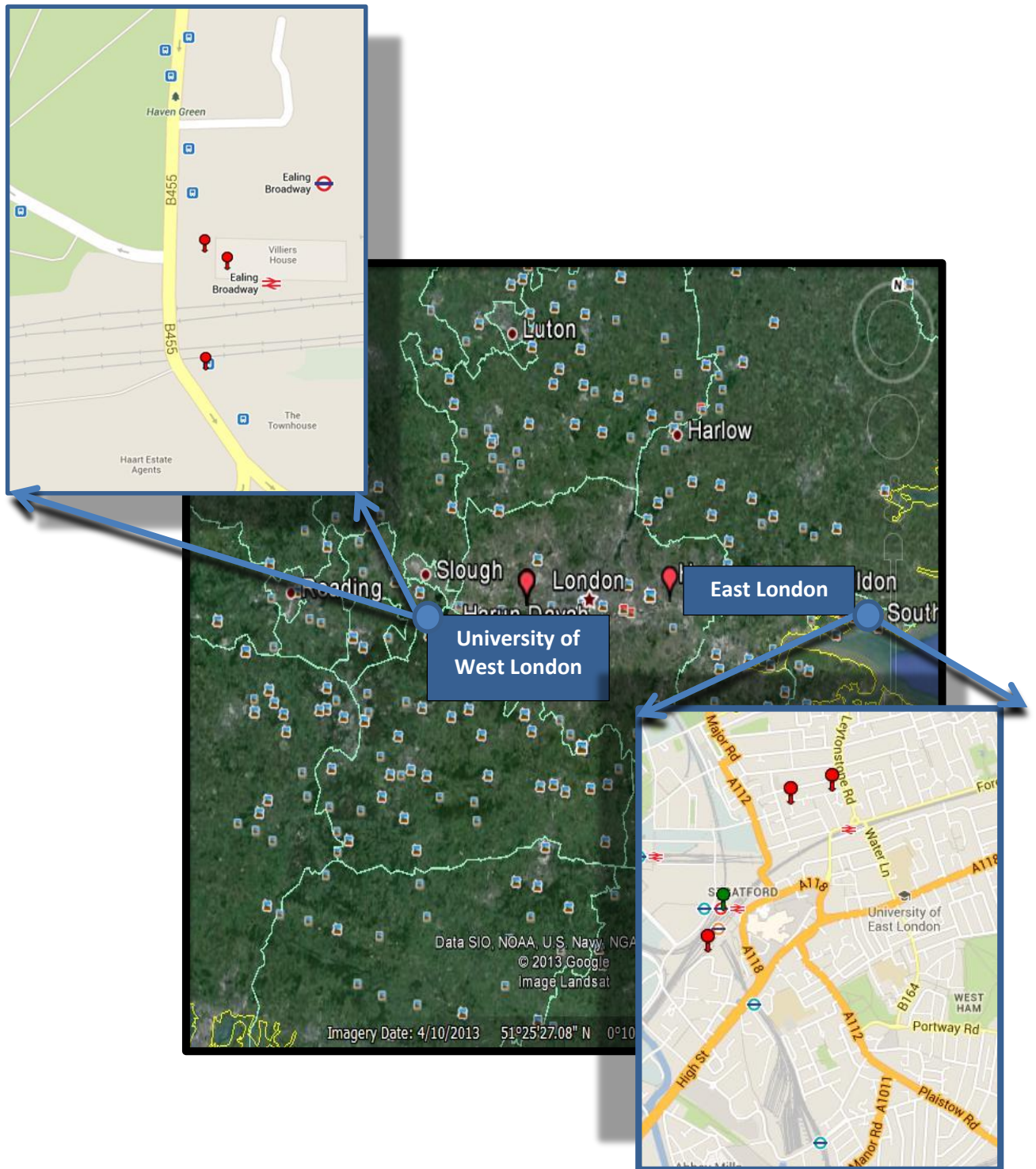
¹⁰⁰ My own interactions with the Athenians confirmed this finding. When, inevitably, one of the Athenians dropped off the grid, I quickly found that phoning them was of little purpose as they rarely responded. Text messages were returned with far more alacrity.

7.4.3. Routines and patterns

One thing that the diagram above did not accurately characterise because of the scale (one day in Robert's summer) was the sheer iterative power of mobility. The repetition of journeys and the manner in which conscious practice hardened into unconscious habit is one that any commuter can empathise with and that forms a component within where and how the Athenians travelled. Even more than that, this part of the research process of data collection, interpretation and analysis based around mobile phones provided means to another valuable research outcome. On the background of commuting that the phones documented and the fact that the Athenians were, one by one (with the exception of Jack) going to university I was able to construct an account that included a subtler comprehension of other processes. Based on the idea of routines and patterns, this process for my participants was a way of seeing how transplanting old spatial routines was symptomatic of the process of maturation and transition.

The map below gives a visual representation of this (see Map 12). It details Mo's main stomping grounds over the two weeks that he participated in the project and his transition into a student at the University of West London. Within the scale of this map and the distance between the red pointers that mark Mo's old and new areas of occupation that says something about the relatively limited areas that Mo routinely resided within and the detailed micro-geographies that he (re)constructed.

The *form* and *character* of the places Mo frequented was the same – we can, through the spatial survey, understand that he created a new micro-geography of private, parochial and public spaces in the areas around his new university. Within this, he shows how novelty can be extracted out of certain imitative elements. His repetition of where to go answers the question of how older and newer elements are given form together showing how imitation causes difference: geography evidencing transition.



Map 12: Mo's old and new stomping grounds

Furthermore, the creation and details of the maps did provide a platform to talk through the process of transition with the Athenians. To return to Mo, the creator of the map above, when this was presented to him for comment, he was quick to assay the anxieties and opportunities that his new environment gave him and how change can arise from new forms of repetition: an occurrence only possible in a population that that is, itself, changing making different forms of belonging matter at different times

I think it's great, it's a different atmosphere, something I'm getting used to, a lot of different people, you are pretty much on your own, I spent a week trying to find out my timetable.... I think one thing I like about it is its bringing people together in one place, so you're not talking to the same people all the time.

Mo

The maps can be said to have provided a spatial diary, the composition of which solidified a narrative into a material medium which could be easily read and interpreted. Indeed, Mo had a variety of points to make based on this and how for him, it had meant an uncomfortable liminal stage.

I had a lot to sort out, and so I kept going back and forth and getting stuck between one place and another. Now I have finally settled in, I'm moving in today. I'm not going to have so much movement, probably it's going to be just at the weekend now, during the week there was a lot of movement for me.

Mo

Even more than that, the disruption of previous established custom was actively painful.

It's killing me not seeing them, yesterday it was Tim's birthday and it was like the first birthday since I've known him that I haven't been with him, it's a lot to take on, one by one they are going to go over to the States, Obi is leaving next year and that, it's a lot to take on but it's the dream they have been working for and I've seen them work hard for it, it's really hard, everyone one by one is going their separate ways. Obi and Keith move to Brunel this weekend, I haven't seen them for about a week, Sammy moved out a few weeks ago, I haven't seen Alex, Jack is working, we're all going to spend time together when we are back from Uni, but in the mean time I really miss them, the simple life, the routine, it was the same routine for years but you have to grow up and move on. I'm not going to forget them.

Mo

Mo's concern was with another order of fluidity than the decidedly local. His maturation was based around movement and change. A new type of routine urban undulations – mundane recurrences, people and objects making the rounds and doing the usual, in a new locale. This appreciation of movement and the city crosses tracks, then, with a contemporary interest in the everyday and banal (see Augé, 1995; Highmore, 2002; Seigworth, 2000), attending to quotidian urban spaces, movements and time-signatures (Thrift, 2005: 134).

It's nice to know that London is appreciated so much, we just take it for granted, some people love to come to London and we just see it as an everyday thing and get where we want to go, they are fascinated by it and it's

nice to see that, see people enjoy it. It's an outsider's view of how our city looks.

Mo

If nothing else this showed how Mo expressed those notions of mobility that are central to young people's accounts of self as they make the transition into adulthood. The part that mobility plays in narratives of transition can also be historically and culturally specific: Mo seemed especially nostalgic since he had just returned to Hajj with his father that summer. The importance of place and its role in the construction of individuality based around his identity as a Muslim was now at the forefront of his mind at the time of my interview with him. The themes he evoked showed how Mo had personified the composite character of youth transitions, within the Athenians shifting, as it did, in response to religion and a hope to achieve emotional and financial independence based around an entry into higher education and a version of maturity.

7.4.4. Mobility and motility

All of the above does show how mobility is variously constructed. What it does not quite show is how notions of 'motility' – that ability and motivation to move – are practiced. The person who seemed to be the incarnation of various trends was Jack as the only person who consciously decided to stay within London without pursuing the opportunity to go to University. Founded upon this, and in the vacuum formerly filled with his fellow Athenians, he had become more reflexive about where he went and what this meant in a process that his participation in my project had catalysed.

It made me realise I stay close to home. Well, if it's basketball I'm willing to travel, and if it's not I don't. I think I would go outside of London more, my friends are at University and I would definitely be driving up there to see how they are doing.

Jack

Based in this space, he had shown one important finding – how sociality and mobility as co-constructed. Indeed, he continued, that he actually needed to explore the city with or through someone else.

A friend of mine said "let me take you on a tour of London", and I hadn't really looked at the sights so she took me there first and then St Pauls Cathedral and after that we went to a museum... then we went to Tower Bridge. I had seen them but it wasn't a thing where I went to go and see it. This time I wanted to see it and breathe it in. I did like seeing St Pauls Cathedral, it was night time, it was lit up, it was a nice night, and it was a good place to walk around, when we were on the bridge... the different sights, the cathedral, obviously the view from the bridge, across the water, seeing the different buildings, that is what I really enjoyed. It was the view more than anything. I needed someone to show me around and take me. I was thinking to myself I needed to do it, I just hadn't. I enjoyed it. I would like to do it more often to see what the country I live in has to offer.

Jack

For the Athenians, at least, the tradition of being a flâneur still existed. The original French phrase has a connotation of wasting time based on a compound that is equal parts curiosity and laziness (Larousse, 2006). Its Athenian incarnation retains some element of the idea in which the “*idea is to be away from home and yet feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world*” (Baudelaire, 1964:1) but needed to be enjoyed and savoured within and through company. Even more than that, it had shown how an independent social life was substantiated by being with being able to move around one’s community safely (see section 5.4.1 and 5.4.5) although travelling as leisure seemed novel enough to only have been undertaken by the maverick within the group. Still, this description of being a flâneur existed but only in part: in fragments.

7.4.5. Summary

Though the data is presented here as a *fait accompli* in order to structure the report towards analysis rather than description, this should not mask the considerable difficulty I had in visualizing the arbitrariness of place and the particularity of place. The diagrams, maps and interviews of this section give an explicitly partial window on any totalizing description of territoriality that tests and challenges the coherence of my previous models (see also Candea, 2007). The subject of this section is the same as the preceding sections since attention is still focused upon domestic, public and public and parochial spaces. Still, this emphasis on mobility and motility does give a cogent, yet destabilised site for contemplation (for the participant¹⁰¹ as well as the researcher) that builds upon my previous waves of sited inquiry. On a purely methodological basis, I believe that there is much to interest the urban ethnographer, especially those whose interests lie in the interplay between the city as place and the assorted mobilities (and imaginaries) it fosters (Hall, 2009).

The theoretical outputs are equally as productive and based around being subtle enough to capture the spatial manifestation of vital conjunctures of a transition into adulthood (see Chapter 2). In a process of ‘before’ and ‘after’, the first phase – evidenced by Robert’s diagram (see appendice 3) – denotes a form of time-space compression before this process of transition that accentuates movement within a corridor of familiar spaces and places. The ‘after’ phase makes plain the means by which a distancing of young life characterises the process of ‘growing up’. Mo’s map (Map 12 in 6.4.2.) shows when and how new corridors are created and makes it plain enough to let me ask questions of identity based on this. The map also shows how change is founded upon the break of routine and the foundation of new one suggesting that the transition to adulthood might just be that catalyst that breaks territoriality, in the minds of the Athenians at least. It shows the importance of

¹⁰¹ Considering Jack’s new motivation to travel and visit the tourist attractions that he had taken for granted.

patterns and routine as something to transcended and then re-imposed by Athenians in the form of a new appreciation of place, scale and networks (Jessop et al. 2008).

Still, my approach to collecting this data is just as significant as the other aspects already mentioned. The data had to be evidenced through a manner familiar to young people – something that was sufficiently ‘local’ to extend the typology of Herve This¹⁰². Using this research conduit, I was also able to explore any link between mobile phones and exploration: though this can be inferred more from the photos than from the GIS, what is more obvious is a new way of theorising public space derived from theoretical work based around issues of materiality (see for instance, Kärrholm 2009; 2008).

7.5. Conclusions in perspective

In all, I wish to focus on three conclusions distilled from this account. First, is the heterogeneity of the Athenians in comparison to each other and their research counterparts within Islington. Second, the importance of scale within this account and last – the ‘taken-for-granted’ nature of these accounts and the extent they were unspectacular.

In terms of heterogeneity, I have now shown how visual methods are an overlapping methodology subtle enough to re-consider how the practice and representations of territoriality have a substance outside words. Geographers and others have long been interested in the ways in which people develop mental maps of ‘terra incognita’, home-range and neighbourhood identification (Lynch, 1960; Downs and Stea, 1974). These methods show the multitudinous ways that territory and place-based identities provide a sense of belonging and membership and, perhaps a sense of resistance, within these mental maps. Indeed, this aggregation of data and analysis shows, if anything, the sophistication of the Athenian’s physical occupation of areas and gives an insight into their elaborate mental maps that allowed them to negotiate this. Regardless, the mental effort necessary to navigate the mental and the physical, spaces, the actual areas were limited to just a few places. The effort seemed to be focused elsewhere. The strength of the Athenians bonds showed if nothing else, *“how social relationships and social networks have to be individually chosen, [on the basis of] interests, ambitions and commitments of individuals, rather than on the basis of proximity”* (Beck, 1992: 97–98). ABSENCE

Still, the role of my participatory and visual methodology should also be accentuated here as it was meant to accentuate not my ingenuity but that of the Athenians. The diversity of views and the myriad different ways that they were expressed was based around understanding the meaning intended by

¹⁰² Herve This, commenting on rate of technological adaption in that most domestic of arenas, the kitchen commented that there are two types of technological change: local and global The small local changes in kitchen machinery are easiest to accept. New gadgets feel safest when they remains us of other objects we already know well which explains why early refrigerators or something like egg whiskers remain stubbornly unchanged despite the fact that less effort would be involved in using a compressor and a nozzle to introduce bubbles into egg whites. (Wilson, 2013: 238).

the actor (Weber, 1978 [1921]:8-9) by focusing on the things that uniformly are taken for granted (see chapter 2). The role of my participatory and visual methodology as a process to extract empirical conclusions should also be accentuated here: it was meant to exercise not my ingenuity but that of my participants. By working closely with a group of people who comprised the Athenians, I inched towards understanding how the social world is variously meaningful. My belief is that the creation of a theoretical foundation to youth geography should contain ways to analyse different kinds of practice in various spatial and temporal circumstances in order to see how they interact. As outlined within Chapter 2, my starting premise was based around viewing the social world's structures of meaning as far from unitary but rather heterogeneous and diversified. To borrow another's authority, Lefebvre understands the city as an '*oeuvre*', or work of art based around an appreciation of how, where and why its history could be malleable (1996:100-109). In using these intertwined methods I recognised and built upon this malleability whilst paying attention to the particular social milieu of specific spaces (Low, 2013:4) using multiple methods in describing various boundaries marking out social and cultural difference and 'otherness'. Indeed, each of the various visual methodologies does this by packaging symbolic and socio-spatial narratives in quotidian details in a manner of different ways. At the same time within each of these methodologies, there is an intrinsic flexibility and context-sensitivity not least in the method in which the past and the future is packaged and presented. The point is that young people don't live in an unending present and this must have some form spatial correspondence in territoriality.

In comparison with the Islington cohort, moreover, the use of the same form of areas for the same parochial purposes, if nothing else, shows paradoxically how universal the parochial can be. Still, within the contrasting the two groupings one difference was clear. Within the Drum (see 3.1.1.), I often heard people tell complex dynamic stories (see 5.4.) about the past but then make vague, prosaic forecasts of their future in which things stayed static or much as they were. The Athenians were different in this respect and – mainly due to the influence of Cory – and were capable of giving detailed projections of where they wanted to go and how they wanted to get there not just in spatial terms but in an imaginative, conceptual basis. In terms of the 'narrative' they gave, there was still very much episodes to be written. The difference between a tactic and a strategy becomes clear within this comparison.

In terms of scale, then, territoriality is shown to be, above all, contextually constituted, providing particular settings for involvement and the creation of meanings. The specificity of place is an essential element in understanding its significance. It follows that the meaning of space always involves a subjective dimension and cannot be understood as separate from the symbolically constructed life

worlds of social actors. Scale has no substantial essence in itself but only a relational and figurative significance, filtered through different interpretations of people and places on a vertical and horizontal basis. It is an acknowledgement that the social relationships that constitute youth space are not organised into scales so much as “*constellations of temporary coherence*” (Massey, 1998). The time geographies of 6.4.1. exemplify the nested and tangled hierarchies of youth space based around co-constitutive interpretations of scale – whether this is Robert’s ‘time corridor’ or Mo’s map that show the spatial fingerprint of this ‘transition’ to adulthood. Indeed, the manner in which Mo was able to repeat the same 3 or 4 places he went to shows how a sense of territory – of appropriating and occupying new areas on the same small scale can act as a foundation to push one into that stage past adolescence into adulthood at university (see Map 12).

Lastly, I would stress the ordinariness and normality of the Athenians. In their each individually idiosyncratic narratives of coming of age, the plateaus of routine and banality are very visible. Indeed, in many instances, it appeared the recreation of this ‘mooching about’ that typified their understanding of territorial practices in unfamiliar areas was an indicator of transcending adolescence. In comparison with my Islington informants, it appeared the ‘opening of horizons’ was more than metaphor and had a spatial aspect with real implications for how it is to be conceived (see next chapter).

Chapter 8

Refiguring Territoriality

Pull a thread and you will find it attached to the rest of the world

Nadeem Aslam: The Wasted Vigil

8.1. A summative schema

In providing a conclusion to this doctorate, it is appropriate to go back to the schema used in the first chapter. My aim in adopting this outline was to synthesise theory and data whilst giving myself enough of a platform to advocate for a coherent policy aim. To remind the reader my 'schema' was based around intertwining categories. Specifically, these were:

- Discovery
- Integration
- Application
- Advocacy

Each of these will have their place in understanding and contextualising my three research questions. To revisit and re-acquaint the reader my questions were:

- Are young people territorial? (Chapters 4 and 5)
- What is their experience of territoriality? How and where are young people territorial? (Chapters 5 and 6)
- To what extent can and do young people resist or reconstitute conventional or dominant understandings of territoriality? How and can this model be reconstituted? (Chapters 6 and 7).

On this basis, it is only now that a full theoretical, methodological and policy summary can be attempted. Despite the complexity of these various levels of interaction, my reiterative model if anything, illustrates the recursive nature of youth territoriality – the way the phenomenon always spoke back to itself even when broken into its components. Rather than have two components in dialogic tension with each other, the large number of trinities acts as an implicit confirmation of the

contingent and contextual nature of territoriality. With this in mind, this conclusion will look at areas for further research and present my recommendations for creating a new positive meaning to the term 'territoriality' based on a fine-grained understanding of context.

To summarise the summary, though, a theme throughout my account is how the response to my first question "*are young people territorial?*" could and should go further than 'yes, but...'. If anything, my data capture and analysis describe the sheer variety and heterogeneity of young people; the diversity of representations they held and the multiplicity of practices they followed. In all, I would hope that my work has also illustrated the mutability of the terms 'territory' and 'youth'. As might have been guessed, the experience of territoriality was elastic enough to make an easy 'one size fits all' policy solution to its more problematic aspects hard (but not impossible) to advocate.

8.2. A 'Discovery' of youth territoriality

Does youth territoriality exist?

Within my presentation of this dataset, there is an underlying order to be appreciated. I wanted to show how particular socio-structural characteristics changed within different environments and wanted to do it on terms any of my categories of participants might recognize. The manner in which I did this was designed to be fully participatory whilst also fully exploiting the (literal and discursive) resources my different positions bought with them.

To this end, as my record of the views of stakeholders (Chapter 4) makes clear youth territoriality exists. Even more than that, it has a spatial and temporal character based around a recognition of difference and power relations. As stated in section 4.3.5 by one of the senior Youth Workers:

It's interesting, there are different things that happen, the holidays, Easter and stuff but young people seem to be very knowledgeable about who lives in their area and when someone comes in it is quite evident that they are not from around there and they are known and picked on or targeted, their bikes have been stolen, or things have been taken, they have to go through a kind of interrogation about who they are and who they are seeing, and if they give names they are okay and if they don't they are beaten up and stuff can be taken and get out of this area.

Martin

Nonetheless, for youth work professionals and the police the answer to the question "are young people territorial?" was ambiguous. Equally, in answering the question of "what was the *experience* of territoriality", stakeholder views could not be summarised into any facile account of crime and gangs. Indeed, the police were quick to make a distinction between serious gang violence and "**more anti-social behaviour and...low level crime and the kids that are notoriously hanging around because they have nothing to do**" (Keith, section 4.2.4). Something more subtle and complicated was going on than 'gang warfare'. This stage did present one possible answer. As the most senior Youth Worker in Islington and a local to the area, Christine's verdict carried weight and her belief was that territoriality was

(re)produced through might have been simple fear and ignorance of the unknown on the parts of the young people.

we found years ago... it wasn't at the point of what is seen and serious youth violencethey [young people] wouldn't even go from one part of the borough to another and as far as going even out of the borough... that was like a different thing....So we did this program with them, but it was sort of a bit like a tourist thing but it was getting to know London. Do you know where Big Ben is? You see Big Ben on the news but do you know? 'It's somewhere by the river'? Let's go there. Let's go and find it. Let's go and see what it looks like. So we did a program which worked really well actually because I think then they had a sense of London belonging in a way because I think in a way, they don't. They see the London eye, they never get there.

Christine, section 4.3.7.

The rest of the summary will orient itself around this idea. Furthermore it will see how far this aligns itself to what young people also said; if in this was actually the experience of some 'other' young people and if it was, where and how was it subverted. This will reflect the focus of the rest of the chapters which had a more implicit focus on identity- and friendship-formation to the ineffable, un-planned banalities of everyday life that was consciously meant to push away from the boundaries of the 'contractual' relationship that Youth Workers sometimes had with their participants.

The experience of youth territoriality

Chapters Five, developed the narrative by asking young people via the mechanism of other young people. It found that young people in my catchment area felt fairly safe making the experience of territory particularly contradictory and confusing. They felt fairly safe (table 8); not especially victimised by other young people now or in the past (sections 5.3.3. and 5.3.6) and were not especially capable of identifying a 'bad area'. Nonetheless merely being present in public space had its anxieties and pressures. In the words of one of my participants **"It's just about knowing what is right and wrong, being streetwise"** (see section 5.4.3.) in a narrative that evoked concerns over crime (5.4.2), gender (5.4.3.) and area (5.4.4.). Within this account, there is an echo of Cahill's description of 'street literacy' (2000), Gunter's 'badness' (2008) and most obviously Barry Percy-Smith, and Hugh Matthews idea of tyrannical space (2001). Moreover, for my participants, their focus on characteristics such as age, class and gender, evokes a contemporary example of an idea coined by Matthews *et al.* (1998) of 'micro-geographies'. Defined as multi-ethnic *"flows of meaning which are managed by small groups of people which are managed by small groups of people that meet on an everyday basis"* (Wulf, 1995:65) this idea gleaned from an extensive literature (see Chapter 2) fitted the dataset the best. Within this constellation:

there is a diversity of microcultures that provide the basis for a "temporal culture"...into and out of which young people move. Differences between groups are not therefore not necessarily defined in terms of conventional sociological signifiers such as age, gender, ethnicity and location, but in terms

of particular sets of shared interests, behaviours and circumstances which often give rise to multi-layered geographies co-existing in the same location.

Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2010

In order to see if territoriality was not merely a phenomenon that only a Youth Worker would know (or care) about, I worked with another group of young people based around a different covenantal form of engagement (section 2.4.). By focusing on basketball, I aimed to see if a “**particular sets of shared interests [and] same location**” (*ibid*) would replicate youth territoriality when the young people were different. I wanted to see if changing my relationship and the young people would reaffirm or contradict the account I had constructed around Islington. On the basis of the data gathered, it is safe to assert a number of points. Though all the young people I met seemed ready to share an account of territoriality conveyed through a sense of narrative, there were some important differences. They Athenians stand at an awkwardly halfway point between resembling the vast majority of young people I worked with in a number of ways (background, age, ethnicity and they even frequented the same places) and navigating themselves somewhere else entirely. Collectively, though, they showed the extent to which young people could resist or reconstitute conventional or dominant understandings of territoriality. Within their account of ‘fitting in’ and the pressures and opportunities it created (see section 6.4) whether that be within ‘slipping’ (6.4.2.1.); ‘raving’ (6.4.2.2.); or in socio-spatial strategies around based around maintaining their personal safety (6.4.3), they were eloquent of the possibilities and dangers of living within London. It is apparent that they used locality and territory as a springboard – somewhere to say you came from and situate yourself to where they wanted to go (see 6.4). Talk about talk about “**moving away from areas**” and what they wanted to do in the future was made realistic by first situating themselves where they were (see 6.4.4). It was this that meant they were so much more motivated than my participants in Islington. The Athenians were crystal clear in where they wanted to ‘go’ as they matured whether that was work, university in London or abroad (see table 14) and this was the main catalyst for their difference - that and the figure of Cory, their coach. They embodied a love of their area that fit into the ‘terra’ form of territoriality that I presented in section 1.2.

For my Islington cohort, locality was far more monolithic, hegemonic and almost oppressive: the area seemed somewhere you stayed in the absence of other dynamics to push one out. Though they shared with the Athenians an awareness of street practices and representations, it is interesting to note it took something as singular as the 2011 riots for one of them to declare:

I feel safe, for the first time, I feel safe to walk around anywhere.

Mixed race male: 17

Nonetheless, within both case-studies can be discerned the messiness of transitions to adulthood and the effect that this had on a spatial identity via the expression of different kinds of agency. Both research encounters were methods of envisaging and creating an image of ‘vital conjunctions’ and youth in motion based around the relationality of space.

8.3. An Integrative theory of youth territoriality

This section emphasises connection. Within it, the links between disciplines, between methods, between participants/case studies will all be emphasised.

To this effect, a great deal of Chapter 3 was predicated upon showing the way that decisions about research methods are preceded by decisions over the correct ontological starting point and the appropriateness of various epistemological modes of enquiry (Kesby, 2007; Punch, 2002). In the different forms of interactions between the Islingtonians and the Athenians, (4.4.; 5.5. and various parts of section 6) I have shown how an ostensibly unitary identity must still be perceived in a multiplex manner (Butler, 2003). Furthermore, drawing on poststructuralist understandings (see especially, Thomson, 2007) we are not compelled to choose between an ontology that sees young people as ‘social becomings’ and one that sees them as ‘competent agents in their own right’ in a false binary (Kesby, 2007). The power of participatory methodology is that participants can be both or neither at the same time (Kesby et al., 2006). To this equation, I must insist on the addition of researcher positionality. An epistemological premise of a great deal of Children’s and Youth Geographer’s - specifically a realization that certain methods act as resources for identity formation –meant for me first establishing a subtler reflexive understanding of my own research position. Within efforts to “*mobilise the necessary error of identity*” (Butler, 1993:229) against marginalizing normative notions of youth, more attention should be placed on our own position as researchers. Recognizing how and when my stakeholders; the Islingtonians and the Athenians shifted from being research objects, to subjects to finally, participants was predicated on my own understanding of when I was a Youth Worker, policy researcher or social scientist. Ultimately all this added a teasing measure of complexity to notions that I had previously taken for granted.

My particular focus on participation, identity and agency did have a more ambitious objective than the ‘discovery’ of new data, however: it meant going well beyond typical youth work practice. By shifting attention to variously a peer-survey, focus groups, waves of interviews and my Participatory GIS/GPS stage I wanted to push the traditional disciplinary boundaries of forms of data collection. Under this imperative and my ambition to institute a fully participatory method of data collection and analysis meant that knowledges were not presented to be as an (artificially?) unitary whole. Within vast amount of data collected, for the sake of legibility, corners were cut. The most obvious lacuna would

be in finding the finding the right balance between juxtaposing qualitative and quantitative data and the 'voice' of my participants (see appendix 3 for my first foray into this). My data collection efforts simply did not have the purchase I wanted to create with certain participants. The novelty and riskiness of the approach was designed to (re)capture the spontaneous, the vital and the everyday encounters between and of young people whilst also stressing the importance of place to youth. The role of emotions, affect embodiment and banality must be sewn into this account (Kraftl, 2013). The juxtaposition between the Athenians and my other participants was my attempt to see if and how affect could influence a research encounter. Even more than this, how could outputs be extended past the confines of my dissertation to make myself a better Youth Worker and improve the research/youth work encounter of my participants?

My goal to create a covental relationship was my effort interconnect this awareness of emotional geography with youth work practice. It was a not entirely successful attempt to 'go beyond' concerns with voice/agency and mobilise emotion and effect in productive ways (ibid.) It was an acknowledgement of how:

wherever interpersonal contact exists, the quality of care relationships is not dependent solely or even primarily upon the ability of the carer to deploy expert knowledge about care needs: *the relationship itself is also vital* [as] needs and feedback about care are communicated.

Kraftl, 2013: 16-17 quoting Bondi, 2008:262

For most, this seemed to have no effect. It did not spark interest or provide the trigger for a change on the parts of either my cohort in Islington or within the Athenians, with one exception. The project catalysed the curiosity of Jack and provided a spur to his exploration of the city: an endeavour he started with great gusto. It enabled him to provide some context to the claim:

I don't feel that just because I'm from East London I'm the only person who can walk around East London. I'm not going to be territorial and say get out, I like to mix around a lot of types of people.

Jack (Section 7.3.3.)

As an echo of Christine's "*sort of a bit like a tourist thing but it was getting to know London*" (see above) it was illustrative. It did appear that there was potential for a productive hybrid of the techniques of youth work and certain aspects of emotional geography and a pedagogy to catalyse the '*terra*' form of territoriality that I found so impressive. Why it proved so engaging for just one of the Athenians and not the others is the topic for another debate which would attempt to replicate and validate Jack's singular reaction.

Despite my initial starting point ("*trying to understand the motivation of young people who – point blank – refused to go into certain neighbouring areas and parts of London that resembled their own*":

section 1.1), the representations and practices I recorded cannot not be easily reduced to concerns over safety. The survey (section 4.4) and the Athenians' actions (see especially 5.4.1) show whilst safety was a factor, it was one amongst many. The picture appeared to be that for these young people, a fear of violent theft could not be uncoupled with confusingly, no small lack of confidence and curiosity. On a spatial level it was clear that young people had an understanding of territoriality even if no one could give me an easy definition (see 4.5.6). Even for those who dealt with issues of territory and territoriality professionally were able to recognise its composite nature. Within my own summary it is hard to better Christine's analysis of it:

everyone seems to think that young people are territorial and they do that out of safety and I think that there is a bit of that and you will find that with certain groups. They won't go out of their estate because they are comfortable and they know it....they have got no reason to. Some if it... is because of safety...so they don't move from one estate to another because there is this different group stroke gangs that they don't want to walk into and there is lots of things in [here] at the moment.

Christine, (section 4.3.8)

This difference between Islingtonians and Athenians demonstrate these differing accounts of territory. One parallel between both groups was that being seen in public space without very clear objectives needed a strategy of engagement usually based around the presence of their peers – especially since exploration seemed to happen in groups (see 4.4; 4.5; 5.4 and 6.3. Also see Danic, 2012). In considering the (literal and figurative) area between my case studies (see 1.4) questions over the process by which one acquires the (adult?) rules of the public sphere become prominent. The process of experimentation seems to happen ambivalently and without total subscription (Danic, 2012; see 4.5 and 5.4). To fully confront the difficulty of coming up with a coherent take on 'street representations' is to acknowledge the existence and power of imaginaries like 'on road' culture (see 4.3.3.). It also confirmed the operation of fear, crime and safety concerns within the young population of Islington. If pressed to provide an answer, my conclusion would emphasise the different scales (private, public and parochial: see chapter 7) whilst also underlining the significance of agency and the interconnected nature of social processes within these representations of place. The list of tentative conclusions, outcomes and results this section introduces suggest that a complex and near contradictory multi-tiered appreciation of area must be central to my unfolding description of territoriality. My intuition is that (spatial) identity is an internalized life story (McAdams, 2001; Thomson, 2008) that they use to anchors to reject, assimilate or subvert various aspects of their transition to space.

To focus on the 'youth' aspect of territoriality is to follow the, at times contradictory, contours of the social construction of youth (see figure 4) particularly when juxtaposing the Islingtonians with the Athenians. It also shows the significance of the institutional context of research here since everyday

practices of occupation are influenced by various structural forces such as family and education policies, urban regeneration policies and even the availability of transport (see 2.1; 2.2 and 4.1 to 4.14). All my categories of 'stakeholders' (see Figure 5.) had gone some way into delineating territoriality as a forum for practice and site around which meanings could be communicated spatially through differing markers such as clothes, leisure patterns, transport and, potentially, gender. The theoretical outline of "**Representations of the Street**", "**Street Representations**" and "**Street Practice**" was given a sharper critical edge adding tangibility and sensitivity to my understanding of young people's social, economic and cultural realities (see 4.1-4.4). In short, attempting to abstract space and place within the accounts and give it an analytical tangibility, I have perhaps given territoriality an undue emphasis. It was territory's various interactions with locality, class, age and the transition to adulthood which gives it its credence. Whilst territorial behaviour did exist, it is impossible to disentangle it from the creation of the plastic young adult identity that my participants were in the process of creating.

As an attempt to test the usual boundaries of researchers and participants, I wanted to see if my claim of a single reiterative positionality (see 1.7) could be blended into multiple ontologies and not run aground different 'takes' on what is data. It was my (only partially successful attempt) to make sense of the temporality and contingency of youth territoriality. Based on a reading of Web Keane's (2013) notion of 'multiple ontologies', I wanted to focus on various versions of youth territoriality so as to render youth productively incomprehensible and to make something familiar strange to borrow C.J. Mills often quoted advice (1959). It was my method of ensuring multiple points of contingency were stressed and the accounts I was creating did not describe static realities. My focus was on looking for new possibilities in what had always been there since as things enter new contexts, they enter into new human purposes, affording new kinds of actions and suggesting new projects. I would assert that an integration of youth work values (see 2.5.2.) youth work and participatory geography techniques *can* create a valuable platform. I believe that the scope and full potential of this methodology to attract new forms of engagement, provide a safe forum for debate and allow the expression of (spatial and local) identities has not been fully realised.

In empirical terms, the integration of various datasets I still feel that there are aspects that are not fully exploited but in overall terms, the project was a success in the manner it fostered a deep knowing by creating multiple methods of meaning making. This methodology did at least show the complexity behind a number of theoretical constructs such as the simultaneity of embodied identities, vital conjunctions, and space and place (McLaughlin, 1993). It also meant direct comparisons were easy not just between my case studies but within them: lacunas, and deletions were explicit and visible. For instance, within Chapter 7, the dearth of intimate space within the Athenians photos needs explication. My dataset did capture various aspects of everyday life but the emphasis within their

houses on communal spaces – or parochial space to use my typology – suggests that territorialisation occurs inside the home as well as outside. An inference is that the emotional cartographies of researchers such as Jacqui Gabb might be one way of pushing the debate further (Gabb, 2008).

8.4. Applications: what to do with youth territoriality

Rather than present a more traditional study of youth belonging (see for instance Back's superlative account, 1996), I very consciously, did something different. My policy outputs are hard to easily classify without some provenance particularly since "*structural exclusions of young people are increasingly hidden within rhetorical proclamations of serving the best interests of the youth*" (Skelton et al. 2010:208). Where and how these policy discourses are (re)constructed will be my focus in this section.

As first identified by Kraftl (2012), in the UK and elsewhere, the past decade has witnessed an increased emphasis upon child and youth policy-making at the national level at the expense of the local. The way that state governments have explicitly promoted the advantages of national frameworks for youth policy making promoted the advantages international guidance to do just that (ICNYP, 2002; UNESCO, 2004) did until recently include Britain amongst their number. In the UK's 'Every child matters' White Paper (DfES, 2004) and Germany's Child and youth plans for the Federation, (BFSFJ, 2009), expressly argued that local authorities alone were not able to effectively deliver or sponsor services for young people. In Germany, for instance, national policy concerns in particular areas– such as gender equality, disability and citizenship – trumped any purely local answers despite or because of any Germany's federal structure. Similar justifications drove youth policy in the US: most notably into the controversial 'No child left behind' policies inaugurated in 2001 (Lin, 2002), where it was claimed that local testing of children's was failed and that universal, national system was needed. The ferocious level of debate this development sparked should not blind us to the fact the notion of the 'the nation' reminds us geographies of youth policy-making are inextricably entwined with histories of state intervention (Kraftl et al. 2012:2).

This has been in the context of fluctuating concern over children and young people. The now defunct Department for Children, Schools had publically stated:

...fewer young people are getting into trouble and communities are less worried about teenagers 'hanging around'
DCSF, 2010:5

Even more than that, this recognition was a milestone within a 10 year strategy started in 2007 (DCSF,2007) that included, *inter alia*, 'a vision for young people'; a program of 'Positive activities' based on improving outcomes working together with measures designed to 'empower' young people based

on the creation of a skilled workforce. *That* was the climate in which youth territoriality was first encountered.

Whilst there has been a significant ‘spatial shift’ since the election more and more resources have gone into education rather than ‘out of school’ activities (see chapter 1). The government did attempt to promote a version of localism (the ‘Big Society’) ostensibly as a means of empowering local communities affording local decision-makers greater autonomy albeit in the absence of any resources¹⁰³. A pragmatic ‘application’ of my research has to acknowledge this and fit into the existing policy climate even whilst promoting a return to the pre-election more local tradition. Nonetheless, in the benign neglect of present austerity measures, there is opportunity. In the past, young people were sometimes seen as a ‘tribe apart’ (Hersch, 1999) and thereby the recipients of specialized techniques in order to become ‘adult’. Government policy has tended to see, to their detriment, young people as developmentally prior to adulthood - a stage in need of adult direction and focus. Youth territoriality in context of this, belies a relational geographical perspective that recognises that some activities which are deemed troublesome in some contexts are crucial for passing without notice in others (Skelton, 2007). The space between the Athenians and those in Islington might be based on this simple fact.

Moreover, the difference between the Athenians and the Islingtonians can also be presented as gap between raising aspiration (on the part of Athenians) versus supporting aspiration (on the part of the Islingtonians). Cory, the Athenian Coach had inculcated a durable precondition on the team. Before they were allowed to participate, they had to “**better themselves**” (see 5.3) forcing them to raise their expectations of what they wanted as well as compelling them to develop a pragmatic strategy of how that was to be achieved. The results were impressive and the Athenians remain one of the politest, most disciplined group of young men I have ever met – a finding that had its residue in each of the Athenians lofty academic ambitions (see table 14). Under such clear signs of success, the implication should be that such Cory’s approach ought to be rolled out to the rest of my stakeholders. The benefits seem clear especially since the Coalition government seems wedded to a reactive youth engagement model in which investment is geared towards preparatory and preventative work (Josiak, 2013): an aegis the likes of which Cory’s approach would excel.

¹⁰³ Michael Gove is recorded as saying “*I think it is fair to say that we believe, in the [Education] Department, that youth policy is primarily a matter for local government and not for central Government*” (page, 12. House of Commons, Oral Evidence taken before the Education Committee, Department for Education Reform, 23 January, 2013)

I would however point towards the different objectives within East London and Islington that led to these markedly different youth engagement strategies and the very different results. My emphasis within Islington betrayed no lack of ambition but rather a focus on empowering *all* young people not merely those with an interest in sports¹⁰⁴. Within conversations with Cory, it was clear he was targeted only at those whose parents were willing to engage with him and who were willing to undergo his immensely strict training regimen. It is from my vantage point of researcher and policy researcher as well as Youth Worker that I can see the utility and fragility of Cory's model. His success and efficacy was founded upon a highly responsive and specific understanding of the Athenians which cannot be (easily) replicated. Still, rather than present the Islingtonians and Athenians in opposition, I would present them as a continuum. The space – both literal and figurative that youth work allows for a person to develop or define themselves along the lines they see fit, I would argue must be maintained as something that has its own value (Krafft, 2012). Both of my case-studies show how an engagement that focuses on personal development of young people can be of use in and of itself.

8.5. Advocacy: More than 'Raising Aspiration or supporting aspiration'

The points above do not lead to any easy point around which to advocate social change. The heterogeneity of the youth experience is mirrored in the diversity of data and my own fluid positionality. Still, I hope to have shown more than the potential and limits of research with and on young people. The tension between my three positions can and does lead to some creative tensions that can and should be extended to other projects.

What I also hope to have shown is how policy research, as Ward (2005) outlines, is not just about working with policy-makers. Pain has previously discussed how social geographers engage with activists and community groups (Pain, 2003a; 2004) and, in a point aimed at my discipline, I would emphasise and advocate the importance of this. In contrast to any easy stereotype of policy researchers' ready acquiescence to policy-makers, within the researcher triangulation that I embody, I would argue for what Pain called "counter-policy research" (Pain, 2006, see also Ward, K, 2005).

In this vein, my different roles provide a discursive balance to the increasing pressure **"from many universities to undertake contract research [which] places us in a policy-makers' pockets financially and politically"** (Pain, 2006:252). To illustrate: as Barrett et al. (2002: 325-26) recognised serving the community **"begs the question as to whom the community is...getting something done is not the same thing as effecting meaningful change' it may rather serve to reproduce existing problems and**

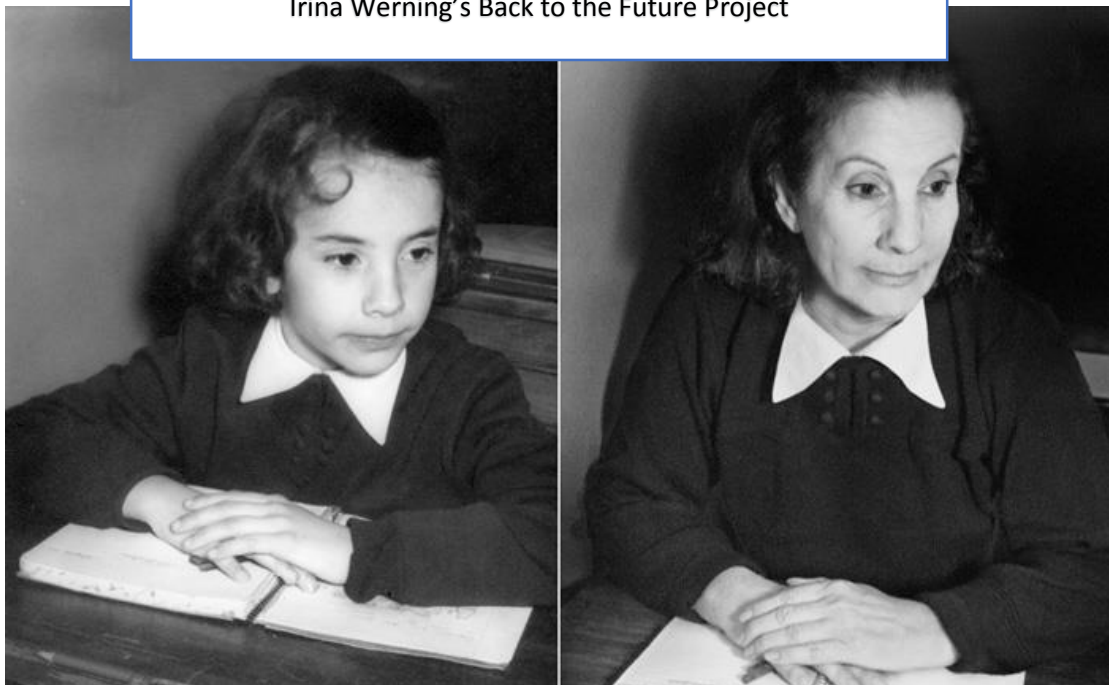
¹⁰⁴ It was also interesting that there were no appreciable number of girls and young women within this cohort of the Athenians. It should be noted within the younger teams within the Athenians the gender balance was much more balanced though.

power relations". It has been argued that social geographers are well placed to ensure that the greater emphasis on consultation and participation is more than cosmetic (Pain, 2006). To this I can directly respond to this question by continuing my role as a Youth Worker. By keeping a role within City YMCA, for instance, I can monitor why, if and when the peer community safety survey has had any real lasting effect. As for the related concern of whether policy research can be truly emergent or necessarily dictates conclusion and outcomes in advance – I would argue that this is a false dichotomy. Participatory researchers, by definition, "show how to work towards the opposite, keeping outcomes open, responsive to research findings, and chosen and owned by researched communities" (Pain, 2006: 253). I would also argue that a continuing engagement with the UK government at the level of policy using its language (NEET young people'; 'at risk' children) provides a vantage point from which I can challenge particular conceptualisations and discourses around youth, space and place (Morrison, 2006). **P251**

Furthermore, from this position the idea that "**applied geographers are seen as uncritical servants of the state, while critical geographers actively challenge the status quo based on an ideological stance which informs theory.**" (Pain, 2006:253) is shown as the stereotype it is. Reinforcing a policy perspective with a practitioner and social geographer is for me a recognition that ideological and theoretical positions which are set against social inequality, alone, get us nowhere. Indeed, as Pain recognised though the bulk of work on children's geographies has honed understanding of children and childhood as marginalised identities but has had relatively little impact on children's lives. I would suggest that a project such as mine could be the basis "**a carefully built and administered piece of local research which places emphasis on capacity building or is plugged into influential organisations and networks from the outset.**" (Pain, 2006:254).



Irina Werning's Back to the Future Project



The Argentinean photographer Irina Werning's photography project "**Back to the Future**" has great research potential. The basis of it is a form of photo-elicitation where she recreates cherished old photographs of her participants. As the basis for an interview, the potential to revisit notions of growth, maturity and hindsight is clear.

8.6. Conclusions: Youth territoriality as politics

There were, of course, forms and subjects that I would have, for the sake of time and space, have expanded my analysis. A particular area of research that I feel has not had due emphasis within other accounts is the longitudinal potential of youth geographies. The novelty and vigor in which analysts of youth and children handle and capture ontological complexity could easily be extended in two ways.

First, an expedient way to extend the analysis would be to extend my participants to include ‘adults’. Creating an intergenerational cohort of research participants would create an easy longitudinal ‘snapshot’ of representations by the careful comparison of social constructions like territoriality or racism (see for instance Gill and Sveinsson, 2012). Scholarly work has only begun to notice intergenerational relations and geographers have stressed the importance of space as a context for these interactions (Mitchell & Ellwood, 2013; Vanderbeck, 2007). Secondly, by further developing the relationships with the Islingtonians and Athenians, I could easily create a baseline for a more conventional longitudinal study by assuaging my curiosity about what the Islingtonians and the Athenians will transition into and what would they think of their younger selves (Crosnoe, 2009)? The cultural stimuli we are exposed to during the transition to adulthood has a special significance and establishes a disproportionately large portion of our self-identity: perhaps this constitutes a major factor behind how and why “*youth remains a major point of symbolic investment for society as a whole*” (McRobbie 1993: 31). In point of fact, for a lot of adults, the adolescent years occupy a privileged space in our memories that has even been quantified into what some psychologists have called “*the reminiscence bump*” (McAdams, 2001; Jansari & Parkin, 1996). There does seem to be something especially adhesive about the practices and representations formed in the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Steinberg, 2002) and there are good theoretical reasons to revisit this juncture. This juxtaposition of hindsight (Thomson, 2009) and a fully participatory methodology have only recently become to be realized in some inventive ways (see photos below).

The starting point of this monograph was a belief that a willingness to embrace urban disorder indicates a form of maturity’ (Wilkinson, 1998: 194). There are on the one hand are undoubted benefits to young people adopting a territorial approach. To borrow from the findings of work on ‘place attachment’, studies have shown how older residents and those who have lived longest in an area tend to have higher levels of attachment (Stokowski, 2001; Livingston et al. 2008) and various parts of this study would bear out this assessment (see 3.3.2; 4.3; 4.5-4.6; 5.2; 5.3 etc.). Even on an individual level, my participants’ points to the same presence of strong links between the people and the places they interact with, either through current or past residence, or by virtue of their patterns of other behavior (Livingston et al. 2008). This is not to say that this focus on the local is unproblematic. Crudely drawn territory or ‘endz’ was of use as somewhere to start one’s transition to independence or somewhere to finish (as a route or root). With some degree of slippage between the two types, the Athenians represented the former and the Islingtonians the latter – though exceptions proved the case in both categories. Indeed, territory for all seemed a way of escaping an endless adolescence where responsibility was taken away from them. According to conversations with the various Athenians control over the ‘youngers’ being substituted for control over one’s own life-prospects.

This work thus situates itself within the way that young people are building new links to their peers in other contexts: to list just a few one can see the importance of through travel (Simpson, 2005); volunteering (Hustinx, 2001) or some individual combination of the two (Jones, 2011). Indeed, it can be located in one of the myriad studies that detail the ability of children and youth in certain conditions to rethink dominant structures and changes in local and non-local society (Jeffrey, 2012: 147) with one added feature. Within an answer of how to refigure territoriality in line with my ambition to promulgate some form of counter-conduct,

Appendix 1: community project report



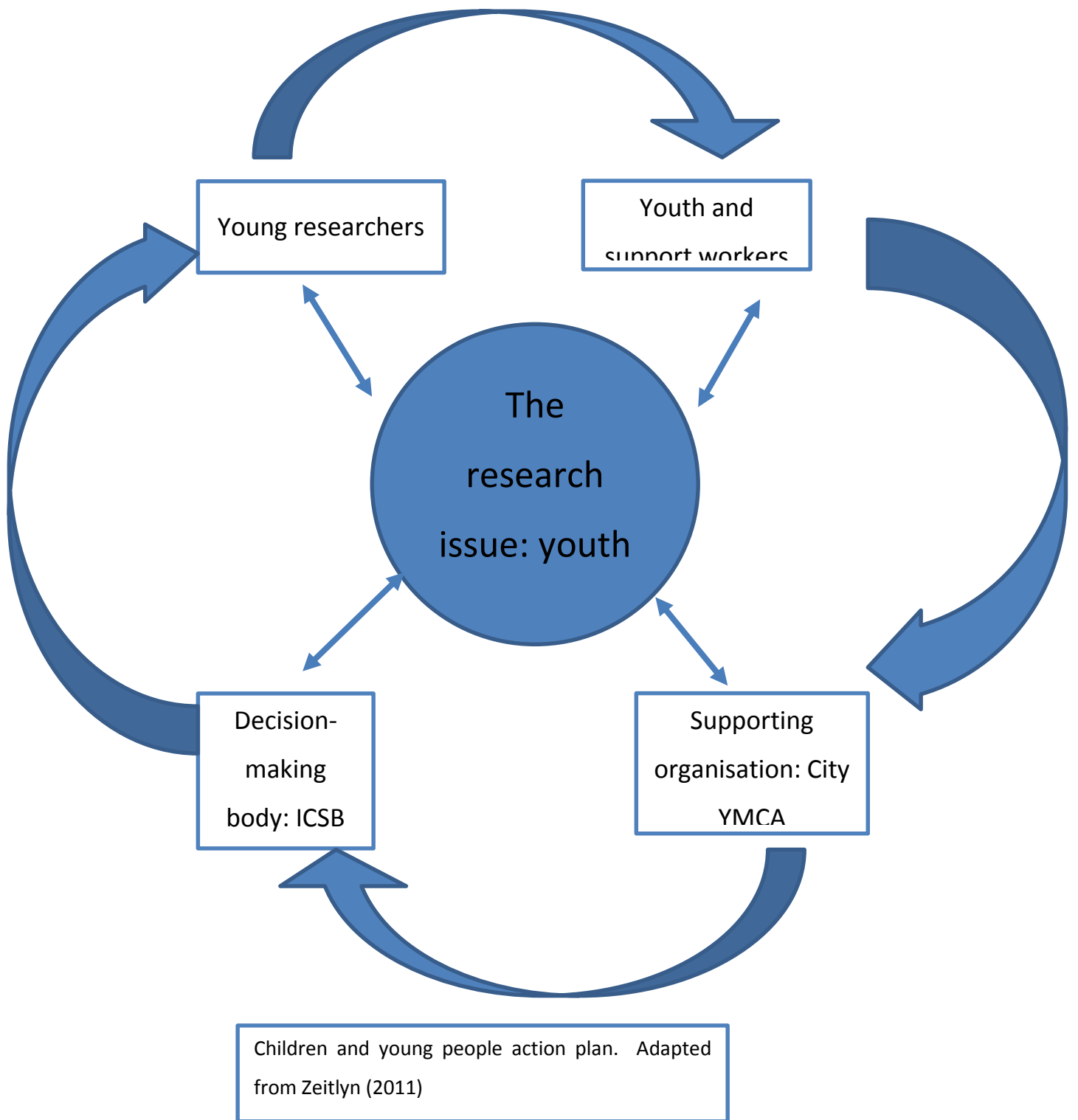
PARTICIPATION PROJECT

REPORT

March – September 2010

Contents Page

| | |
|---|---------|
| Contents Page..... | Page 2 |
| Participation Project objectives | Page 3 |
| Project overview | Page 4 |
| The questionnaire..... | Page 5 |
| Youth Centre sessions..... | Page 6 |
| Promotional ICSB Information sheets..... | Page 7 |
| Impact of the project | Page 7 |
| Project recommendations..... | Page 8 |
| Project recommendations (Continued)..... | Page 9 |
| Executive Summary | Page 10 |
| Appendix A (Original Budget)..... | Page 12 |
| Appendix B (Proposed budget)..... | Page 13 |
| Appendix C (Areas covered by Participation workers)..... | Page 14 |
| Appendix D (Questionnaire)..... | Page 15 |
| Appendix E (Blockbusters game) | Page 16 |
| Appendix F (Islington Tribune article)..... | Page 17 |
| Appendix G (Images of youth centre sessions delivered)..... | Page 18 |
| Appendix H (Youth centre session feedback)..... | Page 19 |
| Appendix I (ICSB Information sheet)..... | Page 20 |
| Appendix K (Stop and Search questions)..... | Page 22 |



Participation Project objectives

In March 2010 the ICSB (Islington Community Safety Board) was joined by Chief Superintendent Mike Wise, who on behalf of Islington borough police, commissioned City YMCA, to hire two young people as Participation Workers, to devise a means of improving relationships between the police and other young people. It was requested that for a trial period of six months, one Participation Worker would work within the East Wards, and the other on the West Wards of Islington. (APPENDIX C)

East Ward – Finsbury Park, Highbury West, Highbury East, Mildmay

West Ward – Holloway, Caledonian, Barnsbury, St Mary's

For one day a week, over five months the two hired participation workers, worked alongside a City YMCA Youth Worker to achieve this goal. They begun by drafting thirteen objectives, which after several revisions were approved by the Chief Superintendent and the ICSB. These objectives can be seen below.

1. Obtain feedback from young people aged 14-21, about how they think police could tackle the issues affecting them.
2. Obtain feedback from young people about how and what they feel about policing in their area.
3. Gather feedback from young people about how Stop and Search can be improved?
4. Gather feedback that accurately reflects “grass-roots” opinions from people that are from all walks of the community and that would not normally speak out.
5. Inform young people of the legislative process of Stop and Search.
6. Inform young people of the process of making complaints regarding Stop and Search.
7. Give young people the opportunity to advise and shape policing in the local area.
8. Obtain tangible evidence that relations have been improved.
9. Get young people to attend ICSB (Islington Community Safety Board); IAG (Independent Advisory Group) and YET (Youth Engagement Team) meetings.
10. Consult with young people to find out what role the ICSB could play in their lives and communities?
11. Find out how young people would like to contribute to the work of the ICSB?
12. Raise public awareness of the ICSB within the borough of Islington and by doing so, will help to maintain good police and community relations.

13. Develop a means to meaningfully involve young people in the regular consultation and strategic development of the ICSB.

Project overview

Having agreed on the objectives, the Participation Workers organised meetings with Safer Neighbourhood teams, Police Community Supports Officers (PCSO'S), Young Victims of Crime Officers and the Voyage team to gain their input on how this could be achieved.

Meetings attended

Blackstock Road Police station: (x1) Sergeant Rob O'Connor
Police Constable Wesley Pettit

Tolpuddle Police Station: (x4) Dept Superintendent John Sutherland
Stop and Search officer, Joy Halden
Chief Superintendent, Michael Wise
Chief Inspector, Claire Clark
Sergeant, Marcel Baker
Chief Inspector, Steve Marshall
Voyage Team
Officer, Vennis Stewart

ICSB: (x2) Susan Fajana-Thomas

Ideas discussed, varied from organising large community engagement workshops where the police would be present to deliver question and answer sessions relating to crime concerns and Stop and Search; to the Participation Workers joining officers on a patrol and reporting their observations to other young people. Other ideas included starting youth forums and doing Outreach work with the police.

After much deliberation, the Participation workers decided to use questionnaires, youth centre sessions and promotional ICSB information sheets to reach the project objectives.

The questionnaire

To address the below five objectives, a questionnaire was developed around young people's crime concerns and how they would like their concerns addressed.

1. Obtain feedback from young people aged 14-21, about how they think police could tackle the issues affecting them.
2. Obtain feedback from young people about how and what they feel about policing in their area.
3. Gather feedback from young people about how stop and search can be improved?

4. Gather feedback that accurately reflects “grass-roots” opinions from people that are from all walks of the community and that would not normally speak out.
5. Give young people the opportunity to advise and shape policing in the local area.

By speaking to young people in Islington during detached work and by carrying out research on the Internet, the below seventeen crime concerns were identified.

| | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Sexual Assault | Stalking/Harassment | Hate/racial crime |
| Drug dealing | Gun crime | Knife crime |
| Street robbery | Assault on buses | Vandalism and Graffiti |
| Intimidating dogs | Gangs | Bullying |
| Drunken behaviour | Broken street lighting | Postcode rivalry |
| Moped /bicycle theft | Dangerous moped riders | |

The Participation workers then developed the questionnaire, in a way which would allow them to gather feedback from young people on how they thought police could tackle these issues. After gathering feedback from young people and Islington police officers, the questionnaire, after numerous revisions, was completed (see APPENDIX D).

427 questionnaires were completed at the below locations around the East and West wards of Islington.

| <u>Secondary schools surveyed</u> | <u>Colleges surveyed:</u> | <u>Youth Centres surveyed</u> |
|--|----------------------------|---|
| Elizabeth Gareth Anderson Islington Arts and Media Highbury Grove Highbury Fields Holloway | City and Islington College | Underground Youth project Whittington Park Cape Project Copenhagen Youth Project |

| <u>Estates surveyed</u> | <u>Locations surveyed</u> |
|--|--|
| Barnsbury Andover Marquess Tufnell Park | Caledonian Finsbury Mildmay and Canonbury Highbury and Holloway |

The data from the survey is currently being analysed and the findings will be available for the first ICSB meeting in February 2011.

Youth centre sessions

To address the below four objectives, we decided to develop and deliver information sessions in youth clubs.

1. Inform young people of the legislative process of stop and search
2. Inform young people of the process of making complaints regarding stop and search.
3. Obtain tangible evidence that relations have been improved.

4. Raise public awareness of the ICSB within the borough of Islington and by doing so, will help to maintain good police and community relations.

A huge challenge for us was to create sessions that were enjoyable; engaging, informative and interactive. Several session plans were developed, involving games and role plays; however the participation workers felt that young people would still lose interest and concentration. During unrelated staff training, a game based on the 80's television show Blockbusters, was used to engage staff that were learning about Integrated Working in Islington. The Participation workers and the Youth Worker discussed how this idea could be developed to address the Participation Project objectives.

Replicating the format of Blockbusters, we decided to create a game board of 25 hexagons (APPENDIX E), each containing initials relating to the identified sixteen crime concerns of young people and also relating to police Stop and Search. The aim of the game was for the participating group to be split into two teams, who would compete against each other in answering questions which would provide a clue into what the initial on a hexagon stood for. e.g. What DZ is put into place when there are concerns of crime being committed in a particular area? The answer in this instance would be Dispersal Zone. Once a team member answered a question correctly, that team would win that hexagon on the board and everyone would be provided with an explanation by the Participation worker as to what the word/s behind the initial was. i.e. *When Dispersal zones are in place, under-16s can be forcibly returned to their homes by the police if they are on the streets after nine at night and unaccompanied by an adult. Police can also order people in a dispersal zone to leave the area and not return for 24 hours. A dispersal zone can be as small as the area surrounding a cash point or a large open area of a housing estate.*

The group that were able to answer a succession of questions, which would lead to them making a connecting line from one side of the board to the other would win. The game would then continue to a second stage to see which group could answer the most questions. This session structure allowed us to engage with young people in a friendly non-formal environment, whilst being highly informative and addressing four of our objectives. It was particularly effective as it created a competitive element that enabled young people to participate in team work and also to learn from each other. It also demonstrated the importance of knowledge and how learning can be rewarding. The effectiveness of using this method of informal education was recognised by the Islington Tribune, which published a news story on the work being carried out (See APPENDIX F). Questions used in the game can be seen in APPENDIX K.

Sixty young people were engaged during five, one hour sessions, at various youth clubs around Islington (APPENDIX G). The feedback of which can be seen in APPENDIX H.

Promotional ICSB information sheets

Promotion of the ICSB was incorporated into all elements of the Participation Project.

The principle means was through distribution of an information leaflet (APPENDIX I), which was given to approximately 300 respondents of the questionnaire and young people taking part in the youth work sessions.

The Participation workers also gave verbal explanations of the role of the ICSB to the young people and encouraged them to attend the ICSB public meetings.

Information about the ICSB was incorporated into the Blockbusters game, which was the principle activity within the youth work sessions.

Impact of the project

By using the Blockbusters game to engage young people during youth centre sessions, we were able to effectively impart information to them about the ICSB and the legislative process of Stop and Search. In addition to this, the sessions also allowed us to inform young people of the Metropolitan Police Code of Conduct and the standards expected of its officers. This led to group discussions around disproportionate stopping of ethnic minorities and indiscriminate stopping of young people. Through these discussions, the Participation workers were able to dispel many young people's misconceived notions of the police which we believe has resulted in changing their perception of the police.

The youth work sessions also informed young people of their roles and responsibilities within their communities and also of the consequences of breaking the law.

This project also encouraged young people to become active citizens, by encouraging them to suggest ways of making their local communities a safer place to live.

By distributing the ICSB information sheets; verbally informing young people about the ICSB and incorporating information about the ICSB into the youth centre sessions, we were able to increase awareness of the ICSB. Throughout the course of the six month project, we recognise that increasing awareness and young peoples involvement in the ICSB, has been the most challenging part of the project. Please see our Project recommendations on how we intend to address this issue.

For the two Participation workers, this project gave them the opportunity to become peer workers and gain valuable work experience.

Three out of the five governments ECM (Every Child Matters) Outcomes, were addressed during this Participation Project:

Be Safe: Participants were engaged in a friendly and safe environment, where they were informed of their rights and responsibilities in relation to crime which could prevent them from endangering themselves and falling foul of the law.

Enjoy and Achieve: The young people were provided with information in a fun and engaging manner where they were able to gain a real sense of achievement.

Positive Contribution: Completion of the questionnaire enabled the young people to effectively raise their concerns and address the needs of their community.

Project recommendations

During a review meeting with Clive Tachie (City YMCA Project Coordinator); Bijal Chandaria (young person/Participation worker), Mike Wise (the Islington police Borough Commander), Clare Clarke (Chief Inspector Neighbourhood Policing) and Chief Inspector Steve Marshall; the achievements of the project were recognised, however it was also identified that the below four objectives had not been entirely met:

1. Support young people in attending ICSB (Islington Community Safety Board); IAG (Independent Advisory Group) and YET (Youth Engagement Team) meetings.
2. Consult with young people to find out what role the ICSB could play in their lives and communities?

3. Find out how young people would like to contribute to the work of the ICSB?
4. Develop a means to meaningfully involve young people in the regular consultation and strategic development of the ICSB.

An agreed solution was to extend the project for a further six months and make the following implementations:

Increasing awareness and participation of young people in the ICSB

Within the existing project, each youth club was visited once for the maximum of one and a half hours. This limited amount of time made it difficult to address the above four objectives in addition to the ones that were met, in a single visit. Our recommendation is to increase the number of visits to each youth club to three times instead of once. This would enable the Participation Workers to spend more time promoting the ICSB (Islington Community Safety Board); IAG (Independent Advisory Group) and YET (Youth Engagement Team). Increased visits to each youth club would enable the Participation workers to build stronger relationships with the young people, which would in turn increase the young people's willingness to get involved. The youth work sessions could be broken up in the following way:

- 1st visit: Deliver Blockbusters game. (2hrs)
- 2nd visit: Revisit youth club to discuss crime concerns. This could involve PCSO's (1hr)
- 3rd visit: Revisit youth clubs to discuss possible youth involvement i.e. ICSB, IAG (1hr).

Promotional ICSB Information sheets

Graphically designed colour promotional material would be more appealing and effective than the black and white A4 ICSB information sheets that were distributed.

Stop and Search Information Cards

Stop and Search cards or promotional police material would be a good resource to provide young people with when carrying out the surveys or delivering the sessions.

Collaborative approach

Periodic meetings should take place with all project stakeholders to gain updates; share ideas and develop the project to ensure that all objectives are being met satisfactorily.

Project recommendations (Continued)

Delivery of sessions in schools

Another recommendation that the Participation workers would like to make is the delivery of sessions in a school classroom setting. This would increase the scope of the project and enable The Participation workers the opportunity to engage young people who do not access youth provisions. This proposed additional work has been included within the new proposal budget cost (APPENDIX B).

Relationship building sessions

An additional recommendation, would be to provide two additional one hour 'relationship building' sessions, with ten young people and at least ten police officers from Shoreditch and Tolpiddle police station, whose roles involve street patrols/stop and search. The objective would be for City YMCA and the Participation workers to facilitate a discussion and role play environment in which staged confrontation could occur between a police officer and a young person. Following the planned activity, a discussion would be held to examine what happened during the role play and to look at the relationship between ones attitude and behaviour, using the Betari Model (APPENDIX J). This proposed additional work has been included within the new proposal cost (APPENDIX B).

The idea behind these 'relationship building' sessions came about following an incident that was witnessed by Clive Tachie (City YMCA, Youth Projects Project Co-ordinator) and Maxine Adesina (Participation worker), on September 21st 2010, whilst carrying out the crime concern survey. At approximately 4:15pm at Highbury Corner, a group of around eight young people in school uniform (aged 13 - 15) were sitting in a corner of McDonalds for around fifteen minutes when the manager approached them with two police officers who told them to leave. The group left without confrontation, however this soon escalated and resulted in a police officer pinning one of the school boys against an outside wall. The young person was shouting and struggling to be released and became very angry. The Youth Worker, Clive Tachie ran outside to try and ascertain, what was happening and the officer told him that young person had tried to run away from him. The Youth Worker was able to persuade the officer to let the young person go, after reassuring him that the young person would not be any trouble. By the time the altercation had concluded, a large crowd had built up and the young person was left in tears.

This incident highlights how the relationship between young people and the police can be easily strained. On the one hand, a group of young people were innocently socialising in McDonald's after school, but causing a nuisance to the manager. On the other hand the police officer was addressing the concerns of a business owner. The role that each of them played in the escalation of the situation would be interesting for both young people and the police to examine. If this project only involves us working with young people, we believe that the project would be a one 'sided coin'. Relationship building would require 'participation' from members both young people and members of Islington police force.

Executive Summary

The Participation project was successful in meeting nine of the thirteen agreed objectives.

The below five objectives were met through the development of a questionnaire and the surveying of 427 Islington young people.

1. Obtain feedback from young people aged 14-21, about how they think police could tackle the issues affecting them.
2. Obtain feedback from young people about how and what they feel about policing in their area.
3. Gather feedback from young people about how Stop and Search can be improved?

4. Gather feedback that accurately reflects “grass-roots” opinions from people that are from all walks of the community and that would not normally speak out.
5. Give young people the opportunity to advise and shape policing in the local area.

The below four objectives were met delivering Informal education sessions in various Islington youth clubs.

6. Inform young people of the legislative process of Stop and Search.
7. Inform young people of the process of making complaints regarding Stop and Search.
8. Raise public awareness of the ICSB within the borough of Islington and by doing so, will help to maintain good police and community relations.
9. Obtain tangible evidence that relations have been improved.

The below four objectives were not met

10. Get young people to attend ICSB (Islington Community Safety Board); IAG (Independent Advisory Group) and YET (Youth Engagement Team) meetings.
11. Consult with young people to find out what role the ICSB could play in their lives and communities?
12. Find out how young people would like to contribute to the work of the ICSB?
13. Develop a means to meaningfully involve young people in the regular consultation and strategic development of the ICSB.

This project has been successful in informing a sizable amount of young people (427 surveyed and 60 engaged during youth work sessions) about the ICSB and about young people’s rights and responsibilities in relation to the law and their community. Successes have also included identifying an effective method of engaging young people and imparting important information relating to young people’s crime concerns, via the Blockbusters game in youth club sessions.

The analysis of grassroots data gathered from the questionnaire, will also provide an insight into young people’s crime concerns and how they think police could tackle the issues affecting them.

During this six month project, there has been a process of hiring two young people to work one day a week as Participation workers who then attended a number of meetings over a period of months to establish the needs of the Islington Police and the ICSB. They then worked on turning these needs into clear objectives, which they then sought to meet through the research and development of questionnaires, Information sheets and youth work sessions.

This process required a large proportion of time to be spent on development. Now that we have developed a means to successfully address nine of the objectives and established a plan to address the remaining four, we are confident that the experience and knowledge that we have gained, combined with the implementation of our recommendations, will enable us to

meet all of the objectives; including getting young people to play an active role in the ICSB (Islington Community Safety Board); IAG (Independent Advisory Group) and YET (Youth Engagement Team) and effectively become involved in the policing of their local community, Islington.



Appendix H

Youth Centre Feedback

Please see below feedback that we received from Youth Workers and Project managers regarding the delivery of the sessions delivered:

*Jess (Project Coordinator)
The Underground Youth project, Lough Road, N7 / Holloway (West Ward)
5th Aug 2010*

The way that the Drum (City YMCA) delivered the workshop was entertaining; informative and interactive for the youth. The young people certainly went away with a lot of facts about law which they felt empowered by. The session opened up a subject which they now feel comfortable to talk about with our Youth Workers, who also felt that they gained a great deal of useful information. Since this session the young people have invited the community police to the youth centre so that they can quiz them further. This has built up a relationship between the youth and the community police.

*Stephen Montgomery (Play and Youth Manager)
Whittington Park Community Association / Holloway (West Ward)
6th Aug 2010*

City YMCA delivered a session at Park Endz on Knowing Your Rights on the 6th August 2010. The group of young people that they worked with had some challenging young people in it. City YMCA was able to get the young people engaged in the work they were delivering. The young people really got involved in the session and was able to gain valuable information that they could reflect on in the future. I liked the way it was delivered, the style that was used and the way the workers was able to interact with the young people. We look forward to working with City YMCA again.

Barbara Ansell-Simms (Youth Worker)
Cape Project / Finsbury Park/ Andover (East Ward)
12th Aug 2010

The Stop and Search workshop delivered by Clive and his co worker to the members at Cape Youth Project on Thursday 12th August was very rewarding in many ways. Firstly, the manner in which it was delivered, in the form of a game and separating the members into two teams, was informative and enjoyable by all in attendance here at Cape. The members engaged tremendously well and felt it should be repeated at a later date, with possibly a few prizes for the winning teams. Finally, the interaction by Clive and his colleague was non-threatening and welcoming and therefore enabled very good rapport with all our members here at Cape, also the information presented refreshed the knowledge for some staff members of the procedures, meanings and terminology used within Stop and Search when dealing with young people and the Police.

Stephen Griffith (Senior Youth Worker CYP)
Copenhagen Youth Project / Barnsbury (West Ward)
23rd Aug 2010

I was very impressed with how the City YMCA led and facilitated a stop and search workshop at our Youth Project. From the moment this team entered the premises their approachable style was clear to see and the young people responded very positively. All young people who were of the appropriate age decided to join the work shop and engaged throughout as the topic was discussed using games and quiz's. The workshop proved to be very positive with all young people interacting whilst gaining knowledge and information on stop and search. We work with many young people who are struggling to engage with main stream services and the success of this workshop was a testament to the knowledge, skills and personalities of the YMCA team.

Appendix I

ICSB Information sheet



Get involved in making Islington a safer place

What is the ICSB?

The ICSB stands for the Islington Community Safety Board.

The ICSB is a community-led initiative funded by the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) to provide a forum in which local people can engage the Metropolitan Police, Islington Council and each other in constructive discussion and debate about policing, crime, and community safety issues in Islington.

What are the aims of the ICSB?

The aim of the ICSB is to enable people in Islington to understand, inform, influence, and support or challenge policing and community safety policies which affect them.

Who is involved?

The ICSB consist of members of the public, representatives from local businesses, organizations and authorities; including council officers, police officers, Safer Neighbourhood Panels, professionals and practitioners in the community safety field.

Why should you be involved?

During ICSB meetings, many issues discussed around safety and crime in Islington are about young people. It is important that young people attend and provide their input into how these issues are dealt with. In addition, the ICSB meetings are a forum where young people can meet and question senior police officers.

How can you be involved?

Every two months the ICSB holds a public meeting during the evenings between 6:00 and 8:00pm. Simply turn up to get involved.

When is the next ICSB public meeting?

For further information on the ICSB and the public meeting dates, visit: www.icsb.org.uk

Appendix J

The Betari Box Model

The Betari Model can best explain the relationship between attitude and behaviour:

- a) My attitude affects (influences, impacts) my behaviour.
- b) My behaviour affects (influences, impacts) your attitude.
- c) Your attitude affects (influences, impacts) your behaviour.
- d) Your behaviour affects (influences, impacts) my attitude.

Appendix K

Stop and Search session questions

1. Which S gives police officers the power to stop and search vehicles, people in vehicles and pedestrians for articles that could be used for terrorism?

Answer: Section 44 Terrorism Act 2000

Section 44 of the Terrorism Act gives police the power to search vehicles and people for items that could be used to commit a terrorist act whether or not there are grounds for suspicion. Used as part of a structured anti-terrorist strategy, the powers help to deter terrorist by ensuring it is not easy for them to carry or use explosives and weapons.

Officers in London use section 44 to carry out between 8000 and 10, 000 searches a month.

2. Which YR are the police required to provide you with, if you are stopped and searched?

Answer: Your Rights

The police officers who stop and search you must provide you with certain information including:

- *Your Rights*
- *The law under which you have been stopped*
- *Why you have been stopped and searched*
- *Why they chose you*
- *What they are looking for*

3. Which R will you be given if you are stopped and searched?

Answer: Record or Receipt

You should receive a written record of the search, also known as a receipt, which sets out the reason for the stop or stop and search. If you want to complain either about being stopped or searched or the way it was carried out, this will help identify the circumstances.

You will normally be given a search record at the time of the stop and search. However, if an officer is called to an emergency, you may be told where to collect the record later. A record must be made available for up to 12 months.

4. Which N will be on police stop and/or search records?

Answer: Names and numbers of the officers that carried out the search

Police search record should contain the following information:

The names and/or numbers of the officers;

Your name or a description if you refuse to give your name

The date, time and place of the stop and search

*The reason and Outcome for the stop and search
Your self-defined ethnicity
The vehicle registration number (if relevant)
What the officers were looking for and anything they found*

5. What S is when a police officer asks you to account for yourself; your actions, behaviour, presence in an area or your possessions?

Answer: Stop

Questions such as 'What are you doing?', 'Where have you been?', 'What are you carrying?' or 'Where are you going?' mean that the officer is asking someone to account for themselves. When this happens the officer must give that person a record of the event. Casual conversations, such as when an officer is seeking general information, giving directions, or seeking witnesses do not count as a stop.

There are two other types of Stops.

STOP AND SEARCH – A stop and search is when a police officer stops you and searches you, your clothing and anything you are carrying.

VEHICLE STOP – a police officer can stop any vehicle and ask the driver for driving documents.

6. Stop and searches should be carried out with which R?

Answer: Respect.

All stops and searches must be carried out with courtesy, consideration and respect.

Police officers must use stop and search powers fairly, responsibly and without discrimination. A stop or stop and search must take as little time as possible.

Anyone stopped in a public place, if asked, only has to remove their coat or jacket and their gloves, unless they have been stopped in relation to terrorism or where the officer believes they are using clothes to hide their identity (for example, a face mask worn during a public order situation). If the police officer asks someone to take off more than this, or any garment worn for religious reasons, they must take the person out of public view. The search should be carried out at or near the place where they are stopped, but they may be taken to a police station if privacy is needed.

7. If someone is unhappy with their treatment during any stop or stop and search, they can complain to what IPCC?

Answer: The Independent Police Complaints Commission.

The quickest and easiest way to make a complaint is to go direct to any police station to speak the duty inspector, who will discuss the nature of your complaint with you. Alternatively you can contact the metropolitan police complaints line. It is important to keep the stop and search form that you should have been given when stopped as this will be reference to stop and search.

If you are not satisfied with the outcome of your complaint it will be passed on to the IPCC (Independent Police Complaints Commission) who will investigate the complaint further. The IPCC's job is to make sure that complaints against the police are dealt with effectively.

8. Police can stop and search someone if they have which RG?

Answer: Reasonable Grounds

Officers can stop and search someone if they have reasonable grounds to suspect that they may be carrying drugs, stolen articles, equipment for burglary, or firearms. They can also stop and search someone if they have received reports that they are carrying stolen goods, or because of some specific behaviour by the person.

9. What E will everyone who is stopped or stopped and searched be asked for?

Answer: Ethnicity

Everyone who is stopped or stopped and searched will be asked to define their ethnic background. They can choose from a list of national census categories that the officer will show them. They do not have to say what it is if they don't want to, but the officer is required to record this on the form. The ethnicity question helps community representatives make sure the police are using their powers fairly and properly.

10. What S of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 allows officers to use stop and search in a specific area, without reasonable suspicion, as long as they have authorisation to operate in this way?

Answer: Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994

Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 allows officers to use stop and search in a specific area at a specific time where there is a threat of public disorder. The aim is to deal with football hooliganism, gang fights and the public.

11. What ICSB was set up to address crime and safety issues put forward by members of the Islington Community?

Answer: The Islington Community Safety Board

The ICSB was set up to encourage community engagement, by allowing members of the community to have their say about the policing of Islington area. The ICSB consist of members of the public, representatives from local businesses, organizations and authorities.

During ICSB meetings, many issues discussed around safety and crime in the community are about young people. Therefore, it is important that young people attend and provide their input. In addition, the ICSB meetings are a forum where young people can meet and question senior police officers.

Every two months the ICSB holds a public meeting during the evenings between 6:00 to 8:00pm. Simply turn up to get involved.

Visit: www.icsb.org.uk

12. What DZ is put into place when there are concerns of crime being committed in a particular area?

Answer: Dispersal Zone

When Dispersal zones are in place, under-16s can be forcibly returned to their homes by the police if they are on the streets after nine at night and unaccompanied by an adult. Police can also order people in a dispersal zone to leave the area and not return for 24 hours.

A dispersal zone can be as small as the area surrounding a cash point or a large open area of a housing estate. Once a dispersal order is in place, the escort power can be used against any under-16, but it does not necessarily have to be used at all.

13) What CD can lead to a hefty fine and the possibility of imprisonment?

Answer: Criminal Damage

Criminal damage or vandalism is defined in law as 'intentionally or recklessly destroying or damaging any property belonging to another without lawful excuse' [Criminal Damage Act 1971]. Vandalism can range from scribbling on a wall, the daubing of political slogans or the destruction of graves in a cemetery to endangering life with a concrete post deliberately placed in the path of a train, smashing the glass of bus shelter windows or the burning of a school through an arson attack. The penalty for criminal damage up to a value of £5,000 is a maximum of three months imprisonment and/or a fine of £2,500 and a Compensation Order.

14) A court may issue a restraining order against someone found guilty of what H?

Answer: Harassment

The Protection from Harassment Act 1997 makes it a criminal offence to harass a person.

Harassment is a course of conduct (i.e. once is not enough to constitute harassment) which could include calling someone names, making abusive phone calls, sending abusive emails or text messages, issuing threats or putting derogatory or abusive messages on the Internet.

Harassment can lead to six months imprisonment and a fine. A court may also issue a restraining order against someone found guilty of such an offence.

15) Being DAD can give you an on-the-spot fine of £80

Answer: drunk and disorderly

Police can give you an on-the-spot fine of £80 for being Drunk and Disorderly. They can also arrest you if you are likely to be a danger to yourself or someone else, or if you are so drunk you won't remember being given an on-the-spot fine! If you are arrested you may have to sleep it off in the cells and may be charged in the morning. The fine system works much like that for parking or speeding tickets. Payment of the penalty notice must be made within 21 days but involves no admission of guilt and doesn't give you a criminal record. If you deny the charge you can choose to be tried in court, but may receive a fine of up to £5000 if found guilty.

16) Subjecting members of the public to a fear of violence even if it's not directed towards them, is referred to as what A?

Answer: Affray

Some one can be charged with affray when members of the public are subjected to or have witnessed a level of violence that would suggest a substantial degree of fear, as opposed to passing concern for their safety,

17) You can report your crime concerns anonymously to what CS?

Answer: Crime Stoppers

If you have seen or heard something about a crime but don't know what to do, you can report it to Crimestoppers.

Crimestoppers is an independent charity and not related to the BBC programme Crimewatch.

You can report concerns by phone or their website and they simply pass on the information you have about crime whilst protecting your identity.

They do not ask you for or record any personal details, such as your name, number or address. They will not record the call or trace your online form.

You will not have to make a statement to the police or appear in court

Crime Stoppers guarantee of anonymity has never been broken

Crime Stoppers anonymously on 0800 555 111, or visit their website

18) Being caught in possession of what C can possibly lead up to five years in prison or a fine or both?

Answer: Cannabis

A young person found to be in possession of cannabis will be arrested and taken to a police station where they can receive a reprimand, final warning or charge depending on the seriousness of the offence.

Following one reprimand, any further offence will lead to a final warning or charge. Any further offence following a warning will normally result in criminal charges. After a final warning, the young offender must be referred to a Youth Offending Team to arrange a rehabilitation program.

If you are over 18 the police may arrest you and:

- issue a warning (primarily for first-time offenders)*
- issue a penalty notice for disorder, with an on-the-spot fine of £80*

If you are caught dealing with cannabis or any other Class B drug this can lead to up to 14 years in prison or an unlimited fine or both. In the eyes of the law, this includes giving drugs to friends.

19) You can receive a maximum of four years imprisonment if you are caught carrying what K without "good reason"?

Answer: Knife

Anyone caught with a knife who pleads not guilty is likely to be sentenced to a minimum three months in jail if convicted. The maximum sentence for carrying a knife without good reason is 4 years.

The minimum age to buy a knife is now 18.

20) What VS has been set up to help those subjected to crime?

Answer: Victim Support

Victim Support is a national charity giving free and confidential help to victims of crime, witnesses, their families, friends and anyone else affected across England and Wales. They also speak out as a national voice for victims and witnesses and campaign for change.

The organization is not a government agency or part of the police and you don't have to report a crime to the police to get their help. You can contact Victim Support any time after the crime has happened, whether it was yesterday, last week or several years ago.

Victim Support offices range throughout England and Wales and run the Witness Services in every criminal court.

21) Intentionally touching a person sexually without his or her consent is classed as which SA?

Answer: Sexual Assault

Sexual assault covers any sort of unwanted sexual contact or behavior. Section 3 of the Sexual Offences Act makes it an offence for any male or female to intentionally touch another person sexually without his or her consent. A person found guilty of this offence could be sent to prison for a maximum of ten years.

Rape and sexual assault affects people of all ages, both male and female. Sometimes alcohol or drugs are used in a sexual assault. The police and other organizations are there to help anyone who has been raped or become a victim of sexual assault.

It is considered as Sexual Assault when having sex with someone under the influence of alcohol and unable to give consent.

22) Which MC deals with minor offences?

Answer: Magistrates Court

Magistrates' courts deal with criminal and some civil cases, and cases are dealt with either by justices of the peace, who are unqualified and who are paid only expenses, or by District Judges (Magistrates' Courts) who receive some payment.

The youth court deals with young people who have committed criminal offences, and who are aged between 10 and 17. The youth court is part of the magistrates court and up to three specially-trained magistrates hear the case. If a young person is charged with a very serious offence, which in the case of an adult is punishable with 14 years imprisonment or more, the youth court can commit them for trial at the Crown Court.

All criminal cases start in the magistrates' court. Some cases begin in the magistrates' court and then automatically go to the Crown Court for trial by jury. Other cases are started and finished in the magistrates' court. These are where the defendant is not entitled to trial by jury. They are known as summary offences. Summary offences involve a maximum penalty of six months imprisonment and/or a fine of up to £5,000 (£2,000 in Northern Ireland).

23) Section 3 of what DDA states that unless a dog is kept under proper control then it may be destroyed?

Answer) Dangerous Dogs Act

This part of the Dangerous Dogs Act applies to every single dog in England & Wales.

A criminal offence can be brought against the owner of a dog (and if different the person in charge of a dog) if a dog is:

'Dangerously out of control' meaning if there is any occasion where it is reasonably believed that it will injure any person'.

The Police have the discretionary power to seize a dog (although they may need a warrant).

If injury is caused to a person, there is a possibility of the dog being destroyed.

24) Which IAG was set up to provide independent advice to Islington Police to enable the delivery of fair policing services to its diverse communities?

Answer: Independent advisory group

The IAG assist the police in looking at the quality of service provided to diverse communities in Islington concentrating on:

The relationship between the Police, diverse communities and groups based on race, religion/belief, age, disability, gender and sexual orientation.

Looking at incidents of hate crime and the way police respond to such incidents.

Advising in Critical and/or Major Incidents and policing operations.

25) Giving false information whilst being stopped and searched or wasting police time, can result in what F?

Answer: Fine.

You can be issued with a penalty notice for disorder (PND), which incurs an £80 fine. In serious cases, this can result in arrest and prosecution.

Although Youth Workers have no legal or statutory constituted representative body, the charity, the National Youth Agency, does serve much of this role. According to them, the purpose of youth work is to facilitate and support young people's growth through dependence to interdependence (see 3.7), by encouraging their personal and social development and enabling them to have a voice, influence and place in their communities and society (Statement of principles of the National Youth Agency, 2004:1). In addition to facilitating this, my legal duties as a Youth Worker are the same as anyone employed with children or young people. I work under a legal 'Duty of Care' – the duty to act as a reasonable and careful parent would – hence the focus on policies and procedures above.

On a banal level, I interpret ethics in professional practice as based upon developing my ability to see the ethical dimension of problems; to reflect on issues; to take difficult decisions and to be able to justify these decisions to peers and other young people. The behaviour of everyone involved in youth work and youth services (see table X) must uniformly be of a standard that makes unproblematic to

deliver effective services. This did also mean that whenever I was on the field, I remembered I was acting as model and example for appropriate behaviour.

Appendix 2:

Profile of stakeholders

Appendix 3: Time geographies and GIS

The use of Participative GIS must be further qualified since it seems to, a certain extent, paradoxical. How can GIS and digital technologies capacity to store, manage and represent geographical information be aligned to the fuzzy constructivist logic of most ethnographies? There is also the question of what precisely is Geographical Information Systems? Is it a method of viewing data equating to a certain positivist ontology, taxonomy and representation? Is it merely the name for a certain type of data structure and how does it relate to this project?

In order to (quite brutally) summarise a huge argument, I will point to how GIS practices are not necessarily quantitative since GIS can quite easily incorporate qualitative materials such as photos, videos etc. (Sheppard, 2001) though this aspect is not often the most prominent. I personally follow Kwan's appeal for an alternative GIS for interpreting and understanding lived experience rather than focusing exclusively upon quantitative spatial analysis (Kwan, 2002a; Kwan, 2002b and Kwan 2008). Whilst this account could quite easily evolve into a description of the transformation of data handling and mapping capabilities that have accelerated beyond all recognition in the last 30 years, I will merely contextualise my project. My work is instead situated within the constellation of ideas, ideologies and social practices that have emerged with the intention of "***reworking and rewriting cultural codes – the creation of new visual imaginaries, new conceptions of earth [and] new modalities***" (Pickles, 1995: viii). In addition to using GIS data to analyse and complement, triangulate and interpret the knowledge acquired from various sources, geographers have envisaged qualitative GIS methodologies that go beyond the static Cartesian framework of much (current) GIS practices. The focus is on different ways of interpreting data commensurate with the capacity of GIS to combine dissimilar representations¹⁰⁵. Indeed, the key to my analytical strategy lies in a recursive, iterative integrative of different processes of data collection and analysis within this tradition. This involves participants' evaluation and validation at several stages before the 'final' representation is produced.

To delve into a theoretical underpinning suggested by the literature, there are long established 'theories of practice' based around how 'the habitual' permeates society (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). As time passes, so the argument goes, individuals become subsumed within particular group identities as a consequence of the places they pass and the people to whom they are exposed. The outcome has been most famously called the 'habitus' and refers to modes of comportment that just come to feel

¹⁰⁵ Mugerauer, for instance, argued by making "*personal, local and imaginative narrations, images and other perceptual-qualitative information*" accessible within a GIS, multimedia or internet GIS platform "*a set of alternative geographies and alternative ways of visualising those spaces and places inhabited and experienced by diverse groups*" is created (Mugerauer, 2000:318-9)

natural for the person involved (Hitchings, 2011). This digital aspect of the methodology was designed to directly scrutinise such practices.

Privacy Anonymity and confidentiality

This issue is more problematic than the one above. On the one hand, I wanted to pay due that sociological and social scientific research tradition that assumes anonymity as a default option and still seems to characterise much research as approved by Ethics Committees. It would have been straightforward to follow in the wake of the British Sociological Association's guidelines on how:

The anonymity and privacy of those who participate in the research process should be respected. Personal information concerning research participants should be kept confidential. In some cases it may be necessary to decide whether it is proper or appropriate even to record certain kinds of sensitive information.

BSA Ethical guidelines, regulation 34. 2002¹⁰⁶.

Nonetheless, I was, after all, investigating a line of research that followed a person's spatial identity and belonging: it might not be able to anonymise and privatise the area. My preliminary research had also presented occasions when this presumption went directly against the proud declaration of place, attachment, belonging and local identity that buttressed much talk of "repping your ends" (see for one way of doing this, Sally Quinn and Dr Julian Oldmeadow's work on the link between social networking sites (SNSs) and group belonging (see Quinn and Oldmeadow,

I will show how participatory research fitted into the concerns of geographers and numerous sub-disciplinary perspectives within the subject – not just youth, but crime and fear (see section 3.X to 3.Y). To frame the debate in terms of fear, the benefits of a peer on-the-street approach are clear¹⁰⁷. My ambition was to facilitate the exploration of fear of crime and violence as multifaceted and dynamic; situated in the local details of individuals' circumstances and life courses (Hollway and Jefferson, 1997) and sensitive to spatial, temporal and social contexts (Pain, 1997). As my methodology asserted, a number of the debates within the broad literature based around fear of crime have centred on the possibility of multiple identities and positioning in relation to violence and fear. While it is well documented that the social distribution of fear of crime tends to follow lines of power and exclusion,

¹⁰⁶ The Royal Geographical Society, in the same vein, demanded: confidentiality of information supplied by research subjects and anonymity of respondents (unless otherwise agreed with research subjects and respondents); and independence and impartiality of researchers to the subject of the research
Research Ethics and a Code of Practice (19.06.06)

individuals may occupy different subject positions at the same time, and the relative importance of each shifts according to social and spatial context. For that reason, Clive, the two peer-researchers and me (a mix of ages, gender and ethnicities) each took turns to approach different people at different times in order to uncover the full heterogeneous range of responses that our different characteristics might have provoked. In this, my diary notes were able to furnish a number of examples of when the researchers provided stories from their own lives to embody general points within the survey. I was also eager to answer some of the questions that feminist geographers had drawn attention towards. Indeed, since the space in which a research intervention takes space and the way that respondents construct their identities are socially and spatially contingent- an important research finding based around the positionality of the researcher position - the gender of the peer researchers was equally important here. To expand, feminist writers have stressed the power dimensions underlying the interactional and performative aspects of interviews, with feminist geographers making important contributions to the theory and practice of conducting interviews by attempting to spatialise the construction of knowledge (Haraway, 1991 and Hoong Sin, 2003). Besides this, the finding that women report being more fearful of crime than men continues to emerge in surveys (Mirrlees-Black *et al.*, 1996; Borooah and Carcach, 1997) – a supposition that will get its own focus within the survey itself (see section 4.5.X). The ICSB, itself, was insistent that at least some of the peer researchers should be girls or women to since women’s fear of sexual violence and harassment underpins their higher reporting of fear (Warr, 1985; Gordon and Riger, 1989). In total, the survey was arranged to ask if, as a growing body of feminist research has highlighted, high rates of violence against women are hidden from crime surveys and the public at large (see Stanko, 1987).

Even more than the gender implications, this part of my project provided a local formulation of social and public policy issues by offering a working definition of an issue that was locally situated; specific and ostensibly concerned with the concerns and priorities of the inhabitants of Islington (Sabattier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Still, far from the unproblematic collection of public opinions, **“any consideration of how the policy process works will tend to involve proposition of who dominates”** (Hill and Ham 1997: 18) and this survey was not different. Whilst my focus on young people does, at least try to problematize the easy dichotomy between ‘Insider’ and ‘expert’, there is a related concern here: whether policy research can be truly emergent or necessarily dictates conclusion and outcomes in advance. I was, in line with other theoretical approaches (see Pain, 2004), hoping to short-circuit this false dichotomy. Researchers using participatory approaches have shown how to work towards the opposite, keeping outcomes open, responsive to research findings, and chosen and owned by researched communities themselves (see Fuller and Kitchin, 2004).

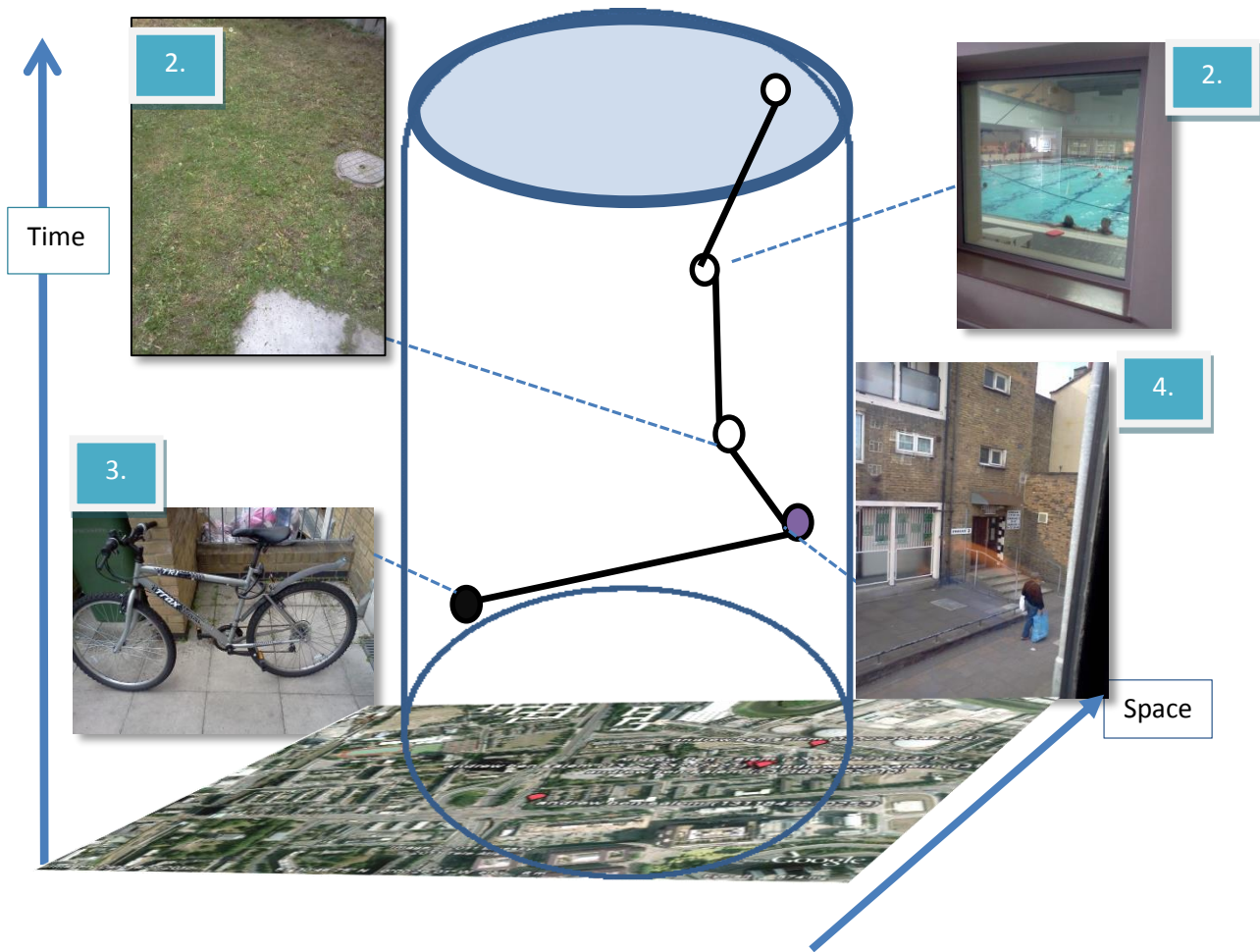
As an aspect of this, I did have another political aim to fulfil. 'Counter conduct' is a relatively sparsely discussed topic (Cadman, 2010; Dean, 2010) and relates to one lecture by Foucault (Foucault, 2007 :191-226/ 355-357). As a concept, it shows the political possibilities of Foucault's Governmentality without delving into narratives of public and conspicuous resistance: 'power' as opposed to 'Power'. It involves a wish to be governed differently; by different actors, towards different goals and by different technologies. These conducts are not necessarily antagonistic to the governmental mind-set but instead exists in the current constellation of norms containing elements within it but without necessarily being at its centre. It can develop by acting on the self and/or through the conduct of others. It could be seen as a concept for analysing challenges that do not necessarily involve imposing alternatives characterised by elaborate critiques that provide fully formed alternative ways of living. In short, it leaves the way open for young people to engage or resist to the extent to which they feel comfortable. This fits into my professional role as a Youth Worker by ensuring, at the very least, the continued evolution and transition of a group identity of committed young people into youth work in line with the capacity building and personal development that lies underneath the role of Youth Workers as 'informal educators'. Ultimately though, despite all these objectives, the survey must also be put into context of my study. It provides just one milestone in my development of an in-depth qualitative and participatory methodology. The other, more embodied aspects will be the subject of later chapters (see chapter 5, 6 and 7).

[An Example of Time Geographies](#)

Taking the inference from the first part of this chapter, this research juncture is predicated on viewing landscape as a form arising from a reciprocal engagement between people and place. I see landscape as an embodiment of cycles of movement (Ingold, 2000: 193) since to move into and through landscape is to move with it since it – a reciprocal process since it moves as well independent of the movement it hosts (see Massey, 2005: 131–7). Accordingly, the diagram (Diagram X) on the next page displays Roberts's movements on one day interspaced with the photos he took next to them. It is a spatio-temporal portrayal of Robert's busiest day using Hägerstrand's 'space-time aquariums' (Hägerstrand, 1970) as a graphical source of inspiration where each point of his day is also illustrated/supplemented by photography. My aim is to create an accurate picture of his activities on a spatial/temporal axis whilst also paying attention to the way that he segmented these activities - an everyday choreography of mobility and inertia. It is my attempt to 'know' Robert's sense of place as more than as a specified location or setting of events and as more than the setting of any uniformly calibrated 'objective' survey (see chapter 2). My objective is to reconcile Robert's particular incarnation of spatial practice, his individual local knowledges with that runaway, mobile world that has been an increasingly productive geographical concern for the past decade (see Brickwell and Datta, 2011; Gough, 2008, Cresswell, 2001). Emerging naturally and interwoven within his account are his

variants of domestic, public and parochial space acting as corroboration and replication of the previous sections.

Within interpreting Robert's day, I wish to contextualise a number of points: firstly this day was chosen because it stands as out of the ordinary based on the comparatively high number of places he visited in comparison with his and his peers' usual routines. Nonetheless, even though it was a busy day, marked by an atypically large degree of travel, the *actual* area he travels is limited. Robert stands as symptomatic of the contradiction within many of the Athenians as they had the means to travel but not the motivation. This is not to suggest that there is a lacuna on his part but merely to suggest that this ostensibly limited horizon says something about the importance of scale. Moreover, Robert's spatial/temporal path can be interpreted as following a particular spatial clot – of place, activities, people and dwelling that allows us an insight into how to analyse his process of establishing a context for his version of a youth landscape. Indeed, the implication is to know place as landscape is to move through and with it in such a way that knowledge is built up along lines of movement, and walking or cycling becomes '*itself a form of circumambulatory knowing*' (Ingold, 2004: 331). Furthermore, in his interviews, he was very eloquent on his deep place-attachment despite the fact he was aware that this was on the cusp of changing (see section 5.4.5).



The area around the person representing their 'territory' in contrast to the whole of East London (the blue area).



Local knowledge displayed of a leisure centre that even though it was a hot day was scarcely



Friend's house



The diagram above¹⁰⁸, in the spirit of is presented not as a quantitative survey of Robert's view of space and place and practices. Rather it is meant to denote something akin to a sample: a

Cost of data collection

Amount and type of resources required

Timetable considerations

Amount/complexity of data to be collected

Likely quality of the data

Statistical efficiency

Expected response rate

Dealing with sensitive issues

Training for

- a) Where research intrudes into the private sphere or delves into personal experience
- b) Where the study is concerned with deviance and social control
- c) Where it impinges on the vested interests of powerful persons or the exercise of coercion or domination
- d) Where it deals with things sacred to those being studied that they do not wish to profaned (Renzetti and Lee, 1993:6)
Renzettie and Lee...researching Sensitive topics

Survey admin and resources

-cost, time and sample dispersion

Investigate

¹⁰⁸ See appendice X for more examples. The scale has been adjusted to remain indicative. More accurate examples can be found in appendice X.

Research

Write and report

Engage

Reveal and expose

synecdoche of his activities that show the push/pull factors that motivated to leave the house on a sunny day. In doing this it also exemplifies the fact that mobility is “*always located and materialised*” in particular places (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 210) and how this movement is not to be simply understood as merely unfolding across local space. Illustrating Robert’s pinballing progress through that territorial corridor I have drawn around his destinations is to see something more than the distribution of given settings to be navigated. It is to see local space through and within which lives take shape; the relationship between the geography of his town and his biography are co-constituted as bounded territory (Hall, 2009). Still, it must be admitted that the vast majority of the data did not describe anything quite as energetic as Robert’s diagram. Most of it was based around travelling into and out of basketball practice and training (around a quarter of the nearly 100 data entries). In returning to a place again and again, in the banal, boring and effortful process of training it showed – or at least reaffirmed how the Athenians conceptualised space as based around this unchanging experience. It shows existential space as a constant process of production and reproduction based on the movements and activities of the Athenians.

Bibliography

A

- Aanensen, D. M., Huntley, D. M., Feil, E. J., & Spratt, B. G. (2009). EpiCollect: linking smartphones to web applications for epidemiology, ecology and community data collection. *PLoS one*, 4(9), e6968.
- Abbott, A. (2001). *Time matters: On theory and method*. University of Chicago Press.
- Abbott-Chapman, J., & Robertson, M. (1999). Home as a private space: some adolescent constructs. *Journal of youth studies*, 2(1), 23-43.
- Abbott-Chapman, J., & Robertson, M. (2001). Youth, leisure and home: Space, place and identity. *Loisir et société/Society and Leisure*, 24(2), 485-506.
- Abbott-Chapman, J., & Robertson, M. (2009). Adolescents' favourite places: Redefining the boundaries between private and public space. *Space and Culture*, 12(4), 419-434.
- Adams, A., Anderson, E., & McCormack, M. (2010). Establishing and challenging masculinity: The influence of gendered discourses in organized sport. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 29(3), 278-300.
- Adkins, L. (2003). Reflexivity Freedom or Habit of Gender?. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 20(6), 21-42.
- Adler, R. (1986). Physical maltreatment of children. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 20(4), 404-412.
- Ahmet, A. (2013). Home sites: the location (s) of 'home' for young men. *Urban Studies*, 50(3), 621-634.
- Ahrentzen, S., Levine, D. W., & Michelson, W. (1989). Space, time, and activity in the home: A gender analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 9(2), 89-101.
- Alexander, C., Edwards, R., & Temple, B. (2007). Contesting cultural communities: language, ethnicity and citizenship in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(5), 783-800.
- Allen, J., & Rumbold, J. (2004). Postcard conversations: A dialogue about methodology. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 4(2), 100.
- Altman, I. (1975). *The environment and social behavior: Privacy, territoriality, crowding and personal space*. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.
- Ambert, A. M. (1986). Sociology of sociology: The place of children in North American sociology. *Sociological studies of child development*, 1(1), 3-31.
- Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: reimagining the urban*. Polity Press.
- Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (1995). *Globalization, institutions, and regional development in Europe*. Oxford University Press.
- Elijah, A. (1999). *Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*.

Anderson, E. (2007). Inclusive masculinity in a fraternal setting. *Men and Masculinities*, 10(5) (2008): 604-620.

Anderson, E. (2005). Orthodox and inclusive masculinity: Competing masculinities among heterosexual men in a feminized terrain. *Sociological Perspectives*, 48(3), 337-355.

Anderson, J. (2004). Talking whilst walking: a geographical archaeology of knowledge. *Area*, 36(3), 254-261.

Anderson, S., Kinsey, R., Loader, I., & Smith, C. (1994). *Cautionary tales: young people, crime, and policing in Edinburgh*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Anderson, E., McCormack, M., & Lee, H. (2012). Male team sport hazing initiations in a culture of decreasing homophobia. *Journal of adolescent research*, 27(4), 427-448.

Andrews, G. J., & Chen, S. (2006). The production of tyrannical space. *Children's Geographies*, 4(2), 239-250.

Ansell, N. (2001). Producing knowledge about 'third world women': The politics of fieldwork in a Zimbabwean secondary school. *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 4(2), 101-116.

Zeilig, L., & Ansell, N. (2008). Spaces and scales of African student activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean university students at the intersection of campus, nation and globe. *Antipode*, 40(1), 31-54.

Antonsich, M. (2011). Rethinking territory. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(3), 422-425.

Archer, L., & Hutchings, M. (2000). 'Bettering yourself'? Discourses of risk, cost and benefit in ethnically diverse, young working-class non-participants' constructions of higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21(4), 555-574.

Atkinson, R. (2003). Domestication by cappuccino or a revenge on urban space? Control and empowerment in the management of public spaces. *Urban studies*, 40(9), 1829-1843.

Atkinson, R., & Kintrea, K. (2004). 'Opportunities and Despair, it's all in there' Practitioner Experiences and Explanations of Area Effects and Life Chances. *Sociology*, 38(3), 437-455.

Augé, M. (1995). "From Places to Non-Places." In *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Trans. John Howe. London: Verso. 75-115.

B

Back, L., (2007). *The art of listening*. Berg,.

Back, L., (2013) *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture: Racisms and Multiculture in Young Lives*. London: UCL Press.

- Bagnoli, A. (2009). Beyond the standard interview: the use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research*, 9(5), 547-570.
- Baker, S. A. (2012). From the criminal crowd to the "mediated crowd": the impact of social media on the 2011 English riots. *Safer communities*, 11(1), 40-49.
- Bainbridge, K. G. (2008) *The Facebook campus: Exploring the evolution of Facebook culture in university students*. ProQuest.
- Ball, S. J., Maguire, M., & Macrae, S. (2000). Space, work and the 'new urban economies'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3(3), 279-300.
- Ball-Rokeach, S. J., Kim, Y., & Matei, S. (2001). Storytelling neighborhood paths to belonging in diverse urban environments." *Communication Research* 28(4) 392-428.
- Bamber, J. (2000) Managing Youth Work in Scotland A Diversionary Tale. *Youth and Policy*, 5-18.
- Bamber, J. & Murphy, J. (1999) Youth work: the possibilities for critical practice. *Journal of youth studies*, 2(2), 227-242.
- Banks, M. (2001) *Visual methods in social research*. Sage.
- Bannister, J., Pickering, J., Reid, M., & Suzuki, N. (2008). *Young people and territoriality in British cities*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Barker, J., & Smith, F. (2012). What's in focus? A critical discussion of photography, children and young people. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15(2), 91-103.
- Barker, J., & Weller, S. (2003). Geography of methodological issues in research with children. *Qualitative Research*, 3(2), 207-227.
- Barnados. (2008). *Breaking the Cycle*, Available from: http://www.barnados.org.uk/news_and_events/media_centre/press_releases.htm?ref=42088 [accessed 14 April 2014]
- Barrett, D. (2011) Historian Starkey in 'racism' row over riot comments *Daily Telegraph*, 14 Aug
- Barrett, H., Storey, D., & Yarwood, R. (2003) Development through partnership: LEADER II in the Marches. *Innovations in Rural Areas*, 22, 311.
- Barry, A. (2001). *Political machines: Governing a technological society*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Batchelor, S. (2009) Girls, gangs and violence: Assessing the evidence. *Probation Journal*, 56(4), 399-414.
- Batsleer, J. R., & Davies, B. eds. (2010). *What is youth work?*. SAGE.
- Baudelaire, C. P. & Mayne, J. (1964). *The Painter of Modern Life, and Other Essays*. Translated and Edited by Jonathan Mayne. London.

- Bauman, Z. (1996). From pilgrim to tourist—or a short history of identity. *Questions of cultural identity*, 18-36.
- Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid modernity*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Beale, N. (2006). The practicalities of theory: engagement, relevance and application." *Children's Geographies*, 4(2), 219-224.
- Beazley, H. (2003). Voices from the margins: Street children's subcultures in Indonesia. *Children's geographies*, 1 (2), 181-200.
- Beck, U., A. & Lash, S. (1994). Reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order. In Beck, U. ed. *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*. Stanford University Press.
- Bell, P. (2001). Content analysis of visual images. *Handbook of visual analysis*, 10-34.
- Bell, P. A., Green, T., Fisher, J. D., & Baum, A. (1978). Environmental Psychology.—. *Fort Worth*, 4.
- Belussi, A., Catania, B., Clementini, E., & Ferrari, E. (2007). *Spatial data on the Web: modeling and management*. Springer.
- Bennett, A. (2000). *Popular music and youth culture: music, identity and place*. Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Bennett, S., Maton, K., & Kervin, L. (2008). The 'digital natives' debate: A critical review of the evidence. *British journal of educational technology*, 39(5), 775-786.
- Benwell, M. C. (2009). Challenging Minority World Privilege: Children's Outdoor Mobilities in Post-apartheid South Africa. *Mobilities*, 4(1), 77-101.
- Beresford, P. (2002). Participation and social policy: transformation, liberation or regulation?. *Social policy review*, 265-290.
- den Besten, O. (2010). Local belonging and 'geographies of emotions': Immigrant children's experience of their neighbourhoods in Paris and Berlin. *Childhood*, 17(2), 181-195.
- Bettelheim, Bruno, "Bettelheim - The Importance of Play.pdf," *The Atlantic*, 1987
- Bhavnani, K. K. (1993, April). Tracing the contours: Feminist research and feminist objectivity. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 95-104). Pergamon.
- Biggart, A., & Walther, A. (2012). Coping with Yo-Yo-Transitions. Young Adults' Struggle for Support. *A New Youth?: Young People, Generations and Family Life*, 41.
- Bird, C. M. (2005). How I stopped dreading and learned to love transcription. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11(2), 226-248.
- Blackman, S. (2005). Youth subcultural theory: A critical engagement with the concept, its origins and politics, from the Chicago school to postmodernism. *Journal of youth studies*, 8(1), 1-20.

- Blazek, M. (2011). Place, children's friendships, and the formation of gender identities in a Slovak urban neighbourhood. *Children's Geographies*, 9(3-4), 285-302.
- Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blomley, N. (2009) 'Critical human geography', in D. Gregory, R. Johnston, G. Pratt, M.J. Watts and S. Whatmore (eds) *The dictionary of human geography* (5th Edition), Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 123-4
- Bondi, L. (2008). On the relational dynamics of caring: a psychotherapeutic approach to emotional and power dimensions of women's care work. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 15(3), 249-265.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *Réponses: pour une anthropologie réflexive* (p. 129). Paris: Seuil.
- Bovill, M., & Livingstone, S., eds. (2001). *Children and their changing media environment: A European comparative study*. London: Routledge.
- Boyer, E. L. (1990). *Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Brackertz, N. (2007). Who is hard to reach and why. *Institute for Social Research, Swinburne University of Technology, Hawthorn*, <<http://www.sisr.net/publications/0701brackertz.pdf>>
- Bradley, H., & Devadason, R. (2008). Fractured transitions: Young adults' pathways into contemporary labour markets. *Sociology*, 42(1), 119-136.
- Bradner, E., & Mark, G. (2002, November). Why distance matters: effects on cooperation, persuasion and deception. In *Proceedings of the 2002 ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work* (pp. 226-235). ACM.
- Braidotti, R. (1994). *Nomadic subjects: Embodiment and sexual difference in contemporary feminist theory*. Columbia University Press.
- Briggs, D. (2010). 'True stories from bare times on road': Developing empowerment, identity and social capital among urban minority ethnic young people in London, UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(5), 851-871.
- Brookman, F., Bennett, T., Hochstetler, A., & Copes, H. (2011). The 'code of the street' and the generation of street violence in the UK. *European Journal of Criminology*, 8(1), 17-31.
- Brown, B., McGregor, M., & Laurier, E. (2013, April). iPhone in vivo: video analysis of mobile device use. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 1031-1040). ACM.
- Brower, S. (1965). The Signs We Learn to Read: Territoriality, the Exterior Space. *Landscape* 15, 9-12.
- Brower, Sidney N. (1980). Territory in urban settings. In Altman, I., Rapoport, A., & Wohlwill, J. F. eds. *Environment and culture* (Vol. 1). Springer. 179-207

Browning, C. R., Dietz, R. D., & Feinberg, S. L. (2004). The paradox of social organization: Networks, collective efficacy, and violent crime in urban neighborhoods. *Social Forces*, 83(2), 503-534.

Bunge, W. (1969). *The first years of the Detroit Geographical Expedition: a personal report*. Detroit, MI: Society for Human Exploration.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of sex*. Routledge

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble*. Routledge.

Burawoy, Michael, ed. (2000) *Global ethnography: Forces, connections, and imaginations in a postmodern world*. University of California Pr.

Byrne, David S. (1998) *Complexity theory and the social sciences: an introduction*. Psychology Press,.

Bynner, J. (2005). Rethinking the youth phase of the life-course: the case for emerging adulthood?. *Journal of youth studies*, 8(4), 367-384.

Barenholdt, J. O., & Granas, B. (Eds.). (2008). *Mobility and place: enacting northern European peripheries*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd..

C

Cadman, L. (2010). How (not) to be governed: Foucault, critique, and the political. *Environment and planning D, Society and space*, 28(3), 539.

Cahill, C. (2000). Street literacy: Urban teenagers' strategies for negotiating their neighbourhood. *Journal of youth studies*, 3(3), 251-277.

Cairns, L. (2001). Investing in children: Learning how to promote the rights of all children. *Children & society*, 15(5), 347-360.

Callon, M., Law, J., & Urry, J. (2004). Absent presence: localities, globalities and methods. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22(1), 3-11.

Cameron, E. (2012). New geographies of story and storytelling. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(5), 573-592.

Campbell, M. A. (2005). *The impact of the mobile phone on young people's social life*. Paper presented to Social Change in the 21st Century Conference. Centre for Social Change Research Queensland University of Technology 28 October 2005. Retrieved from: <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/3492/1/3492.pdf?q=on-the-mobile-the-effects-..>

Candea, M. (2007). Arbitrary locations: in defence of the bounded field-site. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13(1), 167-184.

Carrington, K. (1993). Cultural studies, youth culture and delinquency. *Youth subcultures. Theory, history and the Australian experience*, 27-32.

- Case, J., & Marshall, D. (2004). Between deep and surface: procedural approaches to learning in engineering education contexts. *Studies in Higher Education, 29*(5), 605-615.
- De Certeau, M. (2004). "Making do": uses and tactics. *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn*, 217.
- Chatterton, P., & Hollands, R. (2003). *Urban nightscapes: Youth cultures, pleasure spaces and corporate power* (Vol. 18). Psychology Press.
- Chatterton, P., & Hollands, R. (2002). Theorising urban playscapes: producing, regulating and consuming youthful nightlife city spaces. *Urban studies, 39*(1), 95-116.
- Cheshire, J., Kerswill, P., Fox, S., & Torgersen, E. (2011). Contact, the feature pool and the speech community: The emergence of Multicultural London English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 15*(2), 151-196.
- Cheung, S. Y., & Heath, A. (2007). Nice work if you can get it: Ethnic penalties in Great Britain. In *proceedings-british academy* (Vol. 137, p. 507). Oxford university press inc...
- Childress, H. (2004). Teenagers, territory and the appropriation of space. *Childhood, 11*(2), 195-205.
- Cressey, P. G. (2008). *The taxi-dance hall: A sociological study in commercialized recreation and city life*. University of Chicago Press.
- Chiricos, T., Eschholz, S., & Gertz, M. (1997). Crime, news and fear of crime: Toward an identification of audience effects. *Social problems, 34*2-357.
- Christensen, P., & A. James, A. (2000). *Conducting Research with Children*. London: Falmer Press.
- Christensen, P., & Prout, A. (2002). Working with Ethical Symmetry in Social Research with Children, *Childhood, 9*, 477-497
- Christensen, P.M., & O'Brien, M. (2003). *Children in the City: Home, Neighborhood and Community* Routledge.
- Christiansen, C., Utas, M. & Vigh, H.E. (2006). *Navigating Youth-generating Adulthood Nordiska Afrikainst*
- Christie, H. (2007). Higher education and spatial (im) mobility: nontraditional students and living at home. *Environment and Planning A, 39*(10), 2445.
- Clark, A., & Moss, P. (2011). *Listening to young children: The mosaic approach*. NCB.
- Coakley, J. J., Harris, J. C., & Park, R. J. (1983). *Play, games, and sport: developmental implications for young people* (pp. 431-450). Human Kinetics Publishers, Inc.
- Coakley, J. (2011). Youth Sports What Counts as "Positive Development?" *Journal of sport & social issues, 35*(3), 306-324.
- Coalter, F. (2005). *The social benefits of sport: An overview to inform the community planning process*. sportscotland.

- Coffey, A., & Hall, T., eds. (2011). *Researching Young People*. SAGE.
- Cohen, P. (1999). *New Ethnicities, Old Racisms*. Zed Books, Ltd,
- Coussée, F. (2009). The relevance of youth work's history. *The history of youth work in Europe and its relevance for youth work policy today*, 6-10.
- Cohen, P., & Ainley, P. (2000). In the country of the blind?: Youth studies and cultural studies in Britain. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3(1), 79-95.
- Commission for Racial Equality. (2005). *Commission for Integration and Cohesion: a Response by the Commission for Racial Equality*. Commission for Racial Equality, London.
- Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational researcher*, 19(5), 2-14.
- Cook, T., & Hess, E. (2007). What the Camera Sees and from Whose Perspective Fun methodologies for engaging children in enlightening adults. *Childhood*, 14(1), 29-45.
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. eds. (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?*. Zed Books.
- Cook, T. and Hess, E. (2007). What the camera sees and from whose perspective. Fun methodologies for engaging children in enlightening adults. *Childhood*, 14, 29–45
- Cooper, C. (2012). Imagining 'radical' youth work possibilities—challenging the 'symbolic violence' within the mainstream tradition in contemporary state-led youth work practice in England. *Journal of youth studies*, 15(1), 53-71.
- Corner, J. (1999). The agency of mapping: Speculation, critique and invention in Cosgrove, D. (1999). *Mappings*. Reaktion books. 213-252
- Coussée, F. (2009). The relevance of youth work's history. *The history of youth work in Europe and its relevance for youth work policy today*, 6-10. Available at: <https://biblio.ugent.be/input/download?func=downloadFile&recordId=678237&fileId=749882>
- Taylor, R. B. (2002). Fear of crime, local social ties, and collective efficacy: Maybe masquerading measurement, maybe déjà vu all over again. *Justice Quarterly* 19 773-792.
- Cox, K. R. (1989). The Politics of Turf and the Question of Class.. In Wolch, J. & Michael D. eds., *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life*. Boston: Unwin Hyman. 61-90
- Craggs, R. (2011). The Long and Dusty Road': Comex Travel Cultures and Commonwealth Citizenship on the Asian Highway. *Cultural Geographies*, 18(3) 363-383
- Crang, M. (2003). The hair in the gate: Visuality and geographical knowledge. *Antipode*, 35(2), 238-243.
- Crang, M. (2009). "Visual Methods and Methodologies, . In DeLyser, D. ed. *The Sage handbook of qualitative geography*. Sage. 208-224.
- Crawford, A. (1998). *Crime Prevention & Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices*. Longman.

- Crawford, A., & Lister, S. (2007). *The use and impact of dispersal orders*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford law review*, 1241-1299.
- Cresswell, T. (2008). Place: encountering geography as philosophy. *Geography*, 93(3), 132-139.
- Cresswell, T. (2011). Mobilities I: Catching Up. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(4), 550-558
- Cresswell, T. (2012). Mobilities II Still. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(5), 645-653.
- Cresswell, T., & Merriman, P. (Eds.). (2011). *Geographies of mobilities: practices, spaces, subjects*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd..
- Cresswell, T. (2010). Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and planning. D, Society and space*, 28(1), 17.
- Creswell, J. W., & Maietta, R. C. (2002). Qualitative research. *Handbook of research design and social measurement*, 6, 143-184.
- Crimmens, D., Factor, F., Jeffs, T., Pitts, J., Pugh, C., Spence, J., & Turner, P. (2004). *Reaching socially excluded young people: a national study of street-based youth work*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Crossley, N. (1996). *Intersubjectivity: The fabric of social becoming* (Vol. 4). Sage.
- Cunningham, H. (2005). *Children and childhood in western society since 1500*. Pearson Education.
- Cunningham, Hugh. "Histories of childhood." *The American Historical Review* 103.4 (1998): 1195-1208.
- Batterbury, S., Foresti, M., Lyons, C., & Stern, E. (2000). *Informal learning and widening participation*. DfEE. Retrieved from:
<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/RR191.pdf>.
- Cunningham, H. (2013). Conceptualizing Cruelty to Children. In Flegel, M. *Conceptualizing Cruelty to Children in Nineteenth-century England: Literature, Representation, and the NSPCC*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. 501-502.
- Curti, G. H. (2009). *Designing modern childhoods: history, space, and the material culture of children*. Rutgers University Press
- Curtis, S., & Riva, M. (2009). Health geographies I: complexity theory and human health. *Progress in Human Geography*.

D

- Davidson, E. (2010). *The Everyday Anti-social* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation)

- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist theory*, 9(1), 67-85.
- Davies, A. (2008). *The Gangs of Manchester: The Story of the Scuttlers, Britain's First Youth Cult*. Preston: Milo Books.
- Davies, B. D. (1999). *A History of the Youth Service in England: 1979-1999: From Thatcherism to New Labour*. National Youth Agency.
- Davies, R. (2012). Places to go, things to do and people to see: space and activity in English youth work policy.. In Kraftl, P., Horton, J., & Tucker, F. eds. *Critical Geographies of Childhood and Youth: Contemporary Policy and Practice*. Policy Press . 79-93
- Danic, I. (2012). The Everyday Occupation of Space by Teenagers in a Deprived Neighbourhood: Conflict Without Mobilisation. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(5), 659-668.
- Dawson, P., & Williams, E. (2009). Reflections from a Police Research Unit—An Inside Job1. *Policing*, 3(4), 373-380.
- Dean, Jonathan (2011). Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys : governmentality, statepower and the responsabilization of youth. In: Contesting the State Conference, University of Kent, 13 May, 2011. (Unpublished)
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1983). *Anti-Oedipus*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (New York: Viking, 1977), 91.
- Demeritt, D., & Lees, L. (2005). Research relevance, 'knowledge transfer' and the geographies of CASE studentship collaboration. *Area*, 37(2), 127-137.
- Densley, James A. "It's Gang Life, But Not As We Know It The Evolution of Gang Business." *Crime & Delinquency* 60, no. 4 (2014): 517-546.
- Denzin, Norman K. *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Transaction publishers, 1970.
- Department for Children, School and Families. (2007). *Aiming high for young people: a ten year strategy for positive activities*. London: Stationery Office. Retrieved from: <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7758/1/PU214.pdf>
- Department for Children, School and Families. (2010). *Safeguarding Children and Young People Who May Be Affected by Gang Activity*. London: Stationery Office. Retrieved from: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/288804/Safeguarding_children_Gang_activity.pdf
- Department for Education and Skills (2014). *Participation in education, training and employment by 16-18 year olds in England: End of 2013'*. London: Stationery Office.
- Detached Youth Work. (2007). *Conversation with Graeme Tiffany relating to the values and practice of Detached Youth Work* Retrieved from: <http://www.c2ypodcast.org/2012/11/28/detached-youth-work-a-conversation-with-graeme-tiffany/>

- Devine, A. (1890). *Scuttlers and Scuttling*. Manchester: Manchester Guardian.
- Dewey, J. (1925). Logic: The theory of inquiry (1938). *The later works, 1953*, 1-549.
- Dodge, M., Kitchin, R., & Perkins, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Rethinking maps: new frontiers in cartographic theory*. Routledge.
- Doel, M. A. (2000). Spatial science after Dr Seuss and Gilles Deleuze. *Thinking space, 9*, 117.
- Dolphin, C. Z. (1988). Beyond hall: Variables in the use of personal space in intercultural transactions. *Howard Journal of Communications, 1*(1), 23-38.
- Dorling, D., & Pritchard, J. (2010). The geography of poverty, inequality and wealth in the UK and abroad: because enough is never enough. *Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy, 3*(2-3), 81-106.
- Downs, A. (1972). Up and down with ecology: The issue attention cycle. *Public interest, 28*(1), 38-50.
- Dunlap, R. E. (2002). Paradigms, theories, and environmental sociology. *Sociological theory and the environment: Classical foundations, contemporary insights*, 329-350.
- Durlauf, S. (2008). *The new Palgrave dictionary of economics*. L. Blume (Ed.). Palgram Macmillan.
- Dworkin, J. B., Larson, R., & Hansen, D. (2003). Adolescents' accounts of growth experiences in youth activities. *Journal of youth and adolescence, 32*(1), 17-26.

E

- Edney, J. J. (1976). Human territories: Comment on functional properties. *Environment and Behavior*.
- Edensor, T. (2011). Commuter: mobility, rhythm and commuting. *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects, Farnham: Ashgate*, 189-204.
- Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of management review, 14*(4), 532-550.
- Eisner, W. (2008). *Comics and Sequential Art: Principles and Practices from the Legendary Cartoonist (Will Eisner Instructional Books)*. WW Norton & Company.
- Eisner, W. (2008). *Comics and Sequential Art: Principles and Practices from the Legendary Cartoonist (Will Eisner Instructional Books)*. WW Norton & Company.
- Eldén, S. (2012). Inviting the messy: Drawing methods and 'children's voices'. *Childhood, 0907568212447243*.
- Entwistle, N. (2000, November). Promoting deep learning through teaching and assessment: conceptual frameworks and educational contexts. In *TLRP conference, Leicester*.

Eraut, M. (2009). 2.1 Transfer of knowledge between education and workplace settings. *Knowledge, values and educational policy: A critical perspective*, 65.

Escobar, A. (2001). Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization. *Political geography*, 20(2), 139-174.

Evans, B. (2008). Geographies of youth/young people. *Geography Compass*, 2(5), 1659-1680.

Evans, K. (2002). Taking control of their lives? Agency in young adult transitions in England and the New Germany. *Journal of youth studies*, 5(3), 245-269.

Evans, K., & Furlong, A. (1997). Metaphors of youth transitions: niches, pathways, trajectories or navigations.

Evens, T. T., & Handelman, D. (Eds.). (2006). *The Manchester School: practice and ethnographic praxis in anthropology*. Berghahn Books.

F

Fattah, E. A., & Sacco, V. F. (1989). *Crime and Victimization of the Elderly*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Feagin, J. R., Orum, A. M., & Sjoberg, G. (Eds.). (1991). *A case for the case study*. UNC Press Books.

Featherstone, M., Thrift, N., & Urry, J. (2004). Cultures of automobility. *special issue of Theory, Culture and Society*, 21, 1-284.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.

Fotel, T., & Thomsen, T. U. (2002). The Surveillance of Children's Mobility. *Surveillance & Society*, 1(4).

Foster, S., & Giles-Corti, B. (2008). The built environment, neighborhood crime and constrained physical activity: an exploration of inconsistent findings. *Preventive Medicine*, 47(3), 241-251.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power/knowledge (C. Gordon, Ed.). New York: Harvester Wheatshea

Foucault, M. (1983). *This is not a pipe* (No. 24). University of California Press.

Foucault, M. 1980). Questions on geography. *Foucault Michel. Power/Knowledge. Ed. Colin Gordon. Trans. Colin Gordon. et. al., New York: Pantheon Books. 173-184.*

Fox, K. (2001). Evolution, alienation and gossip: The role of mobile telecommunications in the 21st century. *Social Issue Research Center*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sirc.org/publik/gossip.shtml>

Francis, M. (1989). Control as a dimension of public-space quality. In *Public places and spaces* (pp. 147-172). Springer US.

Fraser, A. (2012). Youth in Crisis? Gangs, Territoriality and Violence. Edited by Barry Goldson (London: Routledge, 2011, 248pp.£ 25.99). *British Journal of Criminology*, 52(1), 227-230.

Fraser, N. (2009). Social justice in the age of identity politics. *Geographic thought: A praxis perspective*, 72-91.

French, R. (2001). "Negative capability": managing the confusing uncertainties of change. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 14(5), 480-492.

Frosh, S., & Phoenix, A. (2002). *Young masculinities: Understanding boys in contemporary society*. Palgrave.

Frost, N. (2005). *Professionalism, partnership and joined-up thinking: A research review of front-line working with children and families*. Research in practice.

Frost, N., Robinson, M., & Anning, A. (2005). Social workers in multidisciplinary teams: issues and dilemmas for professional practice. *Child & Family Social Work*, 10(3), 187-196.

Fuhrmann, S., MacEachren, A., DeBerry, M., Bosley, J., Taylor, R. L., Gahegan, M., & Downs, R. (2005). MapStats for kids: Making geographic and statistical facts available to children. *Journal of Geography*, 104(6), 233-241.

Fuller, D., & Kitchin, R. (Eds.). (2004). *Radical theory/Critical praxis: Making a difference beyond the academy?*. Praxis (e) Press.

Furlong, A. (1992). *Growing up in a classless society? School to work transitions*. Edinburgh University Press.

Furlong, A., & Cartmel, F. (1997). Risk and uncertainty in the youth transition. *Young: The Nordic Journal of Youth Research*, 5(1), 3-20.

G

Gabb, J. (2008). *Researching intimacy in families*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Gallagher, M. (2008). 'Power is not an evil': rethinking power in participatory methods. *Children's geographies*, 6(2), 137-150.

Gallacher, L. A., & Gallagher, M. (2008). Methodological Immaturity in Childhood Research? Thinking through participatory methods'. *Childhood*, 15(4), 499-516.

Garland, D. (1996). The limits of the sovereign state strategies of crime control in contemporary society. *British journal of criminology*, 36(4), 445-471.

Gatrell, A. C. (2005). Complexity theory and geographies of health: a critical assessment. *Social Science & Medicine*, 60(12), 2661-2671.

Gauntlett, D. (2007). *Creative explorations: New approaches to identities and audiences*. Routledge.

Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for?. *American political science review*, 98(02), 341-354.

- Ghail, M. M., (1994) *The making of men: Masculinities, sexualities and schooling*. Open University Press.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A postcapitalist politics*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008). Diverse economies: performative practices for other worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(5), 613-632.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis* (Vol. 241). Univ of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). Hermeneutics and social theory. *Hermeneutics: Questions and prospects*, 215-230.
- Giddens, A. (2013). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Gieryn, T. F. (2000). A space for place in sociology. *Annual review of sociology*, 463-496.
- Gifford, R. (1982). Projected interpersonal distance and orientation choices: Personality, sex, and social situation. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 145-152.
- Gil'adi, A. (1988). *Children of Islam: concepts of childhood in medieval Muslim society*. London: Macmillan.
- Gilbert, M. R. (1994). The Politics of Location: Doing Feminist Research at "Home". *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 90-96.
- Gilchrist, R., Jeffs, T., & Spence, J. (2003). *Architects of change: studies in the history of community and youth work*. Youth Work Press.
- Gilchrist, R., Jeffs, T., & Spence, J. (2001). *Essays in the history of community and youth work*. Youth Work Press.
- Gill, K., & Sveinsson, K. (2012). *.Passing the Baton*. Runnymede Trust.
- Gilligan, A. (2011). David Cameron condemns sick society as grammar school girl in court over riots" *Daily Telegraph*, 11 August.
- Gillies, V. (2005). Raising the 'meritocracy' parenting and the individualization of social class. *Sociology*, 39(5), 835-853.
- Gilroy, P. (1993). *Small acts: Thoughts on the politics of black cultures*. London: Serpent's Tail.
- Glamser, F. D. (1990). Contest location, player misconduct, and race: a case from English soccer. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 13(1), 41-49.
- Glyptis, S. (1989). *Leisure and unemployment*. Open University Press.

- Gold, J. R. (1982). Territoriality and human spatial behaviour. *Progress in Human Geography*, 6(1), 44-67.
- Grazian, D. (2008). *On the make: The hustle of urban nightlife*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gregory, D. (2000). Spatiality. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th Edition, Oxford, Blackwell. 780-782.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Goodey, J. (1994). Fear of crime: What can children tell us?. *International Review of Victimology*, 3(3), 195-210.
- Goodey, J. (1997). Boys Don't Cry Masculinities, Fear of Crime and Fearlessness. *British journal of criminology*, 37(3), 401-418.
- Gottman, J. (1973). *The significance of territory*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Gottman, J. (1975). The evolution of the concept of territory. *Social Science Information*, 14(3-4), 29-47
- Gough, K. V. (2008). 'Moving around': The social and spatial mobility of youth in Lusaka. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(3), 243-255.
- Gough, K. V., & Franch, M. (2005). Spaces of the street: socio-spatial mobility and exclusion of youth in Recife. *Children's Geographies*, 3(2), 149-166.
- Graham, S. (2001). The city as sociotechnical process Networked mobilities and urban social inequalities. *City*, 5(3), 339-349.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American journal of sociology*, 1360-1380.
- Green, N. (2003). Outwardly mobile: Young people and mobile technologies. *Machines that become us: The social context of personal communication technology*, 201-218.
- Griffin, C. (1985). *Typical girls?: Young women from school to the job market*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Griffin, C. (2013). *Representations of youth: The study of youth and adolescence in Britain and America*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Grund, T. U., & Densley, J. A. (2012). Ethnic heterogeneity in the activity and structure of a Black street gang. *European Journal of Criminology*, 9(4), 388-406.
- Gunaratnam, Y. (2003). *Researching 'race' and ethnicity: Methods, knowledge and power*. Sage.
- Gunter, A. (2010). *Growing Up Bad?: Black Youth, 'road' Culture and Badness in an East London Neighbourhood*. Tufnell Press,.

Gunter, A., & Watt, P. (2009). Grafting, going to college and working on road: youth transitions and cultures in an East London neighbourhood. *Journal of youth studies*, 12(5), 515-529.

Gurin, P., & Markus, H. (1988). Group identity: The psychological mechanisms of durable salience. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*.

Guvi, K. (2007). Cataclysmic or enchanting: The impact of private spaces on broader social interaction amongst teenagers. Retrieved March, 20, 2009.

H

Hague, Euan. "The right to enter every other state'—the Supreme Court and African American mobility in the United States." *Mobilities* 5, no. 3 (2010): 331-347.

Hagedorn, John, ed. *Gangs in the global city: Alternatives to traditional criminology*. University of Illinois Press, 2007.

Halfacree, Keith. "Introduction: turning neglect into engagement within rural geographies of childhood and youth." *Children's Geographies* 2, no. 1 (2004): 5-11.

Hall, Edward T. "Space speaks." *The Silent Language*. New York: Anchor (1959): 162-187.

Hall, Stuart, and Paul Du Gay, eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*: Sage Publications. Sage, (1996.)

Hall, Stuart, ed. *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. Vol. 2. Sage, (1997.)

Hall, Tom. "Footwork: moving and knowing in local space (s)." *Qualitative Research* 9, no. 5 (2009): 571-585.

Hall, Tom, Amanda Coffey, and Brett Lashua. "Steps and stages: rethinking transitions in youth and place." *Journal of Youth Studies* 12, no. 5 (2009): 547-561.

Hall, Tom, Amanda Coffey, and Brett Lashua. "Steps and stages: rethinking transitions in youth and place." *Journal of Youth Studies* 12.5 (2009): 547-561.

Hancock, AM, "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2007

Haraway, D, and AC Manifesto, *Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century*, 1991

Harraway, D. "A cyborg manifesto: Science, technology, and socialist-feminism in the late twentieth century." *Simians, cyborgs and women: the reinvention of nature* (1991): 149-82.

Harding, D. J. *Living the drama: Community, conflict, and culture among inner-city boys*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

- Harker, C. "Student im/mobility in Birzeit, Palestine." *Mobilities* 4, no. 1 (2009): 11-35.
- Harley, J. B. "Deconstructing the map." *Cartographica: The international journal for geographic information and geovisualization* 26.2 (1989): 1-20.
- Harris, R. *New ethnicities and language use*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.]
- Hart, R. *Children's experience of place*. Irvington, 1979.
- Hart, R. "Children as the makers of a new geography." *Building Identities: Gender Perspectives on Children and Urban Space* (1995): 41-47.
- Hartless, JM, J Ditton, G Nair, and S Phillips, "MORE SINNED AGAINST THAN SINNING A Study of Young Teenagers' Experience of Crime," *British Journal of Criminology*, 1995]
- Hartley, J. "Case study research." *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (2004): 323-333.
- Harvey, F. "From geographic holism to geographic information system." *The Professional Geographer* 49, no. 1 (1997): 77-85.
- Hebdige, D. "Subculture: The meaning of style." *Critical Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1995): 120-124.
- Hemmings, C. (2002). *Bisexual spaces: A geography of sexuality and gender*. Psychology Press.
- Henderson, S. (2007). *Inventing adulthoods: a biographical approach to youth transitions*. Sage.
- Herbert, D., & Davidson, N. (1994). Modifying the built environment: the impact of improved street lighting. *Geoforum*, 25(3), 339-350.
- Hersch, P. (1999). *A tribe apart: A journey into the heart of American adolescence*. Random House LLC..
- Hermans, H. J., Kempen, H. J., & Van Loon, R. J. (1992). The dialogical self: Beyond individualism and rationalism. *American psychologist*, 47(1), 23.
- Hesse, B. (1997). "White Governmentality" Urbanism, nationalism, racism. *Imagining Cities*, 85.
- Heywood, C. (2001). *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hill, M. J., & Ham, C. (1997). *The policy process in the modern state* (Vol. 3). London: Prentice Hall.
- Hill, M., Davis, J., Prout, A., & Tisdall, K. (2004). Moving the participation agenda forward. *Children & society*, 18(2), 77-96
- Hitchings, R. (2012). People can talk about their practices. *Area*, 44(1), 61-67.
- Highmore, B. (2002). *Everyday life and cultural theory: An introduction*. Routledge.

- Höflich, J. R. (2006). The mobile phone and the dynamic between private and public communication: Results of an international exploratory study. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy*, 19(2), 58-68.
- Höflich, J. R., & Hartmann, M. (Eds.). (2006). *Mobile communication in everyday life: Ethnographic views, observations and reflections* (Vol. 2). Frank & Timme GmbH.
- Hoggett, P. ed. (1997). *Contested Communities: experiences, struggles, policies*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Holdsworth, C. (2009). 'Going away to uni': mobility, modernity, and independence of English higher education students. *Environment and planning. A*, 41(8), 1849.
- Hollands, R. (2002). Divisions in the dark: youth cultures, transitions and segmented consumption spaces in the night-time economy. *Journal of youth studies*, 5(2), 153-171.
- Hollingworth, S., & Mansaray, A. (2012). Conviviality under the cosmopolitan canopy? Social mixing and friendships in an urban secondary school. *Sociological Research Online*, 17(3), 2.
- Holloway, S. L., & Valentine, G. (2005). Children's geographies and the new social studies of childhood. *Childhood: critical concepts in sociology*. London: Routledge, 163-188.
- Holt, L. (2004). The 'voices' of children: de-centring empowering research relations. *Children's Geographies*, 2(1), 13-27.
- Holton, M., & Riley, M. (2013). Student geographies: exploring the diverse geographies of students and higher education. *Geography Compass*, 7(1), 61-74.
- Hopkins, P., & Pain, R. (2007). Geographies of age: thinking relationally. *Area*, 39(3), 287-294.
- Hopkins, P. E., (2013). *Young people, place and identity*. Routledge.
- Hopkins, P., & Pain, R. (2007). Geographies of age: thinking relationally. *Area*, 39(3), 287-294..
- Horschelmann, K. & Van Blerk, L. (2013). *Children, youth and the city*. Routledge.
- Horton, J., & Kraftl, P. (2005). For more-than-usefulness: six overlapping points about children's geographies. *Children's geographies*, 3(2), 131-143.
- Horton, J., & Kraftl, P. (2008). Reflections on geographies of age: a response to Hopkins and Pain. *Area*, 40(2), 284-288.
- Hubbard, P. (2006). *City*. Routledge.
- Hughes, G. & Edwards, A. eds. (2013). *Crime Control Community*. Routledge.
- Hull, G. A. (2003). At last: Youth culture and digital media: New literacies for new times. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 229-233.
- Humphreys, L. (2010). Mobile social networks and urban public space. *New Media & Society*, 12(5), 763-778.

Hunter, J. D. (1991). *Culture wars: The struggle to define America*. New York, NY: Basic Books

Hustinx, L. (2001). Individualisation and new styles of youth volunteering: An empirical exploration. *Voluntary Action*, 3(2), 57-76.

Hylton, K. (2008). *Race and sport: critical race theory*. Routledge.

I

Ilan, J. (2012). 'The industry's the new road': Crime, commodification and street cultural tropes in UK urban music. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 8(1), 39-55.

Imrie, R. (2004). Urban Geography, Relevance, and Resistance to the "Policy Turn". *Urban Geography*, 25(8), 697-708.

Ingold, T.ed. (2011). *Redrawing anthropology: Materials, movements, lines*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Ito, M. (2005). Mobile phones, Japanese youth, and the re-placement of social contact. In *Mobile Communications* (pp. 131-148). Springer London.

Irwin, S. (2006). *Combining data, enhancing explanation*. NCRM.eprints.ac.uk

Ivins, W. M., & Pèlerin, J. (1973). *On the rationalization of sight: with an examination of three Renaissance texts on perspective*. Da Capo Press

J

Jackson, J. (2009). A psychological perspective on vulnerability in the fear of crime. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 15(4), 365-390.

Jackson, M. C. (2003). *Systems thinking: Creative holism for managers*, Jarwan center.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing childhood*. Teachers College Press, Williston.

James, M. (2012). *Upcoming movements: young people, multicultural, marginality and politics in outer East London* (Doctoral dissertation, The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)).

Jeffrey, Craig. "Geographies of children and youth I: eroding maps of life." *Progress in human geography* 34, no. 4 (2010): 496-505.

Jeffrey, C. (2012). Geographies of children and youth II Global youth agency. *Progress in human geography*, 36(2), 245-253.

Jeffrey, C. (2013). Geographies of children and youth III Alchemists of the revolution?. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(1), 145-152.

Jeffer, T. (1990). *Young people, inequality and youth work*. Macmillan Education,

- Jenkins-Smith, H. C., & Sabatier, P. A. (1993). The dynamics of policy-oriented learning. *Policy change and learning: An advocacy coalition approach*, 41-56.
- Jenks, M. (2013). Sneaking into the Frame: Photographers Inverting the Lens.
- Jessop, B., Brenner, N., & Jones, M. (2008). Theorizing sociospatial relations. *Environment and planning. D, Society and space*, 26(3), 389.
- Johnson-Hanks, J. (2002). On the limits of life stages in ethnography: Toward a theory of vital conjunctures. *American Anthropologist*, 104(3), 865-880.
- Jones, G., & Wallace, C. (1992). *Youth, family, and citizenship*. Open University Press.
- Jones, A. (2011). Theorising international youth volunteering: training for global (corporate) work?. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36(4), 530-544.
- Jones, O. (2012). *Chavs: The demonization of the working class*. Verso Books.
- Jones, T., & Newburn, T. (2001). *Widening access: Improving police relations with hard to reach groups*. Home Office, Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Joswiak, G. (2013) 'Gove: Youth policy not a central government priority. *Children and Young People Now* Friday 25 January Retrieved from: <http://www.cypnow.co.uk/cyp/news/1076071/youth-policy-central-government-priority-gove#sthash.SgQTCoQl.dpuf>
- Jullien, F. (2011). *The silent transformations*. Calcutta: Seagull Books.
- Jupp, E. (2007). Participation, local knowledge and empowerment: researching public space with young people. *Environment and planning A*, 39(12), 2832.
- ## K
- Katz, C. (1992). All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography. *Environment and Planning D*, 10, 495-495.
- Kärrholm, M. (2007). The materiality of territorial production a conceptual discussion of territoriality, materiality, and the everyday life of public space. *Space and culture*, 10(4), 437-453.
- Kärrholm, M. (2008). The territorialisation of a pedestrian precinct in Malmö: materialities in the commercialisation of public space. *Urban Studies*, 45(9), 1903-1924.
- Keats, J. (1963). Negative Capability. *Enright, DJ & K de Chickera*.
- Kesby, M. (2007). Methodological insights on and from children's geographies.
- Kellett, M. (2004). 'Just teach us the skills please, we'll do the rest': empowering ten-year-olds as active researchers. *Children & Society*, 18(5), 329-343.
- Kintrea, K., St Clair, R., & Houston, M. (2011). *The influence of parents, places and poverty on educational attitudes and aspirations*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

- Kinney, A. B. ed., (1995). *Chinese Views of Childhood*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Kisby, B. (2010). The Big Society: power to the people?. *The Political Quarterly*, 81(4), 484-491.
- Kitchin, R., & Dodge, M. (2007). Rethinking maps. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(3), 331-344.
- Klein, M. W., Kerner, H. J., Maxson, C., & Weitekamp, E. (Eds.). (2000). *The eurogang paradox: Street gangs and youth groups in the US and Europe*. Springer.
- Knowles, E. S. (1989). Spatial behavior of individuals and groups. *Psychology of group influence*, 53-86.
- Koch, J. R., Roberts, A. E., Cannon, J. H., Armstrong, M. L., & Owen, D. C. (2005). College students, tattooing, and the health belief model: Extending social psychological perspectives on youth culture and deviance. *Sociological Spectrum*, 25(1), 79-102.
- Kowinski, W. S. (1985). *The mailing of America*. New York.
- Kraftl, P. (2013). Towards geographies of 'alternative' education: a case study of UK home schooling families. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38(3), 436-450.
- Kraftl, P., Horton, J., & Tucker, F. (2012). *Critical Geographies of Childhood and Youth: Contemporary Policy and Practice*. Policy Press.
- Kranzberg, M. (1986). Technology and History: "Kranzberg's Laws". *Technology and Culture*, 544-560.
- Kullman, K. (2012). Experiments with moving children and digital cameras. *Children's Geographies*, 10(1), 1-16.
- Kwan, M. P. (2007). Mobile Communications, Social Networks, and Urban Travel: Hypertext as a New Metaphor for Conceptualizing Spatial Interaction*. *The Professional Geographer*, 59(4), 434-446.
- Kwan, M. P. (2002). Feminist visualization: Re-envisioning GIS as a method in feminist geographic research. *Annals of the association of American Geographers*, 92(4), 645-661.
- Kwan, M. P. (2004). Beyond difference: From canonical geography to hybrid geographies. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94(4), 756-763.
- ## L
- L'Aoustet, O., & Griffet, J. (2004). Sharing Public Space Youth Experience and Socialization in Marseille's Borely Park. *Space and culture*, 7(2), 173-187.
- Langevang, T. (2007). Movements in time and space: using multiple methods in research with young people in Accra, Ghana. *Children's Geographies*, 5(3), 267-282.
- Langevang, T. (2008). 'We are managing!' Uncertain paths to respectable adulthoods in Accra, Ghana. *Geoforum*, 39(6), 2039-2047.

- Langevang, T., & Gough, K. V. (2009). Surviving through movement: the mobility of urban youth in Ghana. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10(7), 741-756.
- Larousse. (2006). *Le petit Larousse illustré: en couleurs: 87000 articles, 5000 illustrations, 341 cartes, cahier thématique, chronologie universelle, atlas géographique, drapeaux du monde*. Larousse.
- Larson, R. W., & Verma, S. (1999). How children and adolescents spend time across the world: work, play, and developmental opportunities. *Psychological bulletin*, 125(6), 701.
- Latham, A. (2006). Sociality and the cosmopolitan imagination: national, cosmopolitan and local imaginaries in Auckland, New Zealand. *Cosmopolitan urbanism*, 89-111.
- Latham, A., & McCormack, D. P. (2004). Moving cities: rethinking the materialities of urban geographies. *Progress in human geography*, 28(6), 701-724.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social-an introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford University Press.
- Lee, R. M., & Renzetti, C. M. (1990). The Problems of Researching Sensitive Topics: An Overview and Introduction. *American behavioral scientist*, 33(5), 510-28.
- Leventhal, T., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2000). The neighborhoods they live in: the effects of neighborhood residence on child and adolescent outcomes. *Psychological bulletin*, 126(2), 309.
- Ley, D., & Cybriwsky, R. (1974). Urban Graffiti As Territorial Markers. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 64(4), 491-505.
- Leyshon, M., DiGiovanna, S., & Holcomb, B. (2013). Mobile Technologies and Youthful Exploration: Stimulus or Inhibitor?. *Urban Studies*, 50(3), 587-605.
- Licoppe, C. (2013). Merging mobile communication studies and urban research: Mobile locative media, "onscreen encounters" and the reshaping of the interaction order in public places. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 1(1), 122-128.
- Lieberg, M. (1995). Teenagers and public space. *Communication Research*, 22(6), 720-744.
- Linn, R. L., Baker, E. L., & Betebenner, D. W. (2002). Accountability systems: Implications of requirements of the no child left behind act of 2001. *Educational Researcher*, 31(6), 3-16.
- Livingstone, S. (2007). From family television to bedroom culture: Young people's media at home. *Media studies: Key issues and debates*, 302-321.
- Livingstone, S., & Bovill, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Children and their changing media environment: A European comparative study*. Routledge.
- Livingston, M., Bailey, N., & Kearns, A. (2008). People's attachment to place: The influence of neighbourhood deprivation.
- Lomax, H. J. (2012). Shifting the focus: children's image-making practices and their implications for analysis. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 35(3), 227-234.

Long, J., & Sanderson, I. (2001). 12 The social benefits of sport. *Sport in the city: The role of sport in economic and social regeneration*, 187.

Lorimer, H. (2003). Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28(2), 197-217.

Luhmann, N. (1995). *Social systems*. Stanford University Press.

Lynch, K. (Ed.). (1977). *Growing up in cities: studies of the spatial environment of adolescence in Cracow, Melbourne, Mexico City, Salta, Toluca, and Warszawa* (Vol. 1977). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Lyng, S. (1990). Edgework: A social psychological analysis of voluntary risk taking. *American journal of sociology*, 851-886.

M

Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. *The sociological review*, 52(1), 62-89.

Malone, K. (2002). Street life: youth, culture and competing uses of public space. *Environment and Urbanization*, 14(2), 157-168.

Manderson, L., Bennett, E., & Andajani-Sutjahjo, S. (2006). The social dynamics of the interview: Age, class, and gender. *Qualitative health research*, 16(10), 1317-1334.

Mason, J., & Davies, K. (2009). Coming to our senses? A critical approach to sensory methodology. *Qualitative research*, 9(5), 587-603.

Markle, D. T., West, R. E., & Rich, P. J. (2011, September). Beyond transcription: Technology, change, and refinement of method. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 12, No. 3).

Martin, G. (2009). Subculture, style, chavs and consumer capitalism: Towards a critical cultural criminology of youth. *Crime, media, culture*, 5(2), 123-145.

Marston, S. A., Jones, J. P., & Woodward, K. (2005). Human geography without scale. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(4), 416-432.

Marvin, C. (2013). Your smart phones are hot pockets to us: Context collapse in a mobilized age. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 1(1), 153-159.

Mason, J. (2006). Mixing methods in a qualitatively driven way. *Qualitative Research*, 6(1), 9-25.

Massey, D. (1998). The spatial construction of youth cultures. *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures*, 121-129.

Matthews, H., Limb, M., & Smith, B. P. (1998). "Changing worlds: the micro-geographies of young teenagers." *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 89(2), 193-202.

- May, V. (2010). *What to do with contradictory data?*. Available at: <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/1322/>> [accessed 25 November 2011]
- McCulloch, K., Stewart, A., & Lovegreen, N. (2006). 'We just hang out together': youth cultures and social class. *Journal of youth studies*, 9(5), 539-556.
- McCready, L. T. (2010). *Making space for diverse masculinities: Difference, intersectionality, and engagement in an urban high school* (Vol. 50). Peter Lang.
- McCready, W. C. (1983). *Culture, ethnicity, and identity: Current issues in research*. Academic Press.
- McDonald, B., & Hallinan, C. (2005) Seishin Habitus Spiritual Capital and Japanese Rowing. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 40(2), 187-200.
- Macdonald, R., & Shildrick, T. (2007). Street corner society: leisure careers, youth (sub) culture and social exclusion. *Leisure studies*, 26 (3), 339-355.
- McDowell, L. (2011). *Redundant masculinities: employment change and white working class youth*. John Wiley & Sons,
- McFarlane, C. & Robinson, J. (2012). Introduction—experiments in comparative urbanism. *Urban Geography* 33(6), 765-773.
- McMahon, G. (2010) The event itself was reported in the Guardian "Victoria station stabbing: 20 arrested over knife killing of teenager *The Guardian*, Friday 26 March.
- McLaughlin, M. W. (1993) Embedded identities: Enabling balance in urban contexts. *Identity and inner-city youth* 36-68.
- McRobbie, A. (1993). "hut up and dance: Youth culture and changing modes of femininity. *Cultural Studies*, 7(3), 406-426.
- Mean, M., & C. (2005). *People Make Places: Growing the Public Life of Cities* Demos, London Montgomery
- Meier, P. P. (2009). Ushahidi: From crowdsourcing to crowdfeeding. *Blog in: iRevolution, March*.
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2000). Becoming "real men" adolescent masculinity challenges and sexual violence. *Men and masculinities*, 2(3), 286-307.
- Mikkelsen, M. R., & Christensen, P. (2009). Is Children's Independent Mobility Really Independent? A Study of Children's Mobility Combining Ethnography and GPS/Mobile Phone Technologies
1. *Mobilities*, 4(1), 37-58.
- Millar, F. (2007). For the sake of the children. *British journalism review*, 18(1), 45-49.
- Miller, C. C. (2006). A beast in the field: The Google Maps mashup as GIS/2. *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization*, 41(3), 187-199.
- Miller, B. (1992). Collective action and rational choice: Place, community, and the limits to individual self-interest. *Economic Geography*, 22-42.

- Mitchell, H. (2006). *Individual choice and the structures of history: Alexis de Tocqueville as historian reappraised*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, D. (1995). The end of public space? People's park, definitions of the public, and democracy. *Annals of the association of american geographers*, 85(1), 108-133.
- Mitchell, J. C., (1983). Case and situation analysis. *The sociological review*, 31(2), 187-211.
- Mitchell, K., & Elwood, S. (2013) Intergenerational Mapping and the Cultural Politics of Memory. *Space and Polity* 17(1), 33-52.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. (2013). *Iconology: image, text, ideology*. University of Chicago Press.
- Mizruchi, M. S. (1985). Local sports teams and celebration of community: A comparative analysis of the home advantage. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 26(4), 507-518.
- Modood, T. (2004). Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications. *Cultural trends*, 13(2), 87-105.
- Molz, J. G. (2006). Watch us wander': mobile surveillance and the surveillance of mobility. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), 377.
- Moore, A., & Prescott, P. (2013). Absent but present: a critical analysis of the representation of sexuality in recent youth policy in the UK. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 16(2), 191-205.
- Morris, B. (2004). What we talk about when we talk about 'walking in the city'. *Cultural Studies*, 18(5), 675-697.
- Morrison, P. (2006). *The Geography of Social Policy*. Institute of Policy Studies (Victoria University of Wellington).
- Muggleton, D. & Weinzierl, R. eds. (2003). *The post-subcultures reader*. Berg.
- Mullaney, J. (2001). Like A Virgin: Temptation, Resistance, and the Construction of Identities Based on "Not Doings". *Qualitative sociology*, 24(1), 3-24.
- Muncie, J., & Goldson, B. eds. (2006). *Comparative youth justice*. Sage.
- Murray, C. (2009). Typologies of young resisters and desisters. *Youth justice*, 9(2), 115-129.
- Murray, T. H., Sagoff, M., Childress, J. F., & Fletcher, J. C. (1994). Individualism & Community: The Contested Terrain of Autonomy.
- Myers, J. (2010). Moving methods: Constructing emotionally poignant geographies of HIV in Auckland, New Zealand. *Area*, 42(3), 328-338.

N

- Nast, H.J., (1994). Women in the Field: Critical Feminist Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives, *The Professional Geographer*, 46, 54-66

Nayak, A. (2003).. *Race, place and globalization: Youth cultures in a changing world*. Berg Publishers.

Noble-Carr, D. (2006). Engaging children in research on sensitive issues, Institute of Child Protection Studies.

O

O'brien, M., Jones, D., Sloan, D., & Rustin, M. (2000). Children's independent spatial mobility in the urban public realm. *Childhood*, 7(3), 257-277.

O'Callaghan, C. (2012). Lightness and weight:(re) reading urban potentialities through photographs. *Area*, 44(2), 200-207.

Oh, S. A. (2012). Photofriend: creating visual ethnography with refugee children. *Area*, 44(3), 382-288.

Okamura, J. Y. (1981). Situational ethnicity. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 4(4), 452-465.

Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2005). Violence in schools and representations of young people: a critique of government policies in France and England. *Oxford Review of Education*, 31(2), 195-215.

Owens, P. E. (1988). Natural landscapes, gathering places, and prospect refuges: Characteristics of outdoor places valued by teens. *Children's Environments Quarterly*, 17-24.

P

Pace, A., & Carron, A. V. (1992). Travel and the home advantage. *Canadian Journal of Sport Sciences*.

Pain, R. (2000). Place, social relations and the fear of crime: a review. *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(3), 365-387.

Pain, R. (2001). Gender, race, age and fear in the city. *Urban studies*, 38(5-6), 899-913.

Pain, R. (2004). Social geography: participatory research. *Progress in human geography*, 28, 652-663.

Pain, R., & Francis, P. (2003). Reflections on participatory research. *Area*, 35(1), 46-54.

Pain, R., Grundy, S., Gill, S., Towner, E., Sparks, G., & Hughes, K. (2005). 'So long as I take my mobile': Mobile phones, urban life and geographies of young people's safety. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 814-830.

Palfrey, J., & Gasser, U. (2013). *Born digital: Understanding the first generation of digital natives*. Basic Books.

Panelli, R., Little, J., & Kraack, A. (2004). A community issue? Rural women's feelings of safety and fear in New Zealand. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 11(3), 445-467.

- Panelli, R. (2004). *Social geographies: from difference to action*. Sage.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2011). *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School, With a New Preface*. Univ of California Press.
- Percy-Smith, B., & Matthews, H. (2001). Tyrannical spaces: young people, bullying and urban neighbourhoods. *Local Environment*, 6(1), 49-63.
- Perlin, R. (2012). *Intern nation: How to earn nothing and learn little in the brave new economy*. Verso Books.
- Perry, G. (2014). *Playing to the Gallery: Helping contemporary art in its struggle to be understood*. Penguin UK.
- Philo, C. (1992). Foucault's geography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10(2), 137-161.
- Philip, L. J. (1998). Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to social research in human geography-an impossible mixture?. *Environment and planning A*, 30(2), 261-276.
- Philip, K., King, C., & Shucksmith, J. (2004). *Sharing a laugh?: a qualitative study of mentoring interventions with young people*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Phillips, R., Frost, D., & Singleton, A. (2013). Researching the riots. *The Geographical Journal*, 179(1), 3-10.
- Phoenix, A., Frosh, S., & Pattman, R. (2003). Producing contradictory masculine subject positions: Narratives of threat, homophobia and bullying in 11–14 year old boys. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(1), 179-195.
- Pickles, J. (2004). *A history of spaces: Cartographic reason, mapping, and the geo-coded world*. Psychology Press.
- Pickles, J. (2004). Computing geographical futures. *Envisioning Human Geographies*,: 172-194.
- Pink, S. (2006). *The future of visual anthropology: Engaging the senses*. Taylor & Francis.
- Pink, S. (2009). *Doing sensory ethnography*. Sage,
- Poche, B. (1996). *L'espace fragmenté: éléments pour une analyse sociologique de la territorialité*. Editions L'Harmattan.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 8(1), 5-23.
- Postman, N. (1985). The disappearance of childhood. *Childhood Education*, 61(4), 286-293.
- Punch, S. (2002). Research with children The same or different from research with adults?. *Childhood*, 9(3), 321-341.

Prensky, Marc. "H. sapiens digital: From digital immigrants and digital natives to digital wisdom." *Innovate: journal of online education* 5, no. 3 (2009).

Prout, Alan. "Researching children as social actors: An introduction to the children 5–16 programme." *Children & Society* 16.2 (2002): 67-76.

Prosser, Jon. "Researching with visual images: Some guidance notes and a glossary for beginners." (2006). Unpublished. Found at: <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/420> [accessed 28 May 2013]

Prosser, Jon, and Andrew Loxley. "Introducing visual methods." (2008). Unpublished. Found at: <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/420> [accessed 28 May 2013]

Qvortrup, J. (1994). *Childhood Matters: An introduction*. I.: Qvortrup, J. Badry, M, Sgritta, G. & Wintersberger, H (red) *Childhood Matter. Social theory, practice and politics*.

Quinn, S., & Oldmeadow, J. A. (2013). Is the igeneration a 'we' generation? Social networking use among 9-to 13-year-olds and belonging. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 31(1), 136-142.

R

Radhakrishnan, R. (1996). *Diasporic mediations: Between home and location*. U of Minnesota Press.

Ralph, M. (2008). Killing time. *Social Text*, 26(4 97), 1-29.

Ralphs, R., Medina, J., & Aldridge, J. (2009). Who needs enemies with friends like these? The importance of place for young people living in known gang areas. *Journal of youth studies*, 12(5), 483-500.

Rambaldi, Giacomo, et al. (2006). Practical ethics for PGIS practitioners, facilitators, technology intermediaries and researchers. *Participatory Learning and Action*, 54(1), 106-113.

Ramirez, C. S. (2004). Representing, politics, and the politics of representation in gang studies. *American Quarterly*, 56(4), 1135-1146.

Rasmussen, M. L., Rofes, E., & Talburt, S. (Eds.). (2004). *Youth and sexualities: Pleasure, subversion, and insubordination in and out of schools*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Reay, D. (2005). Beyond consciousness? The psychic landscape of social class. *Sociology*, 39(5), 911-928.

Reber, A. S. (1996). *Implicit learning and tacit knowledge*. Oxford University Press.

Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a Theory of Social Practices A development in culturalist theorizing. *European journal of social theory*, 5(2), 243-263.

Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessness* (Vol. 67). London: Pion.

Reynolds, T. (2006). Caribbean families, social capital and young people's diasporic identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(6), 1087-1103.

Reynolds, T. (2013). 'Them and Us': 'Black Neighbourhoods' as a Social Capital Resource among Black Youths Living in Inner-city London. *Urban Studies*, 50(3), 484-498.

Rheingold, H. (2007). *Smart mobs: The next social revolution*. Basic books.

Rhodes, P. J. (1994). Race-of-interviewer effects: A brief comment. *Sociology*, 28(2), 547-558.

Robb, M. (Ed.). (2007). *Youth in context: frameworks, settings and encounters*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Robson, E., Horton, J., & Kraftl, P. (2013). Children's Geographies: reflecting on our first ten years. *Children's Geographies*, 11(1), 1-6.

Roberts, S. (2011). Beyond 'NEET' and 'tidy' pathways: considering the 'missing middle' of youth transition studies. *Journal of youth studies*, 14(1), 21-39.

Roberts, S. (2012). One step forward, one step Beck: a contribution to the ongoing conceptual debate in youth studies. *Journal of youth studies*, 15(3), 389-401.

Robinson, D. (2011). The spatial routines of daily life in low-income neighbourhoods: Escaping the 'local trap'. *Space and Polity*, 15(2), 125-141.

Robinson, G. M. (1998). *Methods and techniques in human geography*. London: J. Wiley.

Roche, J. (1999). Children: Rights, participation and citizenship. *Childhood*, 6(4), 475-493.

Rose, G. (2011). Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual material.

Rose, L. (2002). *The Erosion of Childhood: Childhood in Britain 1860-1918*. Routledge.

Roulston, K., & Lewis, J. B. (2003). Learning to interview in the social sciences. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(4), 643-668.

S

Sack, R. D. (1993) The power of place and space. *Geographical Review*, 326-329.

Sampson, R. J., & Morenoff, J. D. Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing neighborhood effects: Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual review of sociology*, 443-478.

Sanders, J., & Munford, R. (2008). Raising youth voices in community and policy decision making. *Resilience in action: Working with youth across cultures and contexts*, 355-379.

Sassen, S. (2002). Locating cities on global circuits. *Environment and urbanization*, 14(1), 13-30.

Sasson, T. (1995) *Crime talk: How citizens construct a social problem*. Transaction Publishers.

Scott, A. J., & Michael Storper, M. (1986). *Production, work, territory: the geographical anatomy of industrial capitalism*. Allen & Unwin Australia.

Schild, H., & Vanhee, J. (2009). The interesting histories of European youth work and policy. *The history of youth work in Europe and its relevance for youth policy today*, 4.

- Seigworth, G. J. (2000). Banality for cultural studies. *Cultural Studies*, 14(2), 227-268.
- Sercombe, H. (2010). *Youth work ethics*. Sage Publications.
- Shanahan, S. (2007). Lost and found: The sociological ambivalence toward childhood. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, 407-428.
- Sheller, M.(2004). Automotive emotions feeling the car. *Theory, culture & society* 21(4-5), 221-242.
- Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The New Mobilities Paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, 38, 207–226
- Sherwood, D. (2002). *Seeing the forest for the trees: a manager's guide to applying systems thinking*. Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Shildrick, T "Young people, illicit drug use and the question of normalization." *Journal of youth studies* 5.1 (2002): 35-48.
- Shildrick, T "Youth culture, subculture and the importance of neighbourhood." *Young* 14.1 (2006): 61-74.
- Shildrick, T., Blackman, S. & MacDonald, R. (2009). Young People, Class and Place. *Journal of youth studies*,
- Shildrick, T., & MacDonald, R. (2006). In defence of subculture: young people, leisure and social divisions. *Journal of youth studies* 9(2), 125-140.
- Shils, E. (1975). *Center and periphery*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Shils, E. (1978) "Roots--the sense of place and past: the cultural gains and losses of migration." (1978): 404-426.
- Sibley, D. (1999). Creating geographies of difference. *Human geography today* 115-128.
- Simpson, K. (2005). Dropping out or signing up? The professionalisation of youth travel. *Antipode* 37(3). 447-469.
- Sin, C . H. (2003). Interviewing in 'place' : the socio - spatial construction of interview data. *Area* 35(3). 305-312.
- Sin, C . H. (2005). Seeking informed consent: Reflections on research practice. *Sociology* 39(2). 277-294.
- Skeggs, B. (2004). *Class, self, culture*. Routledge.
- Skelton, T. (2000). Teenage girls and 'public'space in the Rhondda Valleys, South Wales. *Children's geographies: playing, living, learning* 80.
- Skelton, T. (2013). Young People's Urban Im/Mobilities: Relationality and Identity Formation." *Urban Studies* 50, no. 3 (2013): 467-483.

- Skelton, T. (2013). Children, young people and politics: Transformative possibilities for a discipline?." *Geoforum*
- Skelton, T., & Hamed, N A., (2011) Adult anxieties versus young people's resistance. In Holt, L. ed *Geographies of Children, Youth and Families: An International Perspective* Routledge 203-220
- Skey, M. (2009). The national in everyday life: A critical engagement with Michael Billig's thesis of Banal Nationalism. *The Sociological Review*, 57(2), 331-346.
- Skey, M. (2010). A sense of where you belong in the world': national belonging, ontological security and the status of the ethnic majority in England. *Nations and Nationalism*, 16(4), 715-733.
- Skey, M. (2011) *National belonging and everyday life: the significance of nationhood in an uncertain world*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Slonim-Nevo, V., & Nevo, I. (2009). Conflicting findings in mixed methods research: an illustration from an Israeli study on immigration. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 3(2), 109-128
- Smart, C. (2009). Shifting horizons Reflections on qualitative methods. *Feminist Theory* 10(3). 295-308.
- Smith, F. (2004) Is there a place for children's geographers in the policy arena?. *Children's geographies* 2(1): 157-161.
- Smith, S. J., (1987). Fear of crime: beyond a geography of deviance. *Progress in Human Geography* 11(1) 1-23.
- Smith, S. J., (2005). Editorial: Joined - up geographies. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30(4). 389-390.
- Solomos, J., & Back, L. (1996) *Racism and society*. London: Macmillan.
- Soja, E. W. (1971) *The Political Organization of Space, Resource Paper No. 8*.
- Sommer H. G., (2011) More Than Method?: A Discussion of Paradigm Differences Within Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 5, 150
- Sparrow, A. (2011) Nick Clegg defends government response to London riots *The Guardian*. 8 August
- Specht, Walther. (2010). Reaching The Unreachable Mobile Youth Work In A Global Context." *Mobile Youth Work In The Global Context Mobile youth work in the global context*, 11.
- Spence, J. (2004) Targeting, accountability and youth work practice. *Practice* 16(4). 261-272.
- Stanko, E. A., (1990). *Everyday violence: How women and men experience sexual and physical danger*. HarperCollins.
- Stea, D. (1978). Space, territory and human movements. *Landscape*, 15(1), 13-16.

Steinmann, R., Krek, A., & Blaschke, T. (2005). Can online map-based applications improve citizen participation?. In *E-Government: Towards Electronic Democracy* (pp. 25-35). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Sterman, J. D. (2002). *System Dynamics: systems thinking and modeling for a complex world*. Proceedings of the ESD Internal Symposium, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Stokowski, P. A. (2002). Languages of place and discourses of power: Constructing new senses of place. *Journal of Leisure Research* 34(4) 368-382.

Stoudt, B. G. (2009) You're Either In or You're Out" School Violence, Peer Discipline, and the (Re) Production of Hegemonic Masculinity. *Men and masculinities* 8(3) 273-287.

"Crossing the Qualitative-quantitative Chasm I: Hybrid Geographies, the Spatial Turn, and Volunteered Geographic Information (VGI)," *Progress in Human Geography*, 2011 <

Suzuki, L. A., et al. (2007) "The Pond You Fish In Determines the Fish You Catch Exploring Strategies for Qualitative Data Collection." *The Counseling Psychologist* 35(2). 295-327.

Sweetman, P (2009) Just anybody? Images, ethics and recognition. In Leino, R. *Just Anybody*. University of Southampton: The Winchester Gallery.

T

Taylor, T. L., & Kolko, B. (2003). Boundary spaces. *Information, Communication and Society* 6(4). 497-522.

Teather, E.K. (1999) *Embodied Geographies: Spaces, Bodies and Rites of Passage*. Routledge, London

Thomson, F. (2007). Are Methodologies for Children keeping them in their Place? *Children's geographies* 5(3). 207-218.

Thomson, R. (2011) *Unfolding lives: Youth, gender and change*. The Policy Press.

Thomson, R. & Holland, J. (2002). Young people, social change and the negotiation of moral authority. *Children & Society* 16(2). 103-115.

Thomson, R. & Taylor, R. (2007) Between cosmopolitanism and the locals Mobility as a resource in the transition to adulthood. *Young* 13(4). 327-342.

Thomson, S. (2005). Territorialising' the primary school playground: deconstructing the geography of playtime. *Children's Geographies* 3(1).63-78.

Thompson, C. W., & Travlou, P. eds. (2007) *Open space: people space*. Taylor & Francis.

Thomas, N., & O'kane, C. (1998) The ethics of participatory research with children. *Children & society* 12(5). 336-348.

Thompson, T. L. (2009) The applicability of narrative ethics. *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 37(2). 188-195.

Thornberry, Terence P., & Marvin D. Krohn, eds. (2003). *Taking stock of delinquency: An overview of findings from contemporary longitudinal studies*. Springer.

Thornton, S. (1996). *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity.

Tienda, M., & Wilson, W. J. (2002) *Youth in Cities: A Cross-national Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tiger, L., & Fox, R. (1966): The zoological perspective in social science. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society* 1(1) 75-81.

Tilley, C. (1994). *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments. Explorations in Anthropology*. Oxford: Berg.

Tilley, N. (1992) *Safer cities and community safety strategies*. Great Britain, Crime Prevention Unit

Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2012). The geographies of cultural geography II Visual culture. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(1), 135-142.

Tonnies, F. (1957). *Community and society*. Courier Dover Publications.

Totten, M. (2003). Girlfriend abuse as a form of masculinity construction among violent, marginal male youth. *Men and Masculinities*, 6(1), 70-92.

Travlou, P., Owens, P. E., Thompson, C. W., & Maxwell, L. (2008). Place mapping with teenagers: locating their territories and documenting their experience of the public realm. *Children's Geographies*, 6(3), 309-326.

Trell, E. M. (2013). *Rural Realities: Everyday Places and Practices of Young People in Rural Estonia*. University of Groningen Library.

Tucker, F., & Matthews, H. (2001). 'They don't like girls hanging around there': conflicts over recreational space in rural Northamptonshire. *Area*, 33(2), 161-168.

Turkle, S. (2012). *Alone together: Why we expect more from technology and less from each other*. Basic books.

Turok, I., & Bailey, N. (2004). Twin track cities? Competitiveness and cohesion in Glasgow and Edinburgh. *Progress in Planning*, 62(3), 135-204.

U

United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, Forty-ninth session (2008). Consideration Of Reports Submitted By States Parties Under Article 44 Of The Convention – Concluding Observations: United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland, *CRC/C/GBR/CO/4*, 20 October

Uttal, D. H. (2000). Seeing the big picture: Map use and the development of spatial cognition. *Developmental Science*, 3(3), 247-264.

Urry, J. (2000). Mobile sociology1. *The British journal of sociology*, 51(1), 185-203.

Urry, J. (2002). Mobility and proximity. *Sociology*, 36(2), 255-274.

V

Valentine, G. (1989). The geography of women's fear. *Area*, 385-390.

Valentine, G. (1996). CHILDREN SHOULD BE SEEN AND NOT HEARD: THE PRODUCTION AND TRANSGRESSION OF ADULTS' PUBLIC SPACE. *Urban Geography*, 17(3), 205-220.

Valentine, G. (1997). " Oh Yes I Can." "Oh No You Can't": Children and Parents' Understandings of Kids' Competence to Negotiate Public Space Safely. *Antipode*, 29(1), 65-89.

Valentine, G. (2003). Boundary crossings: transitions from childhood to adulthood. *Children's Geographies*, 1(1), 37-52.

Valentine, G. (2004). *Public space and the culture of childhood*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Valentine, Gill. "Angels and devils: moral landscapes of childhood." *Environment and Planning D* 14 (1996): 581-600.

Valentine, Gill, Ruth Butler, and Tracey Skelton. "The ethical and methodological complexities of doing research with 'vulnerable' young people." *Ethics, Place & Environment* 4, no. 2 (2001): 119-125.

Van Blerk, L., & Ansell, N. (2007). Participatory feedback and dissemination with and for children: reflections from research with young migrants in southern Africa. *Children's geographies*, 5(3), 313-324

Van der Burgt, D. (2013). Spatial avoidance or spatial confidence? Young people's agency in the active negotiation of risk and safety in public space. *Children's Geographies*, (ahead-of-print), 1-15.

Van Leeuwen, T., & Jewitt, C. (Eds.). (2001). *The handbook of visual analysis*. Sage.

Vanderbeck, R. M. (2008). Reaching critical mass? Theory, politics, and the culture of debate in children's geographies. *Area*, 40(3), 393-400.

Vanderbeck, Robert M. "Intergenerational Geographies: Age Relations, Segregation and Re - engagements." *Geography compass* 1, no. 2 (2007): 200-221.

Vanderbeck, Robert M., and James H. Johnson, Jr. "" That's the only place where you can hang out": Urban young people and the space of the mall." *Urban Geography* 21, no. 1 (2000): 5-25.

Verschelden, Griet, ed. *The history of youth work in Europe: relevance for today's youth work policy*. Vol. 1. Council of Europe, 2010.

Vitz, Paul C. "The use of stories in moral development: New psychological reasons for an old education method." *American Psychologist* 45, no. 6 (1990): 709.

Vigh, Henrik. *Navigating terrains of war: Youth and soldiering in Guinea-Bissau*. Vol. 13. Berghahn Books, 2006.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1964). Thought and language. *Annals of Dyslexia*, 14(1), 97-98.

W

Waldorf, D. (1993). When the Crips invaded San Francisco: gang migration. *Journal of Gang Research*, 1, 11-16.

Wall, E., & Olofsson, A. (2008). Young people making sense of risk How meanings of risk are materialized within the social context of everyday life. *Young*, 16(4), 431-448.

Wallace, C., & Bendit, R. (2009). Youth policies in europe: towards a classification of different tendencies in youth policies in the european union. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 10(3), 441-458.

Walther, A. (2006). Regimes of youth transitions Choice, flexibility and security in young people's experiences across different European contexts. *Young*, 14(2), 119-139.

Ward, C. (1978). The child in the city. *Society*, 15(4), 84-91.

Ward, K. (2005). Geography and public policy: a recent history of 'policy relevance'. *Progress in human geography*, 29(3), 310-319.

Watt, P., Stenson, K., Skelton, T., & Valentine, G. (1998). The street: 'it's a bit dodgy around there'. *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures*, 249-266.

Warr, M. (1990) Dangerous situations: Social context and fear of victimization. *Social Forces*, 68(3), 891-907.

Weekes-Bernard, D., (2007) School Choice and Ethnic Segregation—Educational Decision-making Among Black and Minority Ethnic Parents. *The Runnymede Trust*

Weerman, F. M., & Decker, S. H. (2005). European street gangs and troublesome youth groups: Findings from the Eurogang research program. *European street gangs and troublesome youth groups*, 3, 287.

Wetherell, M. (2009) *Identity in the 21st century: new trends in changing times*. Palgrave Macmillan.

White, R. (2008). Disputed definitions and fluid identities: The limitations of social profiling in relation to ethnic youth gangs." *Youth Justice*, 8(2), 149-161.

Whiting, B. B., (1980). Culture and social behavior: A model for the development of social behavior. *Ethos* 8(2), 95-116.

Wiles, R., Coffey, A., Robinson, J., & Heath, S. (2012). Anonymisation and visual images: issues of respect, 'voice' and protection. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15(1), 41-53.

Wilken, R. (2008). Mobilizing place: Mobile media, peripatetics, and the renegotiation of urban places. *Journal of Urban technology*, 15(3), 39-55.

- Wilkinson, C. (1998). Deconstructing the fort—the role of postmodernity in urban development. *Journal of Australian Studies* 22(57): 194-205.
- Williams, B., (2006). Meaningful consent to participate in social research on the part of people under the age of eighteen. *Research Ethics Review*, 2(1), 19-24.
- Williamson, H. (1993). Youth policy in the United Kingdom and the marginalisation of young people. *Youth and Policy*, 33-33.
- Williamson, H. (2004), 'The plight of "ordinary kids" in the media', *Young People Now* 14, 20 July, p1 Retrieved from: <http://www.cypnow.co.uk/news/750501/> (accessed 26/04/09)
- Wimbush, E., & Talbot, M. (1988). *Relative freedoms: women and leisure*. Open University Press.
- Wilson, B. (1984). *Systems: concepts, methodologies, and applications*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Wilson, B. (2012). *Consider the fork: a history of how we cook and eat*. Basic books.
- Wimmer, A. (2006). The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries. Toward a Comparative Theory. *Unpublished Manuscript*.
- Wimmer, Andreas (2008). The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(4) 970-1022.
- Wimmer, A. (Ed.). (2004). *Facing ethnic conflicts: Toward a new realism*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Winchester, H. P. (1991). The geography of children. *Area*, 357-360.
- Wolch, J., & Dear, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life*. Routledge.
- Wood, D., & Fels, J. (1992). *The power of maps*. Guilford Press.
- Wood, D., & Fels, J. (2008). The natures of maps: cartographic constructions of the natural world. *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization*, 43(3), 189-202.
- Woolley, H. (2006). Freedom of the city: Contemporary issues and policy influences on children and young people's use of public open space in England. *Children's Geographies*, 4(01), 45-59.
- Wrennall, L. (2010). Surveillance and child protection: De-mystifying the Trojan Horse. *Surveillance & Society*, 7(3/4), 304-324.
- Wright, C., Standen, P. J., & Patel, T. (2010). *Black youth matters: Transitions from school to success*. Routledge.
- Wulff, H. (1995) 'Inter-racial friendship.' Consuming youth styles, ethnicity and teenage femininity in South London'. In Vered, A. & Wulff, H. (eds.) *Youth cultures. A cross-cultural perspective* London & New York: Routledge (1995).
- Wylie, T. (2013). Youth work in a cold climate. *Working with Young People*, 58.

Wyn, J. & White., R. (1997). Rethinking youth. *Children and Society* 11(3) 205-6.

Wyn, J., & Woodman, D. (2006). Generation, youth and social change in Australia. *Journal of youth studies*, 9(5), 495-514.

Y

Young, L., & Barrett, H. (2001). Adapting visual methods: action research with Kampala street children. *Area*, 33(2), 141-152.

Z

Zerubavel, E. (1985). *Hidden Rhythms: schedules and calendars in social life*. Univ of California Press.