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Separate lives? Confronting the marginalization of young people in Middle England

by

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ABSTRACT

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PEOPLE IN MIDDLE ENGLAND

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This thesis considers the way the young people of Middle England Eastleigh are
located in narratives of the 'other' and defined in opposition to the adult population.
This categorisation is reinforced through their experiences of subordination in many
spheres. Eastleigh, 'the town that's too good to be true', gives off the aura of well-
enough-off contentment and presents itself as a good place to live and bring up
children. There is a good community feeling where much is seen to be done for the
marginalized, especially its young people. The Council prides itself with funding
provisions for and consulting with young people. Statutory and voluntary
organisations work constantly to provide what they deem is necessary to enable the
young to take their (conforming) place within Eastleigh society, so that the good
image is perpetuated.

The young people, however, have a different story to tell. Using the
voices of some of those young people this thesis explores the processes whereby
young people become subordinated in a community where the portrayal is of
cohesiveness. Central to the study are the programmes designed to divert young
people from crime and integrate them into the community. The young people, who
become involved, however, often meet attempts to mould, contain or control them in
their formative years in directions they do not seek.

Employing a two-year ethnography of a group of young people
between fourteen and eighteen+, the study employed a range of research methods,
including interviews, observation and statistics. The research recognized both the
importance of using the voices of young people themselves, and the value of a local
study, where, although many factors are unique, experiences may be common to a
wider population.

This study found that young people increasingly have to learn to
negotiate their way through the ambiguity of their position but that the initiatives
provide useful support for some young people some of the time. The young people
of Eastleigh have views and values which seldom fit with those of their elders, who
tend to see all young people as non-conforming, and there is constant friction
between the two. An uneasy fermentation continues to highlight areas where all is
not as it seems. There is an intergenerational divide promoting the physical
distancing of young people from adults and emphasizing a lack of communication
and trust. The model image by which Eastleigh is portrayed is far from the reality
experienced in the lives of its young people.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The idea for conducting this research was initiated when, in 2000, Eastleigh was recorded as being one of the six safest towns in the country – a pacesetter in excellence for community safety. I have sought to find out what factors contributed to this, particularly in regard to the young people growing up in the Borough, by exploring the intriguing phenomena of this 'good' locality and its young people. I have lived in the Borough of Eastleigh for twenty years, during which time local newspaper reports have indicated little crime but increasing antisocial acts. I have spent much of my life bringing up my own children and working with those of other people as a teacher, sports coach and judge and in the youth movement. I have never ceased to wonder at how surprising young people can be, nor at their individualism. As a mature researcher, I regard myself as both an insider (Eastleigh resident) and an outsider (not a young person) allowing me to minimise the drawbacks and maximise the benefits of both perspectives. The chapter begins by setting the scene of the research with an overview of the Borough of Eastleigh, within which most of my fieldwork took place. It describes some of the initiatives available to young people in Eastleigh, either from choice, following referral by a third party or as part of a court order. It considers, in detail, the aims, methods and missions of the three main programmes in which the respondents were involved, and focuses on the activities and opportunities aimed to manage (Feeley & Simon 1992), socialize, occupy or influence the young people. Finally it outlines the thesis.

1.1 Background to Eastleigh

The Borough of Eastleigh, with a population of around 116,000, is a place very like other medium sized English towns – similar in many aspects yet in others unique. It comprises richly differing areas of history, culture, economy and environment. Set in central South Hampshire, it combines coast, countryside and busy town, with good communications to other towns. It takes in Netley on the banks of Southampton Water, the historic river villages of Hamble-le-Rice, Bursledon and Botley, the

developing area of Hedge End, West End and Fair Oak, the industrialised centre of Eastleigh and the more residential belt of Chandler's Ford (see Appendix 1). The town is the administrative centre for the Borough, which is of about 80 square kilometres, and the main shopping area. The population has more than doubled since 1951, and is projected to increase by at least 6000 in the next decade. The Borough is divided into five wards, however, and the population is spread unevenly between them. Ward populations at 2003[1] show:

Bishopstoke, Fair Oak and Horton Heath   19,574

Bursledon, Hamble and Netley   17,812

Chandler's Ford and Hiltingbury   20,258

Eastleigh   24, 854

Hedge End, West End and Botley   34,128

Expansion has also occurred in industrial and commercial spheres, and the Borough has a prosperous economy with good 'quality of life'. The number of residents living in deprived households is low.

The 2001 Census recorded a low ethnic minority population (only 4.6% are classified as an ethnic minority compared with 13% in the whole of England), and a population density of 14.6 persons per hectare compared with an average in England and Wales of 3.5 persons per hectare. The relatively prosperous nature of the Borough was indicated by high levels of owner occupation (81.4% compared with 68.9% in England and Wales as a whole) and high rates of car ownership (85.5% compared with 73.2% in the whole of England and Wales).

With regard to youth, the 2001 Census revealed that 24.8% of residents are under-eighteens in the Borough (compared with 23.9% in England and Wales) showing one quarter of the population is aged 18 or under. 5.3% of dependants aged 18 or under live in single parent households with 2.6% of children not classed as 'dependants'. Eastleigh's unemployment rate is only 1.6% compared with 3.4% in England and

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[1] www.hants.gov.uk/factsandfigures (29 04 04)

Wales, with 6544 people aged 16 – 24 in employment and 395 of the same age unemployed.[2].

Eastleigh is an administrative centre and the population is not contained within boundaries, but flows constantly to and from and within the Southampton area. Community safety in the Borough of Eastleigh is the subject of a strategy set in place by the Eastleigh Community Safety Partnership following an audit of crime and disorder in the local area, and widespread consultation. The Audit Commission's Paper *Community Safety Partnerships* highlights the importance, to both the public and the government, of safer communities, which determine how local people feel about their neighbourhood, 56% saying that a low crime rate is the most important criterion (Audit Commission 2002). Young people, although most at risk of victimization, are regarded by older people more as responsible for crime and many people think more activities for young people are needed (Audit Commission 2002). Antisocial behaviour such as graffiti art and vandalism were also of public concern. Community Safety Partnerships are instrumental in maintaining a sustained focus on priorities 'balancing local needs with national policy'(Audit Commission 2002:1). The strategy's purpose is to reduce the incidence of crime and disorder in the Borough in accordance with Section 6 of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) (CDA (1998)) which designated *Responsible Authorities* to share the duty of working with a range of other bodies to formulate and implement a crime reduction strategy. In the Borough of Eastleigh the Responsible Authorities are Eastleigh Borough Council, Hampshire County Council and the Chief Constable, Hampshire Constabulary. The top priorities for Eastleigh Council clearly reflect the Ministerial Policing Priorities for 2002-3 (Local Government Association 2001) including a focus on youth crime and antisocial behaviour. Among Eastleigh's strategic objectives, set out in 2002, were to reduce violent and disorderly behaviour in public places within the Borough, to address the problems of drugs and alcohol misuse, to prevent young people becoming involved in crime and to address disorder issues of concern to local residents – these to be focused on at local level which recognised the specially

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[2] 2001 Census and Environment Department, HCC (31 03 04)

localised nature of some problems[3]. Dilemmas abound over policies which prioritise that part of the population deemed to have greater needs and that part which feels most at risk. Engaging young people early in local decision-making through, for example, youth councils or consultation is vital.

Eastleigh has a strong foundation of multi-agency work pre-dating the CDA (1998). In 1983 the town was dubbed 'The town that's too good to be true', where 'nothing ever happens' and 'where crime is virtually non-existent' (Wheatley 1983). Eastleigh was awarded 'Beacon Council' status by the government in 2000-2001 for reducing crime and disorder in town centres. An 'Audit of Community Safety Issues' carried out by Geoff Berry Associates and published in September 2001 said: 'The Borough of Eastleigh is a safe and relatively crime free area of a safe and relatively crime free county'.

Nevertheless, in this 'safe and relatively crime free area' crime and antisocial behaviour do still happen. An analysis of crime by area showed higher rates in Eastleigh town, Chandler's Ford and the South. Data suggested that young people were then committing more offences with approximately 80% being by boys. Alcohol abuse and solvent abuse by young people appeared more prevalent than other drug abuse. Secondary fires (for example in waste bins) appeared to be a growing problem. School exclusions were lower than the county average – there were only seven permanent exclusions of pupils 14+ in the year 2002 to 2003 (School Exclusion Unit, 07 08 03). For the same year, average unauthorised absence rates for all ages in Secondary Schools were 0.9% - lower than the county average of 1.1% (Education Welfare Unit, 26 01 04). Visitor levels of concern about crime in the town centre were considerably lower than those voiced in a 1999 survey, suggesting that combined measures to increase town centre safety of which CCTV is a major component continue to have a positive bearing on people's 'fear of crime' in Eastleigh. A survey of businesses highlighted minor concerns over quality of life issues such as litter and cycling on pavements. The concerns of residents focus on such things as under-age drinking and the need for more facilities for young people, themes which have been taken up strongly by Eastleigh Borough Council.

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[3] http://www.eastleigh.gov.uk/strategy (31 03 04)

On the surface, therefore, Eastleigh gives the appearance of tranquil 'Middle England' with little untoward happening, a constructive network of action and appraisal and a timeless cosiness. My fieldwork showed, however, that although life seems unremarkable and unproblematic, for many young people it is in a context with which they have some difficulty. Eastleigh can be regarded as a 'good' model – it has the veneer of a community at one with itself. However, when one probes beneath the surface, difficulties are uncovered which show that the image of *this* community is achieved at the expense of marginalizing young people. In order to achieve the safe, secure community showing little discord, desired by the majority of Eastleigh residents, an imposed conformity leads to young people being alienated and made to feel they do not belong. So there is a tension between those who desire security and order and those who seek the freedom to carve out their own experiences – the young. I revisit the problems of the community in Chapter 7. How the young people feel in such a situation can be explored only by listening to them, an argument to which I return in Chapter 3.

1.2 The Programmes

Section 37 of the CDA (1998) places a duty on the youth justice system to focus on the principal aim of preventing offending by children and young people. Local programmes form a part of or complement this focus, and their value has to be considered alongside the wider social processes inherent in the lives of the young people. There is a variety of practices within the initiatives and these derive from models such as community development, developing skills, especially life-skills, peer support, role models or recreation.

Over the past few years there has been a host of schemes designed to help Eastleigh young people who have either encountered the Criminal Justice System or are 'at risk'. Schemes have included Youth Service and mentoring schemes, a jobs' training programme for those leaving custody, a parenting programme, a Duke of Edinburgh's Scheme opportunity for those leaving custody, a drugs' counselling service, a mechanics' programme teaching car maintenance for those involved with vehicle crime, a diversionary programme in schools and colleges about being

drug-free, a police citizenship programme, various diversionary tough sports programmes such as boxercise and rugby for both young men and young women, anti-drugs discos, and a much sought after dance and theatre training where participants must pledge not to smoke, take drugs or alcohol.

From the range of initiatives I identified schemes at three levels of intervention; the first at which attendance was casual and voluntary, the Youth Club, and the second at which attendance came from referrals by, for example, social workers, probation officers or teachers, Clipper[4], and (later, see Chapter 3) The Maze Association, a mentoring scheme where referrals came from, for example, the Youth Offending Team, police, health professionals or social workers. The focus here was on 'at risk' and troublesome behaviour (Muncie et al. 1995). In the third level, the Firesetters' Programme referrals came from Youth Courts and reports on the young people went back to the Courts. In the second and third levels, therefore, it was adults who saw the young people as in need of extra support.

1.2.1 The Youth Club – Voluntary Attendance

The Youth Club is part of the wider Youth Service offered to Eastleigh young people. This service engages young people informally in challenging learning opportunities which enable them to develop as empowered individuals and respond to change. For this youth work to be effective, the opportunities need to be well planned and of high quality. The purpose of the Youth Service is to promote the involvement of young people in democracy and decision-making and active citizenship and support them during the transition to adulthood. It also encourages young people to adopt healthy lifestyles. The Youth Club section I visited was for young people between 13 and 19. Two regular Youth Service-trained leaders ran the Club and were assisted by other helpers at different times. Attendance was erratic and twice I visited when no young people turned up. I saw no organised activities except preparations for a Carnival float on one occasion and during the summer the young people organised their own game of football outdoors. Most other activities I

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[4] The names of Initiatives, respondents and specific locations have been changed to protect confidentiality.

saw consisted of watching television and running about. It was centre-based in a facility which was used during the day by a playgroup.

1.2.2 Detached Youth Project – Voluntary Attendance

The Detached Youth Project, run by the Youth Service, operates a minibus called Wanderbug with three part-time youth workers. They go out three nights a week to meet hard-to-reach or isolated young people and offer them the same service as fixed base youth members. These young people, aged 13 to 25, know that Wanderbug comes on set evenings. The Project may be asked by police to visit 'hot spots' as a one-off or for a longer period. The aim of the project is to identify the needs, issues and aspirations of young people and support them through adolescence to adulthood and create opportunities for them to take part in organising a social, recreational and educational programme. Since its inauguration in 1998 the Project has been seen to narrow the gap between police officers, frustrated at repeatedly having to return to hotspots where young people gather, and young people resentful when the police interrupt their leisure activities, and thus promotes community harmony.

1.2.3 Clipper – Referred Attendance

Clipper, a branch of a national organisation, is self-supporting and funded from Trusts, Statutory money, the County Council, Lottery money and money raised by its own efforts. It is open to young people aged 14 to 25 who are not employed and are deemed 'at risk'. The Development Officer told me their mission is 'to enable disadvantaged and marginalized young people to meet opportunities and responsibilities of society today by offering them a long-term personal development programme that builds confidence, motivation and personal and social life-skills'. The marginalization may stem from truancy, school exclusion, long-term unemployment, drug misuse and crime. Many young people coming to Clipper lack the support and encouragement others would get from family and friends. Clipper aims to be non-judgemental and make young people feel good about themselves, building self-confidence. Promotional literature claims to give 'each young person who is referred self-worth, teamwork and motivational skills'[5]. Clipper provides

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[5] Confidentiality precludes citing the reference.

support for young people to take responsibility for their own development and to challenge themselves, and has a community-based approach. It works in partnership with other youth organisations. The programme includes centre-based and residential activities designed to enhance getting to know and trust other people, break down barriers, team building and confidence building. Young people are also encouraged to join other activities which aim to help them achieve personal goals. This starts them taking responsibility for their own development by identifying and choosing the activities they want. They may not come to the Centre, which is open five days a week, and do nothing. Attendance is voluntary and young people can leave at any time, however those I met wanted to stay as long as possible. Clipper offers, for example, life-skills training such as cookery and telephone answering, work skills such as computing, repair and renovation and sporting activities. The workers are trained to external qualification standards. Emphasis is placed on young person/worker relationships and the workers become role models. Some have been through the programme themselves before being employed by Clipper so they understand what the young people are experiencing. Individuals can talk one-to-one with workers at any time, if they have a problem or just need to talk, and workers will accompany young people to, for example, court appearances or housing agencies so that they have support. There are currently the beginnings of input from the young people into future planning and democratic decision making within Clipper.

During my initial visit I noticed that inside doors were left open and a cheque book was lying on a desk. Developing trust in and between the young people was an important feature.

1.2.4 The Maze Association Mentoring – Referred Attendance

The Maze Association is a local Trust which has recently been awarded Approved Provider Status and which aims to respond to the challenges presented through crime, focusing on young people at risk of committing crimes or who have already offended. It seeks to help young people find alternatives to crime and fulfil their potential, strengthening communities and working through partnerships. By supporting young people who are encountering difficulties, The Maze Association aims to reduce youth crime and encourage the community to support its own young

people. Referrals may come from, for example, the Police, Social Services, Probation Officers, the Youth Offending Team (YOT) or Health or Education Professionals.

It targets young people between twelve and seventeen who may be behaving antisocially or are disaffected with education or their community and offers one-to-one support by trained volunteer mentors from the local community. This enables the community to become part of the solution to the problems its members experience. The roles of the mentor are many – listener, positive role model, advisor, supporter, befriender and sometimes advocate. The scheme is always non-judgemental. Mentors help young people to set and achieve goals, particularly in relation to education/employment, substance misuse, relationships and criminal activity, and increase their confidence and self-esteem. Mentors thus develop a relationship that adds value to a young person's life.

Young people's participation in the scheme is voluntary. It is confidential and starts with a contract being signed by mentor and mentee. It involves meeting with the mentor weekly for about two hours and the mentor/mentee relationship may last six months or longer. Although a comprehensive information leaflet is given to the parents so that they, too, understand what is involved, the support offered is specifically for the young person and not the family. It is this independence from the interests of other parties which constitutes a powerful tool for gaining the trust of the young people and influencing their behaviour.

1.2.5 The Firesetters' Programme – Court Referred Attendance

Trained volunteer teams of regular firefighters visit and talk to the young people and the family and act as 'befrienders'. Firesetters are mainly white, male step-children between 13 and 21 and there is a strong link with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). The Programme's philosophy is to keep children and young people safe. The Programme works in conjunction with the Youth Justice Service and a pre-sentence report usually includes how the young person has responded to the programme. Its success rate is in excess of 90%, and even with well-established firesetting behaviour, reoffending rates are very low (Muckley 1997). The

programme differs according to the type of firesetter – an 'educational' programme for curiosity firesetters; anger management programmes for anger or aggression causes and where problems are more complex, other agencies may be involved. The duration of counselling varies according to the problems involved. Before the scheme started the young people would have received a custodial sentence and when released would be more angry and set more fires.

1.2.6 Insite Drop-in Centre

Insite is a one-stop drop-in centre in Eastleigh offering a local information service. It is open daily and offers advice to young people in the Borough with, for example, housing, sexual health and drug advice and a meeting place for gay and lesbian young people. A Jobcentre Plus employment benefits advisor was added in the autumn of 2003.

1.3 The Thesis

This thesis is an account of the perceptions of a diverse group of young people from 14 to 18+ who have been participants in initiatives available for Eastleigh young people and is an attempt to 'give voice' to the views of these young people who are marginalized and problematized in an adult orientated world (Griffin 1993). It reflects the sentiments of John Denham, then Minister with responsibility for young people and Home Office Minister with responsibility for crime reduction, policing, and community safety, in his foreword to the Home Office *Learning to Listen* 2002-2003 action plan (Home Office 2002).

> I and my Ministerial colleagues in the Home Office are committed to ensuring that we involve and consult children and young people not only in those areas where we provide services and support them, but also in wider policy areas where we must look to their needs as citizens of the future. It is vital that in continuing our work in reducing crime and the fear of crime, and in dealing with antisocial behaviour, that we not only listen to what young people say, but make an effort to take account of what they have to say whether they are offenders themselves, are witnesses or victims of crime or are ordinary young people.

Throughout the thesis I tease out the extent to which the programmes provided for the young people in their teenage years are perceived by them to improve their lives,

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affecting the rest of the community and helping to make Eastleigh a safer town. The issues raised in this study not only place young people in their social context and explore the lived experiences of young people in Eastleigh, but develop a sense of the hopes and aspirations – which were relatively unexceptional but which did not fit easily within adult-dominated social arrangements, - missed opportunities and unfortunate choices in a relatively small group of young people. The significance of the four themes identified as most influential in the life experiences of the young people: transitions, identity, space and control/autonomy is validated by the observations, meetings, interviews and the length of the study on which the work is grounded.

In Chapter 2 I examine the problem of juvenile crime in its wider context. I outline how theories of childhood/youth give understandings of young people's behaviours. I examine the tensions surrounding children's rights and their incremental capabilities. The chapter then highlights youth culture before moving on to explore youth justice and the risk and uncertainty which now affect the lives of young people.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodologies and the concerns that have structured the research process. It highlights the thinking behind my choices, in particular the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin 1998), the conducting of those methods and the ways in which data were analysed.

Chapter 4 focuses on the de-traditionalization of youth transitions. Starting with the former understandings of the transition to adulthood (Coles 1995) it examines the concept of adulthood and finds more meaning in the acquisition of citizenship (Jones & Wallace 1992). It explores maturation and the ontological insecurity of young people in contemporary society. In this context, the place of the local youth initiatives in offering ontological security in a world seen by many as a dangerous place and the way they offer a sense of belonging and connectedness will be highlighted. At the same time this chapter also prises open perceptions of individual and structural responsibility and rights and the position of young people as citizens.

Chapter 5 develops a series of arguments which locate the experiences of young people and their ever evolving identity in the context of late modernity. It uses the notions of experience (Craib 1998) and contextualization in identity formation. In particular, I will suggest that in the light of their problematization and being rendered invisible, in many ways, young people's perceptions of themselves and responses are indicative of the challenges to self identity posed by being a 'non-person'. I will examine who influences young people and the effects of the disjuncture between the way young people perceive themselves and the way others see them.

In Chapter 6 I develop a series of arguments about the use of space made by young people. I examine the interplay between exclusionary practices (Sibley 1995) and the young people wanting to make public space their own. I question how ownership of public space is seen by different members of the community and how social control is implemented in public places in an attempt to establish Middle England conformity, and the place of regulation by the police. I will introduce issues related to the urban environment and the changing nature of the Eastleigh community in which the young people are growing up but in which they have little say.

Chapter 7 focuses on issues of social order (Muncie 1996) and self government. In particular it examines the part played by the local community and it highlights notions of social capital (Coleman 1988; Field 2003; Putnam 2000). It looks at social control and how changes in government policy and in particular the CDA (1998) and the Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003) (ASBA (2003)) have introduced a new youth justice. It examines the development of their impact on the young people; in particular, the disjuncture between international conventions such as the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the requirements of the Acts. Finally it looks at the level of autonomy available to young people.

Chapter 8 concludes the study, revisiting the themes, emphasizing the effects of recent legislation, and suggesting that, along with building greater intergenerational trust and respect, there is a need for re-evaluation of many of the assumptions which underpin policies on interventions with young people, and that this is long overdue.

Chapter 2 Situating the Research

2.0 Introduction

In the UK, the last few decades have seen a proliferation of laws, policies, debates and concerns about young people and crime and antisocial behaviour. Their prominence and persistence reflect both breadth and depth and the many facets of youth crime and antisocial behaviour within academia, government and the media. Its effect on both the environment and the lives of victims and perpetrators throughout the population has been a major focus of policy and debate. Dominant representations of young people see youth in general and certain groups in particular as 'problems' either as 'youth as trouble' or 'youth in trouble', and a source of adult concern (MacDonald et al. 1993). The ever-present, high-visibility and impact of youth and crime has prompted a range of studies and surveys. These have offered useful concepts but mostly have failed to question young people themselves. These studies and surveys and much of the mainstream literature on youth and crime reflect social welfare policies which act on those groups of young people deemed to be in need of regulation and control or care. This study comes from a more radical perspective, enabling some young people in Eastleigh to have a 'voice'. It seeks to give them the opportunity to reflect on their positions in relation to the rest of the community and the preoccupation in society with 'crime' and young people's central position in the perceived 'crime problem'.

The correlation between youth and crime is well documented and it is generally recognised that for many young people, involvement in some form of criminal activity is an integral part of adolescence (Graham & Bowling 1995). Farrington and West and others have studied predictive factors associated with offending behaviour (Beinart et al. 2002; Farrington & West 1981) while Graeff examined the reasons given by young people for their offending (Graeff 1993). Other recent research focused on reasons given by offenders for their decisions to desist from further offending behaviour (see, for example Maruna 1997; Maruna 1999; Rex 1999).

This study attempts to bridge the gap between research which has focused on causation and that which has concentrated on the reduction or cessation of offending, by focusing on the choices made and directions taken by young people and on their perceptions with regard to their lives and offending behaviour. Central to the study are their perceptions of the programmes and initiatives designed to divert from crime young people, many of whom have engaged in crime and antisocial behaviour and /or incivilities, and reintegrate them into the community, in one locality, Eastleigh.

Great attention has been paid to the place of children and young people in an adult dominated society. There are overlapping and developing theories of childhood/youth and these provide useful ways of exploring the situation of young people. Consequently this chapter begins by examining these theories in the existing literature. Great emphasis has been played on children's rights and competencies. This is highlighted in Section 2 and the chapter then moves on to reflect issues of youth culture and its influence in the way young people are perceived and perceive themselves. Relevant youth justice legislation focusing particularly on antisocial behaviour legislation is then highlighted. I consider next issues of risk and uncertainty which affect young people's experiences and influence their daily lives. The chapter continues by developing a case for approaching qualitatively the youth-crime problem. In this context the chapter concludes with a reappraisal of the issues examined throughout, establishing a basis for the thesis.

2.1 Theories of Childhood

Ideas of how and what children are have changed marked by over the centuries, but the meanings involving representation, and images of childhood/youth are constructed by adults. However, they provide an analytic framework within the rapidly changing conditions of late modernity and an example to how young people are positioned at the margins of social order.

The variability of childhood(s) (see, for example, Fionda 2001; James et al. 1998; James & Prout 1997; Jenks 1996) has led to different explanatory and theoretical approaches. The notion of children as inadequately socialized future adults still permeates the political, cultural and social agenda. Changing concepts of childhood

have an ideological and political nature and from the close of the nineteenth century a compulsory relationship between the state, the family and welfare services built on ideas of education, socialization and the culture of dependency. However, young people are a minority group and lack power to influence the quality of their lives. Characterizing young people as a minority group highlights some of the practices that constrain them and points to a political agenda which includes rights.

Recent theories of childhood fall into two groups (James et al. 1998). The first is the presociological which has become taken-for-granted and the basis for common sense understandings and media portrayals. It includes the notions of children as evil, innocent, immanent, naturally developing and unconscious, and shows how understandings of young people comprise a diverse 'array of motifs' (p21) through which childhood has been and continues to be perceived. For example, we were reminded during the 1993 Bulger murder case of a consistent theme in media representations concerning the nature of childhood. Two year-old James Bulger was portrayed as the affectionate, trusting innocent 'ideal' child and 10 year-olds Venables and Thompson as 'evil'. Childhood itself was seen as 'a dual idealization of the innocent child and abomination of the bad child' (Young 1996: 114). The second group represents the burgeoning of social theory's interest with childhood, projected through the sociological approaches of the socially constructed child, the tribal child, the minority group child and the social structural child. Though not a complete mosaic, in each of these contemporary approaches are situated the interests, traditions and ideologies that together formulate the nature of childhood/youth. These approaches, too, reflect different aspects of childhood, some emphasizing it as a conceptual space, others representing young people as social actors (James & Prout 1997) and unique persons. The acknowledgement of children as agents, the 'new paradigm' (James & Prout 1997) calls for understanding children as social actors, capable of shaping, as well as being shaped, by their situations and a move away from the notion of young people seen only in terms of their future as potential adults.

Today, young people are, therefore, confronted with the requirement to be heard. The UNCRC has created a discursive space which encourages the perception of young people as autonomous individuals. The Children Act (1989), too, requires children's best interests to be taken into account as well as their own wishes.

However, alongside this move towards autonomy, other contemporary practices mean greater surveillance and social regulation in what has become the 'risk society' (see below).

Theories of the sociological child help explore the agency of children within their social, political and economic spheres. The socially constructed child model sees no essential child, but one that is formed through constitutive practices. Children thus inhabit a world of meaning through interaction with adults. The tribal child model reassesses the hierarchical system and power relation between children and adults. It accepts children's social worlds as meaningful, real places and not as precursors of adulthood. It recognizes the child's relative autonomy and own views, which it accepts at face value. This approach has recognized children's incremental competence. In the Gillick[6] case, for example, The House of Lords recognised the child's developing autonomy with developing understanding and reasoning ability. Tribal children are understood politically and analytically by their separateness, which involves self-sustaining autonomy. Their culture is a self-maintaining system of rituals and language that prescribes their whole way of life. This has echoes of the subculture and offers the potential for the tribal child to 'resist' the normalizing effects of age-hierarchies and socialization. Using Hall's view of culture/subculture, which reflects the young people in my study, as 'that level at which social groups develop distinctive patterns of life and give expressive form to their social and material .... experience' (Hall & Jefferson 1976: 27), it is clear that the tribal child demands understanding in its own right. The emphasis on the particular character of tribal children highlights how they may have criminal or antisocial strands. The tribal subcultures do not aspire to adult standards and exercise a strong sense of self-determination. Using this model in my study I acknowledge the need for relative autonomy for young people beginning from an understanding of young people as socially able. The minority group child embraces the politicization of childhood and is socially marginalized. This approach seeks to promote children's interests but in doing so imposes a political uniformity in relation to rights, personhood and status, ignoring differences. This is visible in the Anti Social Behaviour Act (2003) (ASBA (2003)) s 30, where young people behaving as a group antisocially may be subjects

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[6] Gillick v West Norfolk and Wisbech Area Health Authority, ['1986] AC112

of moral panics and all cast as outsiders. The social structural child model recognizes that children are a constant, normal, typical and persistent feature of all societies and part of the constitution of social life and as such should be understood as an integral part. They are not just subject to changing discourses: they are a group of social actors and as such have needs and rights.

There is an assumption that the more recent concept of childhood is correct as it emphasizes the nature of youth and opens the way for morally responsible behaviour towards them (Archard 1993). The denial of rights to young people presumes they lack competence to exercise responsibility and discharge obligations rather than using age alone as a criterion.

2.2 Rights

Rights issues concern the institution of modern childhood – the customs, laws and behaviours that position children and determine the nature of their lives (Holt 1975). Recognition of children's rights means young people are seen as persons accorded respect and whose interests are taken into account by policy makers (Archard 1993; Freeman 1983; 2004). Different treatment of adults and young people reflect privilege and deny human rights and the recognition that every person's autonomy is equally important.

The UNCRC provides for children's right to participate in decisions affecting their lives (Article 12), recognizing them as social beings capable of forming views and able to participate fully in society. Article 3 emphasizes that in all actions concerning children, their best interests shall be the primary consideration. Nevertheless, consideration must be given to how rights are being interpreted and in whose interests the children's best interests are being addressed.

Mechanisms of empowerment, including rights, are crucial for young people who do not have the vote and therefore have to live in situations over which they have little influence. Holt proposes that the rights and responsibilities of adult citizens should be available to minors (Holt 1975). Autonomy rights relate to the freedom to choose lifestyles and to engage in social relations according to the young person's wishes

(Eekelaar 1986) – a choice which the Eastleigh young people sought keenly. A denial of this agency arises from seeing young people only as problems (Griffin 1993). However, child and adult lives are interdependent and a consideration of citizenship (see Chapter 4) underlines the ways in which young people are treated and situated in contemporary society (Roche 1999b). Issues of children's rights highlight the sense of powerlessness and exclusion young people experience. They do, however, resist adult practices (see Chapter 8). Nevertheless, the whole effect of the problematization of young people, adultism and the powerlessness of young people is to marginalize their perspectives.

Critics of the justification of children's rights take different stances. For example, O'Neill argues that children's fundamental rights are best grounded within a wider account of fundamental obligations, which may also justify positive rights and obligations (O'Neill 1988). I cannot agree with O'Neill, either in this respect – I argue rights and obligations from, for example, parents, teachers or the wider community, should go hand-in-hand – or with her argument that the child's main remedy is to grow up. Many young people have the capacity and maturity of older people. Further, we impose criminal responsibility on children at 10 but deny them contemporaneous rights.

Another critic is King who highlights how law is but one version of reality, the experience of which depends on whether it promotes children's interests (King 1994). He claims the scope of the UNCRC is too narrow and also that the law presumes young people lack the capacity to make their own decisions and therefore denies them full participation in legal, political and social processes. I argue, however, that young people show that when given the chance they make significant contributions to their communities while meeting their own needs for defining themselves through responsible activities.

The UNCRC can, in its commitments to the human rights of children, be seen as recognising that children have civil, political and social rights. Acknowledging all the contributions young people make to society must include a rejection of the 'potential adults' language and welcome the contributions and insights young people have now.

2.3 Youth Culture

'Youth' emerged as a separate, visible category in post-war Britain, illustrating social change. The focus for legislation, reports and interventions, it became a social problem. Culture reflects the particular patterns of life, choice and taste of social groups and the way they use social experiences such as hanging out and graffiti art to make it meaningful for its members (Clarke et al. 1976). Individuals are born into a particular set of institutions and relations offering a range of possibilities within which they can make something of their lives. Culture embodies the passage of this group through time.

There is a distinction between hegemonic culture, inherent in powerful groups who create the dominant culture and common culture (Willis 1990) which expresses the everyday lives of other social groups. Common culture develops in the spaces hegemonic culture is unable to penetrate. Youth culture is usually of this nature and expresses opposition practices which are labelled 'resistance' (Epstein 1998) and manifested by signs and symbols. Youth culture may be partly a product of spatial specificity, existing only where young people have some degree of power and control such as the street (James et al. 1998). Despite the political nature of this resistance, it is usually taken to show youth 'at risk' (Giroux 1983).

Work on youth culture divides into three periods – the sociological work of the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century, the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham and more recent work in the US done by, for example, Giroux and Kellner (Kellner 1992). The Birmingham School in the 1970s was much influenced by the Chicago School and saw class linked to youth culture and highlighted how different groups of youth found different solutions to their problems. Work up to this time spoke almost exclusively of male youth cultural forms, concerned with an emphasis on masculinity and toughness which compensated for lack of success in other fields such as employment.

Recent literature is led by the work of Giroux and Gaines. Giroux highlights the processes of domination and resistance within the cultural institutions of education and the media. Gaines examines the suburban youth scene (Gaines 1991) and suggests that the young people had a particular world view that 'nobody cares' which they all accepted (p54). Giroux' work emphasises this alienation, which he relates to Merton's anomie theory (Merton 1938) and sees schools and streets, for example, as locations of cultural tension where the dominant culture can be challenged (Giroux 1994a). For Giroux an act is one of resistance when the action is undertaken deliberately and aims to put distance between the hegemonic culture and the youth culture (Giroux 1983).

Community, family and locality can work to set young people apart from other groups as well as aligning them with their peers. 'Respectable' young people see their involvement in present social structures as an investment in their futures while others reject that respectability or have different interpretations of it. Those who have viewed school as unrelated to their futures (see Chapter 4) have attitudes very different from those who understand its relevance (Brake 1985).

Youth cultures offer symbols which can be used in identity construction (see Chapter 5) outside class and education and allow young people to rebel unconventionally. They emphasise a dislocation from the ties of work and committed relations and a degree of freedom. With today's longer states of dependency and peer companionships, the styles adopted by young people in the consumption of clothing and leisure have become important in establishing identities and peer relationships. Traditional class-based differences have declined and young people now seek self-fulfilment through consumption of goods, especially fashion (Willis 1990). Such consumption and leisure styles increasingly reflect desired masculine or feminine identities (Hollands 1995).

With extended periods of youth and more activities in which young people can participate, young people's lives have changed significantly. Youth cultures now span traditional class divisions with leisure patterns more diffuse. Some young people, especially those without work, have become marginalized, lacking access to many leisure lifestyles others enjoy. They have limited access, too, to the consumer

culture which is central to identity formation and acceptance within the youth culture.

2.4 Youth Justice

After seven years in government, New Labour's watchwords of 'Tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime' have been perpetuated by constant proposals, laws and initiatives aimed at tackling different aspects of crime. The importance of strong communities is reflected in what was to become central to New Labour's policy making - The Crime and Disorder Act (1998). This sought to integrate tough new justice measures with others to increase community safety. However, as Walklate points out, this legislation suggests a universally applicable policy package. To achieve change requires a recognition of the local context and a 'closer critical examination of what we understand by crime, community, prevention and protection' (Walklate 2003b: 70). Under the Act the Youth Justice Board was established to oversee the Youth Justice System and Local Authorities became responsible for implementing the policies by, for example, setting up multi-agency Youth Offending Teams (YOTs). The CDA (1998) aims to alter the behaviour of those who have offended and invoke the 'caring community'. Hutton (1995) argues that the grand vision is of inclusion, but not without placing obligations on individuals (Hutton 1995). The new youth strategy brings into the youth justice system younger people and also their parents and links the crimes of young people, education and parenting. Parents are seen as leading their children into a responsible, crime-free maturity, but as James and James (2001) argue, no mention of children's views, responses and contribution to the parenting relationship is made (James & James 2001). Further, involvement in the youth justice system can serve to stigmatize and label young people (Becker 1963; Lemert 1967; Matza 1964; 1969). Not only, therefore, is the recognition of the spirit of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (UNCRC), which was ratified in the UK in 1991, of paramount importance, as is the implementation of the Children Act (1989) which gave young people more input in decisions which affect their lives, but in these contexts, the critical importance of social order, of measures to divert young people from crime and antisocial behaviour and of effective crime prevention become apparent.

The Anti-Social Behaviour White Paper (2003) highlighted antisocial behaviour such as 'graffiti', 'begging', 'drunken yobs' and 'young people using air guns to threaten and intimidate'. As a response to such problems it argued for a cultural shift to a society where people, property and public spaces are respected and stated 'Fundamentally, anti-social behaviour is caused by a lack of respect for other people' (Home Office 2003: 7) and it urged action by local people to become part of the solution. The Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003) which followed the White Paper aims to tackle many types of antisocial behaviour and gives powers to police to disperse, in designated areas where persistent and serious antisocial behaviour occurs, groups where members of the public may have been intimidated, harassed, alarmed or distressed by two or more persons and to return unsupervised minors to their places of residence between 21.00 and 06.00. Local Authorities also gain powers to issue graffiti removal notices and restrict the sale of aerosol paint. Much aimed at young people, the Act relies on decisions and perceptions by adults who may feel threatened and to protect unaccompanied children and young people from risks. However, the powers which aim to prevent people 'from being frightened and discouraged from using public places' may deny law-abiding young people freedom in those areas and also reinforce the idea that young people do constitute a threat.

2.5 Risk and Uncertainty

As indicated above, in late modernity – the social, economic and cultural position now existing in the UK embraces risks, insecurities and control issues which reflect changing responses to the problem of crime. Not only is community challenged, but also morality and religion, now that both trust and risk have changed and promoted ontological insecurity (Giddens 1990; 1991). In Chapter 7 I revisit the notion of trust that is embodied in social capital (Putnam 2000) which emphasises reciprocity and trustworthiness. As a result of modernization over the last century risks, especially global ones, have emerged which threaten the future (Beck 1992).

New theoretical perspectives around issues of individualization and risk (Beck 1992; Douglas 1992; Giddens 1991) are particularly relevant to young people, where unpredictability has replaced a relative certainty in recognised life patterns and with the weakening of community cohesion, problems are personalized rather than being

seen as outside an individual's own control. Risk is one of the most important focuses of contemporary debates. Beck (1992) sees a 'categorical shift' in the relationship between the individual and society. Douglas (1992) views risk as more central in our lives following moves towards more globalisation. The approaches to risk of Beck and Douglas have notable differences, as have their resulting assessments of risk vulnerability. Beck's referents are the class society (scarcity) versus the risk society (insecurity), highlighting, for example hunger versus fear or groupings/tradition versus individualization with reflexivity. Beck sees fear of scarcity in the class society, no less real than fear of insecurity in the risk society. He argues, however, that modern risks are different because tangible, localized wealth can cocoon the wealthy from harms endured by the poor while even the privileged cannot be protected from intangible global risks (Scott A 2000). The individualization and reflexivity of modern societies means individuals are faced with choices where tradition once dictated and supported a recognized path (Beck 1992). Douglas, in contrast, argues that risk itself 'is not a thing, it is a way of thinking, and a highly artificial contrivance at that' (Douglas 1992: 46) so that the concept of risk meaning reflects the perception of risk and does not correspond to it. Douglas argues, too, that the 'public perception of risk is treated as if it were the aggregated response of millions of private individuals' (Douglas 1992: 40). Douglas suggests perceptions of great risk also strengthen existing social divisions within a community (p 34) so that blame for the danger may be ascribed to marginalized groups such as unmarried mothers or young people:

'Since it is inherently difficult to be aware of liminal groups in a society organised under the principles of competitive individualism, it is easier to write them off as human derelicts' (Douglas 1992: 41).

In this atmosphere of risk and uncertainty, adult concerns about the behaviour and very nature of young people intensify and more efforts to regulate them have emerged from monitoring, with the more general use of, for example, CCTV cameras in shopping malls and parks to monitoring all young people (Department for Education and Employment 2000). The ConneXions card, available to 16 to 19 year olds is promoted as an incentive to keep learning and offers consumer discounts. It is, however, a smartcard with a chip that stores basic information about the holder,

such as name, date of birth and a colour photograph, and enables easy electronic monitoring of young people. More direct policing policies such as stopping young people if they are suspected of carrying alcohol and 'moving on', often for no reason, has increased intervention of targeted antisocial practices, or situations which might become antisocial in an attempt to induce conformity. Being moved on, however makes young people *feel* intimidated (Polzot 1997: 32) and increases hostility towards the police, unintended consequences which are counter-productive. The police treatment of public space is ambivalent, routinely regulating the general use of that space whilst, less often, offering more tolerant paternalistic resolutions. However, response to demands to maintain order from more powerful adult residents and shopkeepers means young people, though interested parties and major users, become marginalized in determining how public space is used. Part of the argument is that place has a wrongly causal connotation. From what we know CCTV displaces crime (Muncie 1999b: 235) so when the police see young people congregating as *causing* crime and move them on or disperse them (see above), there is a failure to recognize the effects of social exclusion felt by the young people and the possibility that they will behave unacceptably elsewhere.

2.6 Major Influences

It is important to note the reasons *why* young people desist from crime in order to contextualize this thesis, the aim of which is to understand *how* the influences are perceived by the young people who experience them. This focus distinguishes between those young people on the periphery of deviant behaviour and those whom Graham and Bowling (1995) define as 'desisters' – those who had already committed at least three offences (or one serious offence) but had not committed an offence in the past twelve months. For those young people desistance is seen as stemming from 'growing out of crime'(Rutherford 1992) and includes such factors as completing full-time education, engaging in secure employment, leaving home, getting married/entering a partnership and becoming responsible for other people. Most of these factors are, however, now absent or delayed and it is more difficult to rely on their having the desired effect. Encouraging those who have offended to become actively engaged in the process of change is seen as a positive step towards resisting crime. Other studies have focused on such young people (Graham & Bowling 1995;

Jamieson et al. 1999). For the purposes of this study and following many self-report studies, young people who have offended are defined as having committed any one of a list of offences (see Junger-Tas et al. 1994). Most will have committed only one or two such offences, or been responsible for antisocial behaviour or incivilities and may show little difference from young people who have not offended.

For these young people, and in particular for those growing up in the Borough of Eastleigh, I argue that there are four important influences which need to be highlighted to reveal their understandings and perceptions. These are complex and interrelated and reflect and are reflected by the tensions in the lives of the young people: the transition process/citizenship, identity (and the impact of masculinities and femininities), space/community and control – action and reaction.

By focusing on how young people negotiate their teenage years it is possible to assess the many aspects that impact on how young people are understood and how they perceive their lives changing as they mature. Though the traditional status transitions – school-to-work, domestic and housing (Coles 1995; Jones 1995) which should see young people moving from a state of dependency into a state of independence are still there, they are increasingly problematic. Social changes affecting the lives of young people, especially longer periods of dependency and involvement in education have delayed entry into the labour market (Bynner 1987; Furlong & Cartmel 1997; Miles 2000). The structural world of employment has, particularly in Eastleigh, changed dramatically over the past decade. Education trends have changed with many young people staying in full time education longer, with its built-in lengthening of the period of dependency and extending transition time (Coles 1995; Jones 1995). I will return to these issues in Chapter 4. Economic changes, too, mean many young people are unable to afford their own housing and are forced to remain in the parental home well into their 20s, creating more pressures for their families (Jones 1995), the forms and styles of which have themselves undergone much change. The interrelationship of these changes needs to be explored and how they reflect on the behaviour and choices of young people whose phase in the life course between childhood and adulthood has become increasingly prolonged and problematic. I therefore explore the tensions existing for young people during this process and how they manage them.

Young people are marginal categories, essentially status-less and on the periphery of citizenship. Willis (1990) sees young people as 'social groupings not connected through direct communication but through shared styles ....' (Willis 1990: 63). They engage little in formal politics. Because they are often disengaged from both politics and the consensual society, young people experience powerlessness. Citizenship is 'an essentially contested concept' (Plant 1989; cited in Storrie 1997). It is also very complex and has traditionally reflected such things as the common good, relationships with other citizens and state (or global) politics. It also embraces beliefs about cultural bonds and rights and responsibilities and the tensions between the person as an individual citizen and a collective citizen. Democracy involves both freedom and equality, but where a social category is powerless, neither freedom nor equality is promised. With greater involvement and more active citizenship young people may participate more in a democratic citizenship. Yet young people under eighteen are still (in the U.K.) denied the vote and thus any part in influencing decisions which affect their lives.

The period of youth is a time when young people 'try on' new identities but when previous experience and contextualization remain important (Craib 1998). Separating from the childhood home, where the 'child' identity was seated, the young person is able to experiment with new roles (Goffman 1969) and ways of being. The identity crisis (Erikson 1968) characterizing adolescence is seen by positivists as in need of positive resolution. The lesser influence of their families, resistance to institutions such as schools and the increased influence of friends, friendships and peer groups impact on the blossoming identity of young people affecting such things as self-esteem, and enhancing awareness of sexualities and differing gender-related lifestyles. It is useful to explore the greater or lesser influence of social networks and social influences (Cotterell 1996; Scott J 2000) as young people become less or more insular over time, and the part played by the programmes. Within the context of all these influences and the external and internal factors which can effect change, the ever changing and changeableness of identity needs to be considered.

The young person's evolving identity is normally experienced within the immediate locality – the school, the community, the park, or the streets. Though much of their day is organised, at school or at work, in their leisure time many young people enjoy 'hanging out' and 'doing nothing' (Corrigan 1979), and just 'chilling out' with friends. Space is a major factor in the lives of young people who have outgrown staying at home and whose economic constraints preclude their going where a cost is involved. Friction is often caused by the sheer numbers of young people in a group and the perceived fear experienced by older residents. Police intervention often results, entailing 'moving on' young people. Erstwhile public spaces which once families used together are in part becoming segregated by choice – young people designating certain places their own and other residents giving them a wide berth (Sibley 1995;Valentine 1996). Such tensions merit further consideration to explore where and how young people are situated within the wider context.

The recognition of the ambiguous position in which young people find themselves, whether there is control or autonomy, gives rise to the need to explore their situation within the structures which often constrain them. The (traditional) family, seen as the site of socialization during childhood years, is still influential during adolescence, but other institutions and factors come into play. Schools often constrain young people and slow the pathway to independence. The way the 'culture of control' (Garland 2001) has developed in conditions of modernity by 'risks, insecurities and control problems' has changed attitudes. There are echoes of Bentham's panopticon, designed to ensure compliance as well as control through constant surveillance. Foucault argued that the proliferation of such institutions resulted in an increasingly panoptic world in which power and control become dispersed throughout the social structure (Foucault 1977) including internalizing the mentality of control by individuals. New laws and new initiatives bringing in ever younger people, those who have not yet shown deviant or antisocial tendencies (but just might) have meant net-widening and mesh thinning (Cohen 1996). Parents have been held responsible (and jailed) for their errant children. Communities are enlisted in the fight against crimes committed by young people in an effort to maintain the social order. Community policing and multi-partnership become subtle 'arm's length' governing. Blair's Third Way espoused the belief in community, opportunity and responsibility (Blair 1999). Responsibility is echoed in the CDA (1998) but it is questionable

whether young people have equality with adults in levels of opportunity and autonomy. So that these issues and tensions can be addressed it is necessary to tease out the complex ways young people are controlled and their reactions to these pressures.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter several interrelated issues pertinent to young people's experiences have been introduced. The discussion highlighted the broad concepts related to the fieldwork data. It began by looking at the problematization of youth. This was followed with an examination of the theories of childhood, the rights of young people and youth culture. Pertinent pieces of legislation, the CDA (1998) and the ASBA (2003) and the UNCRC were then visited in order to set the local issue within the wider perspective. There followed a discussion of important social thinking on individualization and risk and their setting within the social changes affecting the lives of young people and highlighting how risk and uncertainty promote more social control over young people. Relevant literature was then drawn on in order to highlight important facets of the young people's lifestyles and the programmes in which they took part.

The chapter concluded with an introduction to four major influences on the experiences and perceptions of the young people of Eastleigh: the transition process/ citizenship, identity, space/community and control – action and reaction. Particular concepts relating to young people and antisocial behaviour will be explored later in the thesis. In order to proceed with exploring the many factors and their interrelationship in the lived experience of young people in Eastleigh, in Chapter 3 I intend to develop the qualitative methodology.

Chapter 3 The Research Methods

3.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with an account of the evolution of the research design, highlighting the factors which influenced my decisions. It was essentially a local study, important because such studies can illuminate issues which are often experienced on a broader scale and because each area has its own problems and solutions. The chapter outlines the negotiation of access to the programmes and issues of gatekeeping. The chapter continues by discussing the interview methods and the nature of the longitudinal qualitative study. The research relationship is then developed and the part played by emotionality emphasized. The chapter proceeds to describe the handling of inconsistencies. The way data were analysed and the use of The Ethnograph computer package is then discussed. The chapter ends with a discussion of the generalizability of the study and ethical issues which were considered, including leaving the field. Specific details about the respondents and a sample question guide form part of the Appendices.

3.1 The Research Design

A consideration of research methods cannot be separated from a consideration of theory. The selection of a particular method, however, will influence the findings of any research and the appropriateness of that selection will affect the validity and reliability of results and form the basis from which conclusions can be drawn.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, much of the research into young people and crime or antisocial behaviour has been conducted through large-scale quantitative surveys. Official statistics on crime provide some measure of how much crime exists and give other trends or relevant factors relating to an area. There are, however, concerns over the control of the government and its agencies of official information in the 'surveillance society' (Lyon 2001) and also about their accuracy (Dorling & Simpson 1999), their validity and use. A Government Statisticians' Collective, for example, points out that 'statistics do not, in some mysterious way, emanate directly from social conditions they appear to describe, but that between the two lie assumptions, conceptions and priorities of the state and the social order' (Government Statisticians' Collective 1993: 163). In survey research respondents

may be influenced by interviewer delivery or the rubric of a questionnaire and have scant opportunity to give voice to individual interpretations or perceptions. Furthermore, adults define the problem in constructing the questionnaire. With young people and especially those involved in or on the fringes of crime, understanding what is asked is often a problem since many have a limited or unfinished education and without someone to explain, the response is likely to be poor leading to response bias. For example, some of the young people with whom I spoke said they knew the meaning of neither 'independence' nor 'responsibility' and needed further explanations of what I was asking (see quotes 4-5 and 4-7). Many young people, too, may not wish to commit themselves to paper and opinions and information may be more readily shared verbally - an important issue in informed consent. With young people particularly, participants will talk more readily than they write. Survey research also makes it impossible to probe or assess the honesty of answers. Often people are unsure about what will happen to questionnaire data and without the rapport and assurances of a face-to-face interview, particularly with sensitive issues, may be reluctant to complete the questionnaire. As Hoinville et al. point out 'survey methods do not allow the researcher to examine the roles that attitudes, values and beliefs play in leading people to behave in the way they do'(Hoinville et al. 1977: 11). Exploring attitudes often gives a depth of understanding impossible in survey research, for example discovering what lies behind the responses the respondent might have given if allowed a free voice, and discussing apparently contradictory answers.

Social attitudes as to what constitutes 'crime' or 'antisocial behaviour' are also relevant where, for example, some young people consider incidents 'just high spirits' or normal when others would assess them as antisocial or criminal. In 'Antisocial behaviour and disorder: Findings from the British Crime Survey', for example, Budd and Sims found young people and students particularly likely to record experiences of antisocial behaviour. Yet the authors point out that 'defining and measuring antisocial behaviour and disorder is inherently difficult as expectations of standards of behaviour vary both between and within communities' (Budd & Sims 2001: 1). So although the various types of survey research, and especially those used in combination, can produce valuable data, they have limitations. They cannot explore in depth young people's perceptions, feelings and how they make sense of their lives. In-depth qualitative research is needed to provide a different, deeper, fuller angle on young people's understandings for this is lost or unsaid in survey research.

The choice of method has to reflect the 'consideration of the methodological assumptions implicit in the use of particular methods and designs' (Jupp 1989: 5). The focus of analysis, whether at individual, group or structural level will have a bearing on the data collection and analysis, as, too, will the way theory and method relate. The relationship between theory and data encourages the researcher to get involved in the social world of those whose behaviour and perceptions s/he seeks to understand and to undertake qualitative research which goes beyond what statistics can tell us. Fitzgerald and Muncie, argue qualitative data 'humanise the deviant' (Fitzgerald & Muncie, 1981, quoted in Jupp, 1989: 28). This is particularly important with young people who have been stereotyped. Differences in theoretical approach have bearings on the range of methods chosen in criminological research, qualitative data reflecting different assumptions about crime and the way it should be researched. Central to these considerations is the way researchers define 'crime' and their understanding of 'young people'. For my research I have taken young people to mean those aged between 14 and 18+ because this embraces the peak ages of offending and represents a period of 'transition' and identity redefinition. However, there was fluidity in the upper age, firstly because I found so few within the schemes who would fit the criterion, and secondly because chronological age does not always reflect age-related behaviours and the slightly older respondents showed behaviours and attitudes similar to those I originally targeted. I use 'crime' to embrace not only legal infractions but also antisocial behaviour and incivilities. Bryman sees the main focus of qualitative research as 'viewing events, action, norms, values etc. from the perspective of the people being studied' (Bryman 1988: 61). Yet this is only a starting point and this thesis seeks explanations to broader issues of, for example, representations and social or moral order which have wider resonance.

In striving to see through the eyes of the participants, I tried to empathize with them and this often meant understanding their expressions and terminology, and reflecting on the language I used, particularly important when researching young people. The cultural worlds created by young people are often very different from those created by adults and I have been conscious of the possibility that discovering (and understanding) their perceptions may lead me to reflect on whether I 'read something into' their behaviour or replies or miss something crucial, in the knowledge that my view of the world may be very different from theirs. Further, young people's ambiguous position where their rights

and responsibilities are still 'in process' as adulthood nears, and status differences between the researched and the researcher may seem significant, can impact on the research process.

Using more than one method of collecting data contributes to a more complete capture of the experiences of young people and crime and helps compensate for the limitations of one method by the strengths of another (Mason 1996). I found the study of documents such as newspapers, magazines or house journals such as that produced by Clipper useful for filling gaps and providing atmosphere. I had to consider, though, their accuracy and authenticity since reports can be biased and may provide what the writer believes the reader or editor wants. In order to supplement qualitative data all local newspapers, The Hampshire Chronicle, The Eastleigh Weekly (now defunct) and the Eastleigh Gazette/News Extra were examined for the previous ten years for items relating to youth and criminal or antisocial behaviour. The Eastleigh Gazette was examined in detail from January to December 2003 for all references to young people, good, bad or neutral, to establish how one local paper's portrayal of young people may have been influential. Articles were then themed and analysed. An early interest in the firesetters programme led to a small questionnaire survey of young people involved in this activity. Press cuttings kept by Clipper were also obtained and these provided another source to complement the interviews. They were seen as important as the media are influential in shaping public opinion and national and local press are key agencies in informing the public about youth (Muncie 1999b: 9). Obtaining data of the same situation in different ways increased my awareness of the subject and helped me control for any bias (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Observations were made throughout and these were then analysed reflexively. I also kept a field notebook in which I recorded my own thoughts, feelings and observations on which I wanted to reflect later and this proved invaluable. Not all problems and gaps will be overcome but they will be minimised. As Devine and Heath point out, a well-done combination of methods 'can lead to a much more rounded and holistic view of the topic under investigation' (Devine & Heath 1999: 201). Research design is essentially a compromise and no research can produce all there is to know about young people and crime or antisocial behaviour. Qualitative research favours contextualization and holism, whereby, for example, the meanings young people ascribe to their behaviours and perceptions can be set in the context of existing norms and values, and links and changes can be highlighted. Such perceptions are thus situated in the

participants' social reality. Though not all-embracing, qualitative research methods fit well with concepts of individualization allowing personal avenues to be explored and are comprehensive in capturing the experiences of young people and crime. Young people are not an homogeneous group and do not fit easily into generalized accounts in which their thoughts and actions are seen as uniform.

Qualitative data embrace social meanings and constructions which are the basis for actions and their methods of collection are neither feasible nor suitable for quantitative data. I took great care with the participants who were all vulnerable, and might be encountering multiple problems as in the case of many young people involved in antisocial behaviour or crime, whether as perpetrators or victims. Particularly when they are less articulate, a face-to-face approach can reduce many of the problems, enrich the information-giving/gathering occasion for both the young respondents and the researcher, and produce the rapport necessary to obtain the best data.

For my research I considered becoming a participant observer within the programmes I studied but decided against it for several reasons. As an adult participant observer, seeking to understand the experiences of young people I could not blend into the group setting. The only role open to me would have been helper which would immediately distance me from them. Nor as an adult, however much I afforded young people respect and equal status, could I influence the way they regarded me. The 'authority' dimension is difficult to overcome and even if I placed myself in the same setting as young people, it did not mean they would reveal any (unfabricated) information. Issues of trust and sensitivity about rights and responsibilities are forefronted in youth, as adulthood nears and can create barriers between young people and adults who would become participant observers.

I chose interviews as my main method of research because I believed the young people's views, interpretations and experiences about crime and the Eastleigh initiatives were meaningful and I sought to gain access to as many of those understandings as possible. The chance of learning something new was also maximised. Interviews allowed young people as a status-less group to give voice to their perceptions and experiences in a way that would not have been easy with other research methods, and to challenge stereotypes,

for example, the popular images of young people stealing or using antisocial behaviour far outweighed those of young people showing good citizenship. This can be an empowering experience for the young people and I found most of the young people 'growing into' the study and gaining confidence in their role. With interviewing co-operation is necessary and at times young people may be unwilling to divulge information about parts of their lives and especially with issues of crime may not be truthful. Interviewers need to have some idea of the ways young people behave so that they can assess and make sense of the information and be aware of cognitive, pragmatic and social misrepresentations and I found my previous experience of young people growing up invaluable (see Chapter 1). The research required depth in understanding the participants' interpretations and because many of them were poorly educated, they often needed further explanations. Qualitative interviewing enabled a fuller representation of the young people's views and the issues and themes that emerged could be transferred readily from the Eastleigh context to other areas. It was more suited, too, to research aimed at learning new perspectives from a group not traditionally consulted. This study, therefore, sought to fill the gap in the literature in terms of both the age group of interest and of the radical approach where young people themselves were interviewed, so that they were treated as subjects in their own right, entitled to use their voices. My primary aim was not, in this respect, to empower young people, but to highlight their stories, alongside those which more usually get heard. This approach enabled young people to speak easily about their perceptions and experiences and to reflect on them with the interviewer. Importantly, I particularly wanted the experience to be fun, especially for them, but also for me.

I was aware of the limitations in the qualitative interviewing approach, for example, the risk of being given partial, selective accounts (though this is true not only with interviewing). I was viewing the interview data as a resource for investigating the experiences of the young people believing that their narratives bore some resemblance to reality rather than as a topic where the interview interaction would suggest the young people's world view rather than objective reality. It is also relevant that qualitative data are drawn from a smaller sample than would be appropriate in quantitative methods.

3.2 The Programmes

Very early in my study I had identified three levels of intervention (see Chapter 1), and to obtain data across the spectrum, I selected four programmes in which to conduct the fieldwork. An important area of examination concerned the initiatives themselves, and examining them and their mission statements so that I understood what they were aiming to achieve with the young people. I also had to negotiate access to the young people. I aimed to reach the young people through the programme organisers. In effect the young people with whom I spoke were 'selected' for me as they comprised a total population of all those involved in the initiatives at that time of the relevant age. One problem was that there was no guarantee that young people would stay in a project for the two years of my research and I found some left during the data collection and I had to fill the gaps with other young people.

3.2.1 Gatekeeping and False Starts

Gaining access to certain young people can also be problematic and this can have major consequences on research findings, influencing representativeness, transferability, reliability and validity. I expected it would be necessary to make careful preparations, to be open and flexible in my requests to organisations, to accept any reasonable conditions they put forward and to continue negotiations throughout the study in order to gain access to those vulnerable young people. I did not, however, anticipate so many problems, closed doors and false starts. To overcome these, I had to readjust the focus of parts of my research several times.

I wanted to explore the perceptions of Youth Club members, who might or might not use antisocial behaviour. The Youth Service put me in touch with a local Youth Club whose two leaders were vibrant, enthusiastic and helpful and which catered for a large number of young people in different age groups. I visited the Club in July 2001 and the leaders were happy for me to contact them again a year later when I would be ready to start fieldwork. In that time, however, both leaders had left and the Club had closed until new leaders could be appointed. The Youth Club to which I then went was in a dramatically different area of Eastleigh. The data I collected were unlikely to have been comparable with those I would have collected at the first club. The second youth club, too, closed short of the two

year period and the young people dispersed. The former leader told me she 'had no idea' about the cause of the Club's closure. I noted, however, that she (the main leader) obtained a different job, there were serious fights outside the Club and many of the older members ceased to attend, suggesting that the closure resulted from a combination of factors. The new Youth Leader began to use the Outreach bus to meet young people rather than running a Centre-based club. Despite this I felt I had gained much useful information from this source already and since the interviews with young people from the other programmes were continuing, I decided to concentrate on those.

In the second level of intervention I planned to conduct interviews with Clipper (who proved welcoming, helpful and open throughout the study) and in the third level with the Firesetters' Programme. Despite assuring the Firesetters' Liaison Officer that anonymity and confidentiality would be guaranteed to the young people, he was unwilling to allow me to meet them or even ask the young people themselves if they would talk to me as he felt contact would breach confidentiality. He did, however, agree to let his volunteers ask the young people to complete a questionnaire. I therefore conducted a small survey with these young people in October 2001 and this provided useful data which supplemented my main method. Fourteen of the twenty questionnaires were returned giving a response rate of 70% (see Appendix 7).

The third level of intervention proved most difficult to set up and led to the research going down a different avenue. I made an early visit to the local Youth Offending Team (YOT) to explain my research and to ask to speak with some of the young people. I was told the Team had been over researched, they were overworked and the young people would not be willing to talk to me anyway unless I paid them handsomely. I then tried Crime Concern, both because of my interest in reparation and Family Group Conferences (FGCs), and because the Officer in Charge had written to the University suggesting postgraduates might like to research this area. I visited him early on and he was enthusiastic. I told him I would not be ready to start fieldwork for a year and was invited to contact him when I was ready. I approached Crime Concern a year later and learned the Officer had been suspended for offering research opportunities such as this, that they were already researched by the Home Office and I would need Home Office approval to do any research with them. I next tried a Charitable Trust who had a FGC scheme. I was told that was already being researched but I could explore their Mentoring Scheme, provided I

gave them a report for their own purposes. I met one area organiser who said she would ask the mentees. However, she was off sick for many weeks and on her return said she could not pursue it. I met another area organiser who obtained agreement from mentees and mentors, but within a month she left and her successor was unwilling to pursue matters for three months at least. At this stage I heard of another scheme in Eastleigh where young people who had offended were offered participation in the Duke of Edinburgh Scheme. I met the organiser and was told the scheme had only just been set up and I would have to wait six months for it to establish itself before the young people could be interviewed. Six months later in March 2003, I contacted the organiser and was told the person running the scheme had left and he could no longer offer help. I then returned to the Charitable Trust in order to pursue the Mentoring Scheme. The Organiser who had promised to review the position in three months had left and the new incumbent had started only on that day. However, within a week she had contacted me to set up a meeting to make arrangements to interview the young people. The Mentoring Scheme was based on referrals, so this strand of research became a second level initiative.

3.3 The Interviews

Pilot interviews with four young people were carried out in September 2001 and these enabled me to assess whether the way I would be conducting the main interviews needed adjustment and how the questions might be received.

For the main semi-structured interviews guides were used, helping maintain focus and ensuring that important questions were addressed. These allowed participants to add new perspectives and individual ideas to the research, broadening my own view of their world and helping to 'draw out' the young people most of whom were not expansive, often monosyllabic or digressing markedly from the subject area.

The sample consisted of young people of both sexes and included two people from ethnic minorities and three young men with learning disabilities. Interviews, in which I sought to balance the findings from young people in the initiatives with views from young people *not* involved in them, were conducted at youth fora. The interviews were conducted at centres or coffee bars and the issues explored included education, family, employment, identity, leisure, victimization, future aspirations and perceptions of the particular

programmes. Group interviews were conducted on the Outreach bus. I had gone expecting to speak with two or three young people but I was confronted with two groups of between twelve and fifteen young people. In the first, the young people sat in the minibus facing forwards and I had to conduct the interviews, in the dark, kneeling on the front seat to face them. I found not being able to see their faces prevented me from observing their expressions, but, for this reason, it may have given the young people more confidence. For the second group I sat in the dark on a bench outside Wanderbug with a group of about twelve young people sitting and standing round me.

Interviews were also conducted with two Youth Magistrates, one Firesetter Liaison Officer, a Substance Abuse Counsellor, a Social Worker, a Probation Officer, a Mentor, three Youth Leaders and several Police Officers and Council Officials to explore the ways different professionals perceived and responded to offending and antisocial behaviour and to assess the extent to which the professionals' understandings corresponded with the perceptions of the young people. I also attended three public meetings on young people and antisocial behaviour in the area and the inaugural meeting of Insite.

Young people were asked by the programme organisers if they were willing to talk with me and I explained the research and its duration in detail to each young person so they had another chance *not* to participate. The manner in which I had to access respondents, however, precluded their opting 'in' rather than 'out'. However, each participant was made aware of the 'right to refuse participation wherever and for whatever reason' (British Sociological Association 1998) but no young person declined to take part. I accepted, therefore, that their not withdrawing was effectively opting in.

Interviews usually lasted thirty to forty minutes and each interview with the young people was tape recorded where they were willing and this enabled me to develop a rapport with them. Adult interviews were not tape recorded as some took place in public places and also I did not want them to feel constrained in what they had to say. This information was used to inform the analysis and balance the study. With the adults' permission I took notes during these meetings.

3.4 Longitudinal Study

A longitudinal study was particularly appropriate to track the young people's changing perspectives of the initiatives in which they were involved and how they saw themselves changing within the wider social aspects of their lives. It was a good way of capturing the process of development and change. The study drew on Foucauldian ideas of 'technologies of the self' which 'permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a number of operations on their bodies and souls, thought, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves ...' (Foucault 1988: 18). Interviews were carried out four times over a two year period so not only could changes be discussed but the relatively short interval between interviews enabled the young people to recall events fairly well. Furthermore it enabled me to follow up interesting themes and to focus on concepts emerging from the ongoing analysis. The interviews were analyzed reflexively to gain maximum insight. Following McLeod (2000), I believe analyzing interviews over time can 'alert us to recurring motifs and tropes in participants' narratives as well as to shifts and changes ..... and provide a strong sense of how particular identities are taking shape and developing' (McLeod 2000). A longitudinal study allowed respondents to speak about their perceptions and the effect on their lives, of other people and social situations, highlighting both change and continuity. One critique of interview-based research is that responses may be coloured by how the respondents feel at the time of the interview. The longitudinal study overcame such problems of single interviews by allowing me to compare between interviews and look for any mis-reading of the data.

I used, too, group interviews, with groups not assembled specifically for this purpose. For example, on Wanderbug and at the Youth Fora I spoke with a group who would have been meeting anyway even if I had not come. The responses were initially quick-fire, often to raise a laugh, but having reflected, the young people spoke about shared and common experiences or a range of views which we were able then to discuss together. The group situation gave the young people more confidence – something other participants repeatedly told me they lacked.

Although some were very articulate, many were not and this coupled with their lack of confidence made me decide focus groups would be unsuitable for my research. Focus groups are designed to learn perceptions about a stated area of interest. Such a group could, with more confident young people, have been useful in assessing how the young people felt about the various initiatives. Focus groups are not useful in finding the perceptions and behaviours of individuals and may uncover only what is socially acceptable, thus failing to capture the experiences of young people and crime. People within a focus group interact with each other and are influenced by the words of others, but the young people in my research found talking amongst people they knew easier. Further, the rapport and trust built in a one-to-one interview was important and enabled the teasing out of any perceptions not fully understood.

3.5 The Research Relationship

Both the interviewer and the interviewee aim actively to construct meanings as 'practitioners of everyday life'(Holstein & Gubrium 1997: 121). It was, however, a concern that responses would be coloured by social distances - age or gender, for example, which could bring responses that would differ with another researcher. Differences can be advantageous, though, in that the respondent is recognised as the expert on a topic. Studying young people creates special problems in that the meaning systems and language of young people are very different from those of adults, but their youth alone is not always a barrier and many are able to express themselves competently and vigorously. Following Miller and Glassner (1997), I cannot accept the impossibility of increasing our understanding of the social world through and beyond the interview (Miller & Glassner 1997: 99). It illuminates the respondent's viewpoint which the researcher can then report fairly and in accordance with his/her meanings. Sometimes respondents may use familiar phrases rather than giving their own meaningful responses as happened when young people in my pilot study who had experienced psychiatric support used phrases which I considered to have been 'professional speak'.

I was aware of the mismatch between the researcher and the researched in that I was a mature, female student interviewing young and mostly male respondents. Having worked among young people all my life, it felt natural for me to be talking with them, but I could not tell how they viewed me or how this influenced their responses or behaviour.

However, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) contend, 'There is no way in which we can escape the social world in order to study it ..... How people respond to a researcher may be as informative as how they react to other situations' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983: 15). I tried to show genuine interest and be non-judgemental and the rapport between the young people at Clipper and The Maze Association and me soon built and by the second round of interviews the tables were often turned and the young people would begin by asking me about the research. At the Youth Club I had a good relationship with most of the young men and all the young women. A few of the young men were, however, 'laddish' but I believed this was more a question of 'performativity' (Butler 1990) than because of the interviewer/interviewee relationship. A few of the young people proved talkative but in the main, it was clear the young people were unused to being asked what they thought.

At the last interview I asked the young people both how they had felt about being part of the research and whether the fact that I was older and female had made any difference. All except one said the experience had been good or interesting. Only Iris, who had paranoid schizophrenia, said that at first she had felt honoured that I wanted to speak with her but then she felt 'a bit pissed off that I was part of like someone's questionnaire thing'. Nancy said that after about the fifteenth question she began to get bored, a fact that fits with the short concentration span common in many mentees. All said they had felt quite happy with me as the interviewer and would have made the same responses to anyone else. At this stage I felt I had known them long enough to believe these replies were not out of politeness and the young people had nothing to lose if they had wanted to answer differently.

I was also conscious of the fact that many of these young people were 'interview professionals' and had been interviewed variously by psychiatrists, police, social workers, probation officers, amongst others, where it was *required* of them to answer, so I took great trouble to explain informed consent issues, particularly that they could withdraw altogether or decline to answer particular questions (see consent form in Appendix 4). Silverman talks of 'the interview society' (Atkinson & Silverman 1997) and for this group of young people, their contacts with officialdom had clearly contributed to this phenomenon. I argue that mismatching adults cannot exclude the study of young people as unsuitable and research only adults, since a partial understanding is better than none

and with good understanding and sensitivity I considered I came reasonably close to the meanings and perceptions of the young people.

As the interview rounds progressed and the young people became comfortable with the type of questions I was asking, it was noticeable that their confidence increased and that they trusted me more. For instance, at the first interviews at the Youth Club, I was repeatedly asked 'Are you going to tell Old Bill?' This did not happen in subsequent rounds. However as the relationship changed, I was aware that the quality and type of data I obtained at each interview was changing so comparisons with the previous data were problematic. Many of mentees had suffered sexual and/or physical abuse as children and the manager requested that I did not question the young people about this. I readily agreed to this before being given permission to speak with them.

My research was self-funded and I was, therefore, unable to offer any incentives to the young people who spoke with me. Jo from Insite failed to turn up twice having promised he would; Phil failed to keep three pre-arranged appointments and Jack did not arrive for a meeting. On another occasion I went to meet four respondents but the organiser had forgotten to arrange for the young people to be there. I became an expert in 'loitering' – waiting for people who failed to keep appointments. Many repeat visits, therefore became necessary. Had I been able to offer incentives, I may have had access to more or different young people, but I could never have been sure they were not responding for reward. Therefore although incentives would have improved the likelihood of their turning up, I believe those who took part unrewarded may have been more sincere.

Bottoms (1999) argues that theory and empirical social science should be balanced to improve knowledge of the social world, even though we will perceive it from some standpoint (Bottoms 1999). Following Bottoms, I argue that looking at more than one side to explain social phenomena ensures better research than focusing the study through the views of one side or the other. Although the aim of my study was to explore the perceptions of those young people involved in the programmes, I was diligent in exploring the views of both young people not in the schemes and also of relevant adults. Researchers must, too, be aware of their own positions or leanings and take them into consideration fully when analyzing data, including this information in the final report. Becker (1967) urges that researchers must always

inspect their work carefully enough to know whether their techniques and theories are open enough to allow a particular stance to be proved untrue (Becker 1967: 246). The researcher, too, as an active participant in the research process must ever be aware of how 'self' and different forms of bias impinge on the power relationship. When proper cognizance of this is taken, however, any factors involved in a researcher's self need not impact negatively on the research process. Researchers need to take account of ethical factors in relation to all held values, but 'truth is the only value that constitutes the goal of research' (Hammersley & Gomm 1997: 11)[7].

3.5.1 Emotionality

All sociological research involves managing emotional factors. Much has been written about taking cognizance of the emotional state of the respondent but for the researcher the emotional experience is also important. The emotional experience can provide insight and deepen the researcher's understanding, creating meaning, its focus contributing to the integrity of the data.

I could not be sure that I was not influenced by the research process. I strove, however, not to become too identified with the participants and to avoid bias. Emotionality is a vital part of the research process. It can cause the researcher to reflect on his/her own identity and I was conscious of the part played by the emotions when I discussed my work with others, analyzed data or reflected - reflexivity involving trying to develop distance between myself and my research.

There was emotional labour in providing support and understanding to the young people who were often upset from their problems such as police interaction, drugs or alcohol and family. They often tried to shutter them and avoid speaking about them and sometimes wanted to pour them out to a sympathetic (or available) person. Some of them were violent and I experienced feelings of both inadequacy and sometimes fear and this involved psychological investment. This occurred, particularly at the Youth club where a group of young men rocked my car when I was inside. They then barricaded the gate, preventing my leaving and two of them opened my car doors and threw rubbish inside. On another visit the young men

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[7] For some a contentious statement since the understandings of 'truth' are hotly debated

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dragged my car from one end of the car park to the other while I was inside the building. On another occasion one young man threw a cushion at me and a second young man picked up a chair and flung it across the room. These same young men 'invaded my space' during an interview trying to snatch the tape recorder and my bag.

In the field emotional labour was invested. Building rapport was an important part of my role - showing interest, creating a relaxed atmosphere, showing empathy and being attentive - which may influence data (and the sense of self).

3.6 Inconsistencies

Contradictions and inconsistencies occurred both within interviews and in subsequent interviews. What is said in one interview may not be repeated exactly in another, though, since the occasions are not identical. Differences occurred also in what was said by young people and what was said in different accounts by adults. Mason argues that different but equally valid aspects of social phenomena can be exposed by multiple methods (Mason 1996). Bourdieu also argues that the analysis of talk requires not only linguistic analysis but also a positioning of the speaker (Bourdieu 1991; 1999). Similarly, Goffman urges the recognition of social situations 'For it seems that talk itself is intimately regulated and closely geared to its context through non vocal gestures which are differently distributed from the particular language and subcodes employed by any set of participants' (Goffman 1981: 122). Harré, too, sees the account not only presenting answers but also the self and characterizing 'an index of location in a material world, of discursive values' (Harré 1998: 135). I argue, therefore, that inconsistencies need not be dilemmatic, merely enhancing our understanding of 'the dynamics of complex phenomena, highlighting the multi-layered and often contradictory nature of social life' (Devine & Heath 1999: 49). For example, contradictory accounts from young people and Councillors about whether young people were being 'heard' allowed me to explore what lay behind these accounts rather than which account to accept.

3.7 Data Analysis

The longitudinal study method allowed me to combine data collection with data analysis iteratively, so that what emerged from the analysis helped shape the next stage of data collection. Data analysis was ongoing throughout the whole research period and a grounded theory approach used. Grounded theory is based on the inductive generating of theory from data and this approach offered a 'fluid and flexible' (Strauss & Corbin 1998: xi) way of analyzing data. Grounded theory is built on a tight interrelationship between the research and the researcher, so that the researcher becomes an analytic tool and also the method of analysis can be seen as a data collection method. I acknowledge the limitations of grounded theory in that seeking to discover theory from data presupposes the existence of theory-neutral facts and also that by definition, grounded theory does not allow me as the researcher to include any general sociological theory in my analysis. However, for this reason I used grounded theory as an *approach* and not in its pure form.

Each round of interviews was analyzed on completion, both as a discrete data set and also in the light of the cumulative data. I was mindful that 'Methods of data collection and analysis do not make sense when treated in an intellectual vacuum and divorced from more general and fundamental disciplinary frameworks' (Coffey & Atkinson 1996: 153). There was also ongoing engagement with the literature to relate to emerging themes and concepts. Although as a researcher, I could never be absolutely non-selective or without pre-conceptions, it was important for me to remain objective and to be receptive to new ideas. I was aware, too, that my ideas, knowledge and understanding were changing and developing over the course of my study and contributed to the analytic framework.

The Ethnograph was used to code and retrieve the data and facilitated the search for patterns and paradoxes. One aspect of internal reliability is about 'showing' data to the readers, and if how coding decisions were made and how concepts were drawn and led to conclusions can be seen, they can be better evaluated by the reader. This spirit lies behind Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) advocating electronic forms of research reporting. They suggest, too, that 'It is important that the process of exploration and abduction be documented and retrievable. Their documentation is

part of the transformation of data from personal experience and intuition to public and accountable knowledge' (Coffey & Atkinson 1996: 191). I found The Ethnograph, though somewhat dated, very useful for drawing out concepts and categories. However, because my interview scripts numbered only just over 70 and because I became so familiar with them, I suggest the use of electronic forms of research reporting would be of even greater value when scripts are more numerous.

Analyzing talk often proved problematic and I reflected constantly on which aspects of what was being said I should prioritise. For example, Dean came to Clipper after having spent several months in the Hospital Department of Psychiatry and he told me that within a week he had changed from 'being a violent person to a nice person with a nice attitude'. Fergus, too, told me he soon had more confidence and a lot more self esteem. Given the regular language of these young people, such professional speak did not fit easily into the pattern and reflects the burgeoning 'interview society'. At the Youth Club Gav told me he had stabbed his hamster to death the evening before and Steve told me his leisure time was spent doing drugs and rolling cars. At first I suspected that they were trying to shock or impress me. On the first round of interviews, however, they asked me constantly if I was going to tell Old Bill and needed reassurance as to the confidentiality of the tapes. I concluded therefore, that the young people had nothing to gain by misrepresentation in their answers and I decided to accept what they said in the spirit of its being the young people's understandings of how they saw things on that occasion, notwithstanding my interpretative duty as researcher to make sense of it all.

3.8 Generalizability

Some qualitative researchers see generalizability as unimportant or reject it totally (see Denzin 1983). Case studies may not lend themselves readily to generalizability. Following Schofield (1993), I argue that the goal is to produce 'a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of that situation' (Schofield 1993: 202). Yin (1994) contends that case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations (p10), so that the case study does not represent a 'sample' with the aim of statistical generalization but to generalize theories. Thus a 'previously developed

theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. If two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed' (Yin 1994: 31). However, the essence of my research has been a local study and although the results may be comparable with other localities, it is nevertheless unique and therefore an atypical unit for analysis. The issues which it raises, however, are clearly issues of our time and readily transferable to other sites and have the power to explain. Its validity relies on the strength of theoretical reasoning. I suggest that by showing a reflexive and detailed account of my methods and understandings together with fine description of the programmes and the setting other researchers are enabled to make informed judgements about whether my conclusions are useful in other settings.

Qualitative research or case studies are able to lead to theoretical generalization which lies in logic. 'We infer that the features present in a case study will be related in a wider population not because the case is representative but because our analysis is unassailable' (Mitchell 1983: 200). The scope of concepts developed by grounded theory in this local study may be generalizable to other related settings, thus widening their scope. For example, most of the young people spoke of a lack of confidence before taking part in the programmes and there quickly followed improved confidence and self esteem. I was also careful to investigate critically and review repeatedly all the data to minimise the possibility of 'anecdotalism' (Silverman 1993) and improve their representativeness.

3.9 Ethical Issues

The young people's ambiguous position where their rights and responsibilities were still 'in process' as they matured, could have made status differences between them and the researcher seem significant and impacted on the research process. The people with whom I spoke were inexperienced, young and subject to many other pressures in their lives and obtaining their informed consent was a major issue for me. Firstly, although I explained simply and in detail the meaning of 'informed consent', with young people who had unfinished or poor education, the extent to which consent is actually 'informed' cannot be known. Further, these young people were not used to having a choice whether to answer or not. At the start of the

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research, too, I was not, myself, fully aware what further issues I might wish to pursue later in the longitudinal study. I believe I made the issue of consent as informed as it could be by giving participants written information sheets which included my University address and email address in case they needed to talk to me between interview rounds, by using a duplicate consent form which enabled them to keep a copy for future reference, by explaining individually their rights, and by continuing to do so throughout the duration of the study. I felt, too, that the relationship I developed with the respondents gave them the confidence to opt out of any part which would have made them uncomfortable. One young man withdrew in the course of one interview and two others declined to answer specific questions, so I was reassured that my explanations had been understood.

Safety issues featured prominently. A risk assessment was conducted before I commenced fieldwork and I took sensible precautions to ensure my own safety. Recruitment took place through the Programme organisers and interviews took place at the Programme base with doors open or in the recess of a public room, or in public places.

Confidentiality and anonymity were assured to all participants. Only the Programme organisers had the surnames and addresses of the respondents. I was careful not to divulge to others what the young people told me and the organisers honoured this confidentiality. During the course of my interviews at the Youth Club I would have liked to speak with the local Beat Officer but this could have breached confidentiality so I did not pursue it. At my third interview with Iris, she told me she had paranoid schizophrenia, and she was surprised the Clipper organisers had not told me. I was able to reassure her that I did not discuss the participants with the organisers.

Ethical responsibilities in respect of young people are of great importance, particularly in assessing risks and benefits to participants. Though the research itself was unlikely to benefit those young people, they all enjoyed talking about themselves with me, and no negative comments were received from respondents.

3.10 Leaving the Field

A research process is never finite and it is always tempting to explore another avenue or seek more insight. With the time limits of a PhD study and my interviews having reached a point of yielding no new information, giving me reasonable confidence that I had a sound base for the conclusions I drew, after two years of fieldwork I needed to shift the focus of my research. Participants had known the duration of the study from the outset but leaving the field was still a negotiated process. For the most vulnerable, a stable relationship, with anyone over a fairly long period had been important and from the beginning I had made great efforts to build a rapport with the young people with whom I met only for interviews. On the penultimate round of interviews, I was therefore careful to remind them that the next one would be the last.

3.11 Summary

This chapter has described the methodological considerations I encountered during the research. It explored a number of important issues relating to the interviewing of young people including the value of a longitudinal study. It outlined my approach to inconsistencies and contradictions in the data and how decisions about data analysis were made. The chapter continued by detailing the many difficulties I encountered during the research process and how they were managed. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the ethical issues, particularly pertinent with research involving young people, including leaving the field.

Chapter 4 Transitions

4.0 Introduction

In our culture there are no fixed points marking the change from child to adult but a long intermediate phase of transition of increasing complexity and ambiguous status called youth. Such a classificatory concept, however, suggests there are boundaries, yet today these have become fluid and shifting and depend on who is categorizing the young people. This means that they are sometimes treated as children yet at others faulted for not behaving like adults. Young people themselves are uncertain about the meanings of and entry points to adulthood. Some writers highlight psychological pointers to adulthood such as redefining self, relationships, and the development of individual roles and responsibilities (for example Hirst & Baldwin 1994). Traditionally, however, youth has involved three interacting status transitions: the school to work transition, the family of origin to family of destination transition and parental home to separate accommodation transition (Coles 1995). This approach sees young people systematically progressing through these stages towards the final goal of adulthood and although common, this view can be problematic and can be criticised for linearity and its equation of adulthood with attainments and indications that are increasingly elusive to many young people. Though large scale surveys, however, have shown that 80% of young people have relatively few problems and good, stable relationships throughout their youth (see, for example, Rutter 1993), they highlight where young people may have encountered problem or incomplete transitions resulting in unemployment, social isolation or homelessness. Coles sees, too, three other influences reflected in transitions – access to citizenship, which is politically driven, interaction between young people, their families (linked as I show later to issues of autonomy) and relevant professionals and 'spatial structures' of localities which play a part in young people's choices at 'critical points'.

Youth transitions are important because the successful completion of the main life events, including the transition from childhood to adulthood is seen as a major factor in young people desisting from crime (Graham & Bowling 1995). Transitions provide the opportunity to grow up and change existing behaviours and control

impulses (Sampson & Laub 1993). When young people recognise those opportunities they become subjects in their own process of change. In taking advantage of the programmes, Eastleigh young people were taking positive steps within and towards change. Unless attendance was the result of a court referral to the programme, as with the Firesetters' programme, for example, young people accepted an initiative on their own terms and stayed in it or dropped out at will. Youth transitions entail moving from the dependency of childhood to independence and taking on responsibilities and rights but in Eastleigh the move to independence and autonomy was being stifled by the adult residents. There is a suggestion of linear progress - as a 'process of becoming' (Allatt 1997: 94) and a stage which must be negotiated on the way to adulthood (Allatt 1997) and therefore does not value who young people are *now*. I argue that this approach, however, suggests young people passively accept this transformation as metamorphosing butterflies. Many of the Eastleigh young people with whom I spoke indicated clearly that young people are creative social agents, actively forging out their chosen futures and willing to take responsibility for and put right their own bad decisions. Miles (2000) argues that 'the tendency ....to adopt a structural perspective on transitions has been counter-productive, primarily because of its failure to prioritise the actual views, experiences and perspectives of young people as they see them, in favour of bland discussions, most commonly of trends in employment and education patterns' (Miles 2000: 10). In this chapter, therefore, drawing on the views of the young people in my study, I will examine the changing transitions and the effects of independence, risk and uncertainty on the lives of young people especially and show how social changes have meant that former concepts of youth transitions can no longer be justified. I then unpack and question notions of adulthood. The chapter continues with an examination of the concept of citizenship which, I argue, is a more useful, though no more certain goal for inclusion for those who are 'othered'. Finally I introduce the concept of connectedness and show its importance during the process of youth.

4.1 Changing Transitions

Transitions are complex and shaped by political, economic, legal and social strands. Earlier assumptions about the development of 'youth' are no longer relevant and

young people today experience their lives within vastly changed institutional, familial and economic circumstances. Many of the debates about transitions highlight the school to work transition (Kelly 1999). Although full time education is mandatory up to age 16 in the United Kingdom, it is now commonplace for people to extend full time education well into their twenties, or to dip in and out of education throughout life. There was, however, a sharp reality gulf between the school to work transition of the young people from the Youth Fora, for whom University or other training leading to qualifications was the norm and those in the initiatives I explored. Having a job is a major part of gaining independence and repositioning oneself in relation to one's family (Allatt & Yeandle 1992). In recent years it has become more difficult for young people to enter the labour market directly (Furlong & Cartmel 1997; Roberts 1995) leading to longer dependency on the family and often periods of unemployment. Most of the young people in my research had left school before they should or at the earliest opportunity and had failed to find employment. In 2002 in Eastleigh there was an overall decrease of 1.4% of young people entering employment compared with the previous year and 3.7% of Year 11 school leavers became unemployed.[8] Leaving school was generally seen as an escape from child-centred treatment. Most participants hated the school experience. I asked those who had left school if they had liked it:

4-1

Tim[9]: I hated it, the teachers, strict rules, being treated like shit.

4-2

Tina: It's the discipline, it's really harsh.

This suggested that even as older teenagers they felt treated like children and after such negative school experiences, the respondents saw employment as very important (though for many, unobtainable).

4-3

Terry: It's getting harder and harder to get employment. You need qualifications to get jobs.

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[8] Source VT Careers Management Southern – November 2002
[9] For list of respondents see Appendix 2

Tim had decided not to tell his employer of a driving ban, but when that ended in four months time:

4-4

Tim: Straight away, works van and got a job and everything, then.

Tim's reference to 'everything' reflected not only the importance of the van-driving job and everything that went with it, but also that this was a sufficient horizon – he would have 'arrived'.

In common with employment trends for early school leavers, where apprenticeships for young men and secretarial jobs for young women have been replaced by service sector jobs (Bynner et al. 2002), the previously secure employment outlook for young people in Eastleigh has changed radically. Eastleigh was once the largest manufacturing area outside London. As industries left, only Eastleigh and one other town in the South bucked the trend of rising unemployment until 2003. Now unemployment is rising. Twenty years ago the Railway Works employed 20,000 people; now it has 550 employees (though it still takes on 20 apprentices each year for wheel assembly and railway carriage making). Pirelli, a cable-making firm used to employ many thousands; now it employs 550. A contact lens maker in Chandler's Ford employed 900 and those jobs have now gone abroad while Aerostructures at Hamble shed much of its workforce. Four to five percent of the workforce in Eastleigh has become redundant this year causing a massive rise in unemployment (Interview with Eastleigh Borough Council Representative 04 06 03). The 2001 Census shows that in Eastleigh manufacturing and construction industries now employ 22.7% of the working population while retail, transport, business and public sectors employ 70.91%[10].

Patterns of youth transitions reflect the social background of young people especially the part played by class and academic achievements and prospects (Brown 1987; Furlong 1992), and training and employment opportunities also show gender differences (Bates & Riseborough 1993). Indices of Deprivation in 2000 within Eastleigh (apart from Eastleigh South, where it was 2947) range from 4022 in

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[10] http://www.hants.gov.uk/census/summary/industry.html (01 04 04)

Eastleigh Central to 8375 in Hiltingbury West, where 1 = most deprived and 8414 = least deprived in England.[11]. This shows that the social background of most of Eastleigh's young people is far from deprived and most have a resource buffer that ought, at least in principle, to ease them through their youth. However, for those who do not, and those who were involved in the programmes came into this category, there is a stark opportunities-gap. Further, the process of achieving 'adulthood' in, for example, leaving home is very different for rural as opposed to urban dwellers or for those in whose culture the norm is for several generations to live in the same house. For Soli, who had a learning disability and required round the clock supervision, the prospects were bleak. Although he told me confidently that he wanted to go to University and spoke of what his life would be like when he got married, it was unlikely that any adulthood in the popular sense would be possible. The law still uses age criteria in respect of rights and responsibilities of young people but these gel less well with the social and economic changes young people have experienced over the past few decades.

4.1.1 Independence

The meanings of dependence/independence and responsibility were not well understood by the young people in my study. I asked Tim when he thought he would be independent.

4-5

Tim: Independent? Meaning?

Int: Well, what do you understand by being independent?

Tim: Independent, I couldn't really say.

Int: Do you live at home at the moment?

Tim: Yeah, well sort of, on and off.

Int: So when do you think you'll be ready to leave home?

Tim: I could go out and do that now. I've got the … I don't suppose it's ability –
        the sense to live on me own, because I have done, but doing it …. Yeah, I
        know what you mean by independent.

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[11] Source DTLR (http://www.hants.gov.uk/factsandfigures/eastleigh.html (31 03 04)

I concluded that Tim thought he knew what I understood by independence, but I still felt unsure as to his understanding of the concept.

I asked Phil who, when a child, had been abused by his father and now gave the impression of being much older than his years, what makes someone independent.

4-6

Phil: Well, in modern society it tends to be a necessity, but a lot of young people nowadays say they want to be independent and just want everyone to leave them alone to get on with it. I was young once but when you are like that you are actually worse off than when you've got people there to help.

I felt very much that Phil was speaking of himself rather than young people in general.

When discussing responsibility, the young people were again hazy about its meaning. I asked Roger what he though it meant to be responsible.

4-7

Roger: Don't know – just think of other people.

Int: Are you responsible?

Roger: Not really.

I posed the same question to David, a fourteen year-old who had recently come under police scrutiny for a bag-snatch offence.

4-8

David: To look after your things and behave yourself

Int: Do you feel you are responsible?

David: Yes, 'cos I'm being careful not to do anything silly again.

The CDA (1998) is designed to instil into young people a sense of responsibility. A stated aim of Clipper is also to invest the members with feelings of responsibility. However, in view of the lack of understanding in the young people in my study, there appears a wider gap than was envisaged.

The loss of a gradually growing independence during childhood makes it more difficult for young people to take responsibility for themselves, their actions and their decisions (Furedi 2001). Further, restraints and controls placed on children and young people because of fears for their safety in an uncertain social climate have led to more and longer parental supervision which, in turn, lengthens young people's dependency.

In making transitions young people face a series of choices, each of which may influence or limit future choices. Decisions relating to transitions, too, may be made in respect of young people by adults, diminishing the control young people would otherwise have over their own lives. Sam told me he drank in pubs, even though under age, because his mother thought he was old enough. Structural constraints, too, shape opportunities and influence processes of inclusion and exclusion. The late modernist approach emphasizing choice also reflects the ways former certainties have given way to the risks of an uncertain present (Beck 1992). I argue that young people are actively locking into power structures such as the programmes and using them to negotiate life changes. The local initiatives provide stepping stones and are part of the positive choices whereby young people manage the risks in youth transitions. The programmes are social settings where young people can make sense of their (changing) lives and a space where they can learn responsibility for their own decisions and pursue their aspirations and self-concepts.

Morrow and Richards (1996), however, highlight the difference between the ambitions of young people and the reality of everyday life as they reach adulthood (Morrow & Richards 1996). Ewan, an eighteen year old dyslexic male I interviewed had aspirations to go to America.

4-9

Int: Have you got any plans?

Ewan: I want to be a computer engineer, which I have got the qualifications for. I've just got to find the right job. I've written off to IBM in America and I'm thinking of trying to get a job over there which I've got the qualifications for.

And my dream is to actually go over to America and shake hands with Bill
Gates, the person who runs IBM and his son Terry Gates [sic].

In reality, Ewan's qualifications were unlikely to have secured his 'dream' job.

John and Ben, two fourteen/fifteen year old young men on Wanderbug had sights set
on equally unattainable futures.

4-10

John: In five years time I will be a qualified vet and this lot'll be laughing. I'll be
        earning like 34 grand a year.

4-11

Ben: A footballer playing for Eindhoven. (Ben was, unusually, a non-drinking,
        non-smoking sport lover.)

Such high aspirations were more understandable as an 'impossible dream' when
contrasted with the ambitions of other respondents to whom a job was 'everything'
(see quote 4-4). Fergus, a seventeen year old who did part time shop work when not
at Clipper said that when he was eighteen the firm would offer him a permanent job
and that this was what he wanted to do. Some of the other young men, who had no
job suggested they did not want one, but this appeared to be a defence because they
had not yet secured one.

4-12

Int: Have you got a job?

Sam: My God!

Int: Do you want to get a job?

Sam: No, I'm not bothered.

Int: So what sorts of things do you do all day?

Sam: Nick cars and sell them.

When I asked Seb what he did for a job he tried to convey his lack of interest in
employment.

4-13

Seb: I'm a prime-time gangster – a pimp in Epsom Road (the red light district).

There are echoes here of both the American Dream (Merton 1938) and the findings of Wicks et al. (2002) whose Australian research on the aspirations of young women found that there was 'a dramatic disjuncture' between their stated aspirations and labour force reality (Wicks et al. 2002: 9.1). In Eastleigh, the young people told me of work experience in a café, of part-time work in shops, of 'helping' a builder and moving wood. Two of the young women worked full time in a hairdresser's shop and a travel agency respectively. A few did voluntary work obtained with the help of the programmes. The work was far from fulfilling. In the absence of secure pathways and the disappearance in Eastleigh of 'men's work' many young people either fantasised or showed no interest, which 'not only deny disappointment but seek its opposite,' (Craib 1994: 78).

Following Furlong and Cartmel and Haines and Drakeford, I argue that young people are faced with transitions when 'the points of reference which previously helped smooth processes of social reproduction have become obscure'(Furlong & Cartmel 1997: 1; Haines & Drakeford 1998), so that existing social inequalities are still reproduced but in different ways. Giroux sees the circumstances of young people as very different from former generations since they are 'condemned to wander within and between multiple borders and spaces marked by excess, otherness and difference'(Giroux 1994b: 287). Nevertheless, no youth transition is as permanent as it once was, with lifelong learning, serial marriage or cohabitation and young people returning to live in the family home at times. Tim told me he lived in the family home 'sort of, on and off' and this arrangement seemed likely to continue. Having lived alone, he had moved back into the parental home because he needed to rely on the family to get him up for work on time.

Most of the young people with whom I spoke who were in education had part time jobs and this was considered the ideal situation. Kim wanted a Saturday job but told me:

4-14

Kim: My Mum don't like me working.

When I asked Senita, an Asian young woman, what makes someone an adult, she explained:

4-15

Senita: No-one will give you a job. You <u>can</u> work on a Saturday but no-one will employ you because you're a child. They look at you and think it's just a child, you can't do anything.

The young people simply did not perceive school and work linearly (Cohen & Ainley 2000: 83). Transitions were extremely complex and involved many statuses, both over time and simultaneously and reflected a considerable amount of insecurity and unpredictability.

4.1.2 Risk and Uncertainty

Longer and less linear transitions impacted on identity work (see Chapter 5) done by young people and the ways they experienced individualization and risk. Social changes, familial – it was the exception for those respondents living at home to be living in two-natural-parent families - political and economic have risk and uncertainty, but those with access to support remained less vulnerable (see Thomson et al. 2002). Different life patterns reflected the 'risk society' (Beck 1992) wherein the traditional socializing agencies such as the family, school and morality/religion were no longer effective. Traditional expected routes through youth to adulthood offer infinite choice and are therefore open to risk. Beck has been criticized for downplaying class differences (see Furlong & Cartmel 1997), but in this study, because it is not comparative, and class difference is less of an issue within the Borough, I have concentrated on other factors. In 'Middle England' Eastleigh, where those at risk enjoy additional support from the programmes, any problems become reduced or surmountable. Risk and uncertainty, however, entered into even the supposedly stable support mechanisms. Both youth clubs which I explored encountered difficulties when the leaders left and both closed. The second, at which I did most of my fieldwork, closed unexpectedly after fights with rival gangs from another area and older members drifted away. Growing up and growing away appeared as parallel processes. Phil felt the time at which a young person became an adult was an individual thing:

4-16

Though you do need the right sort of help to get you through it.

Young people have much greater scope for creating their own individual lifestyles, but this disembedding and move away from recognised paths can lead to ontological insecurity epitomised by doubts. Giddens (1991) suggests people are faced with *having* to develop individualized life experiences in order to achieve trust and ontological security. In other words young people have no choice but to choose. Individualization gives young people more opportunities as well as problems about how they manage the transitions of their lives. Some writers see this as a positive step towards greater freedom (see, for example, Muggleton 2000). Others such as Roberts (1996) view the structuring process as distinctly limiting on young people's lifestyles (Roberts 1996). I cannot agree with these extremes, but following Furlong and Cartmel (1997) who see young people purporting to have greater choice because of individualization, but those choices remaining constrained by the inherent structuring of young people's lives (Furlong & Cartmel 1997), I argue that the young people of Eastleigh were fully aware of elements of the risk society and of social structures surrounding them and made constructive use of both to fashion their own identities within a 'changing world' (Miles 2000).

Iris, for example, had had to leave University because of a drug addiction and psychosis. She had also had to leave her friends when she moved back to be near her mother. In the second round of interviews I asked her what she was doing now.

4-17

Iris: I'm doing a diploma now in holistic therapies – aromatherapy, massage, Indian head massage and reflexology.

Int: Had you been involved in that before?

Iris: No, my Mum done it last year …. and so I just decided not to go back to University because I can't afford it

In circumstances such as these, 'risk' may ultimately equate to choice. Similarly, Phil, who had just started a Sociology course at a local college, told me in the first

interview that he wanted to go on and do psychology or philosophy. However, in the second round there had been a change of direction.

4-18

Phil: I'm starting an apprenticeship in September.

Int: In what?

Phil: We're (Phil and the Clipper workers) thinking of something like hotelier or tourism or something like that. It's something to work towards.

Unlike the findings of Jamieson et al. (1999), which showed that most Scottish young people in a parallel age group had definite aspirations to University or jobs (Jamieson et al. 1999), the young people in my study made decisions in the light of the present situation, unwilling and often unable to look ahead. This may have been a wise strategy in the light of frequent changes to local labour market opportunities and other structures which had a bearing on their decisions. This was well summed up by members of the Youth Council.

4-19

Int: Thinking about the next five years, do you have any goals or aspirations?

Rod: I would say more the things of the now-time that I plan to do, not the next five years.

Int: But you have goals; have you, something you want to achieve in your lifetime?

Piran: Everyone has some sort of goal – even if it's only to win the World Cup.

Tony: Everyone has to have something that they have to do each day or something that they look forward to or something, so life sort of goes on.

Int: So you think it's sort of small steps rather than having a big goal that you're aiming for?

Homer:Yes, it's just sort of random stuff like going to visit Alton Towers or seeing parents or whatever. Yes, everybody has just stuff that they have to go through to get wherever they want to go or just to finance it or whatever.

They do not see the teenage years as a process of transition any more than adults regard their adulthood as a transition to old age. Young people actively forge out their own lives within social and economic confines but essentially for the present.

Where young people are in extended education or unemployed, they may indulge in adult pursuits such as drinking alcohol or sexual relationships (Wyn & White 1997) smoking, and drug-taking while still at school and dependent on parents. Young people also had early pseudo-access to adult life through, for example, consumerism and fashion. Iris, Dean and Ryan had all been hospitalized because of an earlier drug addiction. Dean told me drugs were freely available and 'more young people than you would think' use them. Most of the young people on the Outreach bus had used drugs and those at the youth club listed the drugs most of them used – from cannabis to heroin – as a normal part of their lives. This reinforced what the Police Superintendent had said of young people on the Canterbury Estate (17 09 03) (see Chapter 7) and the argument of the Councillor in charge of crime and disorder issues in Eastleigh (07 10 02) who had gone on to say this use of drugs led to crimes both as a result of drug influence and to fund the habit. However, only 33 offences by fourteen to eighteen year olds in Eastleigh in 2002[12] were for possession of drugs but many other offences may have been drug-driven.

The respondents were, too, taking on media representations of young people which actively constructed what it means to be a young person. They were using 'technologies of the self' to fashion, shape, modify or enhance their bodies with, for example, colourings and piercings (Pini 1997) (see Chapter 5). Not only were they challenging what Eastleigh residents considered acceptable, but they were redefining their goal – no longer necessarily a recognized adulthood but a 'chosen self'.

The life transitions provide an opportunity to grow up, take more responsibility and break with former behaviours, enabling young people to be active subjects in their own life process (Sampson & Laub 1993). However, official statistics show that young people under 20 are responsible for about 40% of all crimes (Mattinson & Mirrlees-Black 2000), so society's ability and willingness to support young people

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[12] Source Eastleigh Police May 2003 (see Appendix 8)

who have committed or are at risk of committing crimes through these transitions into a stable adulthood makes good political sense. Programmes such as The Maze Association, Clipper and the Wanderbug provide support which replaces inadequate or complements existing support mechanisms at this crucial stage. Even that support, however, has been shown uncertain with projects like Clipper and Insite being subject to time-restricted funding. The mentoring programme, though designed to be permanent, offers a mentor to a young person for only a finite, agreed time.

However, in the same way that understandings of youth transitions are changing, so too, are concepts of adulthood. Wyn and Dwyer (1999) argue 'The meaning of 'transition' has changed in ways that raise questions both about the links between social structures and individual agency and about new definitions of adulthood'(Wyn & Dwyer 1999: 5). The risk and uncertainties facing young people affect adults, too, and the idea of adulthood as a safe and secure destination no longer applies. It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider the 'norm' of adulthood.

4.2 Adulthood

In considering youth transitions, adulthood, itself socially constructed, is taken to be the norm and ultimate goal of young people, with its own code of conduct and responsibilities. However, reflexive modernization (Kelly 1999) has affected adults as well as young people and the concept of adulthood today is very different from the way it was understood in the heyday of the transitions model. Risk and uncertainty have inescapably impacted on adult lives and 'adulthood' now requires reappraisal and redefinition.

Most of the young people with whom I spoke did not see a dividing line between being a young person and being an adult.

4-20

Saul: There is no set boundary

And Libby told me:

4-21

I think it just comes along – it just kind of moves into it.

Homer agreed:

4-22

It has to be something that happens gradually because you can't change the level of maturity that you have just by flicking a switch. You have to like experience different things and like start to be different people.

4-23

Roger used the same expression:

Depends on whether you feel like an adult – you just don't get it by flicking a switch.

Rod added:

4-24

You just look after yourself – you don't have a safety net.

So it was more a question of repositioning rather than achieving a certain status. Other markers of adulthood were given as 'money', 'just living on your own' and 'the way you control things like money'. Jill thought the difference was that:

4-25

Jill: Adults get served (in a shop).

Even though Jill was working full time she did not perceive herself as an adult. Tim illustrated the intangible nature of adulthood:

4-26

Int.:   What makes the difference between being a young person and being an adult?

Tim: Well the feedback you get from adults.

Int :   Is it the way *you* behave or the way *they* behave towards you?

Tim: Oh they behave differently and I behave differently with an adult.

Vicky, eighteen in a few months said: 'I see it as getting one year older and I do everything that I will be able to do as an adult'. Her chronological age and legal

majority appeared to have no special meaning to her. Such sentiments echo the report of the findings of studies on young people's perceptions of the transition to adulthood, by Arnett (1997) who said that few role transitions were considered by the young people to be important markers. Intangible, gradual, psychological and individualistic criteria such as accepting responsibility for one's own actions, deciding personal beliefs and values and establishing a relationship with parents as an equal adult were more relevant (Arnett 1997). These qualities are themselves reflected in modern discourses about citizenship (see below).

James Côté (2000) argues that for many people, prolonged adolescence now extends into what was once accepted as adulthood and that an increasing number of people are failing to 'grow up' and become the type of adult which adolescents traditionally sought to become (Côté 2000). When I asked Jody what he thought was the dividing line between being a young person and being an adult he said 'It's just an age'. I asked what that age was and he said 'About 30'. Jody felt all people under thirty were young people. Harlow reports on Richardson's (2001) study of aging in which he argues that over 30s, still living with their parents and delaying marriage have created a generation of 'fledgling adults' and that only at 35 do individuals' attitudes and aspirations change dramatically (Harlow 2001). Soli, David and Roger, all in their late teens were living at home and said their mothers were the people who still had most influence over them. Roger said his mother had most 'control' over him. It was unlikely any would be leaving home in the near future. Hareven points to erratic patterns in the timing of life transitions since the 1980s (Hareven 1994). Whether transitions occur sooner or later, at a common age or are more individually paced and directed, I argue that the transitions, though in much more fluid forms are still to be negotiated and many young people need extra social support as they negotiate their way through unknown territory to social maturity. Leaders within the organisations helped manage or facilitate the transitions in contexts of uncertainty and risk. The relatively simple transitions of former times were easier to manage but with the more problematic and lengthy transitions of late modernity, different management was being applied, not only to youth transitions but to youth 'at risk'.

4.3 Citizenship

Ideas of citizenship embraced not only political and legal aspects but wider values of active participation and community responsibilities which reflect concepts of the Third Way. Some writers argue that it is more useful to think of citizenship as the 'goal' of young people since it reveals more about inequality and rights of young people (see, for example, Jones 1995; Jones & Wallace 1992). This is a view with which I agree. The notion of citizenship, giving full participation in society, offers an opportunity to re-envisage understandings of youth. It leads to greater inclusion and co-recognition within communities, enhancing social capital (Coleman 1988; Field 2003; Putnam 2000). It throws light on the process of becoming a citizen and also inequalities in the access to rights through, for example, gender, or disability, though these may be mitigated somewhat by social rights. Giving young people a voice recognizes them as, in principle, equal with adults in society, challenging adultism since young people are then no longer inferior. Young people's inclusion means legitimating their voices and striving to enable their early citizenship. Citizenship rights accrue throughout youth with political citizenship and voting rights coming at 18 in the UK but social citizenship is more nebulous with economic independence by way of full time employment becoming ever more difficult and delayed for young people. The young people with whom I spoke were enthusiastic about the Government's proposal to lower the voting age to 16, but as Phil pointed out, age is arbitrary since many younger people are competent to vote. Citizenship rights with respect to civil, political and social citizenship are not acquired simultaneously. Further, the acquisition of one, such as the civil right of housing may be determined by the social right of an income from the welfare state.

Citizenship, which underpins social order, has been understood traditionally as being a part of public life and the seeking of the common good before one's own interests – notions of responsibility and active participation going beyond its legal understanding and veering more towards communitarianism. This enhances 'bonds uniting citizens amongst themselves and to their society' (Storrie 1997: 64). Yet within the legal understandings young people are unequal and many 'status' offences, i.e. those for which age is the criterion, which make an act a criminal offence, are punished. Ageist assumptions often mean young people are seen as

inferior and in need of care/control. There is, too, a political acceptance in defining young people as 'a problem' rather than as citizens.

Once young people are categorized as 'excludable', it is more difficult for other members of the community to recognize their responsibility towards youth and accept their full citizenship. Youth transitions are often linked to the concept of citizenship where young people gradually take on rights and responsibilities (Coles 1995; Jones & Wallace 1992). This dual concept 'embodies notions of both emancipation and integration; it underpins social order' (Bynner et al. 1997: 94). The understandings of the meaning of citizenship held by the young people were hazy.

4-27

Int: What do you think it means to be a citizen?

Ryan: Someone who lives in a place and pays their way, pays taxes and works and lives in a house.

Int: So do you think they gain anything?

Ryan: They gain National Health Service and dentists

And

Int: Do you feel you are a citizen?

Roger: Won't be till I'm older

David: Probably, when I'm older

Roger and David, both in their late teens were made to feel excluded from any sense of present citizenship though this may have been because they did not understand the concept well.

Communitarians urge the restoration of civic virtues where responsibilities do not take second place to rights (Etzioni 1995). Since young people are of ambiguous status, they are outside the realms of citizenship and they are deemed dangerous, without their voices being heard. Power, especially economic power allows adults to define themselves as the norm and young people as the 'other', representing trouble-making and a threat to social order. Damon from the Youth Council explained:

4-28

They (adults) think young people are bad. We're not all that bad.

Neil agreed:

4-29

They think we're trouble and you know we're not really.

Tim called it 'juvenile discrimination'.

4-30

Richard elaborated.

It's the stereotype of our age. We're all supposed to be yobs – discrimination against the young.

Young people are frequently portrayed as violent and 'out of control' and totally incapable of taking personal responsibility. The CDA (1998), however, makes it clear that young people who have offended will be wholly accountable for their actions (see Chapter 7). Freedland sees this perspective as giving 'responsibilities early and rights late' (Freedland 1997). One of the first 'rights' acquired by young people is that of criminal responsibility which, in England and Wales is at age 10. A key concern of the CDA (1998) was to encourage young people who had offended to accept responsibility for their actions, and the principle of *doli incapax,* which presumed that those under 14 are incapable of criminal intent, was abolished. Young people are held responsible as if they were fully empowered but when it comes to rights 'we conveniently view young people as 'children' needing our protection, guidance and support' (Gaines 1991: 271). Further, though many laws are directed specifically at young people, they are rarely involved with the decision making in respect of their rights.

The less well-educated, less articulate young people involved with the youth service, however, needed the youth workers as advocates:

4-31

Will: Most adults don't listen to us but these (the detached youth workers) do. I
        mean we've had people come round here from the Council. They say 'alright
        we'll do it'. We filled up questionnaires but no-one's told us anything.

and

4-32

Chris: Oh yeah. About a year and a half ago I went and said for all of us about
        putting a shelter up at Donder Heath and they said 'yeah, but it will take a
        while' and they said something like eleven months or something like and now
        it's a year and a half and they still ain't done anything except sent a letter
        round saying they're not going to do it yet.

If consultation is to be successful, it has to be followed up. Further, citizenship
involves feeling a valued and valuable member of one's community (see Oliver &
Heater 1994) and this means being respected. Few of the respondents felt respected
by adults. Perry's answer was typical

4-33

Int: Do you feel respected as young people?

Perry: No

Int: Can you tell me why or give some examples?

Perry: Because I don't get respect from anybody over the age of twenty five, I
        would say, really. If I hold the door open for anyone, once in a hundred times
        someone will say 'thank you' and yet if someone more mature did it they'd
        probably say 'thank you' but when they see a young person, they probably
        think it's just a young thug.

Homer: I think it's more from the older generation. If you're quite polite, then they
        will kind of like – they will say 'thank you' and stuff, but with the generation
        which would be our parents, they're kind of not as willing to appreciate
        young people as good and stuff, they kind of sort of regret they had grown
        kids so that they can't be other people sort of thing.

Adults who fail to thank those who hold doors open for them, can, themselves, be
accused of antisocial behaviour but young people are more vulnerable and so get
labelled.

Leah said she got respect when she was out with her friends but not when she was 'hanging around'. Gav illustrated the only type of respect available to the young people.

4-34

Int: Do you still get respect from people?

Gav: Yeah, after doing a month inside, say (A Young Offender's Institution)

Int: Is it something you wouldn't want to repeat?

Gav: I don't mind, if it gives me more respect, then I'd do it again.

Citizenship cannot be something young people acquire; rather it is something which is shared. It is a concept that was not well understood by many of the young people and notions of rights and responsibilities remained vague. The idea of citizenship, too, has changed dramatically from Marshall's (1950) classic definition of an all inclusive national citizenship (Marshall 1950) now emphasising citizenship responsibilities and constructive participation, independence, belongingness and equality. It is something which young people view as to be enjoyed in the future but certainly not as a young person.

4.3.1 Responsibility

The CDA (1998) recognizes the relevance of factors such as inadequate parenting, poor socialization or family breakdown and emphasizes re-integration rather than punishment. This fits well with Weiner's (1995) approach to responsibility which sees a young person's being held responsible, leading to blame which, in turn, leads to some kind of punishment. Weiner sees personal responsibility as built on rational choice, and urges the distinguishing of responsibility from blame for 'independent of context, responsibility is affectively neutral whereas blame conveys emotional negativity' (Weiner 1995: 14) and he proposes that instead of responsibility leading to blame leading to social reaction, anger/sympathy should mediate between responsibility and social reaction. This approach surely opens the way for positive responses such as giving support or encouragement as well as the negative responses such as punishment. Such social support is a central feature of the programmes for young people of Eastleigh and a stated aim of Clipper and the Youth Service is to

instil a sense of responsibility into the young person. One local Youth Magistrate explained:

4-35

> Our main objective is to stop offending. Every sentence has that in mind. Reparation orders are good. They may write a letter of apology. They are made to say sorry. In Court a young man was made to say sorry – that will stick in his mind. We're trying to restore respect again to people. Show them it's (offending) not cool.

Being held responsible for an antisocial or deviant act has important personal consequences. Young people will have accounts of their behaviour evaluated and they may try to neutralize negative aspects by means of, for example, denial, excuses or confession (see Sykes & Matza 1957). During an interview at the Youth Club, Tim threw a chair cushion at me. When I told him I did not like things thrown at me, he denied having thrown it although he was the only other person in the room and I had seen him throw it.

Crime does not just 'happen'- it is seated in the values and standards of the community so that the offences or incivilities may mirror community values. The White Paper 'Respect and Responsibility – Taking a Stand Against Anti-Social Behaviour' (2003) which preceded the ASBA (2003) agrees that antisocial behaviour means different things to different people. It 'blights people's lives, undermines the fabric of society and holds back regeneration' (Home Office 2003: 6). De Charms urges helping young people to set internal standards including doing as one must rather than as one pleases, believing this has a moral dimension because it means taking responsibility for the consequences of one's goals (De Charms 1976). The young people of Eastleigh, however, made it clear when speaking of antisocial behaviour that individual standards prevailed and that they did as they pleased rather than as they 'must'. Most felt drinking and taking drugs in public were acceptable, and they often followed the lead of friends if they were doing so.

4-36

Int: Do you think it's alright to do drugs in the street?

Iris: No (Iris was a reformed addict)

79

Jill: It's O.K.

Tim: I do that as well, but I tend to do that more at home so …

4-37

Int: What about drinking alcohol in the street?

Iris: No

Pryce: Yeah, I don't think there's much wrong with that.

Tim: I do it I suppose. I'm old enough to go in a pub if I want but if my friends ….
        I don't think it's O.K. but if my friends want to do it I'll do it.

Fighting in public was alright, as Tim said:

4-38

'If you got an issue with someone and you want to go and twat 'em then you just go
and do it' - but there obviously had to be 'an issue'.

They mostly recognised that dropping litter was unacceptable.

4-39

Soli: No, it ain't a good thing 'cos if you throw it outside everyone would copy
        what [sic] happening and that.

Tim: I obviously know it's not acceptable, because it's just a stupid thing. If
        everyone done it the whole place is going to be a dump, isn't it? I do drop
        litter, but not intentionally, it's just a habit, I just do it.

Iris qualified her response making it clear that young people do not have the same
understandings as adults. An adult-imposed classification of behaviour as antisocial
was too extensive and did not ring true with her:

4-40

Iris: That's difficult, 'cos I wouldn't class that as antisocial behaviour, but it's not
        right to do it.

Int: You think it's never right, really?

Iris: Well, I think everyone does it. Everybody's guilty of doing it. Oh, I don't
        know. 'Cos looking out on the street at the moment, there is quite a lot of
        rubbish out there. Em, like there are no bins there, but I don't think they
        would use bins anyway and the bins get so full up there's nowhere to put
        rubbish anyway except on the streets – but if you're driving down the

motorway and you're throwing rubbish out of the car, that I wouldn't agree with. I think that's completely different.

Graffiti (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion) were slightly different in that young people either did graffiti or, if it was not 'their thing', they did not.

Being noisy in public was not seen by any as antisocial.

4-41

Int: What about being noisy in the street is that acceptable?

Ryan: Yeah, so long as they're not affecting anyone else.

Iris: Em, if there's reason for them to be noisy, then yeah.

Saul: Being noisy is just what kids do. As long as they're not hurting anyone, there's no problem.

These young people showed how important it was to them to give an account of being in control. Their values were not the same as those in the wider Eastleigh community. They resisted efforts to make them conform, whether those efforts were concrete, in the form of sanctions, or in the form of instilling in them dominant values. It was important to make this resistance visible.

In the main the feelings were summed up by Seb and Gav.

4-42

Int: What's alright and what's not alright?

Gav: Everything's alright as long as you don't get caught.

Seb: I do what I want.

In Western societies where youth bridges the benefits of childhood and the benefits of adulthood, earlier childhood perspectives have to be reassessed. According to Durkheim, morality derives from social attachments. 'Morality consists in being solidary with a group' (Durkheim 1893: 399). Since young people as a category are excluded by age and status from those groups to which they did or will belong, they often lack that involvement which would complete morality. The Eastleigh initiatives all provided groups in which, for the duration of their involvement, the young people could immerse themselves. Durkheim saw individuals as *homo duplex*, that is comprised of the social self, that part which aspires to be an accepted member of

society and the egotistic self which is unaffected by social bonds (Durkheim 1893). This reflects Mead's 'I' and the 'me' and the 'generalised other'(Mead 1934). Where people are enabled to see things from another viewpoint, selfish attitudes reduce and they become more aware of their impact on others. Advocacy, used in Wanderbug and Insite enabled young people to become more socially responsible.

The problem of youth crime must be a joint responsibility which incorporates the uncertain status of young people. With extended youth transitions, youth criminality and incivilities may last longer since young people spend more time with their peers and have fewer responsibilities. Tony Blair argues 'Responsibility is a value shared. If it doesn't apply to everyone it ends up applying to no one' (Blair 1996: 35). For young people, though, with few rights and still in the process of approaching the values of their community, living up to the adult norms may be problematic (James & James 2001). The norms of the good community of Eastleigh appeared to require over-subordinating its young people. Blair continues 'Responsibility and opportunity require fairness, justice, the right to be treated equally as a citizen'(Blair 1996: 36). Yet in Britain punishment is often the legitimate response to young people's antisocial or deviant acts against the citizenship of adults, rather than according them their own citizenship rights. Carlen argues 'Instead of a moral reciprocity of citizenship rights, there is an asymmetry of citizenship, with young people being punished for not fulfilling their citizenship obligations even though the state fails to fulfil its duties of nurturance and protection towards them'. (Carlen 1996: 2). Eastleigh young people were rejecting ideas of their not being heard. They were showing not that they failed to behave acceptably but that their understanding of what was and what was not acceptable differed. Young people do not want to fit into a subordinate role but seek scope to realise their full potential.

Hall et al. see citizenship as a state where the relationship between individuals and their community is constantly 'discussed, reworked and contested' (Hall et al. 2000: 462-463). This promise of improved participation in the community also demands the mutual obligations, respect and lawfulness from those who are not fully involved. Where the young people of Eastleigh were concerned, the 'contesting' and reworking' might be there but they were too often excluded from the 'discussing' (see quotes 4-31 and 4-32 above). Citizenship includes a commitment to common

values and shared responsibilities together with active participation in the community that is the basis of Blair's 'Third Way' inclusive society (Blair 1998), but it also recognises rights. Recent moves towards the responsible (active) citizen have centred on how, especially young people can be encouraged along this path which emphasizes individual responsibility and personal choice, but also spreads to a wider duty of care to the community. Political rhetoric, however, around the Third Way set in the context of a risk society did not entirely match the position in which the young people found themselves, nor did it take account of the extent of their different understandings. Iris understood citizenship brought her rights to a Council flat and to vote, but that there were no extra responsibilities attached. Ryan believed his responsibility was to pay taxes and his rights were to the NHS and a dentist. As Hall et al. remind us, 'Young people are not empty vessels into which new responsibilities can be poured, their sense of both rights and responsibilities has to be negotiated, debated and interrogated'(Hall et al. 2000: 470).

4.3.2 Rights

Citizens taking on responsibilities with regard to their own community wellbeing have jeopardized the position of young people as equal citizens. Young people, especially in public spaces, were subject to surveillance, control and 'moving-on', and even when not involved in incivilities or law-breaking, they were subject to police intervention (see Chapter 6). Giddens argues that the idea of a substantive liberty is what matters – the increase in freedom for communities as a whole (Giddens 2000: 49). The interests of minority groups such as young people, however, in this view become subsumed. Following Dworkin, I maintain this approach does not treat all people as equals, entitled to equal concern (Dworkin 1984). Further, the interpretation of 'community' as people in consensus is idealistic. It is an impossibly optimistic agenda for all to find consensus and either a watered-down solution is reached or the most powerful or most vociferous are prioritised over the less powerful (see Chapter 6). The Children Act (1989) highlights the traditional concerns about the welfare of young people as the paramount consideration and the UNCRC goes beyond this requiring all actions to be in the child's best interests (Article 3) (Article 1 providing that 'a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years'). There are still tensions and debates within

the UNCRC and while many of the included rights are 'welfare rights' there are also 'liberty rights' saying how young people should be treated and listened to in matters which affect them – including official proceedings (Article 12).

The Youth Forum organised themselves not only as a social group, but with a central aim of fostering the notion of citizenship. Together they were 'making a difference' in their community by their commitment and action. Representatives attended County Council meetings and the full Town Council meetings; they participated in Parish Meetings and the Assembly of Parish Local Community Groups. Asked how much say they had in decisions locally, Homer replied:

For young people's things we generally get consulted a lot more. We are kind of involved and have a say so. Before, we really said – well before we made our intentions that clear to 'higher up', not so young people, we weren't really listened to that much and brushed to one side.

The Forum now gets listened to – 'The Town Council and that have started listening a lot more'. There is also a practical side to their citizenship – they had recently completed a 'graffiti-clean' of their area.

Kerry, however, from the Youth Club, said they did not really have any say in local decisions about what happened for young people in the area.

The young people were deemed 'the other' within the community; non-people represented by images of antisocial and deviant behaviour, out of step with the rest of society, and a supposed threat to social order. Yet young people were, in effect, in 'animated suspension' – preparing to 'take their places' in the future as accepted and equal members of society. The negotiation of 'youth transitions' sees young people gaining independence and accepting new responsibilities and rights. The ability to enjoy them, however, begins with contextualizing within institutions such as youth programmes and informal friendship groups (Storrie 1997). Clipper has begun to have meetings of the young people at which *they* decide what they want to do as a group. Debates about youth crime and antisocial behaviour must allow enhanced participation in line with the Children Act 1989 and for young people's voices to be

heard and their equal citizenship rights acknowledged. Concern for the rights of young people embraces the will to include them in decision making and problem resolution which fosters a sense of respect. Giving a democratic voice to young people effectively recognises them as 'equal' and no longer inferior and invisible 'not-yet-adults'.

4.4 Connectedness

My purpose in this section is to highlight how, during youth transitions, young people become embedded in a network of people and routines in which they feel 'part of society' (Hagan 1998) and comfortable with their situation, or they 'drift'. Higher education or secure employment both facilitate this embedding. However, youth is a time when young people are disengaging with their parents, so for those who have left school and not yet entered employment, like many of the research participants, 'disconnectedness' (Hallowell 1997) can cause major problems. Eastleigh's local communities are not as cohesive as they once were (see Chapter 7) and fitting in to a local support network is more difficult. Connectedness is a sense of belonging in an environment which gives a chance to develop co-operation with others and gain and give support.

The programmes, although some were transitory, offered caring, a feeling of connectedness, a 'niche' where the young people were accepted unconditionally, valued and enfolded within the body of the scheme until they were ready to move on. They offered, too, a haven where the young people could evolve and even while experiencing a time of change, engage in identity work. The programmes were sites of social inclusion where all the young people were included regardless of economic status. Their age, too, a feature which led to discrimination and exclusion outside was a major factor for inclusion within the initiatives. Iris said of her involvement 'It takes your mind off things'. It was generally seen as a breathing space where young people could take stock before moving on and where they were given respect.

4.5 Summary

I began this chapter by introducing former understandings of youth transitions. I went on to argue that the term 'transition' is applicable to youth no more than to any

other period in life and as such, like any other period is socially mediated. It does, however, offer a broad illustrative picture which is useful for explaining the continuities and changes of the youth process and valuable indicators where young people grow out of crime and antisocial behaviour. This period is problematic largely because adulthood itself is now problematic. I showed how the processes involved in reaching social maturity have recently undergone fundamental changes.

I showed how in Eastleigh where the appearance of the adult community is idyllic, there are greater tensions for young people, who have very different perceptions and values, moving into this 'halcyon' state, as well as for those who would receive those perceived as problematic. I then went on to argue that far from being a transition from dependence to independence, the young people, in this intermediate phase, were engaging in interdependence, with other people and with the programmes. This interdependence enhanced their connectedness with older people.

I demonstrated how the young people of Eastleigh, in late modernity's climate of risk and uncertainty were actively forging out their progress beyond 'youth'. They, however, found the much-changed concept of adulthood nebulous. Many recognized they still needed support; others were creating their own ideals. The chapter moved on to suggest that the concept of citizenship, with its inherent rights and responsibilities was a useful way of viewing the end product of social majority and showed how the young people were increasingly introduced to democratic experiences but still did not have a clear idea of the meaning of citizenship. Understandings of citizenship showed young people were seen as a threat. Young people themselves refuted this, but still enjoyed uncertain status. I then unpacked notions of responsibility and rights and showed how these were viewed politically and by young people themselves. I argued for an increased listening to the voices of young people and their greater participation in decision making, which, although it can be criticised as either superficial or as the state/adults retreating from their responsibilities, is important if young people's rights are to be honoured. I then moved on to highlight how the programmes provided a place where young people could overcome disconnectedness in an enhanced sense of belonging and engage in identity work – a topic I explore in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 Identity

5.0 Introduction

I discussed in the previous chapter, several themes which emerged from the study and their significance within the lengthened and less well-defined transitions from youth to maturity. The period in which young people can engage in identity work is also lengthened and many believe it is a lifelong process. Individual identity refers to a person's uniqueness, while social identity points to how group identification can be a source of identity and shows how a person's behaviour can be allied to the group (see Craib 1998). Individual and social identity can never have common boundaries. It was important for me in exploring the developing identities of the young people of Eastleigh to seek understanding of the whole individuals and highlight the experiences which were important to them. Experience underlies all the processes within the self, of which identity is one element which is best understood as a process of continual negotiation. An individual is not just a composite of discourse, ideology and role expectations but a result of a complex inner process for which Craib uses the term 'experience'(Craib 1998). The young people were constructing their identities within and between networks of both peers and adults and were perceived in terms of both family dependence and individualization in which they were able to choose their identities and lifestyles (Beck 1992). For some, however, the opportunities to choose and change were limited, and having scant control over many aspects of their lot, they struggled against acceptance and disappointment (Craib 1994). Cohen has argued that the search for boundaries of identity goes beyond the usual markers such as gender and race and extends into 'smaller entities: within small local communities' (Cohen 1986: ix). Individuality and collectivity can be expressed simultaneously in individuals making 'ordinary and unremarkable aspects of their behaviour eloquent statements of identity' (ibid.: ix).

In popular stereotypes, young people are associated with urban deprivation, but it is not only poor, black youth who experience problems and come under police scrutiny. The outward impression given by the 'safe town' of Eastleigh is that its residents, including the young, are completely content. Though Eastleigh has fewer tensions

than inner city areas, life is far from straightforward for the young people though this has not been sufficiently recognized. Eastleigh is home to 'Middle England' people – neither highly deprived nor highly privileged and in such a place the belief is that life is what you make it. However, the constraints and restrictions on Eastleigh's young people mean that the reality is very different from the representation.

In order to develop this theme I will begin the chapter by exploring the young people's perceptions of themselves, particularly with regard to gender, a major factor in the emerging identities of the young people (Frosch et al. 2002), and the relevance of self esteem (Emler 2001). I will then examine who most influences the young people at a time when the balance between the influence of the family and friends and especially peer groups is changing rapidly. I will discuss the part played by social networks, particularly within the initiatives. In the West, age impacts powerfully on both the way young people see themselves and also the way others see them (Hockey & James 2003). The chapter will therefore explore the disjuncture between the way young people see themselves and the way other people purport to see them. It will highlight the part played by moral panics and drugs and alcohol before exploring how young people believe adults see them. The chapter concludes by examining how the process of identity formation is addressed by the young people of Eastleigh and how the issues that have been raised impact on their notions of 'self'.

5.1 Young People's Perceptions of Themselves

The young people in my study saw themselves as essentially 'normal' teenagers[13] and generally regarded themselves in a positive light. For example, asked how they would describe themselves now, they answered without hesitation:

5-1

Ryan: Responsible, that's about it. More assured.

Roger: Mature. I just get on wiv [with] my life really. Actually, myself, I'm just normal. I don't seem to be big-headed.

Iris: Quite adventurous, really imaginative.

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[13] See John Denham's statement above alluding to 'disruptive' versus 'ordinary' young people.

Some qualified their views:

Nancy: I think of myself as being quite outgoing. I think I'm quite vulnerable. I can sometimes be a bit outspoken – just basically saying things that I should have thought about first.

Phil: Well I left my father when I was twelve. I became quite independent. Then when I went into the Psychiatric Hospital - that gave me a shock to the system. It made me more independent, more adult. By the time I'd left school, which was when I was 15, I'd actually left home. I know I had a bad life but I think, in effect, I've turned out better for it.

David, the only participant who had been deeply affected by his one contact with the police following bag-snatching, told me that when young he had been 'pretty annoying' and that now he was 'still the same, though - a bit bad'.

Such data suggest that the young people viewed their lifestyles and behaviours as in no way unusual. They were thoughtful and perceptive, but saw their lives and experiences as individuals.

The young people tended to think of themselves as unique persons rather than as a category. Although I sometimes asked generalized questions such as 'What do you think are the biggest problems young people face today?' their answers were personalized and they recounted the problems they, themselves, were facing. Roger, who had been in trouble with the police but had declined to tell me about it in a previous interview replied:

5-2

Roger: Um, police.

Int: Can you tell me anything more about that?

Roger: No, not really.

Iris, the former drug addict, who now could not get a job:

Iris: Em, money, drugs and jobs.

David, unemployed and having left the parental home agreed:

David: Probably money.

Problems facing other young people were being focused at an individual level and expressed as if their own were the greatest problems for all. Phil's answer, although it appeared general, reflected the problems with which he was wrestling at the time when he cited 'society's lack of respect – a whole lot of things, society, work and level of contact'.

5.1.1 Gender

In observing the young people I noted the importance of gender-specific images they sought to reinforce by both their words and actions. Young women attain better educationally and receive more parental monitoring than do young men. Many boys acquire a sense of hopelessness around employment issues and male role models are often seen in the streets, in violence, in 'joy-riding' – 'the very antipathy of classroom values' (Bray et al. 1997: 44). The *Leading Lads* (1999) study reports young men are running scared from 'girl power' (O'Neill 2001). Katz, the report's author advocates 'a loosening of genderscript' so that the virtual laws of masculinity which dictate behaviour should allow more intellectuality and emotionality for males. The young men with whom I spoke were reluctant to show publicly any feelings and this led to an appearance of not caring.

Gav had been working at local stables but told me:

5-3

Gav: I'll get pissed off and end up stabbing someone. I just don't like working –
        just want to be a bum.

Education was not and had not, for him, been relevant.

Maccoby sees young people noting gender-linked norms in the wider culture and then actively working on their own and their friends' identities to confirm them so that their identities 'fit' within the existing social order (Maccoby 1990). Gender difference is important with young men being seen as at risk of aggressive crime and young women as at risk of sexual and moral crime. Further, according to Graham and Bowling, young women grow out of crime better than young men do, completing the transition to adulthood more successfully (Graham & Bowling 1995).

5.1.2 Young Men

For the young men of Vicary Park, stealing cars and boats appeared as an outlet for aggressive masculinities. Aggressive and antisocial behaviour is a way of emphasising distinctly male forms of behaviour and ways of being (Katz 1988). Young men, often vulnerable because of the ambiguity of their situation may adopt a tough outer veneer which enables them to feel powerful in a society where they are powerless. The Eastleigh crime statistics for young people aged 14 to 17 for 2002 showed offences of 'driving', the epitome of power and masculinity, numbered 60, 15.5% of all crimes and all were committed by young men (see Appendix 8). The young men of Vicary Park gave off the aura of not caring to hide their lack of success (see quote 4 – 12). Both the decline of traditional 'men's' work in Eastleigh and poorer prospects on leaving education (see Chapter 4) have encouraged young men to define their masculinity in ways such as antisocial behaviour. The dominant form of acceptable male youth culture embracing talk, behaviour and demeanour at the Youth Club was of daring and excitement and challenging authority. This reflected the group's view of the world. Most of the young men freely admitted criminal and antisocial behaviour. It was, to them, either something of which to boast – ensuing sanctions being brushed aside as inconsequential or described warmly, something to be taken 'like a man' - or it was considered 'no big deal' – something everyone did. Sam had recently spent a month in a Young Offenders' Institution for assault. I asked what effect it had had on him.

5-4

Sam: It wasn't that bad but it was shit, 'cos you couldn't like do drugs and them like.

Int: Have you decided you don't want to do it again or didn't it matter?

Sam: I met a lot of new people who are a good influence on me.

Sam's response indicated the insignificance of the sanction to him.
The male peer group structure evident in the Youth Club emphasized the way social and gendered identities were projected so that the young men could develop and try out methods of validating and confirming their (heterosexual) masculinities.

Many writers have pointed to a 'crisis' in current types of masculinities linked to uncertainties over identity, sexuality roles and employment often reflected in deviance and aggression (Frosch et al. 2002; Jukes 1993). These then become resources in the construction of desired masculinities (Messerschmidt 1993). Those not performing masculinity in the culturally approved way risk non-acceptance. Societal changes have meant there are no longer clear 'models' of masculinity. Masculinity has become constructed through various discourses of toughness and action (Back 1997; Mac an Ghaill 1994). Young men often construct their identities through the narratives around gender and sexuality on which they work. Butler (1993) stresses the way gender is performed through repetitive acts, but in particular ways in different situations, for example, when they were at work with adults or when they were with friends. The young men in my study spoke of behaving differently in different situations. Morgan (1992) too, sees masculinity as part of a 'presentation of self' negotiated over diverse situations so that 'doing masculinities' is a more useful way of understanding than 'being masculine' (Morgan 1992: 47).

The young masculine identity has to be constantly proved and reinforced (Mac an Ghaill 1994) in order to conceal the insecurities that lie beneath them and often led, especially in the Youth Club, to 'laddishness', speaking and laughing loudly and chasing about in order to draw attention to themselves (Nayak & Kehily 1996). A 'dominant' form of masculinity influenced the young men's understandings of acceptable male behaviour and this reflected heterosexuality and toughness (Connell 1995). Their performance was constantly scrutinised by their peers to assess gender conformity or non-conformity. Crime, for some young men, though, is part of being masculine – 'it is important to recognise the isomorphism of certain forms of masculine desire and crime: the near perfect fit between the mortice of masculinity and the tenon of crime' (Jefferson 1994: 80). When aspirations to achieve masculinity legitimately are unsuccessful, young men may resort to illegitimate means. The young men I interviewed had failed to do well academically, seeing school – the chief institution for constructing gender - frustrating their masculinity (see Messerschmidt 1994):

5-5

Tim: *I was always arguing and getting told off.*

Pryce: The teachers looked down on you all the time.

In school these older teenagers were not being treated like young men. Reputations gained from fighting were often seen as essential to male self esteem and at least three members of the youth club had recently been convicted of assault. Gav told me 'I get respect around here, 'cos if they mess with me, I stab 'em' and he went on to explain that at his part-time work Rodney was his friend 'only 'cos I beat him up'. Paradoxically, fighting had given Gav the kudos that made him an attractive friend for his victim and violence was being used as a resource (see Connell 1995).

Often the outcome of peer pressure demanded being seen to be tough and 'one of the lads'. Following Messerschmidt (1994) and through observing participants, I suggest that not only was masculinity 'accomplished' through participation in, for example, violence and various displays of machismo by young men, but many young men saw such behaviour as a usual practice and not in any way delinquent. Extended transitions, which deny formation of traditional empowered masculinity, encourage young men to move towards more antisocial and visible forms of masculinities. Their ontological insecurity may drive them to seek 'masculine' security, and much of this activity takes place on the street. Before an audience, the young men with whom I spoke were aggressive and unyielding, yet in private interviews their hurt and uncertainty showed through, together with a sense of bewilderment. Within the group antisocial behaviour and aggression were seen as a resource for achieving masculinity. Research shows that various masculinities are shaped within youth groups as, too, are the types of offences linked with those masculinities (see, for example Schwendinger & Schwendinger 1985). The young men at the Youth Club spoke of beating people up, getting into fights and threatening to stab others as well as stealing from cars, stealing cars, boats and motor cycles and firesetting. These young men had been disaffected with school, had left as soon as possible without qualifications and had drifted into uninspiring jobs or remained unemployed.

A youth sub-culture approach sees key institutions such as schools showing how the least advantaged tend to resist them (see for example Cohen 1955;Willis 1977).

Often fighting is a way for working class young men to affirm their status within their community, seen very much as 'their own' and for the young men I interviewed the geographical limits of their futures. Many young people who do not aspire to higher education or training now exist in a kind of limbo. The 'Railway' town of Eastleigh has changed dramatically over the past twenty years and the traditional local 'masculine' jobs have declined accordingly (see Chapter 4). Antisocial behaviour has been understood as a way for such young men to define their masculinity in a rapidly changing world (Newburn & Stanko 1994). The young men from Vicary Park with whom I spoke were working as removers, bricklayers and in stables – work which emphasized physical forms of masculinity. None felt they would get a better/different job except for the bricklayer who planned to take over his father's business when he (the father) got too old. Gaining useful employment presented barriers to those teenagers who were often denied access to adult jobs until in their twenties. School failure, drug and alcohol abuse and criminal activity added to the likelihood that these young people would be viewed as poor prospects by potential employers. In Eastleigh unemployment, at 0.9%, increased last year (2002) but is predicted to remain fairly static in the near future (Eastleigh Borough Council 29 01 04). This will affect young men particularly. Satisfying masculine experiences were unforthcoming at school and now work, so other masculine-validatory experiences were being sought.

Those young people experienced powerlessness and the adoption of a tough image was a defence. The culture of the youth club at Vicary Park celebrated masculinity, excitement, chilling out together and being tough. There was, though, a developing self-identity as different ideas of maleness were being explored. Some were rejected but others taken on to construct their desired identity. It was clear that those young men wanted to emulate the stereotypical 'macho' image. Heterosexual masculine identity, as a facet of their self-identity was actively pursued, with different styles rejected or taken on. Masculinities were also performed (Cameron 1997) as demonstrated through their (deemed) appropriate sporting prowess, bodily performance and leisure activities. Pryce found this important and told me he played football and basketball and was seeking membership of the tennis club. Butler (1990) uses 'performativity' – a concept used by speech-act theorists, to describe gender as 'constituting the identity it is purported to be' (Butler 1990: 25), so that

gender is not accomplished in early life but repeatedly remoulded and shown off publicly by performing in a culturally normative way defined as masculine or feminine. Antisocial behaviour may be not only *about* masculinity but is a continuing performance of appropriate masculinity. During a one-to-one interview with Gav, in which he had said school was 'a load of bollocks', the teachers and pupils a 'fucking load of wankers' and that he did not like the work – he 'found it really hard', his guard suddenly dropped and he told me he *really* liked science. This has parallels with the different public and private accounts of health and illness given by respondents when they came to know the researcher in Cornwell's classic study (Cornwell 1984). The group requirement for toughness was exhibited too, following calm and useful individual interviews, when 20 to 30 of the young men prevented me from leaving the car park and rocked my car. Had I not felt I 'knew' these young people after having spent the evening with them, the experience would have been very intimidating. This was, however, part of the bodily performance necessary for young men to maintain a hegemonic masculine identity (Mac an Ghaill 1996). Young people often find it necessary to conform to the group will at the expense of their own beliefs and group esteem may replace self esteem or, at least, the two may become inseparable (see Tarrant et al. 2001).

In 2003 the Youth Club closed because of fighting by its members and rivals. In June 2003 one young man was critically injured during a fight outside the Youth Centre showing that fighting continued to play a prominent part in the lives of the young men.

5.1.3 Young Women

Young women are subject to greater control and more constraints on their leisure time than young men. Tess told me young women got fewer freedoms than young men because 'people look at it different like, they think young girls that go out are going to get pregnant and things like that'. Her parents were setting boundaries which patently were not set for young men. Similarly, I asked Kerry and Alice if it were different for young women than for young men.

5-6

Kerry: Yes, because I always get a lecture at home if I'm hanging about with boys because she always thinks I'm going to get assaulted or something.

Int: Do you think young men get more freedoms than young women?

Kerry: Yes, 'cos I've got a brother who's sixteen now and he gets no lectures at all. With me, I would say if they see me with one boy even if the rest is girls I still get a lecture and I get shouted at and I'm not allowed to hang around with boys normally at all.

Alice: Yeah, 'cos with girls it's always 'don't walk by yourself, don't do this, don't do that' but with boys they can do anything.

The constraints parents constantly put on young women were not only greater than on young men but were recognized as unequal by the young women. In contrast to the young men, all the young women I interviewed had one or two special friends with whom they did everything and went everywhere and who acted as a unique support (see Griffin 1985). None of the young men had special friends and all claimed they had 'loads of friends'. In my study, young women were more home-orientated – some not allowed out in the evenings because of homework. Vicky, a seventeen year old college student said she spent her evenings at home because her two best friends had a baby and employment, respectively, and so were unavailable to meet her. They appeared more subject to the dispersed disciplinary power theorized by Foucault (Foucault 1977) through their families, schools and other organisations but those powers did not necessarily produce conformity. The young women in my study admitted for example, lighting fires, burglary and travelling in stolen cars. Almost all had misused drugs and some continued to do so, though Leah's comment was, as a half-agreement, typical of many:

5-7

Int: Do you use drugs at all?

Leah: Um sometimes, sometimes, not a lot.

At the Youth Club the young women were more sparing than the young men in their talk of crime/antisocial behaviour. I asked Jill if she had kept out of trouble lately.

5-8

Jill: Yeah, I have done so far. I had some near situations, though.

Int: What happened then, did you nearly get caught?

Jill: No, I don't know – you always nearly get caught, don't you, doing whatever? Well you always do, don't you?

Such comments showed a partial acknowledgement that their behaviour may have been less than acceptable. Others admitted drug offences and Jill, that she was subject of an Acceptable Behaviour Contract (ABC) until aged twenty-one for stealing cars, in a manner of acceptance – it was not unusual in the locality. The types of crime committed by young women in Eastleigh were not so different from those committed by young men. In recent fights between groups of young men in Glebeside, The Hampshire Chronicle (26 07 02) reported that police were blaming teenage girls for 'egging on' male youths. Arrests were made for affray, violent disorder and offensive weapons and there was evidence of the use of kitchen knives, golf clubs and car jacks. Nancy described a recent fight she had witnessed:

5-9

Nancy: Yeah, I remember once I was with all my mates from my school and one side brought all their mates and the other side brought all their mates up here and basically, this is no exaggeration, they had literally seven meat wagons and twelve police cars from Cramford as well just because …literally 'cos this girl just split up with her boyfriend.

During 2002 in Eastleigh, young women between 14 and 18 were charged with 15.6% of the total crimes committed by young people in that age group and a similar percentage related to assault, criminal damage and drug offences. They were, however, responsible for 25% of public order offences and 43.5% of shoplifting – a figure still less than that for the young men (see Appendix 8).

Amongst the young women there was a recognition of 'compulsory heterosexuality' (Griffin 1985). Cultural and social pressures encouraged the young women to get a boyfriend. Heterosexual marriage and motherhood were seen as inevitable for most young women twenty years ago. Today, however, many career young women choose to remain single and/or childless. The young women with whom I spoke saw

getting a boyfriend as a step towards maturity and also as proof of 'normal' heterosexual femininity. Emily and Kerry both spoke wistfully of being 'abandoned' by their erstwhile best friends who now had boyfriends.

Young women's moral risk was spoken of as an unnecessary anxiety for their parents (see quote 5-6). The young women were, however, mindful of situations which could put them at risk and acted so as to minimise that risk avoiding unsafe areas, keeping with friends and choosing to be where they were visible.

The expression of individual identity in everyday life, although unique, is related to the social and the young women engaged in identity work through fashion, music and dance. Maintaining compulsory heterosexuality was important to the young women and endorsed them with the 'right' reputation. An important part of this quest was maintaining the right body image. Jill had become fanatical about clubbing and she spent the rest of her leisure time 'on the sun bed'. Iris felt it important to maintain an image of femininity and cited her piercings and her taste in music. The young women at the Youth Club also borrowed each other's clothes to create the right image. Constant effort was invested in appearance in order to maintain the 'self' by hairstyle and borrowing clothes so as to reinforce a (heterosexually) desirable gender. The young people believed body management was important to their acceptance by others and to their own self identity as a worthwhile human being (Goffman 1968). The body was being treated 'as a phenomenon to be shaped, decorated and trained as an expression of an *individual's* identity' (Shilling 1993: 200, emphasis in the original). It was also the main area on which the young women could exert control and a vehicle for achieving pleasure. Such body management helped determine how they were perceived and accepted. In the teenage years during which young people are reformulating their (gendered) identities, the development of self-worth is an important objective.

5.1.4 Self Esteem

A constant goal for the Clipper workers was to instil self confidence in the young people and boost their self esteem. I asked Dean, a worker at Clipper and former young member:

5 –10

Int: How important do you think self esteem is to the young people?

Dean: Oh, it's major, very important

Int: You think it's *the* important thing, do you?

Dean: Yeah, totally.

And David

5 – 11

Int: How important do you think it is for people to have self esteem?

David: Yeah, that's very important

Int: Do you think that's something Clipper helps with?

David: Yeah, definitely. When I came here I didn't have much self confidence and
        now I'm doing OK.

Rosenberg (1979) highlighted the importance of social comparison in establishing self esteem (Rosenberg 1979). Self esteem is a subjective and lasting sense of realistic self-approval - a sense of personal value based on accurate self-perception (Bednar et al. 1989). The young people at Clipper and past Clipper journals record small but achievable goals at which the young people could succeed, so improving their self concept and belief in their own potential within the group.
Ewan told me that as a newcomer he played a game of Trust where 'you stood on a chair and everyone would have their arms together and you'd have to fall backwards onto them and I was like "no, I can't do it, someone's going to drop me". Then we did it and I was the last person and nobody dropped me'. The journals contain records of young people whose personal achievements range from climbing a ladder to being a crew member on a schooner when feeling unwell.

Some writers see delinquent behaviour as a way of enhancing self esteem and gaining normative approval of the referent group where achievement and approval in other spheres are not forthcoming (Blackburn 1994; Gold 1978). Feelings of exclusion from the community can damage self-image, which changes over time and reflects new experiences, so that 'belonging' to the community is a positive factor, bringing confidence, feelings of entitlement and empowerment (Greeno et al. 1999). Self-esteem during the teenage years enables young people to feel valued and

respected and to feel that in time they will find their place in the world. Kerry's response was typical of the young people.

5-12

Int: Do you get treated with respect?

Kerry: No ....Like getting moved on from places that we should be allowed to go. If adults were there nothing would be said, like where we hang about now.

I asked Jody if he were speaking to the police on behalf of all young people, how he would tell them to treat young people.

5 – 13

Jody: With respect, with respect. If the police respect kids, the kids will respect the police.

These young people were not being given the respect which would have made them feel valued.

'The development of self-esteem is an affective process and a measure of the extent to which the individual cares about the discrepancy between their self-esteem and their perception of their ideal self'[sic]. (Collins 2000: 159). People need social comparison at times of uncertainty. The protracted period of adolescence is filled with uncertainty and this constantly drives young people to seek social comparison which is related to self-esteem (Swallow & Kuiper 1988). Cooley's (1902) argument that our concept of our self worth is based on how we imagine others to judge us (Cooley 1902) or Leary et al.'s more recent research which sees self esteem as a barometer of the regard in which we are held by others (Leary et al. 1995), both, I argue, suggest similar ways forward. We will imagine people regard us highly if they treat us well and respect us: if people accept us and include us we will feel good about ourselves. Failing to give respect means 'No insult is offered to another person, but neither is recognition extended, he or she is not *seen* – as a full human being whose presence matters' (Sennett 2003: 3). When shown consistently by adult attitudes, lack of respect and 'transhumance' that they compared less favourably with the majority and were therefore less worthy, many young people inevitably came to accept this evaluation of themselves.

Despite contemporary suggestions that low self esteem is a risk factor, recent research by Emler (Emler 2001) found relatively low self esteem was not a risk factor for delinquency and alcohol and drug abuse and that low self esteem is uncommon. Many of the young people in my research who showed or used to show antisocial behaviour exuded self esteem (see, for example quotes 4-9, 4-10, and 4-11), supporting Emler's findings and suggesting that interventions to increase their self esteem would have been meaningless. I argue, following Furedi (The Times, 2003) that today's emphasis on raising low esteem, far from solving perceived social problems, forces a state of dependency on others in young people's efforts to feel good about themselves (Frean 2003). In Clipper, where self esteem was promoted the young people relied more on its help in reaching that goal, whereas in the Youth Club, where it was not promoted young people relied less on such support. Furedi points to empirical evidence in the US which shows high self esteem makes people react aggressively when their self image is challenged. This was exemplified by Gav's assertion that if people messed with him he stabbed them.

It is necessary to question, too, the psychologization of self esteem which, whatever its nature, is a way of looking inwards – of concentrating on the self and self worth. Self confidence, on the other hand is a way of looking outwards, of presenting oneself to others. Self confidence was overwhelmingly seen by the young people in my study as what mattered and an increase of self confidence was changing the way they experienced their lives and their self identity. I asked Ryan what he thought were the most important things he had learnt from Clipper.

5 -14

Ryan: Confidence, lots of confidence

Goran told me about joining Clipper:

Goran: At the time I had just come out of hospital and had no confidence in me or nothing and as soon as I've come here I've just been keep coming back. ..... They keeped throwing opportunities at me 'cos I was one of them type of people where if I look at something I wouldn't have no like confidence in myself or think to myself I could do it and like Clipper gave me the opportunity to do things and gave me the chance to do things.

The young people thus recognized their growing sense of confidence in themselves.

5.2 Who Influences Young People?

During youth the greatest influences come from the family, peer groups and adults such as the workers in the initiatives. As young people move out of the familial setting they open themselves up to a range of new ideals and beliefs and gain increasing autonomy from their families or carers. Nevertheless, the Youth Magistrate told me 'We see them from homes where they are just carrying on the family tradition. It's part of their culture'. She went on: 'They use bad language, but it's used at home. We find it offensive but we have to learn their culture to understand it. We've got to know where they're coming from'. Josh and Simon showed how violence and involvement with the police ran in their families.

5 – 15

Simon: I got beat up by my sister.

Josh: I got beaten up by a police officer for helping my Dad 'cos they were
            arresting him and I went in there and this [police] woman turned
            round and hit me with her little extendible – I don't know what the
            hell it is.

5.2.1 Families

I had gone into the field expecting these older teenagers to tell me they were most influenced by their friends and peers with whom they spent an increasing amount of time. The greatest influences, however, on an individual's level of self-esteem are parents and it is difficult to modify the opinion of the self from other sources (Emler 2001). Siblings were not mentioned as influential at all, but both young men and young women endorsed Emler's argument.

5-16

Int: As you get older the balance of influences changes between your family and
        friends. Who do you think has most influence over you at the moment?

David: The family

Soli: Family really 'cos my Mum care[s] about me.

Roger: My Mum's got more control over me than my mates have.

Int: Your Mum has more influence over you, does she?

Roger: Yeah

Ryan, too, said 'My Mum'. Iris, very much her own person, insisted 'no-one' influenced her, but the influence of role models, social workers and an Educational Welfare Officer emerged in the course of speaking with her.

It was significant that the young people to whom I put this question still regarded their mothers, many of whom were living no longer in the same household nor with the young person's father, and some, many miles distant, as most influential in their changed and changing lives. The data suggest that the troubled young people were looking back to a perceived 'golden age' when, as children their ontological security was intact and the mother had been and could be relied upon, and even now appeared as an anchor. Further research on this subject would prove interesting.

5.2.2 Peer Groups

Young people increasingly spend their time with peers and friends and use these friendship networks to try and develop new identities (Savin-Williams & Berndt 1990), deciding whether to conform to or deviate from peer group norms and whether to be like or unlike other young people. At the same time young people need to balance this with their own individuality. More complexity resulted because the young people belonged to more than one group simultaneously and serially so the information flows became confused. Some writers argue that the peer group provides the most influential feedback at this time (Durkin 1995; Reicher & Emler 1986). Good attachment to friends has been associated with less problem behaviour (Cooper et al. 1998) but this was not borne out by all the young people in my study. In the Youth Club young people were influenced by their closest friends to take part in deviant behaviours. The young men who had been in a Young Offenders' Institution had all been there together for the same incident of assault. Such risk-taking behaviour shows a growing independence and a desire to conform to the group. It is a deliberate choice of identity.

103

Researchers have found peer attachment quality has a bearing on substance abuse (Burge et al. 1997) – it was an accepted part of the Youth Club young people's lifestyles and all but two of the respondents told me they used drugs. Clipper young people, however, were helping each other to stay clean though most had previously used drugs. Peers influenced other behaviour, too. Tim told me how his friends influenced him in drinking alcohol in the street (see quote 4-37). Pryce, too, admitted that for leisure he went out with his mates to 'pubs and that' even though they were under-age.

The quality of those relationships and young people's roles and the sense of responsibility young people feel towards their communities all affect their sense of self and others (Craig & Pepler 1995). Group membership can be seen to enhance feelings of self worth and positive social identity which are maintained through comparison of members with non-members, whereby members are seen as 'better off' than non-members (Tajfel 1978). Group identification can be likened to bonding within social control theory (Hirschi 1969). Failure to bond is seen in this perspective as leading to delinquency.

The young people at Clipper could be seen as developing identification with a prosocial group. The young people identified their friends as those within the group and said previous friendships had tailed off. Dean explained his drug addiction had been started when former friends spiked his drinks. He no longer had contact with those 'friends'.

5- 17

Dean: There's some of my old friends that I had to give up 'cos reasons.

Nancy recognised the part played by (good) friends.

Nancy: Since I've been with Gina (her mentor) I've managed to get a fair few good friends whereas before I was sticking to one person and I've expanded my horizons.

The timings of the interventions, between 14 and 18+ were significant, and the social engineering designed to encourage the young people to finish with 'the wrong crowd' thus coincided with earlier views of youth transitions.

Group cohesion activities such as the trust games played on arrival at Clipper aided identification with the group from the beginning. Group relations were very important to the young people and they made great efforts to fit in and 'belong'. The initiatives, giving social support, provided settings where these roles and relationships evolved and social identities were grounded. The relationship between the members helped confirm identities and establish individuals as group members.

Social control theory sees social bonds embedding young people into conventional society. Hirschi argues that people use delinquent behaviour when social controls or values are weak (Hirschi 1969). Social control is implicit in organisations such as Clipper and group cohesion is always visible. Though members came to and went from the Centre at different times throughout the day, at any one time the group was cohesive, though some members were different from the previous or next hour. Young people could expand their networks of social ties or replace previous ones. Vicky was unusual in that she found it difficult to meet the two friends she did have because of their other commitments. Group identification in the Youth Club was less evident and same gender dyads or triads were more common. I believe this was because the Youth Club exuded no 'corporate image'. It was seen as somewhere the police would not hassle the young people, but of little appeal - a 'holding pen' rather than a site of vibrant, positive activity. The young people explained how they regarded it:

5-18

Pryce: You don't get called out by Old Bill if you're here.

Sam: I only come here 'cos they send me here, so that I could meet new people and I only meet my mates here.

Int: Do you like it here, then?

Sam: No, it's shit, isn't it?

Recent debates about the part played by peer groups have been highlighted by James (2002) who maintains that parents have the major effect on the sorts of peers with whom their young spend time and how susceptible they are to the influence of those peers (James 2002), and Pinker (2002) who concludes that young people are socialized by their peer groups but that their identities are not necessarily influenced by them (Pinker 2002). Although the young people cited their mothers as having most influence over them (see above) my study showed the all-pervading influence of the peer group and the minimal effect of parents (if they were still in contact) in the teenage years. I therefore find difficulties with both views and I suggest that identity development takes place very much within the ambit of the peer group. It is a sphere where the restraints of familial socialization can give way and new identity possibilities open up. Indeed, establishing an identity *distinct* from the family is a key process of 'youth' (Knappman 1996) and one which is facilitated by friends and peers. To accomplish an identity, a young person needs the reassurance offered by other young people (MacDonald 2001) who can challenge insincerities and reinforce the chosen identity. The Substance Abuse Counsellor told me 'Peer pressure is major – without friends the young person is isolated'. This isolation was experienced by Brendan who went out rarely because he was a potential target for reprisals after being instrumental in sending an adult gang to prison.

5 – 19

Int: Do you go out with your friends or do they come to see you?

Brendan: They used to but 'cos I won't go out they think I'm not bothering with them so I've lost my friends.

Brendan described himself as 'miserable, staying at home all the time'.

The Youth Club peer group had its own behavioural standards so that young people took on an expected 'quasi-delinquent style' (Brake 1980) which included, for example, aggressive behaviour. The group did not see those behaviours as 'unconventional' and the young people, seeing their actions viewed in a similar way, felt it reinforced their positions within the group.

The peer group in Clipper was somewhat artificial in that the young people were not friends of choice but became friends by circumstance and they did not meet together

outside Clipper. The Youth Club members came to the Club already familiar and friendly with the other young people. In these different ways, the peer groups did extend young people's understandings of themselves and thereby contributed to developing their identities.

More informal peer groups, especially in public space, formed a visible platform for devising joint modes of resistance to the dominant community ideals (see Chapter 6). The group element welded the young people together and they would start fires or drink under age because their friends wanted to. The Youth Club came over as a site for reinforcing gender and especially heterosexual subjectivities with the loud, aggressive behaviour of the young men illustrating hegemonic masculinities.

5.2.3 The Influence of Significant Others

Relations with others were crucial in the life experiences of the young people. Most felt they 'belonged' primarily with their families, but 'fitting in' socially in other spheres was also important. Interaction with adult role models as well as peers facilitated their connecting to adult society. The context of the initiatives in which they were involved provided the young people with a milieu quite different from their informal peer groups. The interactions of members with each other and with the workers created a 'belongingness' and helped confirm identity. The mentoring scheme provided a unique one-to-one relationship. Vicky described what the scheme meant to her as 'My mentor is there just for me'. Clearly it was the first time this 17 year-old had experienced such a relationship. The character of the mentor/mentee relationship was, nevertheless, one of distance and this enabled the young person to tell the mentor everything – a situation which would have been uncomfortable with a best friend. Brendan, a mentee, did not know what a mentor was until I explained, so there had been no labelling. At Clipper, the workers were seen as role models and also as friends, though not in the same way as peers. Both Ryan and Iris named their social workers as prime supporters and it was evident from interviews in Wanderbug that the schools played a great part in influencing the younger people and engaging in responsibilization.

5.3 The disjuncture between the way young people perceive themselves and the way others see them

Inevitably there is a disjuncture between the way young people see themselves and the way they are perceived by others. The media had a major impact on both the adults with whom the young people came into contact and on the way the young people perceived themselves. The young people took great interest in newspapers and television, particularly the local media. Iris felt that 'If you know the area and it generally tells the general story it's easy to figure out the facts from what they say'. This assumes that the media *do* tell the general story accurately and that the reader/watcher *can* deduce the facts from what is said, and still leaves open a wide area of how things are represented and an even wider area of how they are interpreted.

5.3.1 The Media and Moral Panics

The media are selective in what they report and how they report it and thus influence public opinion and in turn people's perception of themselves. Mass media have been closely associated with mass anxiety about young people (Förnas & Bolin 1995). On a local basis the diluting effect of mass media does not apply and the panic stirred up by the one truly local newspaper is powerful and often instrumental in defining social problems. Local media remain responsible for concentrating on and dramatising the behaviours of young people. Douglas, argues that the language of risk gives 'a common forensic vocabulary with which to hold persons accountable' (Douglas 1992: 22). Debates about young people and crime, for example, express societal anxieties about the ability of the authorities to protect the community from 'predatory' young people and these, in turn, attach themselves to and are directed at the 'feared' young people. In September 2002 I attended a public meeting where Glebeside residents, police and Councillors met to discuss local issues of vandalism and other antisocial behaviour. A group of around fifteen young people who regularly used the recreation ground had been invited. They attended, knowing the meeting could be hostile to them, they were well-mannered and reasonable in their explanations. There were no rubbish bins provided for litter and toilets were kept locked so they could not use them. Front page headlines in The Hampshire

Chronicle proclaimed 'Rec youths and residents come face to face'. One young man said there was little crime but admitted 'There are broken bottles now and again, and a bit of graffiti, a small amount of alcohol and a bit of cannabis every now and again'. The front page article reported:

'The evening took on a confrontational air when about a dozen young people turned up for the meeting, held in the heavily-fortified and graffiti-covered pavilion.'

From such reporting, readers failed to understand that the young people were invited and that apart from two adults becoming aggressive, there was no confrontation. Not only could this increase the fear of crime in the area but younger readers who are particularly susceptible to the messages directed at them may feel ever more alienated. The newspaper failed to give an account from the point of view of the young people and reflected only the perspective of the dominant members of the community. Each side generates a discourse which is incomprehensible to the other (Marsh et al. 1995). Young people read such accounts and it adds to their confusion about who they really are and how they should behave.

The print media portrayal of young people was explored through a study of data obtained from the weekly Eastleigh News Extra, the sole newspaper exclusively covering Eastleigh and its environs, for the duration of 2003. The items concerning young people were counted and categorised. Of the total, 4.4% were letters offering thanks or advice to young people, 4.4% reported young people as victims, 15.6% were human interest stories about young people, 17.8% reported young people as achievers, 22.2% were of education-related issues, but the greatest number, 35.6% concerned young people as offenders or troublemakers. Headlines included *Teenagers sent for trial on Fire Charges* (09 01 03), *Teenagers injure man* (29 05 03), *Youths stone window* (16 10 03), and the front page *Under-21 booze ban helps beat teenage gangs problem* (20 03 03) – a leader article which went on to speak of 'drunken teenage vandals' and 'gangs of youths'. Such reportage can influence not only the way young people think about themselves and their locality but also the way older residents come to think about *all* young people.

5.3.2 Drugs and Alcohol

Alcohol and drugs have long played a major part in the masculine, and now increasingly in the feminine culture, not only representing 'coolness' but using consumption of goods to enhance identity. Drugs are represented officially as 'bad' and when linked with young people, a cause for panic, but are evident more and more in everyday discourse. The young people spoke openly about their drug use. Drug problems are exploited in the media and those who use drugs are constructed as 'other' and as requiring responses – medical, psychological or legal to bring them back into the acceptable social order (Smart 1984). However, a police officer told me (Interview 29 05 03) that it was the adults in Eastleigh who were the main users and were also the dealers, a fact well hidden from the 'image' of Eastleigh. This did not stop the Eastleigh News Extra (21 02 02) from presenting a front page article headed 'Squaring up the Drug Risk' in which it was alleged 'if you tell kids not to take drugs, then they're going to take them'. Not only did this suggest young people were *expected* to do what they were told not to, but it made a mockery of the valuable work put in by drugs counsellors. Though those young people who took drugs saw it as unproblematic and just part of their chosen lifestyle, public concerns existed over the link between drugs and crime. NACRO has reported strong evidence of a connection between drug misuse and a wide range of criminal activity (NACRO 1999: 12).

Alcohol, too, was for most a normal part of teenage life but the macho culture and alcohol were responsible for antisocial behaviour and deviant acts. A Hampshire Chronicle report (16 05 03) told of two teenagers arrested for spray-paint vandalism. The police said that the 'drunken duo' were heavily under the influence of alcohol at the time. 'Girls seemed to be the main culprits in underage drinking' and responsible for an attack on a 15 year old girl (News Extra 19 02 04). Similarly a headline in the Hampshire Chronicle (17 10 03) read 'Police stop drunken youths raising hell' and reported an increased police presence the previous weekend had found 'a number of smaller groups of youths who were roaming the streets'. Neither alcohol nor hell-raising was mentioned in the report. Many of the young people told me they drank occasionally, but not to excess. Tim spoke of contact with the police 'loads of times':

5-20

Tim: Drunk and disorderly, with my mates. It's always because of drink or drugs or something like that.

Int: How have you felt afterwards?

Tim: Well, I wake up in a cell regretting it.

Phil, however, had not used either:

5-21

Int: Do you have any trouble with drink or drugs at all?

Phil: Absolutely none – I can't stand drugs, drink or smoking – I can't even stand sex.

Stan Cohen sees moral panics as 'boundary crises' between the dominant groups, who define boundaries between right and wrong and the acceptable and the unacceptable (Cohen 1973). Such boundaries between 'us' and 'them' are based on stereotypical views of others which lead to exclusion and at the same time define the 'self' and, by implication, the 'other self' as different. Young people come to believe their role as 'outsiders' and labelling young people in this way can reinforce their exclusion and deviant behaviour.

5.3.3 The Understanding of the Adult View

The adults who came into contact with the young people viewed them as being in need of care and control. The 'care' came over as overt, however, and the 'control' as covert. The Councillor (Interview 07 10 02) told me with pride of the successful indoor soccer academy which 'has 150 under 16s so they're not out committing crimes', illustrating both its supervisory and disciplinary functions. Both the mentoring scheme and the Firesetters Programme portrayed themselves as 'befrienders', an arrangement which I argue is unequal. The adult actively offers friendship and the young person 'accepts' it but true friendship is a relationship of equality and reciprocity (Pahl 2000). The Youth Magistrates, speaking about those who had appeared in the Youth Court, told me:

111

5-22

Magistrate 1: More girls, more violent. You seldom saw girls when we started
seven or eight years ago. More assaults from girls.

Magistrate 2: They are younger, more aggressive and in groups.

In answer to the question 'What are the chances that you will commit further
offences in the future, three of the respondents in the Firesetters' Programme had
replied 'No chance', but the Liaison Officer had added that the Team doubted it.
Although this was the view of professionals, it immediately cast doubt on the word
and intentions of the young people. The Clipper workers did not allow members to
come to the centre and 'do nothing' as they believed this detracted from the
purposeful nature of the programme but many young people do need time and space
in which to reflect.

Young people were often not treated like adults and received mixed messages about
their status. The young people were essentially categorised by adults as belonging to
that group of individuals between childhood and what they constructed as adulthood.
I asked how they thought young people are viewed by adults:

5-23

Iris: I think they sort of distance themselves from them so that they can see them
like from their knowledge of life what sort of people they were like.

Ryan: It depends who they are really. The adults here (at Clipper) are quite open-
minded about a lot of things but some people see kids as just a nuisance.

David: Most adults think kids are terrible. The trouble is they've got to see that
we're just trying to be kids.

Nancy: They generally see young people like those who go out on the street and
generally cause trouble so they think we all cause trouble.

The understandings of what it meant to be a young person now were being missed
and at times the young people were rendered invisible by adult attitudes. The
boundaries effectively defined what teenagers were allowed or not allowed to do,
both in law and in adult stipulations. Alice was telling me about hanging about
outside a shop:

5-24

Int: Do you get moved on from there – do shopkeepers move you on?

Alice: No, there's security guards outside every night and they'll only let two of us go inside at one time.

Int: Do you think it's because they don't like groups of people or because they don't like young people?

Alice: I think they see us and think there's a young big group of people hanging about outside

Int: Do you think they would do that if you were adults?

Alice: No, no, because they look at us and think we're trouble. Every time – like they give us evil, grief us and send us down the road and things.

Libby was working full-time as an apprentice hairdresser, a trusted employee of a nearby establishment, but she, too, told of not being allowed into a shop:

Libby: You're not allowed in to there after 5 o'clock unless you're with an adult and there's one group of people that are troublesome to the shop but I'm not one of them but I'm still not allowed in there.

Int: How do people manage if they haven't got an adult with them?

Libby: Yeah, you just can't go in the shop.

Such categorisation led inevitably to exclusion. These boundaries were deemed unjust by the young people and underlined their situation as status-less and confirmed them as 'other' in adult definitions.

This otherness is most noticeable within public spaces – seen as created by adults for adults. Though young people frequented public spaces which *they* saw as their own and often the only place where they could work on and construct their identities, they were often seen as polluting (Cahill 1990; Douglas 1966) and made unwelcome. Further, the Youth Magistrate saw them as 'lacking'. 'They have no hobbies, no sport, no Guides. They're not busy. They meet in the corner shop - they've nowhere constructive off the street. There's a vacuum'. This adult perspective fails to understand that from the point of view of the young people such non-activities *are* constructive. Andy illustrated the police response to inactivity:

5-25

Andy: And down there, like Policeman, Mr Bilk, he goes ''em, can you move on
        from the Library'. So we move on to the Pub. And he says 'can you move
        on from the Pub?' So where the hell do we go?

'The discreteness of *local* experience is all the more important in societies whose
communities see themselves as peripheral or marginal, and in which the *reality* of
difference is continually being glossed over by the *appearance* of similarity' (Cohen
1982: 13 emphasis in the original). I found that the young people marginalized and
subject to many constraining experiences were not seen by the majority as relevant in
the representation of this safe town of Eastleigh.

Identity formation is a process and a negotiation, however, and many young people
appeared to be working out who they were by deciding who they were not. In
deciding to do graffiti or drink underage, the young people made a statement that
they were challenging the standards of seemingly cohesive Eastleigh adult society.
As Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (1995) point out 'embedded in the idea of
identification is a notion of repudiation. By repudiation of particular identities our
own identities can be formed' (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill 1995: 227). In this
context individuals including young people *need* an 'other' to develop their own
distinctive identity. The interview data showed the relevance of young people's
lifestyles to their attitudes and behaviour. There were suggestions, too, of a self
fulfilling prophecy (Merton 1957). For example the youth club members who told of
being 'corralled' so that the police knew where they were, showed more aggressive
and antisocial behaviour than other respondents. The young people's identities
remained fluid and continued to change as they processed through their youth.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed how the young people of Eastleigh worked on their
identities as agents of their own development. I began by examining how the young
people saw themselves and how these views continued to change as they questioned
'Who am I'? and 'Who do I want to be'? Drawing on the works of Butler, Frosch

and Griffin I then emphasised the parts played by masculinities as performative acts and by femininities as the desired 'compulsory heterosexuality'. I then explored who most influenced young people highlighting the place of friends, but showing the prominence of mothers in their lives. I went on to reflect on the disjuncture between the way young people see themselves and the way they appear to be seen by others, including the media, which in the local setting of Eastleigh can, itself, influence the identity formation of young people. These all contribute to the 'experience' which Craib sees as underlying individual identity. I concluded by suggesting that identity may be (per)formed in opposition to that which is expected and that nowhere is this more noticeable than in public spaces – a theme which I develop further in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 Space

6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined the many ways in which the young people of Eastleigh, as agents in their own development, were engaging in identity work. I highlighted their understandings of their own and other people's behaviours and attitudes in this process. I emphasised, too, the importance of space, especially public space, in which much of the work of exploring a sense of themselves took place. I touched on the impact of the communities of which they were part.

In this chapter I will examine the various meanings of public spaces and how the young people used them, especially for graffiti art and 'hanging out', an experience which often resulted in adults requiring them to move on. I will draw on Sibley's concept of 'opaque instances of exclusion' (Sibley 1995: ix) which are not newsworthy but a taken-for-granted aspect of daily life. I will use, too, Valentine's (1996) view of public space being actively produced through repeated performances (Butler 1990). Public space is seen as an adult space and young people as contesting their spatial hegemony through behaviour which transgresses the adult order. The ability of adults to control young people's production of public space – the responsibilization strategy – becomes a reflection of their power (Valentine 1996). I will explore young people's regulation and the police, and also issues of safety, perceived differently by the young people and adults. I will consider how conflict happened and what strategies were in place to resolve any problems. I will then explore how young people in these contested situations became 'othered' and the adult/young people tensions which resulted, reinforcing boundaries between young people and the wider society of Eastleigh.

6.1 Public Space

The definition of 'public space' has been the subject of debates between different groups, as have the use and behaviours deemed appropriate within those spaces (Worpole & Greenhalgh 1996). Public spaces have always been the main sites where young people congregate, for they need space to explore and develop their

emerging self-concepts. However, as I argued in the previous chapter, age-based conceptualizations of risk were reflected in gendered practices where young men were allowed greater freedom than young women. Though some of the young women were more home-orientated, reminiscent of the 'culture of the bedroom' (McRobbie & Garber 1976: 213), most of the young women in this study expected to and did use public spaces though they were less highly visible. This endorses Valentine's (1997) views about gendered difference in potential risks in public space shifting so that all are perceived to be equally vulnerable (Valentine 1997). It is important to consider how young people use public spaces, how conflict happens, what the reactions are and what strategies are in place to address any problems. Why young people are made to feel they have no right to be in public spaces is the subject of much debate, but little attention has yet been paid to what the young people themselves think. In my research, the young people said they used public spaces because they were safe places to meet friends and visible but they also sought recognition and acceptance.

The young people regarded places designated public, such as streets, recs. and woods as well as commercial areas such as shops and covered malls, the town centre and the centres in which the programmes themselves met, as public spaces. Nancy and her friends went to 'The Arcade'. Like Presdee's 'space invaders' (Presdee 1994: 182) Emily met her friends in shops 'to see what we would buy if we had the money' and they used, also, the sofa in a bookshop. The spaces centred round friendship and leisure, where young people could 'be themselves', enjoy the support of their peers and challenge the norms of wider Eastleigh society. I asked the young people why they used public spaces.

6-1

Nancy: I go out with my mates.

Kim: Go out with my mates and that.

Jill: Just being with everybody else.

It was here that the beginnings of autonomy emerged. They were spaces in which the young people could set their own values.

They were essentially places where they could meet with their friends 'on their own terms and on their own initiative, unaccompanied and unsupervised by adults' (Hall

et al. 1999: 506). In these spaces young people can decide what they want to do, where they want to do it and when they want to stop it (Corrigan 1979) and with whom. The young people were too old to spend time in the parental home, having outgrown the constant supervision of childhood. Parents or siblings at home detracted from the freedom and autonomy they sought. The places were always free or affordable and accessible – local places where the young people could affirm their public identities by their visibility – and the young people went there mostly from choice. This was not the case with the programme centres although the young people referred to them as 'public spaces' and the youth club members were often 'dragged there' so they could be supervised. Tim, Kim and Iris all cited the Centres as public spaces they frequented, Tim adding that there were no other places –'just here'. Both were open only at certain times and the young people were not free from the adult gaze. They were, however, seen as a haven after having been moved on and there being no other place to go.

Space can never be understood as a purely geographical entity, however, for as Bourdieu argues, it is 'a space of relations' and a site of potentially contesting for 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu 1991). Not only was there tension between adults and young people but public space experiences were gender-related. The more stringent control of young women and their understandings of their positioning in public places both reflected and affected their use of that space. Thus gender relations were significant to both the young women's and the young men's sense of space (see Massey 1994). The activities of young women were more shaped by restrictions as to where and when they could go out and this was evident in my meetings on the street with Eastleigh young people – the number of young men far exceeded the number of young women. The young women needed to overcome constraints and negotiate their own space. In public space the young women appeared as 'appendages' (see McRobbie 1991) – it was the young men who made bonfires while the young women watched:
6-2
Libby: Sometimes some of the boys, like, make bonfires.

The area co-ordinator who consulted young people about the proposed skateboard park told me 'Girls want to sit and chat and watch boys perform'. It was the young

118

men who fought while the young women 'egged them on' (see above). It was, too, often the young women who frequented the shopping malls, not only to window shop, but mindful of their safety:

6 -3

Emily: We usually go to shopping places where there's loads of people – we won't
       tend to go to parks.

Young people were getting mixed messages from parents, police, the media and security guards about how to use public spaces, being told, on the one hand to stay in groups and remain visible for their own safety, and on the other to disperse and move on (see Polzot 1997). The ASBA (2003) includes provision for groups to be dispersed – with sanctions for refusing to do so - however vulnerable the young people may feel (see Chapter 8).

Some young people were seeking better facilities. In Hungate the young people had made a request for a skateboard ramp and this had proceeded through the detached youth worker, the Council and eventually the residents. The young people's approach to the Council for a ramp, skateboard kit and shelter gained widespread support. At the last minute, however, the Crime Reduction Officer withdrew support because of residents' complaints. At Lurbank objections to plans for a new youth centre which one teenager said would be an ideal place for young people so that 'we don't have to stand around on street corners' were being raised by local residents and doctors using an adjacent surgery. The Chairman of the Local Committee recognised residents' fears about 'what could happen'. As chair of the High Cross Residents' Association, he said he was 'sick and tired of being labelled anti-youth' (Hampshire Chronicle 07 02 03). In these ways the adults of Eastleigh showed they did not want their young people on the street, but neither did they want them in alternative sites. They did not want them in evidence at all.

In some areas young people were being consulted. In less obvious ways, however, major decisions were still made by adults and most new facilities were being sited away from residents – the values inherent in conformity tending to regulate 'others' to spheres distant from the dominant majority (Sibley 1995). In Glebeside, for example, the new skateboard area was being completed speedily so that it was in

place before new flats overlooking the area went up for sale so that incomers could not complain that they did not know. At the same time a caretaker's flat was to be built in the rec. 'in the hope that his or her permanent presence would make the rec less attractive to nocturnal gatherings of noisy young people' (Hampshire Chronicle, 07 03 03). A new skateboard park near the town was to be sited 'not too close to houses' – in fact behind a commercial area - and this, too, was to be supervised. The area co-ordinator told me 'we stop unpleasant behaviour' (07 10 02). This was, however, what she or the Council considered 'unpleasant', highlighting the broad division between the adults' and young people's perspectives of acceptability. The Outreach bus went out three times a week to regular places where young people hung out but if the police notified the youth worker of 'trouble' in another area, Wanderbug went there immediately to impose the adult-centred ideas of conformity.

Only one third of the Firesetters' activities had taken place in public spaces yet some writers have suggested that young people in public places are seen as polluting and a potential threat to social order (Cahill 1990;Valentine 1997). This notion was strongly repudiated by my respondents who found their treatment unfair and unjust. Contrary to community perceptions of young people as a threat to social order, my research found that most young people used public space because of a lack of alternatives. They had asked for a shelter, for a later-opening youth club, somewhere to sit when it was wet and a skateboard park. Although young people had been proactive in trying to secure an alternative to the street, they had been heard but not listened to, not responded to and not taken seriously. Those young people had either grown out of wanting a skateboard park or given up and continued to hang around street corners. It is often public spaces that separate the social world of the adult and the young person. It is also the perception of these spaces that is dramatically different for each. Parks in Eastleigh, designed more for family use have been 'taken over' by young people and are no longer put to their intended and 'correct' use. 'Time begins to do the work of giving places character when the places are not used as they were meant to be .... For the person who engages in the unanticipated use, something 'begins' in a narrative sense' (Sennett 1990, p196). The young people therefore felt criticized for using adult and family spaces.

Loader (1996) sees the use of public space as not altogether a meaningful choice. 'Rather it is one consequence of an age-based exclusion from autonomous private spaces and cultural resources of various kinds'(Loader 1996: 50). The 2001 Census shows Eastleigh has a high proportion of owner-occupation (81.37%) compared with the average for England and Wales (68.86%). This relative affluence means that many local young people do have spending power, and in central Eastleigh there is a vast array of sporting and cultural activities available. On the outskirts, in areas like Hamble and Hound, for example, there is a dearth of (especially late night) public transport, so young people are forced to use public spaces in their local area or be dependent on parents or other car owners at a time when they are fiercely striving for independence.

6.2 Graffiti

Graffiti cause damage to property and cost a great deal for Eastleigh Borough Council and businesses to clean. The young people from Denburn Youth Council regularly conducted graffiti-cleans in their area as a community responsibility. However, for many young people doing graffiti was a powerful symbolic expression and development of their inner selves as unique, signifying their own self concept. It involved 'a celebration of the self' (Macdonald 2002: 71). It was also a statement about the public space, a demonstration of skills and a source of pride. When other people saw their 'tag' or pseudonym they asked whose it was. I asked Tim why graffiti artists did it:

6-4

Tim: To put a show on the area – a friend of mine is a really, really, really good graffiti artist and because he's so good, like, everyone says like 'yeah, go for it'.

Int: Is it 'I'm trying to show you something'?

Tim: Yeah, I suppose so, but there is a kind of 'destruct' in it.

Pryce disagreed with this aspect of it.

6-5

Pryce: So that people know you – more people know you. You just make up a name and spray it as long as you're with people then they tell other people, when they see that tag.

Int: So it's not just being destructive?

Pryce: No.

Its attraction, nevertheless, appeared to lie in its 'seductive nature' (Katz 1988). In this way young people earned the respect of other young people and graffiti drawn in hard-to-reach places such as railway bridges or high buildings gained more respect.

6-6

Ryan: It's like gang culture. People say 'that's my name'. The harder place you go earns other graffiti artists - give you more respect. Say you like do a train 'I'd never be able to do that'.

Most of the graffiti were done in public spaces – the places to which young people felt they had some (though contested) ownership and where they belonged. Graffiti invested 'their' space with 'their' meaning and was never seen by the young people as a criminal or vandalising act. It was a way of distancing themselves from adult values in order to make their presence felt with 'visible and unequivocal cues' (Ley & Cybriwsky 1974: 504) . Iris distinguished between art and plain graffiti and saw graffiti art as acceptable.

6-7

Iris: 'Cos if you write obscene stuff on the walls for absolutely no reason or just to piss someone off that's not acceptable at all but if you're creating something visual for people to look at, some eye candy for someone, for passers-by and that .....

Seb said he did it purely because he was a good artist.

It created a feeling of solidarity among those who did it. However, the reactions of the press and the Borough Council presented a discourse of disorder in which graffiti were seen as essentially 'out of place' and a threat to the image of Eastleigh. An Inspector (29 05 03) told me the police view was that writing on park equipment by an eight year old girl, even though in washable ink, was treated like all graffiti issues

as criminal damage. The child was admonished in front of her parents, details were passed on to the Graffiti Busters (see below) and either the child would have to clean off the writing or her parents would be required to contribute to the cost of cleaning. The ASBA (2003) now gives Local Authorities powers to issue graffiti removal notices.

The amplification of tensions between the graffiti artists and the police and Council was produced by the media. Local television and the press have, over many years, drawn attention to graffiti. The Council even circulated to residents a questionnaire asking where they, the adults, would like a dedicated graffiti wall to be sited. In 2002 (Hampshire Chronicle, 14 02 02) a front page article reported that a hit squad 'armed with the latest power cleaning equipment' dedicated to cleaning up Eastleigh's streets was proving a great success. This followed the Council's allocation of an extra £50,000 to keep streets clean and public areas and buildings graffiti-free. The Eastleigh News Extra (25 04 02) further declared that 'All out war against graffiti has been declared by Eastleigh Council' and one Eastleigh Councillor suggested 'We could be the first graffiti-free borough'. Such actions, however, are taken by young people as demonstrating how local adults value or fail to value what is, to them, important. Writing graffiti, though, is a way of constructing a (masculine) identity - I met only young male graffiti writers - earning 'respect' unavailable to the writers elsewhere and displaying independence. Further, police, media and public disapproval are just the reactions which add to its appeal and validate further graffiti writing.

6.3 Hanging Out

The young people used public space primarily for 'hanging out'. This was what they did most in their leisure time and it provided important and enjoyable social interaction away from the constraints of home, school or work. The Police Inspector told me that this was much more popular in the summer than the winter and also in the school holidays. 'Chilling out' with friends or just talking were the main activities, but often they were 'doing nothing' (Corrigan 1979) and because they were 'not really doing anything' was the reason that they were targeted according to Leah. I asked the young people what they did when they hung out:

6-8

Roger: I just like being with my mates, just walk. Just chatting mostly, playing
football.

Jill: Just hanging around with my mates really.

Iris: Just have a laugh really.

Pryce: I dunno, nothing, just talk and stuff like that.

These (in)activities were important as they occupied a great deal of young people's leisure time. All of these were older teenagers, a fact at odds with Hendry et al's (1993) research which found that hanging out peaked at ages 13 – 16 (Hendry et al. 1993), and which may be explainable by today's extended youth transitions, and in groups they were seen as a threat to the rest of Eastleigh residents. However, they had no other places of their own. Pryce felt there was 'nowhere really' and Libby said 'We haven't really got nowhere to go'. A few of the young men at the Youth Club had just got motor bikes and these enabled them to get to a National Park. Here, they still hung out but they were not visible to Eastleigh society nor subject to its constraints. The BCS 2002/2003 shows that around a third of adults perceive teenagers hanging around on the street as being a common problem in their area and as having an adverse effect on their way of life (Simmons & Dodd 2003). However, of respondents asked about actual experiences of antisocial behaviour in the previous year 20% cited rude or abusive young people while almost as many (15%) cited rude or abusive adults (Budd & Sims 2001) showing that there is a disjunction between the perception and the reality of the problem of youth antisocial behaviour.

6.4 Moving On

The young people lingered in the public spaces and were often noisy causing disquiet among residents, security personnel and police. The young people were, therefore, routinely asked to move on, their presence often being deemed counter to legitimate consumer, adult or family activity (see, for example Sibley 1995: xii).

6 -9

Int: Do you think the shopkeepers and the police are upset by groups of young

        people?

Roger: They are now these days but they got to deal with it really, haven't they?

        They can't do nothing about us hanging around in groups. Some people are

        against young people, some people ain't so.

Tim told me they got moved on by the police.

6 -10

Int: Is this when you are making a nuisance of yourself?

Tim: No, we don't. We just sit there and the shop gets funny about too many

        people being outside.

Int: Is that because you're a young person or because you're in a group?

Tim: Because we're in a group – they think we're going to walk on them.

Int: Do people in a group always get hassled?

Tim: Yeah, police always hassle you when you're in big groups.

Leo: If you are in a group, even if you are not causing trouble, you're just having a

        laugh, old people want you to keep away.

The Crime Reduction Officer explained: 'Young people are more likely to gather in
large numbers. Often they are not doing anything wrong but there is a perception
that they are causing trouble' (Borough News, Spring 2003). Moving on young
people from public places, however, is effectively declaring that they are *not* public
and does not respect the rights of individuals.

Gav agreed the 'Old Bill' kept moving them on 'because we're noisy and we're in a
big group'. Alice highlighted the noise aspect, too:

6 -11

Alice: We were tooken [taken] down here 'cos we were like hanging around so we

        had to come down here (the Youth Club). We didn't do nothing. It's just the

        people didn't like us there because of the motor bikes and things but we were

out of the way. It's just that they don't like it when we are all stood outside their house. They look at us and think we're trouble.

Steve agreed:

6-12

Int: Do you get moved on by the police?

Steve: Yeah, all the time. They just think we're like causing trouble and that.

Int: Is that because you're young or because you're in a group?

Steve: Both really, because we're a group and that. They think we're trying to rob things.

The stereotypical and media-driven image of young people as trouble remained, and particularly when in groups they were seen as 'out of order and out of place' (Panelli et al. 2002: 46). Phil pointed out 'The fact that they have a bad rep. anyway due to all society's image of them and the way that they are portrayed in a lot of news and therefore they tend not to get a fair hearing'. Moving on young people is not an effective solution and merely removes them from one locality to another. Kim said when they were asked to move on 'We just go somewhere else'. Roger agreed that they 'meet somewhere else'. Thus the efforts of those with power to coerce and control young people were being met with subtle resistance (Foucault 1977) as they moved on to another meaningful place of their choosing.

The young people had favourite places where they hung out.

6-13

Libby: Yeah, we hang outside Buy-time (late night shop) or sit up the park at Brand's.

Sam: Round the flats and that, down Tanner's. (but they also hung around shops.)

Tess: Buy-time.

Int: Do you stop outside the shop?

Tess: Not always – we usually move on from there but that's dangerous I think and sometimes we come down here (the Youth Club).

So for Tess and her friends, the Youth Club was not their first choice place to meet. She said they also hung out in parks and playing fields. What Tess said helped explain to me very vividly the attraction of this Youth Club. I had felt it was not fulfilling its purpose. It was not run in accordance with the Youth Service guidelines and nothing much ever happened. That was, however, *why* these young people returned week after week. It was, to them, somewhere to hang out, meet friends and chat with (almost) no supervision. Further, it was weatherproof and 'hassle-proof' (see below). Kerry told me 'The police don't mind us coming so long as we don't cause any trouble, which we haven't done'. In short, the youth club was an extension of 'the street'.

6.5 Regulation and the Police

Self policing (Foucault 1977) by removing themselves from public space often resulted from the suspicion, hostility and 'transhumance' young people encountered. They often chose, therefore, to go to places where they knew the police would not target them. They argued that they were harassed by the police, security guards and residents even though they had a right to be there and were doing nothing wrong.

6-14

Adam: All we get is pestered. If we go up the pub we get pestered so we come down here. If we've got somewhere to go we won't be pestered.

Pryce: We get police round wherever we go.

Thus not only did the police find young people problematic, but the young people found the police a problem, too. Young people also complained that they found the police aggressive (Police Inspector, 29 05 03). Direct policing increased hostility towards the police – unintended consequences which were counter-productive and which reduced the effectiveness of police/young people interaction. This echoes the work of Jones and Newburn (2001) who argued that groups of, for example, young people who are 'hard to engage with on a positive level' (p.13) are under-represented within formal consultation processes with the police (Jones & Newburn 2001). In circumstances such as these there was little opportunity to build trust between the police and the young people. Nevertheless, a recent innovation in one rural area saw

police officers showing civil disorder gear to teenagers in order to break down barriers and develop relationships (Hampshire Chronicle 21 10 03). The young people and the police were able to talk informally about issues affecting young people. Such an initiative can help bridge the young person/police divide, reduce tension and lead to greater understandings. A group of teenagers at the Glebeside meeting (see above) complained that the police were more interested in searching them and getting back to the police station than in talking with them.

Young people are, however, subject to adult regulation, including suspicion in the street. Kim, Damon Alison and Ty described their experiences:

6-15

Kim:	They (people) give you dirty looks and that.
Damon:	An old man used to wave his stick around when I got near and when I got nearer he would wave his stick around again.
Int:	Do you think he was afraid?
Damon:	I don't know. They think young people are bad. We're not all that bad.
Alison:	An old lady came up to me when the bins were on fire and said 'you kids shouldn't be hanging around here and setting bins on fire' and we were only sitting on the benches.
Ty:	When I was waiting for a bus this old guy came up and asked me why I was loitering. I wasn't loitering; I was waiting for a bus. 'Cos if you see an adult waiting around you don't get old people going up and saying 'Oy, what are you doing here, loitering?

As Ty pointed out, adults would not be subject to such suspicion, and targeting young people meant their movements were often restricted by curfews and by constantly being moved on, often in response to requests from residents and shop owners as much as on the initiative of the police. Dan blamed the classification of young people as a single, homogeneous group who posed a threat.

6-16

Dan: Just hanging around you are going to get the blame. Being around when there are a lot of bored youths with nothing to do, they are going to think you

are a member of the group, they are going to blame you and they don't even know you. They just class children as children.

Public space is therefore not available equally to all but is highly regulated in adult terms with young people being penalised purely because of their age. This is highlighted by the ASBA (2003) which addresses the antisocial behaviour especially of young people rather than all antisocial behaviour. It is adults who define appropriate behaviour, for example noise levels. Saul explained that being noisy was just what kids do. I also asked David if adults were bothered when it was noisy:

6-17
David: Yeah. 'Cos most of them get annoyed and tell us to be quiet 'cos they have kids.
Roger concluded that 'Adults do it so why shouldn't we?'

The Area Co-ordinator confirmed that most complaints were about noise but also about drinking and drug use – although alcohol was the bigger problem.

Much public space is designed to reflect only adult values and use (Hendry et al. 1993) and the gradual exclusion of young people is driven by the use of various surveillance methods. In Eastleigh the acceleration of 'privatising' public spaces (Shearing & Stenning 1996) is evident in the expansion of fixed and mobile surveillance technologies. For example, additional CCTV cameras were placed in the town centre and Denburn and a mobile police van, equipped with the latest video technology was introduced. This vehicle enabled officers to patrol their beats and gather vital evidence, 'especially at 'hotspots' where youth nuisance and anti-social behaviour occurs' (Borough News, 21 07 03) and send pictures straight back to the police station. At the same time tagging, curfews and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) have been introduced to elicit more 'responsibility' from that part of Eastleigh society categorized as deviant. However, in response to all these developments in Eastleigh most of the young people wanted to make their presence visible and were, by their actions, making a statement that, in every sense, 'the young will not go away'.

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The young people regarded public space as a place which should be free from social control so they felt indignant when police intervened in their leisure activities. One of the aims of the Detached Youth Project was 'to narrow the gap in communication between the police and young people with the emphasis on informality' (Youth Worker 10 07 01). Wanderbug had proved useful but young people were still targeted by police. This does smack of the state (urged on by residents) acting to change lifestyles and behaviour that are not deviant but which are seen as not conforming. Phil explained how young people felt resentment when adults seemed to want them to be like adults and less like who they were:

6-18

Phil: The older generation believes that they (young people) go out to commit crimes and deal drugs and therefore they just give them a bum deal, and that makes them upset.

Local residents, however, saw it as 'their locality' and mindful of property values and their own interests loudly fought for peace and quiet (see Straw & Michael 1996).

Because they provoked anxieties in adults, the young people were often made to leave areas such as Glebeside Rec. and Hungate playing fields even though they were the very spaces which had been created for leisure activities. Young people's contact with the police made them feel 'picked on' for no good reason. They felt it unjust and often only because adults had complained. Police were targeting all youth in public spaces and perceived all young people in groups as antisocial or deviant rather than only those who *had* offended. A certain boundary between acceptable and unacceptable or deviant behaviour was thus very difficult for young people to recognize. From stereotypical representations of young people who have offended, young people as a category became defined as the criminal 'other' (Cohen 1973; Hall 1978), labelling outcomes that were far-reaching. Such stereotypes were at variance with most of the young people with whom I spoke. Young people need to know the reasons and purposes of any interaction. The Police Inspector (29 05 03) understood some of the problem of youth/adult interaction. He told me 'Communication is a barrier but more generational. Perspectives are different and difficult. Getting the

young people's perspective and being able to say things in a way they understand is important'. Nevertheless, police intervention against a marginalized group for no or minor infractions smacks of intolerance. The young people illustrated the suspicion with which their leisure activities were regarded.

6-19

Kerry: Like getting moved on from places that we should be allowed to go. If adults were there nothing would be said.

Robin: And we get told off, like if we're sitting under it (a ramp). So you just get moved on.

George: If you look at them funny, as well, they take your name and that.

Matt: Also if we sit on the bench wrong, they say like 'Do you sit like that at home?' and that. We was up at the park and these Police Officers just come along and we was just sat on the bench and they took our names and said 'If we get any trouble, you'll be the ones to blame.'

Nancy: I remember once when we actually come to Eastleigh and there was a big group of us and we then got told to get out of the shopping mall 'cos we was such a big group.

The young people had been targeted just for being there and this impacted unfairly on those for whom public spaces were crucial to their lifestyles.

The Outreach Worker on Wanderbug told me 'If there's any complaints we will go and talk to people, see what the problem is and then actually go out and see what the young people do. We make a point of telling them that if they carry on the way they're behaving, then they'll probably lose contact with us and the police will take over'. One way or the other, the young people were going to be monitored and contained.

Opportunities provided by adults were often not what the young people wanted.

They had definite ideas about what they sought.

6-20

Tony: Sometimes when stuff is provided it's not actually the stuff we want.

Saul: If adults do things for children they don't always do what the children want.

Further, efforts by the Council to provide supervised leisure activities in order to remove young people from public space increased monitoring, segregated young people and singled them out since similar measures were not taken for adults seen as troublesome. An informal BMX site was 'reclaimed' by the Council and a new BMX facility was included in the new skateboard park so that it could be 'managed' (Area Co-ordinator 07 10 02).

Some youth clubs were not open late enough. Community Halls were not available to young people because Associations filled them with adult/child activities and it was not permissible to leave up posters about, for example, drugs. Most of the respondents were too young to go into pubs and the cost of other leisure activities was prohibitive.

Professionals viewed young people's hanging around in groups as a waste of time where more positive pursuits such as hobbies, sport or Guides (see Youth Magistrate quote above) were seen as acceptable. Just talking as the young people did when hanging around in groups, however, was an important part in their identity work and a cherished step towards autonomy. Young people were seen as needing to participate in what Eastleigh society deemed acceptable. By reacting to residents' complaints, however, police were seen as failing to treat all Eastleigh people equally and this raised the level of suspicion with which the young people regarded the police. In trying to maintain order, the police responded to the more powerful residents and thus generated more resentment from young people.

The young people associated the police with interference and friction in their use of public space. In my early fieldwork I was asked repeatedly 'Are you going to tell Old Bill?', showing that young people also saw the police as trouble and their

attention not only unjustified but ineffectual since when asked to move on they merely used 'tactics' (de Certeau 1984) and went to another place. Understandings of public space linked it with the cause of trouble and when police viewed young people as antisocial and moved them on the young people's resultant feelings of social exclusion were not acknowledged. The police sometimes tried to be non-confrontational, for as the Inspector told me (29 05 03) 'Young people are not allowed to say 'no' to a discussion but if they don't listen it can get out of proportion and they will gather elsewhere'. The young people recognized the sometimes paternalistic attitude of the police:

6–21

Leah: At other times they just want to know what you're up to. A couple of times
        they just come down and started talking to us.

This, however, made it difficult for young people to know what stance the police were taking on any particular occasion. The police were, too, moving on PRIME – Problem Resolution in Multi-agency Environments – where a long term solution was sought. An initiative in Tal Park took a long term view and improved lighting, and altered the structure of the area. Talks with the community, the young people and the police had set in train a number of actions. The young people were reported to have 'responded in the best possible way', and the number of calls made to the police by members of the public had dropped by 94% (Hampshire Chronicle 08 08 03). According to the Police Superintendent this was a clear example of *all* members of the community being recognized and working together. Subsequent adult/young people tensions in an adjoining estate, however, suggested the problem had merely been displaced (see below).

Often control initiatives were more subtle; a Buy-time shop had begun to play classical music constantly on outside speakers and this had effectively encouraged young people to go elsewhere. In a park a bench had been re-sited away from houses (Police 07 10 02) and 'The Wall', a favourite meeting place for young people had been knocked down so that there was no focal point and young people would not gather there (Police 29 05 03). Wanderbug, under the guise of bringing information and advocacy to hard-to-reach young people, was in fact, providing monitoring and

was redirected to 'hot-spots' if necessary. This raised questions about the role of the Youth Service and suggested that serving young people may not be its primary or sole aim.

6.5.1 Safety

Young people were seen as a threat to wider Eastleigh society and brought fear to older residents. The BCS has shown consistently, however, that people overestimate the crime problem so that the level of fear may be unwarranted (Simmons & Dodd 2003). In managing their fears the residents highlighted the areas where they felt unsafe. Their ontological security meant they reiterated their held values and saw young people as lacking these, leading to intolerance and exclusionary, rather than assimilating behaviours (see Young 1999: 104). Local residents, concerned by the presence of the young people complained and this caused inter-generational tension. However, the young people often felt unsafe themselves. The BCS (2002/2003) shows the greater vulnerability of young men (Simmons & Dodd 2003). I tried to find out how safe the young people felt:

6-22

Int: How safe do you feel in this area?

David: It sort of is safe.

Int: Does it depend on the time of day or night?

David: Yeah, not at night.

Roger and Iris too felt unsafe in the area at night and there were areas they would not go. Rachel pointed out 'When you are with your friends you don't feel so vulnerable'. Saul agreed:

6-23

Saul: Just because you're in a group it doesn't mean you are going to do something sinister. Being in a group means they are not going to pick on you 'cos you've got more people.

Ryan highlighted the importance of Clipper as a safe place. Phil, however, felt safe all the time.

6-24

Phil: I've got a 24-hour shop down the road and I'd go there at 4 o'clock in the morning. I take a short cut through the woods. I feel pretty safe in the area.

Eastleigh town centre has, ever since the fears of terrorism from the IRA, increasingly used CCTV cameras to control and monitor the population panoptically. The business sector, too, uses CCTV on factories, and shops and Emily told me of one inside a ladies' changing room in a fashion shop. The young people had grown used to them and except for the one in the changing room, accepted them. Asked if they thought CCTV was designed to keep them safe or a way of invading their privacy, the young people generally approved of them as a safety measure.

6-25

Pryce: Well, yeah, both really, in one way it's quite good 'cos you get like loads of gangs coming up for fights and things like that so it's quite good for things like that.

Libby: Both – it's for our safety, because if anything did go wrong it's all on camera, but if we all did something wrong it's just there to say it was us really.

Tess: It's for safety really.

Gav, however said 'They're a load of bollocks 'cos you can't see anyone anyway.'

CCTV cameras are now present in shopping parades, recs, and car parks throughout the borough, but they are not, and never could be, widespread enough to film every incident. Eight 'Help points' are also situated in the town centre and pressing the panic button enables the person whose safety is threatened to be linked to the CCTV operator and the Emergency Services and action to be implemented. The help points are, however, only in the well-lit and frequented town centre; the rest of the vast borough is not so supported and those who need them must be near enough and know where they are situated.

Young people need to experience public space as a safe environment where they can participate freely in local community life. However, since they felt vulnerable when

alone in certain spaces and sought to manage their own and their friends' use of public space by staying in groups, they strengthened the problems they were trying to solve (Loader 1996).

6.6 Young People as 'Other'

Adults used negative stereotypes in distancing themselves from young people and this was damaging because 'group images and place images combine to create landscapes of exclusion' (Sibley 1995: 14). Geographical spaces were experienced as sites of power relations and exclusionary practices enabled less overt control to be exercised in public spaces (Sibley 1995: ix). Labelling young people as 'other' encouraged boundary enforcement, not only physical, such as at the shops where young people were not allowed, but symbolic, for example, where young people were not welcome unless they fitted the criterion of consumers. The ambiguous status of young people made the street as area-of-control of prime importance and the segregation of space between legitimate and illegitimate users a continual site of conflict (Loukataitou-sideris 1998). The young people were, in spatial terms, a prominent and visible part of Eastleigh and they relied more than adults on their local neighbourhood for their social life, but instead of being perceived as central to Eastleigh society they were seen usually as competitors and usurpers. While residents were angered by young people's antisocial behaviour, the young people were often dismissive of the concern (Malone 2000) (see quote 6-9).

Mead's (1934) approach to the relationship between self and the other, locating the individual in the social world demonstrates the importance of stereotypes. Negative stereotypes help to explain spatial exclusion by locating the stereotyped group as 'out of place'. At the social level this exclusion can be seen as the difference between purity and defilement. Douglas (1966) argued that 'uncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained' (Douglas 1966: 41), so excluding is the way pollution is guarded against. To segregate entails classifying things as pure or defiled. Those who are classified as unclean are not conforming members of the general group and tend to be rejected. This strengthens the group definitions to which the segregated do not conform and the pattern into which they do not fit. Though marginal young people may be doing nothing wrong, their status

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is indefinable (Douglas 1966). Since young people have no unambiguous place in the social system and are seen as dangerous and uncontrolled, precautions against them must come from others and rides on community attitudes. In the maintenance of social order, young people are recognizably out of place, seen as a threat and one therefore to be managed. In the preface to *Natural Symbols*, Douglas recognized the limits of this approach and argued that each social environment sets limits to the possibilities of remoteness and nearness of other humans and limits the costs and rewards of group allegiance to and conformity to social categories (Douglas 1970). Such sentiments are more likely when a community feels threatened, for example, by groups of young people and seeks to strengthen the existing order.

The mostly white middle class heterosexual adults of Eastleigh are those whose hegemony threatens young people's use of public spaces and renders them no longer 'public', but whose spatial hegemony the young people contest. Adults deem young people a threat but the young people have little money and restricted opportunities, so the 'threat' to adults seems more to their accepted 'cosy' way of life – a threat to their way of thinking where 'doing nothing' is unthinkable. The young people view 'doing nothing' as constructive. Structured by different values, the older and younger people are 'looking past each other'. In their efforts to command legitimacy in their use of public space and their labelling as 'dangerous' and 'out of place' young people have become situated as 'other'.

Eastleigh residents actively required youth to be moved on and youth curfews (CDA (1998)) added to the exclusion of young people and the feeling that this was not the place for them. This reduced intergenerational contact led to greater mistrust. It is pertinent here to question the justice of youth curfews when antisocial adults are not yet similarly barred from public spaces. A police officer (Insite meeting 13 08 01) said he had to stop and search young people routinely to see if they were carrying alcohol under the Confiscation of Alcohol (Young Persons) Act 1997. The Hampshire Chronicle (17 05 02) reporting on a police operation following what it termed 'Gang Wars' between youths in Glebeside said '40 youths were stopped and searched and police report that no prohibited articles were found and no arrests were made', which suggests that the action was, at the least, heavy handed. In commercial public space, the expulsion of young people meant that they were valued in

commercial, rather than citizen, terms. 'Shopwatch' was primarily based on the exclusion of young people as 'danger' and contributed to the 'othering' of young people as not members of the community. It was a scheme designed by Eastleigh and District Chamber of Commerce and the police with a telephone system which allowed the police and local traders to pass quickly to each other information about juveniles deemed to be causing a nuisance. Young people were thus penalised for their lack of economic power and for being juveniles. Roger told me he and his friends had been prevented from going in the shopping mall and the town centre. The local convenience store in Vicary Park employed a Security Guard to keep out after 5 p.m. under eighteens who were not accompanied by an adult. This clearly articulates that *all* young people are suspect and *all* adults are acceptable.

In the 'othering' of young people, there were echoes of the classic Winston Parva study where established residents 'who felt that they belonged there and that the place belonged to them' (p.2) did not welcome 'newcomers' (Elias & Scotson 1965). Like the young people of Winston Parva almost all Eastleigh antisocial young people were 'children of the local residents' (Police Superintendent September 02) who viewed themselves as 'the minority of the best'. However, unlike the young people in Elias and Scotson's research who were found to follow an adult-centred, relatively empty social leisure life (p.116), the Eastleigh teenagers were unwilling to accept adult designated or orientated pursuits and chose to spend their leisure time 'hanging out', in ways which *they* found appealing but which differed markedly from the adults' norms. There were parallels with the findings in the Steeptown study which, although it did not relate specifically to young people, emphasized for acceptance the need to 'confirm established local norms and appropriate behaviour'(Crow et al. 2001: 46). In Eastleigh, appropriate behaviour was purposeful, adult-approved behaviour. Clearly this was not something my respondents sought. They were choosing to live by their own values but were being coerced to conform to the adults' norms.

6.7 Adult/Young People Tensions

The young people's leisure time use of space did not fit in with adult expectations yet they valued their snatches of autonomy and made spaces 'their own'. The teenagers preferred to be in groups:

6-26

Saul: What's the point of being on your own? It's pointless, it's boring but then if you go out in a group people start cowering and being scared.

Though the young people knew *some* of their peers had offended or engaged in antisocial behaviour, they were content in the belief that they were doing nothing wrong, and could not understand why adults perceived them all as a threat. Two of the young people, however, told me they took care not to wear clothes (such as balaclavas and hoods) that could frighten other people. Tension resulted from the way young people entered and invested with their own meaning spaces deemed as constructed for adults (or children) and this caused further alienation. The Police Inspector (29 05 03) told me he was himself tentative about passing large groups of young people and that most complaints about young people were over nuisance, hanging about, talking loudly, alcohol, drugs, criminal damage and graffiti. They were often repeat complaints showing that those who complained were either more targeted or more intolerant. He emphasized the antisocial nature of noise made by young people 'it interferes with other people's rights', but there have been frequent complaints about greater noise made by aircraft using the airport but no action has been taken against the adults responsible. The Area Co-ordinator told me 'young people in urban areas can't get away with noise. Even exuberance is interpreted as trouble'.

Public space was not public, equally available to all ages but an adult designed and designated space where hegemonic regulations applied and where hostility resulted when young people using it showed non-conformity and difference. Adults appeared to see young people challenging their spatial claims and 'transgressing the adult order of streets, malls and suburbs' (Valentine 1996: 217). Regulations imposed by the police, private security guards and the adults of Eastleigh suggested that public spaces were not for common use but for the adults who tried to constrain young

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people in line with their notions of conformity. Public space issues around young people need to be understood in terms of their inclusion as full members of Eastleigh society. Ryan understood the barrier as one of non-communication:

6-27

Ryan: The older generation and the younger generation don't sort of talk to each other as they are growing up. If they talked to each other they'd have a lot more in common - 'cos they think 'oh why are they at these places and stuff?'

Eastleigh Borough Council was beginning to step back and allow young people to be consulted and to share in some of the decisions and available resources. This was partial for while young people had been consulted over things such as what equipment they wanted in a new skate board park and what type of shelter they needed, facilities were not sited where the young people wanted them but where it was expedient and discreet – well away from where their activities could cause annoyance. Eastleigh is represented as being a good place in which to bring up children but in reality residents show anxieties about those children and a desire to keep them distanced and segregated from local adult society, imposing exclusion. Teenage antisocial behaviour and the potential of teenage antisocial behaviour was being viewed by residents as leading to neighbourhood decline and a failure to act as acquiescing (Home Office 2003; Skogan 1990; Wilson & Kelling 1982). Despite these tensions, however, the young people liked living in Eastleigh.

6-28

Ryan: It seems quite good – it's a good place.

David: Most of it I do like but they should really clean it up.

The young people's feelings about the Borough were not so very different from those portrayed by the adults. Nevertheless, 'Watch Out' (Division-wide Edition No. 26), the Neighbourhood Watch bulletin perspicaciously alerted residents to the fact that 'While we are aware of the impact that antisocial behaviour has on people's lives, it is important to remember that people's complaints and perceptions can also impact on the lives of young people in our society. Their pastimes and outlooks on life are often very different from those of most residents at the same age'. This plea had so

far failed to smooth the categorization of young people as 'other' and reduce boundaries and boundary enforcement. The Insite centre provided a user-friendly facility where young people could access computers and referral services while acting as a safe youth space. This was, however, in Eastleigh town and difficult to reach for those living at a distance. The Outreach youth workers were acting as advocates and encouraging self advocacy with hard-to-reach youth in an effort to bridge the youth-adult gap.

Tensions remained however. Adults in the quiet residential areas of Eastleigh expected the right to peace and quiet in their own homes (Straw & Michael 1996). A local councillor complained that there were too few police in Glebeside. The high value of properties meant people there paid a higher level of council tax. He suggested more police patrols just driving through the area occasionally would discourage vandals (Hampshire Chronicle 20 09 02). The Police Superintendent, however, confirmed that young people chased away by police tended to return when police went away (Hampshire Chronicle 20 09 02).

There was thus a distinct lack of trust between the young people and the police, councillors and residents and little constructive effort at communication and reconciliation. This was further exacerbated by the remarks of another councillor, who, when speaking of the new skateboard park plans said it should be in a more remote site because young people probably wanted to be as far away from adults as adults wanted to be from them. Young people want to feel they are part of the community and not a threat to it (White 2001) so seek amenities which are user-friendly to young people and accessible. The adults of Eastleigh clearly wanted young people out of sight and there was no hint of seeking an inclusive society, nor space which could be considered in any way public.

6.8 Summary

In this chapter I have explored the meanings and uses young people make of public spaces and the particular roles of hanging out and graffiti in their life experiences. I highlighted the centrality to young people of public spaces and showed how they were vital to young people's evolving identities. My discussion showed that many of

the anxieties over public space are really about performative young men, with fears about young women tending to coalesce around issues of sexual risk and safety rather than criminal activity though there were signs that this was changing. Their achievement of a sense of growing autonomy from adult supervision which many older residents and the police interpreted as uncivil and non-conforming were, to young people, crucial. I showed how, far from 'doing nothing' the young people were engaging in activities which were important to them and that they were not prepared to forego them. I went on to illustrate the tension which existed between young people's experiences of 'opaque' regulation in public space and adult and police perceptions. Finally I considered how boundaries developed between the young people who were 'othered' and the community which sought to exert on the young people its own values and social control. This is a theme which I take up in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 Control – Action and Reaction

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I highlighted the various ways in which the young people of Eastleigh used public space and showed how space was of paramount importance to their lifestyles and development. The desire for independence was a common aim for the young people as they matured and issues of autonomy, whether manifesting themselves as developing sexuality, different roles and responsibilities or partial rights and life chances, took on a new importance (see Chapter 4).

In this chapter I explore the young people's interpretations and perspectives of their quest for autonomy. I discuss how various controls, subtle and overt, were being exerted on them. To this end, I look first at the Eastleigh community and the way in which it sought to control its young. Using the concept of social capital (Coleman 1988; Field 2003; Hagan & McCarthy 1997; Putnam 2000) I highlight the gaps in the interactions between young people and the rest of Eastleigh society which prompted increases in social control. I examine social control, strengthening social order and the part played by the family, the programmes, the Local Authority, adults and the police. I then move on to discuss wider issues of legislation relevant to the control of the young people, especially the CDA (1998) and the ASBA (2003). Finally, I examine how the young people's efforts to gain autonomy as they sought to make their own decisions and live their lives according to their own choices were being thwarted by adult-imposed controls.

7.1 The Community

Community is a contested concept, very fluid in definition, yet communities are presumed to be a 'good thing' and this is deeply embedded in popular consciousness, though they 'can be understood and experienced in so many different ways' (Crow 1997: 30). The concept of community is based on something the individuals have in common – often a sense of shared identity, social cohesion and a high degree of interrelationship, though this traditional understanding has been somewhat eroded by changes over time. 'Community' may now include people of similar backgrounds, for example age, employment or common interest. The notion of community is

complex with perspectives of the territorial community, based on the geographic area, the interest community, based on a web of relationships and the attachment community which incorporates a sense of solidarity (Podolefsky 1983; Willmott 1987). Individuals' experience of 'community' may consist of more than one of these simultaneously and may change over time. The rhetoric surrounding community is still evolving but does imply homogeneity rather than difference. Community is much used in positive terms as if a buttress against disunity and disintegration but communities do not resolve conflicts which exist between different groups in the community each having different values and interests. A broad body of opinion (see, for example, Hughes 1998;Walklate 1996) believes communities, the sites of emotional attachment, are central to the prevention of crime and antisocial behaviour. The young people in my research were members of at least two communities – the Eastleigh community (although most aligned themselves geographically with that part of the Borough in which they lived) where they were excluded and the programme community where they were included.

7-1

Int: What do you understand by your community?

Angus: Denburn, Vicary Park and Borley – the people that live there and the things related to it. (Angus was probably speaking on behalf of all the Denburn Youth Council members)

Kim: I live in Vicary Park – I've got to class that as my community.

Saul: It's just for our needs, so Eastleigh.

Emily: I suppose it's the place you live and everything that's involved around it.

Emily went on to say the things that made the community strong were 'Good neighbours, friendships, people who look out for you, places to go, things to do'. For some, the community was identified as their network of friends, identified as a mixed age group (see below), but none identified his/her community as being an age-related community of young people.

7–2

Pryce: Just your group of friends, really.

Gav: Where I hang around, friends where I hang around.

Contrary to the argument of Hoggett, that it is not clear that community means much
to the ordinary man or woman in the street these days (Hoggett 1997: 3), most of my
respondents felt their community, understood in terms of shared place, was important
and that they had strong bonds with it.

7–3

Int: Do you have strong bonds with them?

Sam: Yeah, strong because I've got some good mates and that.

Most agreed with this, except Gav.

Gav: No, I'm wanna stab someone.

This feeling was particularly true of those in the youth fora and the youth club
members whose lives revolved round their neighbourhood. It reflected
belongingness (see Chapter 5). Only Iris felt that she did not fit into a community
yet she said she would align herself with neighbours to solve a common problem.
The dominant thinking of community safety sees strong communities to be a way of
protecting internal members from threats from 'outsiders' or 'others'. The Eastleigh
adult community appeared to view and classify young people along with, for
example, travellers or drug dealers as 'other'. Unpacking the idea of the community
as having a common purpose around shared values led to the recognition that young
people often had different agendas and interests from those of adults. The
interpretation of community as 'people in consensus' is an impossibly optimistic
agenda. Not everybody will agree on everything, but adults have the experience to
be less judgemental and strive to move closer. In common with Cohen's (1966) view
of the community with 'sentiments of the community' (Cohen 1966: 8) being
reinforced by and members uniting against a common enemy, the image of the
Eastleigh community was of cohesion with a common set of values, responsibilities
and aims but the application of social control was contradictory revealing division

and lack of respect towards the young. Eastleigh's façade of propriety was designed to create a 'vision of unified community identity' (Sennett 1970: 38).

The included/excluded relationship with their communities was a major problem for the young people. Achieving autonomy was a prime goal for these late teenagers. They wanted their freedoms to make their own decisions and, if necessary, their own mistakes; to be themselves - and they valued it too highly to conform to adult community values. The young people had community values and valued community but became 'othered' by the adult expectations. They were not prepared to pay the price of their autonomy for being in a community (Bauman 2001) but still recognized it as theirs. The Youth Magistrate saw the community weakened as a result of social changes.

7 – 4

Youth Magistrate: There's no longer a community spirit. They don't listen to their grandmother. Young people used to be frightened of doing anything because the police would bang on their door. The local Bobby was a force to be reckoned with. He knew his community.

The adults appeared to want a community undisturbed by the alien values of their alien young. I argue that the young people felt a strong attachment to their community, but that they neither were, nor wanted to be stifled by the essential demands of its adults. The young people wanted to redefine it so that they were given equal respect and tolerance. Adult feelings of a sense of 'rightness' in the Eastleigh community hid the structural difference of age and which groups felt they 'belonged' echoing Massey's idea of the layered community (Massey 1994) and highlighting different members' different concerns.

Inclusion suggests an equal part in decision-making, equal power and equal respect, but the young people enjoyed less respect, less power and their part in decision-making within the community was tokenistic. They were consulted on minor issues but not involved equally in major decision-making. The self-interest and representation of the majority of Eastleigh residents asserted that the young people should be neither seen nor heard.

Sennett lauds tolerance for diversity and disorder in a community (Sennett 1970), but this approach within Eastleigh appeared unacceptable to the adults, denying the integration of their young people, in an effort to safeguard the exterior veneer of 'the town that's too good to be true' (Wheatley 1983). Sennett argues that the idea of the community as a whole where people feel bound together by sameness is a myth. This conception discards all ideas of difference, conflict or unpalatable experiences by emphasizing a 'unified community identity'(Sennett 1970: 38). Intolerance of difference heightens the communal sense of threat and disorder. Further, if a community is too orderly, it produces a stagnant society. Muncie, on the other hand, sees competing accounts of social order in society. Any construction of deviance rests on how order is conceived and views about how it is achieved and maintained. differ (Muncie 1996: 18/19).

There were various perspectives within the community; they were not homogeneous, reflected diversity and were difficult to define. The boundary between those who belong and those who do not effectively 'marks the beginning and the end of community' (Cohen 1985a: 12). My research revealed in the Eastleigh community some of the 'schism and conflict in local life' and its 'oppressive and coercive aspects' (Crow & Allan 1994: 2). This was most evident in the relationship between adults and young people. There was no 'mutual regard across boundaries of inequality' (Sennett 2003). The adults made every effort to maintain the image of the 'good' community, but the experiences of the young people showed the gulf between 'the common mask and the complex variations which it conceals' (Cohen 1986: 13). Further, those very efforts exposed the differences they were designed to hide.

7.1.1 Social Capital

Social capital theory (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; 1990) argues that individuals are born with, and accumulate throughout life, differing amounts of capital which influence their life-chances. Social capital evolves through socially structured relations between individuals in, for example, families, schools and communities which provide mechanisms of social bonding and control, shame, stigmatization and

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opportunity. They facilitate social action by establishing connections between group level processes and the lives of individuals, emphasizing how 'relationships matter' (Field 2003: 1). Social capital builds within both individuals and their communities. Individuals connect through networks that encourage shared common values and expectations building and reinforcing social beliefs, trust and norms so that the networks become a resource and inspire particular forms of behaviour (see Coleman 1988). More recent work by Putnam sees trust and reciprocity as essential to the norms arising from social networks (Putnam 2000: 19).

Field argues that trust is a product of social capital, not one of its components (Field 2003: 137), while Fukuyama sees trust as a crucial component (Fukuyama 1995). Drawing on both these perspectives, I argue that trust is both a vital component of social capital – the young people told me repeatedly that, for them, trust was created within and by the social interactions in the programmes – and also a product, creating a resource which allows actors to pursue joint goals with confidence and which is useful for the social development of the young people.

Social interactions in Eastleigh mostly involved contact with very similar people – the adults with other adults and the young people with other young people. When I asked young people in what sorts of groups they felt most comfortable, they all told me 'mixed ages' or 'anybody' so there was no deliberate avoidance of older people. However, the social interactions that took place provided scant opportunity to get to know and develop trust in people with different outlooks or agendas. Giddens (1991) argues that trust occurs most in kinship relations, communities and religious groups (Giddens 1991). Since these bonds are now less strong than they were, trust becomes more personalised and based on face-to-face encounters. Nancy said of her community 'Everybody stays indoors. Nobody knows anyone'. Yet the young people I asked how they know they can trust someone replied that they needed to know people first before they could trust them. Trust is important in all interactions but in Eastleigh the intergenerational 'getting to know' each other was wanting. Of the two types of social capital (Putnam 2000: 22), bridging capital which is met in interactions between those of different backgrounds is a more useful idea than bonding social capital which can reinforce 'exclusive identities and homogenous [sic] groups' (Uslaner & Dekker 2001: 180). Bonding capital seemed to abound in

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the adult society reinforcing the view that young people were different and a problem and leading to exclusion and subordination. It also constrained young people's actions and choices by excluding them from community resources. Other downsides to social capital include both that not everyone seeks total community involvement and that some types of social capital aim to foster negative outcomes. Bridging social capital requires more effort from both sides to enhance connectedness with those deemed 'different'. Putnam reports that well-educated people are more likely to be trusted (Putnam 1996). Overall the Eastleigh population is well-educated (of those aged 16 – 74, 77.61% had qualifications of some sort and only 22.38% had no qualifications)[14] but most of the young people in the programmes were not and this probably contributed to the suspicions with which they were viewed. The frequent interaction between different groups of people which could span the age divide, 'build bridges' and develop social trust, cohesion and a sense of belonging that would enable its members to co-operate for the benefit of all was absent. However, when communities and families invest network resources and social capital in their youth, the youth are more likely to develop cultural and human capital that improve their life chances (Hagan 1994: 93). Strong networks can also enhance self-esteem and a sense of status for young people, further integrating them into the wider community (see Kawachi et al. 1997b).

For those young people whose families and communities did not create the contexts in which their life chances were enhanced, the initiatives were vital in augmenting social capital development. The young people in my study came almost exclusively from families with diminished social capital and had, as noted in Chapter 4, left behind school networks which might have facilitated the acquisition of social capital.

There are parallels with the findings of Hagan and McCarthy who studied street youth in Canada (Hagan & McCarthy 1997). Toronto, where there was strong social support, was contrasted with Vancouver where supporting social capital was negligible, and youth capitalized on opportunities to become involved in more numerous non-violent crimes. The Eastleigh community exercised a high degree of social control leading to few social capital resources for the young people. The

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[14] http://www.hants.gov.uk/census/eastleigh/qualifications.html (29 03 04)

implications are that this deficit of social capital does not discourage young people from antisocial behaviour. Within the programmes where social capital is present, young people are encouraged in pro-social behaviour.

Like the street youth in Hagan and McCarthy's (1994) study, the Eastleigh young people in my research showed that even the diminished social capital which encouraged criminal and antisocial behaviour did not mean that they were unable to participate in networks that enabled them to develop and contribute. The young people had a reservoir of resources that remained largely unrecognised and untapped and which, because of the imposition of control by Eastleigh adults, were not used to benefit the whole community.

7.2 Social Control

The search for and importance of orderliness and control and for managing any threat to either was inherent in the Eastleigh culture. Though the young people had freedoms and choices thrust upon them they were also subject to constant control and monitoring. Emphasis on community means local responses are brought to the fore and highlights the value of a local study. Community reflects such things as values and parenting and is seen to secure social cohesion (see Chapter 8). Achieving social order and personal autonomy, however, involves communities acknowledging the needs of individuals including young people. Young people deemed different by their elders are increasingly criminalized or medicalized. For example, in Eastleigh 2003/4 figures show four over-fourteen year olds are now categorized as having 'emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD)[15]. Where every action is categorized medically, psychologically or criminally it is unsurprising that young people become resentful. The young people of Eastleigh do not fall into a conformist majority and a deviant minority. As my data show, the normal and the abnormal are difficult to classify for many reasons, from the arbitrariness of what is defined as deviant, through the chance of only some offenders being found out to the fact that offenders are not locked into careers of deviance, but can, through the programmes in which they are involved, become reintegrated into Eastleigh society. Segregating young

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[15] Hampshire County Council Special Educational Needs Service (27 10 03)

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people as 'the other' and subjecting them to strenuous surveillance and discipline manifests mistrust.

Community action can be an effective way to social regulation, the web of informal controls reflecting the dispersed nature of power in society (Foucault 1977), but to which there may be resistance. The Eastleigh young people were increasingly caught up in the fine mesh of social control. 'Social control', an elastic concept, includes all the social processes that aim to produce conformity, and includes primary socialization through informal controls such as peer pressure (see Chapter 5) to formal controls used by the state (Muncie 1999b). Ideas of deviation and conformity depend on accepted values. As Talcott Parsons put it 'There is a certain relativity in the conceptions of conformity and deviance ....it is not possible to make a judgment of deviance .... without specific reference to the system ... to which it applies' (Parsons 1951: 250-251). Foul language used by groups of young people between the ages of 9 and 17 charging through the streets at night was one of the major complaints of residents at a meeting to discuss antisocial behaviour on one estate (17 09 03) showing different adult-youth standards of acceptability.

The conception of social order in Eastleigh was much based on the social division of age. The Police Inspector (29 05 03) dwelt on the difficulty engendered by the generational divide. Social control, therefore, rested on how relations of power within the community were exercised or negotiated between its members (Burden 1996). Conflicts of interests, values, norms and agendas were forefronted in any consideration of the problem of antisocial behaviour, defined in the CDA (1998) as when a person has acted in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as himself. Blunkett, too, says antisocial behaviour 'blights people's lives, destroys families and ruins communities' (Home Office 2003, Ministerial Foreword). A meeting of the Canterbury Estate Residents' Association on 17 09 03 showed this clearly. The meeting was called to discuss antisocial behaviour on the Estate. There was an attendance of forty-five residents, the local Councillor, the Beat Officer and the Police Superintendent. No young people had been invited. The meeting began with one resident giving a resumé of antisocial behaviour he had experienced. Other members joined in with reports of such behaviour which was getting progressively

worse over a twenty year period and took place mostly at night. Noise, sputum on cars, graffiti on cars and walls, demanding money with menaces, damage to property, lighting fires, theft and entering property and gardens were all mentioned. The residents quickly moved on to hypothetical instances of 'What if I were threatened with a knife?' and what was the likelihood of murder? It was clear that there *was* unacceptable behaviour on the Estate but the young people had not been allowed to answer or discuss the problem. The residents demanded a 'strategic plan' from the Superintendent setting out how she proposed to deal with the matter and a working committee was instantly formed. The Superintendent told the meeting how she had successfully solved the problem in adjoining Tal Park, and then admitted the persistent trouble-makers had moved on to the Canterbury Estate. The adult residents wanted to feel they were 'doing something about crime'(Podolefsky 1983: 7) but it was not to be an 'inclusive' activity embracing the young. The police were going to respond to the clamour of the articulate, powerful, majority in an effort to maintain a superficial appearance of social cohesion and restore to them the quality of life they demanded.

Responsibilities within the community were not two-way. The social compliance expected of the young people and derived from informal and formal controls were not forthcoming because they had consistently been shown that they did not belong by the lack of inclusive responsibilities from the wider Eastleigh society. Ryan told me 'I think young people react to it (adult treatment of young people) sometimes and do the opposite. If someone says you're a nuisance, you go on being a nuisance'. Young people were being given mixed messages. On the one hand they were expected to conform to community values and on the other hand they were being told they were outside that community.

Stan Cohen (1985) argues 'social control has become ... a paranoid landscape in which things are done to us, without our knowing when, why or by whom, or even that they are being done'(Cohen 1985b: 6/7). These methods are aimed at producing conformity in, for example, the young people whose behaviour is regarded as 'troublesome'. The 'harassment, alarm or distress' was widely interpreted in Eastleigh to mean that which did not conform to the accepted adult norms. The trend is to monitor parts of the population not previously targeted, and only because they

are deemed 'at risk' or potentially so, thereby increasing and widening measures of social control. This gathering of information is part of the growing exercise of classification – a system that highlights and even creates ambiguities – of those who do not fit the (current) norm. Douglas (1983, 1992) highlights the way some groups are socially constructed as risks, involving moral or political judgements by those with the power to make these definitions accepted, thus helping to maintain existing social order (Douglas 1992; Douglas & Wildavsky 1983). Such expansion leads to creating yet more categories of deviance and problems and defining more people as belonging to one or another category such as firesetters, drug abusers or hyperactive.

Policies that exclude whole groups, such as young people, in the effort to enhance the lives of the majority are reflected in the 'zero tolerance' and broken windows (Wilson & Kelling 1982) discriminatory policies I mentioned earlier. Minor offending – antisocial behaviour and incivilities – becomes central – 'situational controls shape conduct, and deterrent penalties are a central resource for crime control'(Garland 2001). Following Crawford I argue that zero tolerance manifests itself not in powerfully enforcing all laws but in targeting specific groups in certain situations (Crawford 1998). Zero tolerance echoes Etzioni's (1995) communitarian approach where some behaviour is seen as 'beyond the pale'(Etzioni 1995: 24). Routinely searching the bags of young people for cans of alcohol, however, penalised those shopping for parents (Insite meeting 13 08 01). In aiming to prevent antisocial behaviour in some, all youth became targeted (and classified) simply because of their age and they therefore suffered discrimination. The police reacted more readily to accommodate the dominant values of the adult community further encouraging the scrutiny of teenagers.

The notion that policies designed to contain deviance are instrumental in amplifying it is reflected in Harcourt's findings about broken windows policing (Harcourt 2001). In all antisocial behaviour, however, different members of the community experience it differently. These policies have today become part of the net-widening and mesh thinning policies with young people often the target of police interaction. This was reported by all of the young people I met in Vicary Park, who complained of being moved on, often 'for no reason'. The line between disorderly and orderly conduct was subjective and contextual and what might in one situation be accepted as

youthful high spirits might in another be considered criminal. It also failed to be critical of the social practices and policing that had shaped and categorized those behaviours. The category 'disorderly' placed the person – the noisy youth, the congregating teenager – outside the norms of orderliness and in need of normalization, the disorder itself had become a social harm, so that control, classification and exclusion could follow. The young people of Vicary Park, for example, who were not permitted to enter local shops after 5 p.m. unless accompanied by an adult because of perceptions of risk, were trusted workers in adjoining shops. Policing in the community became peace maintenance rather than crime solving and privileged the orderly adult over the unpredictable youth. Following Harcourt's (2001) strenuous critique of 'broken windows' policing, I argue that the maintenance of order does not take account of the social construction of order (with connotations of adult) and disorder (with connotations of youth) and how this has changed and continues to change, nor does it take account of the construction of order *by* youth. This echoes the idea of 'the purified community' where the image is purified of 'all that might convey a feeling of difference'(Sennett 1970: 38). There is, too, the danger of order maintenance policing creating new community norms and shaping perceptions of risk.

7.2.1 The Family

The ideological concept of the traditional family was, in Eastleigh, often not the norm. In Eastleigh 25.5% of households were 'one person households' and 5.3% 'lone parent households with dependent children'[16]. The family is seen as the principal mode of socialization and regulation of behaviour inducing social control but the family itself is now changed and often inadequate. I asked in what types of families some of the young people lived.

7 – 5

Matt: Skimpy ones.

Alan: Shanty Town.

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[16] www.hants.gov.uk/census/eastleigh/household.html (29 03 04)

The young people were implying that their families were in some way lacking but nevertheless, 'normal'. The majority of respondents lived on their own or in non-traditional families. Several told me 'My Mum and Dad split up' and that they were living with a Mother and Stepfather. However, these were what the young people experienced and understood by 'families'. The Youth Magistrate, speaking of those young people she saw told me 'Young people's family background is relevant'. This was reinforced when Gav told me that it was alright in the Young Offender's Institution because he knew a couple of people in there anyway because they were his Uncle's sons and therefore relations.

Nancy, however, told me of the strict control exercised by her family.

7 – 6

Nancy: Whenever I do like something wrong I get punished a lot - like I get on a
curfew – I'm only allowed out in the road or I have to be in by nine.

This emphasised the gendered nature of social control and the great 'limiting forces' (Heidensohn 1996: 174) which constrain the behaviour of young women. Appropriate, conforming behaviour for young women was defined differently from that for young men, but few of the young men recognized this.

Families were not always contributing to the community safety they sought. The Police Superintendent (17 09 03) told of parents, particularly when they both worked, giving their young ones £20 just to get out of the house for the evening. This was spent on beer, cider and cannabis for consumption in the nearby woods and this led to the antisocial behaviour subsequently experienced by residents.

7.2.2 The Programmes

The Audit Commission (1996) found that the youth justice system was expensive and less than effective and suggested interventions to divert young people from offending behaviour were more useful (Audit Commission 1996). This was exemplified by Tim:

7 – 7

Tim: I got done for stealing a boat.

Int: And how did you feel about it, did you mind?

Tim: Yeah, I didn't like it.

Int: Has it made a difference to how you behave now?

Tim: Not really.

The CDA (1998) seeks to prevent youth crime by intervening early and the place of the programmes I researched fits well with this aim. The Eastleigh initiatives ensured contact and therefore interaction between adults and young people; all other actions, for example, by the police kept them apart. The programmes all used pro-social modelling (Trotter 1993) where the adults provided positive role models and the young people were given praise and support to encourage them towards pro-social behaviour. The programmes provided informal and formal activities outside normal familial/school/work settings and they delivered both implicit and explicit mechanisms of control. Re-engaging with social practices within the programmes was a step towards integration into wider Eastleigh citizenship.

Clipper recognised structural factors which predict crime (Landsdown 1998: 7) too, and the young people renovated bicycles for the use of those members who did not have them. It also aimed to be non-judgemental:

7 – 8

Dean: There's nothing like 'Oh you've done this, you've done that, so we're not going to have you here'.

Dean, a young worker at Clipper had been on the programme as a young person. There was a 'no drugs' policy at Clipper and everyone who came there had to be clean. Yet Dean told me 'sometimes we still get problems with drugs and that. Yeah, they try – they think we're stupid and that.' Another of the rules at Clipper was 'No exclusive relationships'. Soli told me 'If we was to like go out with one of the girls we'd get told off'. The organisation which was open only for the working week was attempting to regulate the lives of its member young people at other times.

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Yet the young people were, from the beginning, aware of the taboos and I felt they were proud to be part of an organisation with 'rules'.

The main function of the Detached Youth Project, Wanderbug, was identifying the needs, issues and aspirations of young people by going to areas where young people hung out, ostensibly to bring information and advocacy to hard-to-reach – not only physically, but difficult to engage (Jones & Newburn 2001) – young people (see Chapter 6). The Youth Worker claimed it had narrowed the gap in communication between the police, who, as law enforcers often failed to gain trust, and young people, with the emphasis on informality. However, all 'useful exchanges' with the young people were logged thus ensuring monitoring. Further, the police sometimes directed Wanderbug to 'hot spots'. For example, a group of about thirty young people were cycling and roller-blading in a precinct near shops. There had been some damage and the police lost patience. The Project was given six weeks to target the area intensively to see if the young people would 'change'. At the end of six weeks two young people were arrested and fast-tracked and the rest stopped being a nuisance. The youth workers used Wanderbug in which to talk things over with the young people (Youth Leader 10 07 01).

A Hampshire Constabulary notice (undated) signed by the then Inspector for the area admitted that young people resented police interrupting their leisure time. He noted that 'groups of young people varying in number from three or four up to and beyond sixty or seventy have given local communities, local authority and the police a tremendous task in how best to deal with them'. The problems encountered in a Glebeside playing field had been documented for some twenty years so those adults who were complaining and trying to distance youth activities from residential areas probably behaved similarly in *their* youth and were also the parents of those hanging out now.

The Youth Club offered least control for although there was a Youth Leader, members did not do as she asked and often verbally abused her and another Leader. Notices in the Centre banning drugs were unheeded and some young people openly used drugs and on one occasion tried to sell me some. Others were resisting the

regulation and trying to exercise their autonomy with 'half-agreements'. I asked Libby, who was not yet eighteen whether she used alcohol or drugs.

7 - 9
Libby: Not really, I've had a few drinks but not like a lot.
Int: What about drugs?
Libby: Sometimes, not a lot.

I noticed that some young people stole from the Club-run sweet kiosk. A group from another area, however, was prevented, by locked windows and doors, from entering the building. There was thus control over outsiders but insiders encountered minimal control.

The Fire-setters' Scheme operated on a one-to-one basis, the team visiting young people in their homes or in a neutral setting, delivering mostly education and trying to instil in the young people fear of what could happen if fires got out of control. Since pre-sentence reports on these young people included details of how they responded to the programme, it was in their interests to be co-operative.

The Maze Association mentors provided 'a supportive and non-judgemental role model' (Home Office 1998) to help change the young person's behaviour, especially in resisting negative peer pressure. The mentor volunteers came from within the young person's community emphasizing the local idea in problem solving, offering support, listening skills and acting as a positive role model. Alongside the advocacy and guidance roles there was also a corrective and a realignment management strand (see quote 5-17). The scheme sought to strengthen communities and reduce social exclusion, focusing on those at risk of offending. Within the scheme mentees and mentors planned goals and activities together – the young person was never totally autonomous. The young person was never allowed to make the choice to contact his/her mentor. This was not permitted and the young person was not allowed to make contact with the mentor after the contract to work together finished. Brendan explained 'I'm not allowed to get too close to them'.

7.2.3 The Local Authority

The Local Authority played a central role in shaping community processes. The involvement of Local Authorities highlighted New Labour's central belief in local empowerment and community involvement (Hughes 1996: 21) emphasizing that local problems should have local solutions. The Local Authority was noted for its lead in tackling community safety (Morgan Committee 1991) endeavouring to co-ordinate all sections of the community in its efforts to fight crime and antisocial behaviour. A 32-page document entitled 'Community Safety Partnership for the Borough of Eastleigh' set out the strategy for the reduction of crime and disorder in the Borough from 2002 to 2005. It was produced to fulfil the requirements of Section 6 of the CDA (1998) (see below). Three of the objectives are pertinent to young people particularly – to reduce violent and disorderly behaviour in public places within the Borough, to prevent young people becoming involved in crime and to address the problem of disorder issues of concern to local residents. This last objective is seen as very localized and targets 'minor problems which have an adverse effect on the quality of people's lives'. Nowhere does it suggest that the constant targeting, coercion and subordination of young people has an adverse effect on the quality of *their* lives. It is noteworthy that the paper says that the incidence of antisocial behaviour in the Borough is low so there appeared little need to prioritize it as a strategic objective.

The Council believed dialogue between young people and the Council to be good. One Area Co-ordinator told me youths get more involved than they used to, 'Youth is an integral part of society'. This 'integral part of society', however, would be well monitored. The new state of the art skateboard park and BMX track would be supervised. A new youth facility at Orange Lane – a multi-use youth hall was to have a panoptic 'central area which can be seen from the kitchen and office so the young people are supervised' (Area Co-ordinator 22 10 02).

The Area Co-ordinators invited a young person from each of the five areas to attend Council meetings with the idea that they should have a voice. However, I asked members of the Youth Forum how the topic of the skateboard park arose. Leo explained: 'It was put to us by Archie (the Area Co-ordinator). Well Archie told us

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about it and we got involved in a good way'. Thus it was evident that the skateboard park had been 'on offer' from the Council and was not the result of an independent proposal by the young people. The perceptions of young people having too much leisure time and the response of supplying skateboard and BMX parks was not, however, what all young people wanted.

7.2.4 Adults

There were different interests for youth and adult groups and those who were more assertive or more persistent, the adults, achieved action and assumed 'the right to define the way things really are' (Becker 1967: 241). It is significant here to highlight the fact that there is no social movement for young people as there are, for example, for gays and lesbians or for women. Their interests, therefore, are not represented in the same way as other people's. Police intervened as soon as or before young people's behaviour became antisocial but it was not only young people who behaved antisocially – adults, too, became drunk and disorderly, walked naked in the high street and the Police Inspector (29 05 03) confirmed that adult drug users were more of a problem than young drug users. Public support for more policing and surveillance made acceptable, for example, identity cards and more CCTV cameras to monitor those who might err (see Chapter 6). Such regulation, nevertheless, merely demonstrates mistrust and shows how little control adults really have over young people. Again these measures were directed not only at those whose behaviour was considered deviant but at all, so that these disciplinary networks (Foucault 1996) became accepted and social control invaded all parts of the community experience. Neighbourhood Watch was a visible part of the social control system in Eastleigh, though of unquantifiable value. Behaviour perceived as antisocial or young people who *might* become antisocial were recognized as an opportunity for increased surveillance and monitoring and control and in need of being 'managed' (Feeley & Simon 1992).

In order to develop into the type of adult Eastleigh society expected and required, the young people needed to be given space and time outside adult control. I argue that serious questions about the impact and validity of the 'transhumancization' of young people must be asked in the light of Furedi's argument that the fear of crime has little

relevance to crime itself (Furedi 1997). Nevertheless, the policing of young people became a response to the fear of crime and once established became a basis for criminalizing young people for no other reason. Intergenerational distrust ensued. The young people of Vicary Park showed fatalism when regularly stopped by the police. Few were overly concerned about their rights being infringed but these teenagers did not like the police nor the fact that they were targeted. While resentment at being targeted by police did exist, the teenagers were more concerned about the need to control other young people coming in from outside the area and wanted some regulation of them. This meant the young people had a contradictory attitude towards the police.

Adult concerns about the behaviour of young people appeared to entitle them to regulate that behaviour more stringently thus increasing social control. This reflects, however, the lack of resources and support adults have invested in youth and their failure to allow them autonomous space. Further, where the boundary between autonomy and control occurred was controversial (see Giddens 2000: 49). Eastleigh adults tried to maintain order by using a 'paradigm of exclusion' (Bauman 2000). They sought to impose their uniformity on young people who were unmalleable and individual. Adult behaviours and norms cast as unacceptable and abnormal the behaviours of the young people who were therefore subordinated. An order-forced exclusion resulted and they were excluded because of how they were, not for what they had done. Yet there was an adult expectation that the young people of Eastleigh could be coerced into conforming to their norms. Social order operated on the 'rules of an assumed social consensus' (Muncie 1998: 222) that had the power to 'other' and criminalize. Excluding the young people, however, confirmed the adult social order. Antisocial behaviour, in whosever view, has to be a shared community responsibility but reflects positions of power and powerlessness. The young people occupied an ambiguous position understood as antisocial or deviant and a major threat to social order. The young people in the programmes were, however, excluded from much decision-making and although they strove for rights and resources, were constantly subordinated.

Social order was signposted by families, schools, communities and employment but for those without stable families, without work and disenfranchised with school their

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positioning and belongingness was uncertain. Forcing those young people outside the spheres of Eastleigh society was counter-productive. In the community's concept of order I cannot accept that it was the adult's notion that should be prioritised and that of young people downplayed for young people are also entitled to rights and equal treatment.

At heart lies the understanding of antisocial behaviour. In *Respect and Responsibility - Taking a Stand Against Anti-Social Behaviour* (Home Office 2003) the Home Secretary argued 'every community wants young people to be able to socialise with their friends' (p 13). Eastleigh community, however, appeared to want to disperse those young people who were doing that. The document explains that antisocial behaviour represents a lack of respect for others and fails to recognize when one's individual behaviour is offensive to others. Adults and even police officers, however often showed lack of respect and caused offence to others by, for example, smoking in public places.

The targeting of public antisocial behaviour necessarily targeted young people – those most likely to be using the streets (Waiton 2001). Targeting disorder and antisocial behaviour which was not criminal – a major objective of the CDA (1998) allowed new, earlier police intervention. Much of this was directed not only against young people who had offended but against young people in general (Muncie 1999a: 147). Reactions to the fear of crime emphasized portrayal of an unfettered, out of control youth.

The community was thus identifying and managing unruly groups (Feeley & Simon 1992). This reflected New Labour's Third Way (Giddens 2000) which relates the individual to the community and contains an inherent control agenda. The Third Way espouses a belief in community, opportunity and individual responsibility. It prioritises a strong community, subordinating individual rights and becomes 'a key territory for governmental strategies' (McGhee 2003). However, not all members of a society are equal in the first place, and young people are less equal than most.

7.2.5 The Police

Over the past decade the relationship between the police and 'society' has changed. Where formerly the police, as law enforcers, were regarded as 'them' as opposed to 'us', now, with flourishing partnerships, the 'us' embraces both the police and the influential in a responsibilization strategy while 'them' refers to the marginalized. Policing in response to adult demands amounted to 'the tyranny of the majority' (Innes 1999), police strategies targeting the already marginalized young. A 'reprimand', in which the young person was required to attend the police station with his/her parents for a 'dressing down' by a senior officer served as a deterrent to many young people, especially those who were not streetwise (Police Inspector 05 09 01). In Eastleigh great care was taken with reprimands. The young person spoke with the Inspector for about forty minutes and was urged to take responsibility for what he/she had done. The Inspector told the young person how the offence would be resolved and tried to personalize the matter so that the young person reflected on how he/she would feel if a victim of that offence. Emphasis was laid on the young person's disassociating with former friends and making a fresh start. The Inspector told me 80% of those seen were from single parent homes (see section 2.1.). When parents were absent from home, or had, themselves, offended, the impact of police contact was much reduced.

Young people who happened to be with friends who were behaving antisocially often became targeted (see Chapter 8).

7 – 10

Saul: Whilst most teenagers are fairly responsible, the few who aren't responsible and who do vandalise things – the people who are responsible end up taking the blame and then everyone keeps on complaining about teenagers because of a couple of people.

Pryce: Loads of my mates, they're like smoking and puffing like cannabis and that and I got filmed by the police with them so I got done (received a warning) for that.

Libby: One time loads of people had been drinking and then the police come and I didn't do nothing and he said 'fair enough' and then he took my name down.

A police spokesman, talking of antisocial behaviour in two areas of Eastleigh said 'non-uniformed officers may be available to discreetly visit residents to obtain information and evidence, which will be given in confidence' (Hampshire Chronicle 11 07 03). Such tactics take no account of the power differentials within the community, nor of 'feuds' which may exist in a neighbourhood, and further widen the control net. The police needed to portray themselves as a controlling force to the young people. Pryce told me when the police made a big group of young people break up, they were told to walk in twos. Not only was this controlling but it was also infantilizing the young people.

The police – and in Eastleigh there were as many female senior officers as male - did not want to antagonise the young people but acted on behalf of the majority. Eastleigh social control, however, was focused not only on overt action by the police but took place through a range of practices. The young people were alert to a glance from the police or, according to the adults, just driving past from time to time (Hampshire Chronicle 20 09 02). However, when young people were targeted they viewed it as rejection from the wider community.

I asked the young people what they would tell the police about how young people should be treated.

7 – 1

David: I just say we should be treated with respect and not asked what you're doing.

Roger: Just don't give young people a hard time all the time. They always give young people a hard time.

Those young people were seeking no more than would be expected by any other member of the community.

7.3 The Wider Picture

Many provisions of the CDA (1998) aimed to prevent offending by children and young people, target not only young people who have offended but embrace incivilities and young people in general justifying almost all monitoring and surveillance of young people (Home Office 1997). It does aim to alter offending behaviour rather than just punishing it and instil in people a sense of responsibility. It tries to show disaffected young people that their community can offer support. In turn, the reduction of crime and antisocial behaviour must be monitored by local government.

The Act's prime aim is to prevent within communities crime and disorder for which young people are seen as mainly responsible by implementing early and effective intervention. A key requirement of the Act is the local audit which has to take cognisance of the views of those who live and work in the Borough. Working in Partnerships is also highlighted. The Act was widely condemned for its paternal slant and stigmatization and for excluding already marginalized groups such as young people (Muncie 1999a;Walsh 1999), but it does require young people to take responsibility for their actions and to 'attach themselves to an emotional community' (Vaughan 2000: 347). Although the young people of Eastleigh could, and mostly did, take responsibility for their actions, for some it was not possible for them to take responsibility for all aspects of their lives.

Attempts were made first to coerce into conforming to adult society by socialization or intervention a young person deemed not to conform but ultimately there was a legal requirement to do so. The CDA (1998) forefronted New Labour's 'tough love' and managerial control. The ASBA (2003) continues the intervention-to-regulate process allowing the prioritising of fearful adults over, in all likelihood, law-abiding young people.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault saw subjectivity as the disciplined result of panopticized surveillance (Foucault 1977). Foucault has been criticised for prioritising the individual but there is also concern about the group. Thus a group of young people is seen as an homogeneous group and the 'good' are not separated

from the 'bad'. He came to see subjectivity as work on the self, and this notion of governmentality saw power acting through an active, willing and knowing subject. As Cruickshank (1994) points out, 'the operations of power that promote subjectivity are neither benign nor neutral' (p. 30). Such 'technologies of citizenship' aim to make most use of the subjectiveness of those seen to lack power, such as young people, and work through, rather than against subjectivity (Cruickshank 1994). Successful power relations work on the power/resistance paradigm. Governmentality, too, emphasizes power as preventative, aspiring to regulate 'through anticipatory guiding of people's behaviour such that certain forms of conduct are avoided'(Valier 2001: 439).

Regulation was achieved by internalized systems of self-imposed action – getting into the mind - such as the young people choosing to leave areas they knew would be policed strenuously (Rose 1989). Kim and Tess told me they chose sometimes not to hang outside Buy-time for this reason. Shelley, a 'young' fourteen year-old said she went round to friends' houses rather than going to the park because 'we want to keep out of trouble', by which she meant being caught up in 'trouble' caused by other people. Although young people were thus engaged in their own self-management they were not trusted and surveillance sometimes merely spatially displaced the unaccepted behaviour.

7.4 Autonomy

The UNCRC, to which the UK adheres, asserts that children – those up to eighteen – should have some autonomy (Matthews & Limb 1999). It emphasizes the ability of young people to be virtually independent and lays out clearly children's rights to freedom of expression and association. Young people are not, however, expected to have complete autonomy. Article 12 highlights children's rights 'to be consulted, heard, listened to and taken seriously, in accordance with their age and maturity'. Pryce explained how his maturity had changed what he was allowed to do.

7 – 12

Pryce: I can do whatever I like now.

Int: What were you limited to a couple of years ago?

Pryce: I had to be in at certain times, wasn't allowed to hang around certain places.

He felt that young women got the same freedoms as young men. Pryce was speaking of loosening control by his family, but control by the community, the programmes, the police and the law were still in place. Young people were clearly listened to within the initiatives – young people *were* consulted, heard, listened to and taken seriously and the young people responded to and 'grew' within these milieux. This was not usually the case in the broader Eastleigh setting. For example, the Council prided itself with consulting young people, but although they spoke together and, for example, groups of young people were allowed to choose kit for the leisure parks, major decisions such as the siting of the facilities were made by the Council. Young people, however, did have the capability to make worthwhile contributions to even major decisions but were denied the opportunity because of the narrow, formalised vision of the adults. Young people want to be involved in democratic decision-making, but if they are not allowed to be, they deliberately aim not to be.

Dan showed how being a member of the Youth Council was important.

7 - 13

Int: Do people always listen to what you say?

Dan: Not necessarily, 'cos if you tell people you're on the Youth Council they'll listen to you. Then they will listen to you, 'cos I was at the bus stop and these two old ladies were slagging about Thompsons (a supermarket seeking planning permission) and I said something and they looked at me thinking I was a teenage yob and I said I tried to do something against it and they started listening to me.

When I asked Leah if young people had any say in local decisions about what happens for young people in the area, she said 'Not really'. Nancy insightfully suggested that denying young people autonomy 'makes them like lepers'.

Within the programmes, the young people experienced, probably for the first time, adults who did listen to them and take them seriously. My field notebook records that I believed my respondents not only liked the time spent when *I* listened to them

but felt I was also taking them and their views seriously. Homer told me members of the Youth Fora were listened to 'for young people's things'.

Tina and Will, speaking of the youth workers in Wanderbug told me:

7 – 14

Tina: Well most adults don't listen to us, but these do. They try to back us up and stuff.

Will: Listen to our points.

Dean, too, told me Clipper had just started a young persons' forum so that they could be listened to and start to plan their own programmes. The Young people at Clipper took individual responsibility for planning their own 'follow on' programmes to increase their knowledge and abilities. Autonomy was important to the young people but in order to exercise autonomy there had to be a choice which they could make. They were seldom given any choice nor acceptable options in their place in and treatment by Eastleigh society (see Raz 1986).

The UNCRC asserts that 'in all actions concerning children ... the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration' (Article 3.1). There was, however, considerable difference between what young people considered to be their own best interests and what adults saw as the best interests of the young people. Inevitably there were elements of care *and* control. For example Kim saw her best interests as being left to congregate and socialize 'down Bankside Way'.

7 – 16

Kim: You've got a piece of field and there's like a built oak thing in the bushes and there's like a log that we all sit on and we just talk and that. Just a place where we meet.

The police, however, saw the young people's best interests being served at the Youth Club and constantly directed them to it. The power imbalance between the adults and young people meant that the young people were 'excluded and marginalised

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from the decisions through which and the arenas in which, the quality of their life is determined' (Haydon & Scraton 2000: 418).

Care and control manifested themselves in the exercise of power and demonstrated structured inequalities within Eastleigh. The 'caretaker thesis' (Archard 1993: 52) holds that young people should not be allowed to make autonomous decisions and suggests that adults may decide paternalistically for young people as young people would choose if they were adults. A lowering of the voting age would open the way to more fundamental democratic decision-making by young people and enable them to contribute to processes of change but that would be only a beginning. In Eastleigh it appeared the adult view was that young people should conform to their (the adult) values. The caretaker thesis, however, treats young people as a category rather than as individuals, who, when they fail to show 'the requisite rational autonomy' (p 53) become subject to paternalism. Similar paternalism was not directed at adults who acted irrationally or who did not conform. The young people's rights to self determination and autonomy were thus being undermined by adults targeting them purely on an age basis.

The young people were making decisions about the persons they wanted to be (Chapter 5), the things they wanted to do and the places in which they wanted to do them (Chapter 6) and the times they wanted them to happen (Chapter 4). The decisions were being made reflexively and often brought about self-change. I cannot agree with Archard, who maintains that 'the 'caretaker thesis' rules out oppressive stultifying constricting upbringings' (p53). It was clear that Eastleigh young people were feeling oppressed and constrained and lacking in autonomy. There was, however, no doubt that the young people did have values – for example within friendship or neighbourhood – they were just different from those of most of the adult residents and the young people were not prepared to align themselves with those adults.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter I examined the concept of community and how, with bridging social capital wanting, the established Eastleigh community in particular endeavoured to

exert conforming control over its young people. I showed how understandings of social capital opened up opportunities to focus on how young people could contribute to their communities. I explored the way social control manifested itself. I looked at the lessening control of the changing family in Eastleigh and how the young people viewed their positioning both within their families and in the Programmes in which they were taking part. I explored the attitude of the Local Authority towards 'our young people' showing that actions and words did not always equate. I then examined the way adults sought to control the young people and coerce them into becoming 'like them' and emphasized that age-based differences were difficult to 'transmentalize'. The chapter moved on to highlight the different police responses to both the young people and the more vocal adults. I showed how responsibilization was not working. Finally I examined the perceptions and strivings of young people to lead autonomous lives and the intergenerational chasm this revealed. I alluded to the autonomy the young people sought to achieve in their decisions about their identities, their use of space and their maturation.

In the concluding chapter I will develop a range of arguments around these issues, both in relation to the young people's perceptions of the programmes in which they were involved and in their relevance to the locale of Eastleigh and beyond.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

Over the past few decades the search for 'what works' in connection with young people and crime and antisocial behaviour has played an important role in public debate and policy formation. The CDA (1998) introduced a raft of measures aimed at increasing individual responsibility. Perceived and possible antisocial behaviour has led to widening the net and the latest relevant legislation, New Labour's ASBA (2003) means young people are treated even more severely, not allowed to meet with friends, their safety jeopardised by being separated from their peers who 'look out' for each other, as well as reinforcing negative perceptions of troublesome youth. The new Act gives police powers to disperse or remove persons under sixteen to their place of residence if they behave in a manner likely to result in the public's being alarmed or distressed. Similarly, a curfew clause gives police powers to remove under-sixteens from public places between 21.00 and 06.00 unless under the effective control of a parent or a responsible person aged eighteen or over. Such measures penalise young people for doing 'just what kids do' (Saul) – being in groups of two or more or being noisy. Most importantly, there has been a lack of input from young people, who are not only denied the vote but whose voices are not listened to over issues as important as this and whose lives may be most affected by the legislation. While recent emphasis has been on the effects of crime and antisocial behaviour on quality of life, predictive factors and quantifying crime and antisocial behaviour in relation to young people, there has been scant consideration of the perceptions of young people.

In my introduction I highlighted the award to Eastleigh in 2000 of 'Beacon' status for its excellence in community safety. I set out my intention to explore, through the voices of those growing up in the Borough, their perceptions of the part played by the programmes in which they were involved within the wider context of their lives. I now draw together the themes of the previous chapters of this thesis and reflect on how the research experience has changed the way I viewed as untroubled the situation of the young people and discovered some of the cracks in the veneer of the

representation of Eastleigh as 'the town that's too good to be true'. In this thesis I have argued that the young people of Eastleigh and the adults have different agendas, fail to communicate adequately, seem to be looking past each other and lack the 'invisible glue' (Kawachi et al. 1997a) of inclusive community cohesion.

This chapter begins, therefore, with a reflection on the problem faced by the young people of Eastleigh, who told me repeatedly 'It's not easy being a teenager', and the ways in which they were rendered invisible. I will look at how the categorization and classification of the young people led to their problematization and the effects of developing legislation on their position. I will highlight issues of trust, respect, recognition and responsibilization. I consider next the practical implications of the results of this study, particularly with regard to the programmes which played a major part both practically, giving young people new skills and self confidence, and emotionally, in giving them an enhanced sense of belonging. I argue that within the programmes the young people found a haven, respect, connectedness, social capital, and, for most, a chance to change direction. The focus then moves on to issues of media representations and their effects on young and older people. The chapter then argues for translating the relevance of the local and looking wider. It suggests how this work may inform a future research agenda, and highlights the implications it may have for policies affecting young people. Maturing young people may need a skateboard park one year and be ardent 'clubbers' the next: they may need the haven of a youth programme one year but be ready to move on the next. There is much scope for change, and because young people outgrow needs faster than do adults, a sense of urgency is called for.

By delving beneath the surface of the image of Eastleigh I was able to develop new understandings of the lives of the young people. Since young people have little impact nationally or locally on policy decisions which affect their lives, empirical research such as this helps to enhance understandings of their experiences, the local nature of which is a product of its unique past and present. Youth policy, to be successful, has to be based on what young people's lives are really like. There is a constant and renewed anxiety over antisocial behaviour and incivilities as a policy issue. Such fear of crime appears to be excessive in relation to the low levels of mostly minor crime and antisocial behaviour in Eastleigh (see Appendix 8), but it is

much driven by national and local media. This chapter therefore reflects on the key issues which have emerged from the previous chapters before developing a number of arguments around the way these relate to wider issues.

8.1 The Problem

The research shows clearly that conceptualizing all young people as outside adult norms of acceptability and responsibility and therefore as problematic is flawed. The problematization of Eastleigh youth has been informed by the dominant discourse across the adult community, the police and the Local Authority, of the negativities of control, prevention, segregation and fear of both youth crime and antisocial behaviour associated with it, rather than a positive inclusive agenda. Young people do not have a choice about being young people and constructed negatively because of the inherent power relations. As I argued in Chapter 6 the use of public space was contested but young people saw it as theirs to enjoy as much as other people's. Boundaries, both physical and social were sometimes self-imposed but usually accepted by the young people. However, such acceptance did not imply endorsement of the position. As Sibley reminds us 'It is the fact that exclusion takes place routinely without most people noticing, which is a particularly important aspect of the problem' (Sibley 1995: xiv). It was this that contributed to and constituted 'othering' and segregation. Young people 'hanging out' were classified as a problem: they were 'doing nothing'. Minor antisocial behaviour like dropping litter was seen as leading to escalating criminality. Young people 'hanging out' were *all* seen as potential trouble-makers, even before efforts at communicating might have been tried. Judgements had already been made. The dangers of labelling *all* members of an age group using a stereotype that reflects the minority were not understood, or not acted upon, by the older residents. 'What works' had been articulated by Eastleigh adults essentially from an adult perspective. Much has been written about 'risk factors' such as low income and poor housing, school disorganisation or a disadvantaged neighbourhood (see, for example Beinart et al. 2002) which increase the likelihood of a young person's offending but these were not major problems in Eastleigh. Instead, one of the biggest risk factors with which young people had to contend was adult attitudes, which, like social risk factors provides a potential target for inclusive policies. Eastleigh young people were

categorized as irresponsible, antisocial and troublesome, 'othered' and not understood by the adult community and not recognized for 'their potential for citizenship' (Muncie 1999a: 172). The comprehensive inclusion of young people within the Eastleigh community has not yet been recognized as part of the solution to the division of 'them' and 'us'.

The young people of Eastleigh figured prominently in the concerns of the adult population but it was seldom the seriousness of their misdemeanours, rather their noticeable frequenting, often in large numbers, of public spaces. Large groups of young people can be disconcerting to older residents, and when they are moved on or dispersed, this contributes to the perception that such groups represent a threat, adding to the fear of crime. Patrols by Wanderbug may heighten fears and present young people as non-members of the community. The young people, however, were affected by their ostracism and responded to it. When the problems presented by the young people were viewed in terms of disaffection and marginalization the avenue of re-evaluating young people by reconceptualization and readjusting adult attitudes became clear to me, as a researcher, so that Eastleigh young people could become acknowledged for their worth and their voiced perspectives valued. Further, the function of the programmes can be seen not as removing young people from sight but as offering positive steps towards reducing social harm and increasing individual potential (Muncie et al. 1995).

I argued earlier that the programmes exerted a tight, though not explicit, control over the young people's daily lives. This was in addition to other monitoring and regulation from parents, institutions and the law to which they were subject. Monitoring and surveillance prevailed in the wider sphere of public space, often regarded by young people as 'their own' but being made to feel, even there, unwelcome and lacking in autonomy. The strategies the young people used to invest space with their meanings and lay (contested) claim to it (see Chapter 6) provide evidence to support the argument that they were exercising *their* choice and making *their* statement. Young people lack resources and this limits many of the choices they might otherwise make. Few in my study had full time employment and only two of the older participants acquired their own (Council) flats during the course of the study.

By exploring the wider social context which influenced the young people's lives, this research has demonstrated the complexity of the positioning of young people. The young people were effectively non-people, no longer cherished as children and not yet accepted as adults – their liminal status as youth generating suspicion and fear. Often because they were in large groups, but also because their behaviour was alien, different from the accepted norms of the more powerful adults, the young people were classified as 'other' and a threat. Adults perceived this threat as remediable by relocating the young people out of sight, for example, by moving them on or siting facilities as far away as possible from other residents.

Such action emphasized the ambivalence of the treatment of young people and the way they were subjected to contradictory demands. They were expected to conform to the adult-defined standards of their communities, yet they were being shown that they did not belong, were not wanted and were not recognized. They were subject to the controlling adults and subject to their own identities as young people and subjugated by both forms of power (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982). They had learned to accept that inequality. The young people felt they would be equal citizens when they were older but understood that as young people their citizenship was 'on hold' and in no way equal.

Enhancing citizenship (see Chapter 4) is therefore called for. Following the Secretary of State for Education and Employment's decision in the light of The Crick Report (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998), citizenship lessons in secondary schools were introduced from 2002. Most of my participants had left school before the introduction of these classes but I suggest that more impact on young people is likely on a one-to-one basis rather than in a class situation. Participation in the community increases social involvement, but when, for example, the Canterbury Estate Community Association held a meeting about antisocial behaviour alleged to have been caused by young people and failed to invite them to discuss the problem together, there can be neither joint solution nor improvement in understanding. Trust is an essential part in community life. The Eastleigh young people experienced a sense of alienation which precluded trusting relationships and the enhancement of connectedness (Chapter 4) and belongingness (Chapter 5). The importance of trust

was emphasized throughout the young people's narratives. Few had positive feelings about their treatment and positioning within Eastleigh society. Building such trust calls for a locally focused response.

The young people's important (in)activity of 'hanging out' was unacceptable, out of place (Douglas 1966) and when in large groups, seen as a threat. Concepts of control, the use of space in which the young people's identities developed as they matured, and citizenship were inextricably linked and led to categorizing the young people's forms of behaviour and their classification and this was much driven by local attitudes and norms. There was also a distinct lack of trust between adults and young people.

8.1.1 Trust

Adult mistrust arose in many ways – from the perceived (and actual) threatening behaviour of young people, such as the rocking of my car (Chapter 3), their noisiness and their talk of violence. I was, however, unprepared for fifteen year-old Brendan's response when I asked him 'How do you know you can trust someone?' and he told me 'I don't know, I've never been trusted, so I don't know.'

There are parallels to be drawn between the way Eastleigh's adults treated the young people and the 'civil inattention' Goffman describes shown as a mutual 'dimming of the lights' (Goffman 1963: 84). A lack of trust between individuals leads to avoiding their gaze. Giddens (1990) sees trust as confidence in the reliability of a person, regarding a given set of outcomes, where that confidence expresses faith in the probity or love of another, and this notion is important in creating ontological security (Giddens 1990: 34). It 'facilitates the management of daily uncertainty; its absence exacerbates it' (Walklate 2003a: 219). Lack of trust led to suspicion on both sides. The different age cohorts, the result of an age-segregated society, were leading separate lives and in this context negatively stereotyping others was almost routine.

There was thus mutual misunderstanding often exacerbated by lack of communication between adults and young people, a fact highlighted by the young

people (see quote 6-27). Although the young people had contact with, for example, adult family members or school teachers, outside these situations, where young people deferred as subordinates, their positioning as equals with adults was very limited. The young people said, too, that in order to trust adults, they needed to get to know them first. Opportunities to get to know each other were minimal. The age-space-time relationship was divisive. In the day-time few adults used schools and colleges or the programme centres in which most young people spent a great deal of time. Young people using public space in their leisure time were further segregated by being made to feel unwelcome and being asked to move on, even though they felt they had an equal right to be there and they had few alternatives. The Councillor who said young people's facilities should be distant as he believed they wanted to be as far from 'us' - the older residents – as 'we' want to be from them, illustrated the Council's view when it sited youth facilities, for example, behind the industrial estate.

The adult-inspired distancing both spatially and generationally made difficult any meaningful dialogue and enhanced understanding and slid easily into the stereotyping of young people as troublesome. Young people lacked the connectedness and belongingness (see Chapter 5) which would have relocated their position 'within' Eastleigh society rather than 'without'. The classification and stigmatization of all Eastleigh young people completed the cycle.

However, although the relatively powerless young people were 'othered', ignored, coerced and marginalized in order to maintain the image of propriety in Eastleigh, the young people did not accept it tacitly and offered resistance subtly and overtly. Although these findings are not necessarily inconsistent with Foucauldian thinking (Foucault 1988) on power and resistance, they do suggest behaviour based more on 'tactics'(de Certeau 1984). For example, where the institutional gaze dominated public space, the young people moved on to places of their own choosing conforming to norms 'only to evade them' (de Certeau 1984: preface xiv). De Certeau calls these 'tactics' – those 'othered' seizing opportunities by spontaneously engineering events. A 'tactical' response 'must play on and within a terrain imposed upon it' (36-37). Where Foucault sees the all-embracing disciplinary mechanism producing compliant subjects, de Certeau does not see 'a seamless disciplinary

web'(Ahearne 1995) but finds gaps in Foucault's view, perceiving social control as less than total. Tactics use the order of things to promote their own purposes and are used, according to Ahearne, to affect a 'field controlled by a stronger force'(Ahearne 1995: 162) – a notion which allowed the young people to establish a degree of autonomy and challenge pre-given meanings (see Ruddick 1998). The young people were often treated like second class citizens and subject to a normalization process. When they felt unwanted the young people went elsewhere. In public spaces this was evident in their going to areas of lower surveillance but points of conflict were not static, ranging from outside shops to the local nature reserve to recs. and the precinct.

Where adults desire more segregation from young people they may relocate to an area with most of the population in the older age group. However, Eastleigh is essentially mixed and there is an age-based spatial and temporal self-segregation. Different interests and agendas separate youth from older people. Eastleigh adults do not want a young person problem, however or by whom that problem is caused. However, greater efforts are needed. It is not enough to tolerate: adults have to make young people feel wanted and welcome and equal in order to overcome the tensions between the adults' wish for comfort and young people being able to experiment and be different. Passive lack of prejudice is insufficient to demonstrate inclusion. Creating a more trusting and caring, tolerant community would ease some of the barriers to integration and this can come only by communicating with each other. New structures and policies are needed locally and nationally which, regardless of age, include rather than exclude and enable rather than disable and value people for who they are, not for at which point in the life cycle they happen to be. Trust between those of the adult community – thick trust (Williams 1988) – was evident in the meetings I attended but thin trust in the 'othered' young people and trust in the adults, police, and Local Authority by the young people was not there. Each group was deeply suspicious of the other. The young people found it difficult to embrace thick trust – confidence in the older residents – because of their unsureness about the way they would be treated at any time; there was never certainty. Policing targets and techniques are crucial factors in the frictions and tensions between young people and the police.

8.1.2 Respect, Recognition and Responsibilization

To be treated without respect was upsetting to the young people and divisive because it increased their invisibility, failing to recognize them as people 'whose presence matters' (Sennett 2003: preface) and depriving them of acceptance and esteem by wider Eastleigh society. Often young people did not feel respected themselves - about half of them told me that adults treated them with respect if they treated the adults with respect, but the others felt the adults did not treat them with respect. Mutual disrespect and non-recognition were thus blocking 'social trust and harmony' (Young 2001) and reinforcing boundaries. Giving young people a voice is not in itself sufficient. There needs to be a move beyond the 'culture of disrespect' (Roche 1999a) and a re-thinking by adults of how they perceive young people.

Except within the programmes, the young people had few opportunities to connect with older members of society who would listen to them and offer understanding and 'recognition' which 'depends on the feeling that the other can be relied upon to be independent, to reflect back a reality which is not compromised by dependence or avoidance'(Hollway & Jefferson 2000: 99). This means accepting the young people as subjects and thus promoting belief in themselves and their own ability to contribute to wider Eastleigh society. The CDA (1998) calls for young people to act more responsibly but research has shown that young people *given* more responsibility rise to the occasion and do act more responsibly (Solberg 1990). The call to young people to be more responsible must also be recognized by older people who need to question whether *they* are being responsible by giving respect and creating opportunities for young people. As I have shown throughout this thesis, young people were commonly constructed as 'problems' and a responsibility for the adults to monitor and control.

Responsibilization involves making an individual or a group responsible. The state is now seeking responsibilization; becoming enabling rather than bearing sole responsibility for order reflecting 'a desire to exercise more control over the process

from Whitehall, whilst passing the active responsibility for crime control onto local organisations'(Fionda 1999: 37). The 'responsibilization strategy' sees the causes of crime and antisocial behaviour and also their control as inherent in communities and the attitudes and behaviour of individuals as consumers. Communities and multi-agencies are seen as 'dovetailing neatly with notions of individual citizen responsibility and a coercive communitarianism' (Hughes 1998: 128). Instead of direct policing 'since some of the factors affecting crime lie outside the control or direct influence of the police' (Home Office Crime Prevention Circular 1984), organisations, the market or other actors are required to spread the responsibility wider. Co-operative inter-agency bodies formed from both public and private sectors are designed to effect local control and put pressure on those who have offended to be responsible. The most important processes are seen as being 'located within the institutions of civil society' (Garland 2001: 126).

I argue that young people, too, are a part of civil society but there are no young people in the partnerships or multi-agencies so that their voice is still unheard. The young people had, too, limited responsibilization – they were not trusted and they were not invited to the public meeting that concerned them (17 09 03), but they were still traditionally policed. The discourse is of responsibilization but it does not work; there is merely rhetoric about authorities giving young people opportunities to show their responsibility. The initiatives have a role to play in responsibilization, but in, for example, the Firesetters' programme young people are there only *after* having offended.

8.2 Practical Implications

In Chapter 2 I outlined various changes since the CDA (1998) and the Labour Government's new ideas over the past few years, for example, instant fines for 'yobbish' behaviour, breaking up large groups, spot-searching for alcohol and truancy crackdowns. The principle aim of the Youth Justice System is to prevent offending by children and young people and the prevailing practices targeting certain risk factors widen the scope of legislative initiatives beyond criminal actions to those that are 'disorderly'. Many writers have offered consistent critiques of the evolving legislation, particularly the CDA (1998) (Goldson 2000; Haines & Drakeford 1998;

Muncie 2002; Pitts 2001; Rutherford 2000). New orders and powers in the Act, such as Antisocial Behaviour Orders, (ASBOs), may not need the commission of a crime – they are civil orders on anyone over ten whose behaviour may be thought *likely* to cause alarm, distress or harassment and there is evidence that ASBOs are used mainly on rowdy youth (Muncie 2002). Almost any preventative intervention can be defended, drawing more young people into the Justice System and targeting not just those identified as offending, but 'selected categories of troublesome persons' (Rutherford 2000: 34) and their parents within the net-widening and mesh-thinning (Cohen 1996) regime. Though New Labour is committed to prevention by early intervention, it promotes inclusion only while retaining exclusion for come categories. Despite custody's damaging effects (Muncie 2000: 27) many young people are still sent to Young Offenders' Institutions which may be harmful or ineffectual. Two of my participants said such an experience had made no difference to their attitudes about behaviour. Intervention which calls on 'correctional, punitive and deterring policies for its legitimacy' (Goldson 2000: 52) may violate rights.

Pitts highlights the irony of the 1998 Act's provision for community safety, which seeks to civilianise crime control while the youth justice strand strives to criminalise incivility (Pitts 2001: 53). Though the UNCRC states that in all legal actions involving those under 18 the 'best interests' of the child should be paramount, the 1998 Act fails to direct courts or YOTs that child welfare should be the primary consideration. The ASBO combines Wilson and Kelling's ideas that neglecting incivilities leads to more serious crime (Wilson & Kelling 1982) with New Labour's ideas that misbehaviour of young people is the basis of the crime problem. Further, such pre-emptive strategies become absorbed and added to the existing youth justice discourse. To encourage greater use of ASBOs, the civil order was amended by the Police Reform Act, 2002. A further amendment was made by the ASBA (2003) and its scope is now wide – applicable to a person over ten if a court is satisfied on the balance of probabilities that the person has caused alarm, harassment or distress or *might* have done so.

ASBOs form part of the expanding legal framework to address antisocial behaviour. They work to protect communities and stop unacceptable behaviour and are part of an incremental process. They have helped redirect lives by drawing boundaries

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(Pema & Heels 2004). ASBOs are not locality-specific, have a wide application and can last for a minimum of 2 years or indefinitely. However, ASBOs may be seen as fundamentally wrong, since criminal sanctions may result from behaviour which itself is non-criminal e.g. being in breach of an exclusion zone. The ASBO has also attracted criticism for its all-embracing and subjective stance and for its stigmatising and exclusionary effects (Ashworth 1998).

Antisocial behaviour remains high on the political agenda and New Labour has pursued its rhetoric of rights and responsibilities. The ASBA (2003) embraces an extension of earlier legislation's existing powers with measures, for example, to extend the scope of the ASBO regime, to respond to noise and graffiti, introduce new powers to disperse groups of children and remove unaccompanied under 16s to their place of residence at night and to introduce parenting contracts and extend parenting orders. The curfew clause gives police powers in a designated area to return from public places to their place of residence under-sixteens between 21.00 and 06.00 unless under the effective control of a parent or responsible person aged eighteen or over and not let them back for 24 hours. This may prevent young people living outside the area from attending school or work, further jeopardising their life-chances.

Parenting orders or contracts can be made where a child has acted or is *likely* to act criminally or antisocially so can be implemented when behaviour is not criminal or where it is merely thought the child is likely to engage in criminal behaviour, considerably widening the scope.

Though the police already had powers to arrest and move on groups of people whose behaviour was criminal or serious disorder was threatened, the powers of the ASBA (2003) enable police to disperse groups that pose a relatively minor disturbance risk. Civil liberties groups raised concerns that the legislation would reinforce negative perceptions of young people as troublemakers and jeopardise their life-chances. Use of the dispersal powers could also result in breaches of the Human Rights Act (1998) by potential intrusion on private life. Further, an area may be designated where 'any members of the public have been intimidated, harassed, alarmed or distressed as a result of the presence or behaviour of groups of two or more persons in public places

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and the anti-social behaviour is a significant and persistent problem'. The presence or behaviour of groups of people trigger the powers – it is not necessary for the group behaviour to cause alarm but simply their *presence*, so powers based on stereotypes could be used. The presence or behaviour of a group of persons is to be read as including a reference to the presence of behaviour of any one or more of the persons in the group (s30 (7)). Thus the presence of an 'alarming' individual within the group could prevent the gathering of other young people whose conduct is impeccable (Carr et al. 2004). Section 30's balance between the community's desire to be free from alarm and the rights of young people to associate with each other, leans strongly away from young people's freedom of association (UNCRC Article 14).

Many such crime prevention provisions, therefore, may confer rights on victims or communities, but do not confer or recognise the rights of young people. On the one hand young people are expected to be more responsible but on the other they know they will be monitored. It is useful here to relate some of the findings to this wider policy. Firstly, it raises questions about some of the assumptions upon which the government's crime and disorder policy is based. Such policy tends to assume a rational choice, often linked to social factors. The Eastleigh study, however, where social factors are of less significance, indicates the rational choice may not be of deviant behaviour, but of different norms – the young people had different views of conformity and order. The young people's narratives suggested they were unwilling to have the standards of others imposed upon them. Getting tough on crime may not be as effective as looking at the fundamental way young people are treated generally and building trust. Adults appeared not to understand this as a problem. Such an explanation does not call for challenging the stereotype of young people as a problem, nor for overcoming, for example, prejudice.

The research also raised questions about the composition of local Partnerships – in Eastleigh there are representatives of the Health Authority, Local Authority, YOTs and the police – but no young people. There was thus a chasm between young people and adults which led to a lack of joint decisions about matters which concerned *all* Eastleigh society. Young people were not consulted as equals. They were not equally resourced and this increased the gap and the sense of difference.

Young people needed space, resources and acceptance. To ease this 'othering', the Eastleigh community needed to show its willingness to allow boundaries to shift, to allow teenagers full participation in order to maximise the potential of its young people. Similar concerns confronted the young people and the adults; each lacked understanding of and was suspicious of the other.

Ways of engaging with each other need to be found so that the young people are treated as a valuable asset and their ideas and contributions to debate utilised instead of regarding them as a threat to social order. It is in this context that the part played by the programmes can be seen to have the potential to span the gap between young people who have offended or engaged in antisocial behaviour and the wider (adult) society.

8.2.1 The Programmes

Focusing on young people in the fourteen to eighteen+ age group I explored not only those regarded as most at risk of future offending (Beinart et al. 2002) but also those negotiating a period of transition during which most will 'grow out of' deviant or anti-social behaviour (Farrington 1994). The programmes reflected less of the language of rehabilitation or correction and more of responsibility – a feature sought by the young people themselves. The young people saw the programmes in which they were involved in a positive light providing them with opportunities which gave them direction and a chance to 'fit in' so that they developed a sense of fulfilment within an inclusive society. The supportive environments gave young people the security and self confidence to meet new experiences with growing assurance and positivity. Although peers had been and still were of major importance to the young people, both Clipper and The Maze Association provided the opportunity and the impetus to make new pro-social friends and, in many cases, to cease contact with some former friends. Despite spending a great deal of time with their peers, however, even older teenagers still highlighted the great importance of significant others, especially their mothers with whom they may not have lived for some time. The Youth Club, as an 'extension of the street' (Chapter 6) was different in providing a meeting place for existing friends.

The programmes provided social support and social capital (Chapter 7). Social support was derived from the quality of the contact with the social networks within the organisations. For example, Clipper workers provided references for its members to enable them to obtain work and 'move on' from the programme. It also included friendship, helping to integrate the young people into the community, giving them information, such as of sexual health and drug awareness and strengthening self-esteem. Parallels can be drawn between the resulting well-being and integration of the young people and the healthful benefits shown to derive from social support by research in the field of health (Cooper et al. 1999). Clipper, The Maze Association and the Youth Club all helped their members strengthen the values and meanings of community membership and formed a source of social capital (Coleman 1988; Field 2003; Putnam 2000). Further, such provision helped shed a different light on the young people's search for autonomy interpreted by many adults as indiscipline. Insights into how young people perceived the initiatives designed to keep them from antisocial behaviour and crime and reintegrate them into the community will be of value to both policy makers and practitioners in the statutory and voluntary sectors. Local Authorities attempting to promote young people's participation and youth-friendly policies will also be able to make use of these findings.

The teenagers had a lifestyle different from and not understood by the adults, but the part played by the adults involved in the Outreach bus, the Youth Club, Clipper, The Maze Association and the Firesetters' team helped to build bridges. In particular, the mentors who were (often much) older than their mentees showed how different lifestyles and outlooks could complement each other in time spent together. In this way bridges between different groups of individuals began to show how the excessive dependence of bonding groups could be overcome and how separation could be reduced.

Frequently lack of communication was responsible for the lack of trust. Young people and adults used a different language. When young people knew there was nothing wrong in what they were doing but adults perceived them as behaving antisocially or likely to do so, credibility was not given to the young people's accounts, for example, when Ty was waiting at the bus stop and was perceived as loitering (see quote 6 - 15). As I discussed in Chapter 4 young people are protected

more and for longer than formerly (Furedi 2001), but this channelling into 'safe' territory can widen and reinforce the gap between young people and others leading to mutual misunderstanding.

8.2.2 The Media

The problematization of youth in Eastleigh was, in part, the result of media representation. In reflecting the dominant view the local newspaper, particularly, used sensationalism and one-sided reporting, portraying youth in a negative way, thus perpetuating 'stereotypical images' (Fionda 2001: 4). The views of young people were not sought and their perspectives not recorded (see below). The UNCRC advocates giving young people access to facilities for information sharing, association and debate (Crane 1997) but in Eastleigh they are being denied this access. The locus of concern was what shaped public opinion, and in turn people's perception of themselves and their locality. The media thus became a part of the process of defining the problem, stereotyping youth as an homogeneous, irresponsible group and influencing policy. The current hysteria about antisocial behaviour, along with drug- and gun-related crime has become the latest in a catalogue of moral panics. However, the young people know that some of their behaviour is wrong; some know they have offended, but they seek treatment as individuals, and not to receive blanket categorization as irredeemably 'criminal'.

8.3 The Local and Looking Wider

What this research has uncovered about the everyday reality of the lives of Eastleigh young people cannot be said to be true of all young people in every location. Other local studies, for example, of Macclesfield (Girling et al. 2000) and the East End of London (Mumford & Power 2003) have highlighted both similar and dissimilar situations. Like the Macclesfield research, which was cast from an adult perspective, my study enabled me to explore antisocial behaviour and crime outside the inner city, within a smaller (shire) town. Both towns are promoted as comfortable places to live and the adult residents echo national concerns about unsupervised young people gathering in public places. Crime and youth are taken to be synonymous. Despite their relative prosperity, both towns appear to care little about the plight of

their young and youth facilities are inadequate. The young feel they are blamed when they are doing nothing, just because they are there. In Macclesfield, however, the young people were acknowledged as 'our kids' (p 94) and adults wanted to strike up a dialogue with them about a solution. In Eastleigh, although the police disagreed, residents asserted the problems were caused by other people's young and so far have not entered into a dialogue. Like Macclesfield adults the Eastleigh residents sought to control any action to integrate the young on terms laid down by the adult community.

Eastleigh is unlike the low-income area in the East End of London where life is intrinsically bound up with neighbourhood and where the frequent moving of people means many are newcomers. In Eastleigh, although some of the newer areas are like this, in older parts residents have stayed for longer. However, in the East End this led to fewer controls, whereas in Eastleigh, to maintain the aura of propriety, controls on the young were many. Vandalism, graffiti and drugs were a real and constant problem in the East End and although they all occur in Eastleigh, the problem is not seen as out of control. There is thus some resonance with even the conditions found in the East End and great similarity with Middle England Macclesfield suggesting that although it is inappropriate to generalize from my study, Eastleigh, although mainly white and middle class, is not so unusual that speculation cannot be made to a wider context.

I earlier argued that Eastleigh was unique in many respects but similar to other places in many others. However, locating the study in Eastleigh within the context of broader issues such as transitions, identity, the use of public space and control enabled the specific to be given wider general relevance. Although the young people with whom I spoke could not be said to reflect the perceptions of all Eastleigh young people, this small group lived their lives within milieux similar not only to other young people in Eastleigh but throughout the country and beyond and their experiences and knowledge are relevant. Its conclusions can be indicative of other similar places and mirror the situation nationwide but a move towards more responsible young people with greater autonomy may not yet succeed in dissimilar areas. Crow (2000) has argued that community studies have the capability of 'placing' sociological arguments, that they have the capacity to illustrate the meaning

of macro-level trends for people's everyday lives and that they facilitate holistic treatments of the social relations under investigation through their emphasis on context (Crow 2000: 173).

Recognition of the effects of these broader processes within the locality is important for local policy decisions – for example, the Local Authority's designation of the use of public and public/private spaces. Police measures to combat disorder and cleaning off graffiti necessarily involve intervention in the activities of young people. Local decisions are, however, not totally autonomous since communities are politicized (Rose 1999). Although central Government has moved away from micro-management the effects of local decisions are often publicized in, for example, league tables. Bottoms, too, highlights the importance that needs to be placed on specific local environments (Bottoms 2003) and this local study has sought to contribute in this way.

8.4 Suggestions for Further Research

It would be useful to explore further the apparently seamless street-youth club phenomenon (Chapter 6) and the gradients of control levels offered in other similar programmes and compare the way young people perceive them.

Secondly, as I discussed in Chapter 5 most of the young people, though distanced by time and space from their mothers still regarded them as currently having most influence over them. It is possible that the young people, in their present uncertainties, harked back to times when all was certain and their mothers were anchors on whom they could rely (see Hutson & Jenkins 1989). In this respect it seems that this study adds a new dimension to the claim that peers are seen as having most influence over young people (Chapter 5). Future research could explore how young people perceive the nature of that maternal influence over time and its impact on their present position.

Thirdly, it would be useful to explore the perceptions and attitudes of the young people after they had left the programmes to understand what, if any, lasting differences they had made.

My study has also shown that young people are often inarticulate or monosyllabic. Further studies could explore the challenges this poses to researchers about how all young people can be given 'a voice' most effectively and also how policy-makers and practitioners can best 'listen' to that voice.

Lastly, my discussion of responsibilization suggested the adults of Eastleigh should regard the young people as 'ours' and accept a position of responsibility. However, with a population of just over 116,000, Eastleigh may be too vast and remote for such ownership to work. Some of the young people felt more of an attachment to their particular locality rather than to the whole of Eastleigh. It would be interesting to explore whether, if both the young and older residents of an area are to feel a common identity and responsibility, it needs to be on a smaller scale than 100,000 people.

8.5 Conclusion

No simple policy conclusions can be drawn as a result of this research. Young people's lives, just like those of adults, are fragmented and complicated but they do have individual and collective needs and they should be given the opportunity for self-definition and political input. The Local Authority Crime Prevention Officer told me (07 10 02) the Council aimed to be comprehensive over all issues from planning to sport and leisure so that all people were involved. However, as I argued in Chapter 7, not all community members were equally included in plans and discussions; not all community members were equally listened to and Borough policies did not take account equally of all the experiences of all members. Young people should be given a real say in the use of and access to public space. Ideas about community, trust, belonging and connectedness showed how everyday life could be enhanced for both the young people and for their adult communities. Joined-up thinking should refer to more than partnerships – it should become the watchword of the Borough.

Much has been written about working class youth in marginalized areas (MacDonald & Marsh 2001;McDowell 2003;Waiton 2001;Webber 2003) but little has been written about marginalized youth in Middle England areas. This study has sought to fill that gap by exploring this phenomenon in Eastleigh. The Eastleigh young people had only limited input into providing solutions to issues such as antisocial behaviour. As in the Glebeside meeting they were 'invited' to give their side of the story and ended up being verbally abused when they showed responsibility and attended the meeting. Young people should be part of the team who report for the local media, not only for young people's issues, for this again segregates them, but to provide a balanced perspective in all issues which affect our and their locality.

Eastleigh, as a community of communities, has, as yet, failed to respond to the needs of its young people and to unenvisioned complete integration. Inclusion of young people needs to be pursued through community involvement and education of *all* its members. Most of the young people of Eastleigh lived in the certainty/uncertainty dichotomy – certain of what they wanted and how they wanted to live now, but uncertain of what adults expected of them and of their own futures. A supportive environment for youth is not a protection from new experiences but the provision of enough acceptance and reassurance and security to give youth the confidence to seek and respond to challenge.

This thesis has highlighted the complexities that surround young people and their efforts to negotiate not only their own developing lives but their contested situation within wider society. Young people are social actors and have valuable contributions to make to their and our experiences. The accounts of the young people in my study have extended our knowledge about their perceptions of the initiatives available to them and the things that influence their lives. This has been a testament to the importance of not only listening to their voices but taking account of them and has shown the need to give greater priority to enabling young people to participate in producing both local and national policies which will enhance their lives and those of the wider society.

The Appendices

Appendix 1 Map of Eastleigh

Courtesy Eastleigh Borough Council.

Appendix 2 The Respondents

The Youth Club	Wanderbug	Clipper	Denburn Youth Forum	Glebeside Youth Council	The Maze Association
Tim	Tina	Soli	Terry	Senita	Vicky
Sam	John	Roger	Rod	Saul	Nancy
Seb	Neil	David	Piran	Richard	(Jack)
Leah	Will	Ewan	Tony	Damon	Emily
Jill	Chris	Fergus	Homer	Ty	Brendan
Kim	Andy	Iris	Perry	Rachel	Jody
Tess	Matt	Dean	Angus	Dan	Shelley
Kerry	George	Ryan		Alison	Tanya
Gav	Adam	Goran		Lee	
Alice	Robin	Phil			
Pryce	Josh				
Libby	Simon				
Steve	Alan				
	Ben				

If you need to contact me about this
research please write to:
Janet Turner
c/o Dr G Crow and Dr D McGhee
Dept of Sociology & Social Policy
University of Southampton
Highfield
Southampton
SO17 1BJ

Or email jt10@soton.ac.uk

THE

VOICE

OF YOUNG PEOPLE

RESEARCH

A research project to find out
what young people think
about projects in which they are
involved as they grow up.

I am a mature student at Southampton University, working for a research degree.
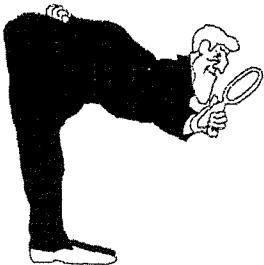
I am interested in 'giving young people a voice' – letting them 'speak out' about the projects they are involved in and how they see their lives changing.
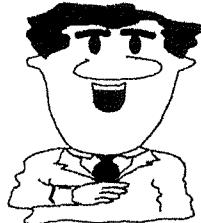
This knowledge should make adults aware of how things could be improved for some young people.

If you agree to help me, I will need to talk with you for, say half an hour.

I will ask questions about what you think of the project in which you are taking part, about your experiences, say of school or when you were younger and how you see life now.
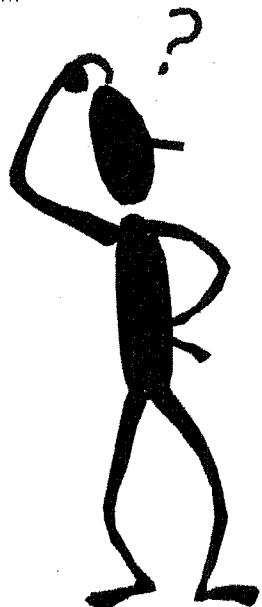
All your answers will be strictly confidential.

What you say in our talk may be used in my final research report or other publications

BUT

your name and the place where we talk will be changed so that you cannot be identified

Appendix 4 Informed Consent Form

'VOICE OF YOUNG PEOPLE'

This consent form is to check that you are happy with the information you have received about this study, that you know your rights as a participant and that you confirm that you wish to take part in this study.

1   Have you read the information leaflet?   Yes/no

2   Do you understand you are free to refuse to answer any question?
                              Yes/no

3   Do you understand you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving reasons?   Yes/no

4   Do you understand all information will be treated as confidential?
                              Yes/no

5   Do you agree to take part in the study   Yes/no

6   Do you agree that quotations from the interview can be used in the final research report and other publications.   Yes/no

If you wish to see a copy of the transcript of our talk please let me know

Signed............................ Date ....

Name in Block Letters please ....

The 'Voice of Young People' Research

Thank you very much for your help

I have really enjoyed talking to you

Good luck in the future

Jt10@soton.ac.uk

Appendix 6 Sample Question Guide

1   Has anything important happened in your life since we last met?

2   If you had to describe yourself when you were a child what would you say?

3   If you had to describe yourself now what would you say?

4   As you get older the balance of influences between family, school/work and friends changes. What influences you most at the moment?

5   If you were telling a friend about the youth club/Clipper what would you tell them?

6   Have you ever used drugs?

7   Do you still use them?

8   Do they affect your behaviour?

9   How?

10   How do you think you can earn people's trust?

11   Do you like living in this area?

12   Would you like it to be different in any way? How?

13   What did you think of this area when you were at school?

14   Has your opinion changed?

15   How safe do you feel in this area?

16   Are there any places in which you don't feel safe? Why?

17   Are there any problems in this area?

18   What do you think causes them?

19   Do you ever see the Police in this area?

20   What do you think of them?

21   If you could meet the police and tell them what you wanted what would you say?

22   How do you feel when the police move you on?

23   Do you go to any other things for young people e.g. sport, clubs?

24   How important is the masculine/feminine image you try to show other people?

25   Girls: When you are in a group of mostly young men, how do you get treated?

26   What makes you feel you 'belong' somewhere e.g. family, youth club/Clipper, group of friends?

27   What types of groups do you feel most comfortable with?

28   How much time do you spend with your friends each week?

29   What are the biggest problems in being a young person today?

30   Are there public spaces you would like to use but feel you can't?

31   Are you in competition with adults?

32   Is it a question of ownership?

33   Are there areas you are not allowed opt go?

34   Who has responsibility for keeping young people amused?

35   What things do you think have changed for young people in the last 10 years?

36   Can you suggest the kind of provision that might reduce youth crime and prevent young people from drifting into trouble?

37   How do you make sense of your impact on adults?

38   Lastly do you have any plans for the next 6 months?

39   Next time will be the last time I come, will you be able to talk with me around Christmas time?

Thank you very much.

THE

'VOICE OF YOUNG PEOPLE'
RESEARCH

A research project to find out what young people think about projects designed to turn them away from crime and help them to make good choices.

I am a mature student at Southampton University, working for a research degree.
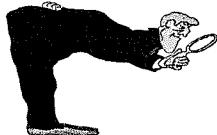
I am interested in 'giving young people a voice' – letting them 'speak out' about the projects they are involved in and how they see their lives changing
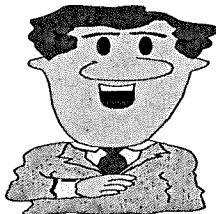
This knowledge should make adults aware of how things could be improved for some young people.

If you agree to help me, please complete this questionnaire

What you say may be used in my final research report or other publications

BUT

your answers are quite confidential and you cannot be identified

TELL ME ABOUT YOURSELF

1   **How old are you?**   (Please state)   ☐

2   **Are you** (please tick ✓ one) Male   ☐   Female ☐

3   **Where are you living now?** (please tick ✓ one)   With Family ☐

Other Relative ☐   Foster Carers ☐   Temporary (B & B, Hostel) ☐

Children's Home ☐ None of these. I am currently living (please state)

....

How long have you lived here? (please state) Years ☐   Months ☐

How many changes have you had in the last two years (please state)   ☐

4   **What do you do in the daytime? (please tick ✓ one)**

School ☐   College ☐ Work ☐ Training   ☐

I am not attending any of the above because (please state)

....

5   **What sports/hobbies do you like? (please tick ✓ all that you like)**

Football ☐ Swimming ☐   Bike riding ☐   Music ☐

Skate boarding ☐ Making things ☐ Books ☐

None of the above, I like ....

6   **How would you describe your racial origin?**

Black ☐   Asian ☐   White ☐   Mixed ☐   Other ☐

7   **How many close friends do you have? (please tick ✓ one. Do not include brothers or sisters)**

None ☐   1 ☐   2 or 3 ☐   4 or more ☐

PLEASE TELL ME ABOUT YOUR FAMILY AND SCHOOL

4   **How many brothers and sisters do you have?** (state the number)

      Brothers ☐   Sisters ☐   or I have no brothers /sisters ☐

9   **Do your parents live together?**   Yes ☐   No ☐

10   **Do you have a step mother/father?**   Yes ☐   No ☐

          ☐   ☐

11   **Does your family have access to a car**   Yes   No

12   **Compared with others of the same age how well do you get on with your family?** (please tick ✓ one)

      Worse ☐   About the same ☐   Better ☐

13   **Do you have any health problems such as dyslexia or ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder)?**

      Yes ☐   No ☐   If so, what? ....

14   **Do/did you enjoy school?**   Yes ☐   No ☐

      What do/did you like about it?..

      What do/did you dislike about it?...

15   **Do/did you have any problems at school?** (please tick ✓ all that apply)

	Yes	No
Other people bullied me	☐	☐
I bullied other people	☐	☐
The work	☐	☐
Choosing to stay away from school (truanting)	☐	☐
Being told not to come to school (being excluded)	☐	☐
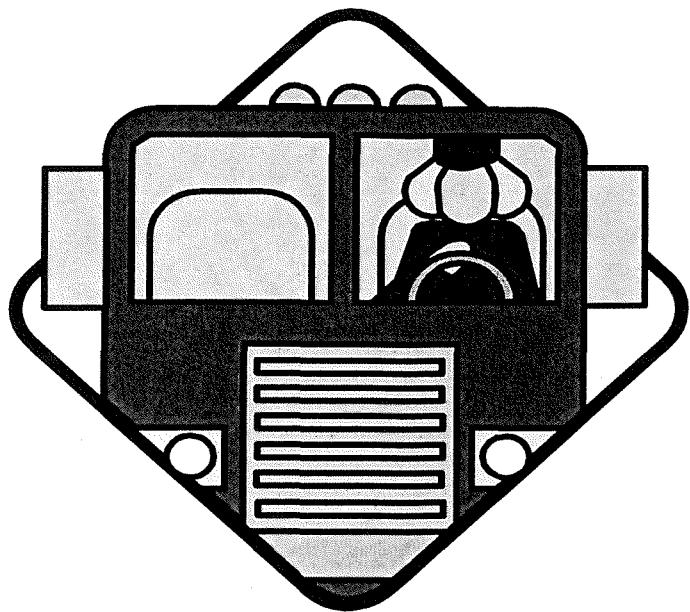
TELL ME ABOUT THE OFFENCE WHICH BROUGHT YOU INTO
CONTACT WITH THE FIRE SERVICE

**16   What was the offence that brought you into contact with the Fire
Service?**

....

.

....

How far from your home did this happen? ....

What time of day/night did this
happen?...

Did you do this alone or with other people? Alone ☐   With others ☐

17   What help has The Fire Service given you as a result of your offence?

....

....

18   What would you have liked them to do?

....

TELL ME WHAT YOU THINK

19 **Looking back over the time since your first contact with the Fire Service, how has the way you think about yourself changed?** (please tick ✓ one)

A lot worse ☐   About the same ☐   Better ☐

Why is this? ....

....

20 **Have you had contact with the Fire Service about further offences?**

(please tick ✓ one) Yes ☐   No ☐

21 **Who else has given you help during this time?**

(Please state) ....

22 **Which of the following would make it hard for you to stay out of trouble in future?** (please tick ✓ all that apply to you)

Nothing to do ☐   Pressure from friends ☐   No money ☐

Worries/stress ☐   No excitement ☐   Being angry ☐

Effects of alcohol/drugs ☐   Being out of school/work ☐

Other ....

20 What are the chances that you will commit further offences during the next year? (please tick ✓ one)

No chance ☐ Small chance ☐ High chance ☐ Don't Know ☐

21 What are the chances that you will commit further offences in the future?

No chance ☐ Small chance ☐ High chance ☐ Don't Know ☐

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire I will enjoy reading your answers

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Appendix 8 Offences by Young People Aged 14 – 18 in Eastleigh in 2002

Source: Youth Crime Officer, Eastleigh Police May 2003
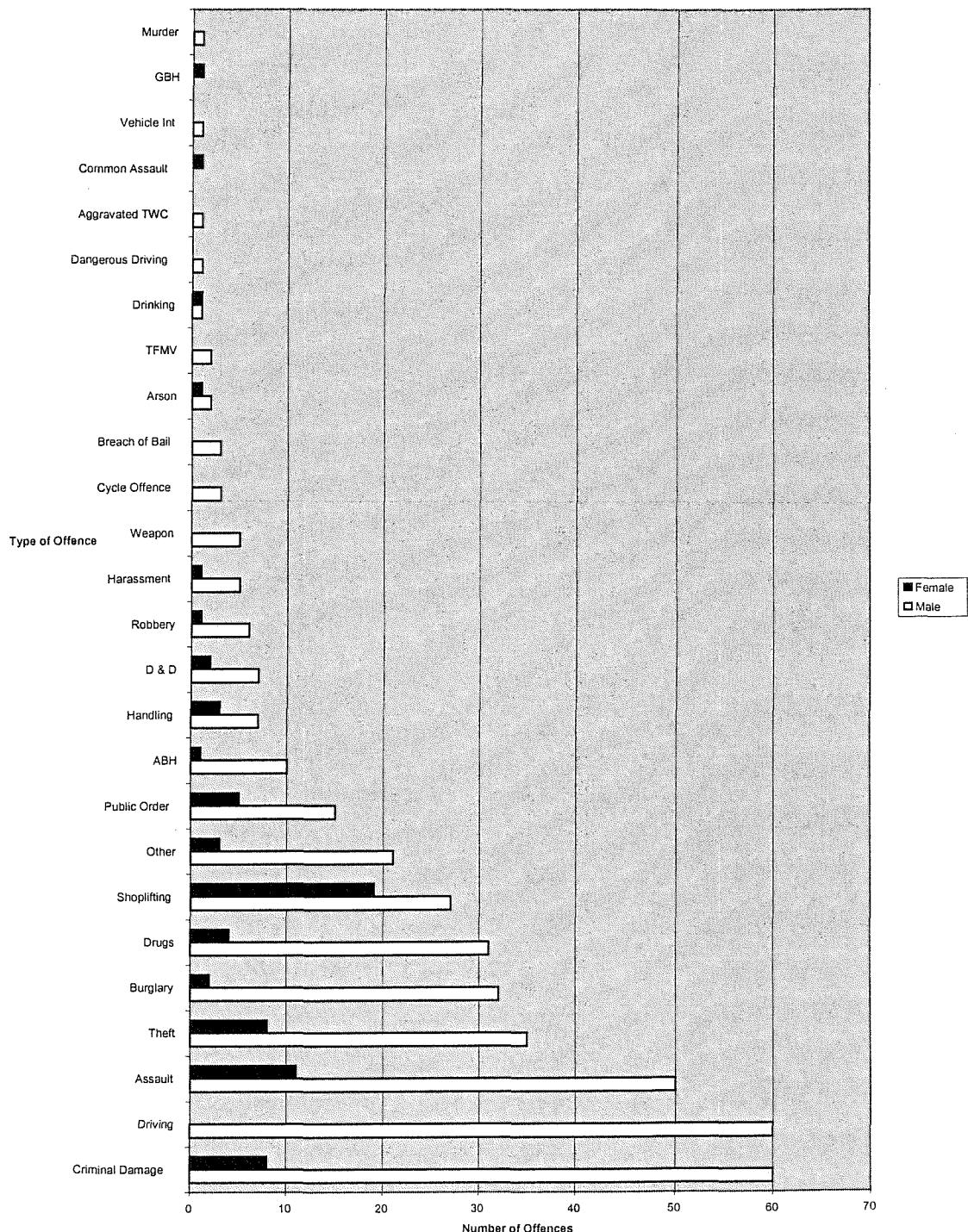
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