'It just feels like it's always us': young people, safety and community

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I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on the findings from an ethnographic study of young people living in a social housing estate, Hillview, in the South of England conducted between July 2006 and December 2007. It is based on findings generated from a combination of observation data, interviews, focus groups and documentary research. The principle aim of the research was to examine the impact of community safety policies and strategies from the perspective of the young people in this neighbourhood.

This thesis reports that young people were constructed as 'the problem' for those tasked with making Hillview 'safer'. Interventions designed to remove young people from public spaces neglected the concentration of criminal and social harms which affected them and ignored the longer term socio-economic and emotional needs of this group. Of major concern to young people was adversarial and coercive street based policing. Repeated use of stop and search and investigation in the home without the protection of the law was legitimised by a stated need to manage 'anti-social' youth and marked an expansion of groups targeted by police. In contrast, what generated fear and insecurity amongst young people was not concerns about 'anti-social' youth but instead the multiple and repeated loss of peers to violent and sudden death that participants experienced.

Overall it is contended that young people operated 'community' in highly specific ways to manage these experiences; the capacity, morale and confidence of young people had been undermined by attempts to make the community safer which, in turn had further alienated and marginalised them. It is concluded that unless social policies designed to address the social and economic inequalities which scar the lives of the poorest groups are implemented the concentration of harm, specifically coercive policing and premature death, will continue to be a feature of the lives of young people growing up in our poorest neighbourhoods.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC: Acceptable Behaviour Contract

ASB: Anti-Social Behaviour

ASBO: Anti-Social Behaviour Order

CCTV: Closed Circuit Television Cameras

CSO: Community Safety Officer

CST: Community Safety Team

HO: Housing Officer

LAT: Local Action Team

NCPF: Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum

NDC: New Deal for Communities

NL: New Labour

NP: Neighbourhood Policing

PACE: Police and Criminal Evidence Act

PCSO: Police and Community Support Officer

SNPT: Safer Neighbourhood Policing Team

TRA: Tenants and Resident Association

UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

YISP: Youth Inclusion and Support Programme

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This thesis examines how young people growing up in a socially and economically 'deprived' area were affected by the attempts of the New Labour governments to tackle crime and disorder issues at a neighbourhood level through new forms of community safety policy. The fieldwork for the research was conducted over an eighteen month period between 2006 and 2008 and it captures a snapshot of the impact of what was a very distinctive and frenetic period of criminal justice and youth justice reform, a period ended by the defeat of New Labour in the May 2010 general election. The research was based exclusively and deliberately within one 'community', the Hillview estate in the South of England, and throughout prioritised engagement with the views, experiences, and the everyday lives of some of the young people who called it home.

The inspiration for this work was twofold. Firstly the impasse between politicians and policy makers, who saw community safety, and the use of Anti-Social Behaviour[1] (ASB) interventions as a useful tool to make 'communities safer' (Home Office 1997, 2003; Respect Taskforce 2006), and critical perspectives offered by commentators who argued that these developments further excluded and criminalised young people (Goldson 2001; Squires and Stephen 2005; Squires 2006; Stephen 2006, 2009; Goldson and Yates 2008). Such deadlock was perhaps indicative of a government committed to radical criminal justice reform (Squires 2006) and/or the declining influence of academics over criminal justice policy development (Downes and Morgan 2007) however these tensions emerged at youth justice and ASB conferences designed to bring together academics, policy makers and practitioners. Nevertheless, it was considered that the dearth of published empirical work

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[1] Defined by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 s1 as acting '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'.

focused explicitly on the lived realities of young people actively contributed to this paralysis.

This is particularly important as existing academic work showed that New Labour community safety policies had the potential to impact on young people's spatial freedom (James and James 2001; Stephen and Squires 2003a, 2005; Stephen 2006; Flint 2002; Rogers and Coaffee 2005; Goldsmith 2006; Waiton 2001), legal status and access to justice (Squires and Stephen 2005; Stephen 2006, 2009) and denied experiences of criminal victimisation (Muncie 1999; Hartless *et al* 2001). It was argued that New Labour's focus on early intervention for 'pre-criminal', or 'anti-social' behaviour was a watershed moment in youth justice and local crime control policy (Squires 2006) but that they failed to acknowledge that concerns over the behaviour of children and young people were not new (Pitts 2001; Squires and Stephen 2005) but rather have a long history in England and Wales (Pearson 1983) this ignored the lessons of historical and comparative perspectives on youth justice (Pitt 2001; Muncie 1999; Squires and Stephen 2005; Squires 2006; Goldson and Muncie 2006; Cavadino and Dignan 2006; Goldson and Muncie 2007) which offer competing perspectives on how young people in trouble could be understood and therefore dealt with by the State (Downes 1966; Schur 1971, 1973; Rutherford 1986). It was also contended that changes to policy are not intrinsically 'good', will not necessarily 'work', and potentially have both intended and unintended outcomes which can compound existing problems and have longer term, negative, consequences for young people and their families (Measor and Squires 2000; Stephen and Squires 2003b, 2004, Squires and Stephen 2005; Squires 2006; Stephen 2006; Goldsmith 2006; McIntosh 2008).

Secondly, my long standing connections with the Hillview estate, as a former resident, a volunteer youth worker, early participant in the New Deal for Communities area based regeneration programme, and after the resumption of my studies in Higher Education, researcher, built over time a complex understanding of the challenges faced by young people who lived in the area. These experiences provided insights into the complexities and tensions

embedded in implementing national policies into local practice that have informed this research. It was considered that the issues arising from these experiences were not fully reflected in the existing academic literature.

This thesis has, therefore, drawn from both the academic and 'bottom' up understanding of attempts to create a 'safer Hillview'. It explicitly prioritises the views and experiences of some of the young people who call it home. This research decision denotes a deliberate attempt to uncover the impact, or not, of community safety policies and strategies on this group and put their lives at the core of these debates. Such an approach is needed because despite the volume of published work that has tracked the innovations in youth justice and community safety policies, it remains the case that young people's voices are absent from, or remain marginalised in, much academic work (notable exceptions include Measor and Squires 2000; Stephen and Squires 2003b, 2004; Squires and Stephen 2005; McIntosh 2008; Sadler 2004, 2008). Although explanations for this dearth include the administrative turn in criminology (Young 1988; Walklate 2007; Cohen 2009; Hudson 2003), the wider culture of 'risk' aversion in research (Ferrell and Hamm 1998), and lack of funding for serious qualitative work (Ferrell and Hamm 1998; Cheek 2005) it is contended that this constituted a gap in the academic understanding of both the impact of policy on young people in the 'community' and the realities of young people's lives.

The deliberate decision to base this research in one neighbourhood, the Hillview Estate, was not just made as a consequence of connections that existed between researcher and area. There is a long tradition of community studies in British sociology (Williams 1956; Frankenberg 1966; Young and Wilmott 1957; Mogey 1956; Rosser and Harris 1965; Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter 1969) however, in the late 1960's, 'neighbourhood' or 'community' as a site for social science research came under significant attack. The key difficulty related to the criticism that 'community' is a 'non-concept' (Stacey 1969 p137) and that this lack of clear definition made it impossible to determine exactly what is under study. On the one hand Stacey notes 'community' is defined sociologically as a geographically bounded space or,

alternatively, as a form of social relationship. In 1997 Hoggett (p6) notes that 'community' was making a 'come back' as sociologists and other academic disciplines realised that the idea of 'community' was significant to people outside of the academe.

Politically 'community' and neighbourhood were deeply significant to the New Labour policy reform agenda. 'Community', or a particular vision of 'community', in particular was the direct target of a whole range of social policy change, and became especially synonymous with the former government's crime control agenda. Community safety policies and strategies were intended to be implemented in local neighbourhoods in order to restore the cohesion of communities. An examination of the impact of such policies in one neighbourhood is therefore justified.

It is also the case, however, that, despite media and policy attention, there is a lack of understanding about how those living in socio-economically 'deprived' neighbourhoods experience and negotiate their lives. Despite regional, cultural and economic differences these neighbourhoods experience the same structural inequalities of poverty, poor health, educational disadvantage, and lack of access to services. Findings from community based studies in these circumstances can uncover important insights from which broader understandings about life in these areas can be drawn.

It is contended that the refocus of Youth Justice into the neighbourhood (Pitt 2001; Goldson 1999b; Smith 2007), through a focus on the 'anti-social' (Burney 2005; Squires and Stephen 2005; Yates 2009), fused with the ascendance of local community safety policy and the expansion of practitioners, partnerships and interventions implemented by the former New Labour government, created a more complex and contested environment for some young people to grow up in. Layer on to this the impact of the socio-economic transformation of the past three decades and the consequences for marginalised and 'deprived' groups, and the importance of research focused on young people on the frontline of these developments is clear.

The resurgence of the use of ethnography to explore the lives of different social groups has included some studies focused on young people (Blackman 1997, 1998; Craine 1997; Sadler 2004, 2008; Yates 2006; McAuley 2007). Only Sadler's (2004, 2008) study, however, also explores the impact of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 on young people in one area using the ethnographic method. There is some parallel, therefore, with this research however Sadler's primary focus was the examination of the impact of the legislation on the ways young people were policed. Although this thesis does present data on young people and the police, in Chapter Five, this was not the focus of this research but rather emerged as an important issue for young people themselves as the research developed. Furthermore, Sadler's ethnography was conducted in an inner city, ethnically diverse area which was chosen as the area of study specifically because it had a reputation for crime and disorder.

By contrast Hillview is neither an inner city nor ethnically diverse neighbourhood. It was chosen for this study because its early identification as a priority Neighbourhood Renewal area brought with it a focus on the development and implementation of policies and strategies designed to make Hillview 'safer'. By 2006 when the fieldwork for this research commenced these efforts were well developed and included the implementation of a diverse range of strategies by the local Community Safety Team, in partnership with the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum, including those targeted specifically at young people living on the estate.

The purpose of the research was therefore;
- To critically examine New Labour's decisions, policies and priorities in community safety and developments in 'New' Youth Justice.
- To explore how young people experience deprivation, exclusion and crime.
- To investigate whether the practical apparatus of attempting to make communities safer has changed the way young people function within their neighbourhood.

- To explore the ways in which contemporary law and order strategies have the potential to further exclude marginalised young people by targeting them as 'the problem'.
- To explore the connections between socio-economic challenges and government policy and how this impacts upon young people at a local level.

The Hillview Estate

Located on the periphery of Brownstone[2], a small city with approximately 250,000 inhabitants, Hillview is a housing estate situated in valley and circled to the west by an area of outstanding natural beauty. The estate is made up of single dwelling homes built in a maze of cul-de-sacs that are interspersed with a small number of low rise blocks of flats. At the very north of the estate sit three high rise blocks of flats which dominate the skyline and appear, at first glance, to look down on the rest of the neighbourhood. Due to its isolated geographical position there are only four ways to get in or out of the estate and it is not on the road to anywhere. This means that unless you live or work in the area there is no need to go to the estate.

Hillview is a predominantly white area, with only 4% of its inhabitants describing themselves as from another ethnic background (Office for National Statistics 2001a). 27% of its residents belong to social class categories 6, 7 and 8, and 7.5% in category 1 compared to 14.7% more generally in the South East (Office for National Statistics 2001b). Tenure figures show that 75% of households in Hillview rent their homes from the local authority, housing association, or other registered social landlord (ONS 2001c). Hillview is in the top 10% of areas listed in the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD 2010)[3] and in the top 3% for income deprivation. Although it may be difficult to imagine such acute deprivation existing in the South East of England; after all, it is the second most prosperous region outside London and is where 55% of the wealthiest areas in England and Wales are located

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[2] Hillview and Brownstone are pseudonyms.
[3] This index combined data from seven domains including employment, health, income, education, living environment, barriers to services, and crime in order to assess the level of deprivation experienced in an area (ODPM 2004 p14).

(ODPM 2004). Amidst the prosperity there are pockets of acute deprivation scattered across the South East and it is the location of 5% of the poorest areas in England and Wales (ODPM 2004). Local area statistics provide some insight into the root causes of the income deprivation experienced by residents of the estate. Half of all households in Hillview claim out of work benefits, including Income Support, Incapacity Benefit (and other disability benefits) and Job-Seekers Allowance (ONS 2006). Residents who are employed are more likely than in other areas of Brownstone to work part-time and are disproportionately concentrated in three sectors of the local economy, construction, retail, and health and social care occupations (ONS 2001d). All three of which, according to a Brownstone Economic Strategy document (Brownstone Business Forum 2008), tend to be low pay and low status occupations where temporary contracts and seasonal demand is the norm.

Hillview residents are significantly disadvantaged in the local economy. The population of Brownstone is 'overwhelmingly well qualified at every level' (Brownstone Business Forum 2008 p5) and residents with entry level qualifications 'struggle to get a foothold on the employment ladder' (ibid). IMD (2007) data show that Hillview is in the 1% most disadvantaged areas on England for education, skills and training. 65% of Hillview residents between 25 and 54 have no or low qualifications and in 2008 only 15.2% of young people in Hillview achieved five A-C grade GCSE's, including English and maths (ONS2009a, ONS2009b). The Brownstone economy consists of the public sector and business and financial services and, to a lesser extent, hospitality and retail and the creative industries. Furthermore, the city has a large student population and residents routinely compete with undergraduates for the low skilled work that is available. Low pay, a high cost of living, and stiff competition for jobs has resulted in acute social inequality across the city but these factors have had the biggest impact in the most deprived areas like Hillview. This was recognised in a local authority document which described the situation thus,

'The city [Brownstone] is home to large numbers of
people experiencing inequality, however the most
deprived areas in the city are significantly more
deprived than the city as a whole' (OCSI 2007a p5).

Local history documents show Brownstone has been a site of both great
poverty and affluence since the eighteenth century (Walton 1983). In 1934 the
Hillview estate was opened as part of the suburbanisation and slum clearance
programme enacted after World War One. The first residents of Hillview were
moved from Bridgewater Top a slum area with the worst poverty and
reputation for crime and disorder in Brownstone (Queenspark Books 1985).
Concerns that such families were perpetrators of vice and crime were not
quieted by their dispersal to the edges of the City and Simpkins (2002) notes
that as a young boy in the 1930's he was aware that the estate already had a
'bad reputation'. Poverty was endemic, and the plight of families in the area
was not addressed solely by mutual aid as there is evidence that the local
Church ran a soup kitchen and loaned families blankets, bedding, and coats
through the winter months until the early 1950's. The city's small industrial
base collapsed around the same time and the estate went into terminal
decline due to Local Authority underinvestment throughout the 1960's and
early 1970's. Houses were boarded up and vandalised whilst a bitter battle
between residents and planners ensued over the future of the estate.

In 1974 the redevelopment of Hillview began and the evidence shows that the
regeneration of the area was considered as much a moral enterprise as it was
physical. A Brownstone local authority policy document from 1975, for
example, stated that rebuilding Hillview would most assist 'illiterate' residents
who required 'socially uplifting' (Brownstone Council 1975, cited in
Queenspark Rates Book Group 1983 p25). Most of the housing built in the
1930s was demolished and the former layout of long wide streets was
replaced with a crush of cul-de-sacs and this substantially increased the
density of the estate. Residents who had temporarily relocated whilst the
estate was pulled down and rebuilt were moved back first at the end of the
1970s. This older, and more established, group of residents were housed in
the bigger and better quality homes at the south end of the estate. Many of

these residents became new owner-occupiers after the legislation to implement the Right to Buy was by the Conservative government in the Housing Act 1980.

In the early 1980s these residents were joined by new families, many with small children, who had been moved from over-crowded conditions in other parts of the city. New families were moved into the houses and flats towards the middle, and later on the north, of the estate and many of these homes, particularly those in the far north of the neighbourhood, were much smaller and built of poorer quality materials than those in the south. The middle and north areas of Hillview continue to be dominated by residents who rent their homes from a social landlord. Differences in resident status, home quality, and tenure, have produced a divided neighbourhood with its own internal territoriality that is not usually visible to those outside the estate or recognised openly by professionals working in it. Residents in the south are reluctant to use, and will not let their children and/or grandchildren frequent, local amenities located in the north of the estate, for example, the health centre or Union Club. In addition some residents in south Hillview express views about residents in the north of the estate that are more commonly associated with people who do not live on the estate. Outsiders view the estate, and the people who live there, as disorganised, dysfunctional, and dangerous.

In 1999 Hillview was designated an area of priority urban renewal, and in 2000 a New Deal for Communities[4] initiative was established. Part of the regeneration remit was to address issues of crime and disorder, and in line with the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, a resident Community Safety Team was established and located in Hillview. Situational crime prevention had become embedded within the national community safety strategy as part of a dual approach to tackling crime and disorder at a neighbourhood level (Crawford 1997; Hughes 1998). In Hillview this situational approach has been

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[4] New Deal for Communities was an area based regeneration initiative designed to transform 39 socially and economically deprived areas in England by achieving change in three place-related outcomes: crime, community and housing and the physical environment, and three people-related outcomes: education, health and worklessness (NRU 2001).

realised in four main ways. Traffic calming measures have been used throughout the estate to address the problem of speeding cars. Closed Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV) were installed in 1998 to prevent traffic violations, crime and anti-social behaviour, the first time this strategy had been used in a residential area outside of London. The establishment of a Safer Neighbourhood Policing Team (SNPT) allocated specific, additional police resourcing into Hillview. Finally, in 2005 Hillview was one of a chosen number of areas to receive extra funding from the Home Office to gate up forty one pedestrian alleyways because it was claimed, primarily by the police, that they were being used by young people to hide acts of crime and anti-social behaviour and evade police capture.

Running parallel with the situational crime prevention agenda has been the implementation of anti-social behaviour legislation and, along with other services present in the area, targeted intervention in the lives of young people identified as 'at risk' of offending has taken place. This intervention has included the use of the following tools, referral to the Youth Inclusion and Support Programme[5] (YISP), Acceptable Behaviour Contracts[6] (ABC's), Anti-Social Behaviour Orders[7] (ASBO's), and tenancy enforcement action[8] that can result in the demotion of a tenancy or eviction from a property owned by the Local Authority. Figures collated in 2005 from the Home Office show that the town in which Hillview is located came in the top ten in England and Wales for numbers of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders issued in 2004.

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[5] Target young people in the neighbourhood who are considered to be most at risk of offending. YISPs provide a range of supportive activities to reduce the likelihood of offending and prevent entrance into the criminal justice system.

[6] 'Written agreements between a young person, the local housing office or registered social landlord and the local police in which the person agrees to not carry out a series of identifiable behaviours which have been defined as anti-social' (Bullock and Jones 2004 p4).

[7] Civil orders granted by the courts to pose contractual restrictions upon the adjudged 'anti-social' elements of an individual's behaviour.

[8] The 1996 Housing Act gave local authorities new legal powers to widen the ground for possession to include the issue of anti-social behaviour. Powers have been extended by later legislation including the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and social landlords now have a range of instruments including ABC's, ASBO's and ASB Housing Injunctions which can trigger enforcement measures and/or additional support for families considered in breach of their tenancy agreement. Failure to comply can result in the demotion of a tenancy agreement or eviction from a property (Hunter 2006).

Index of Multiple Deprivation data show an improvement in the crime domain[9] ranking of all three LSOA's that cover Hillview between 2004 and 2010. Improvements in the ranking indicate that levels of recorded violence, theft, burglary and criminal damage declined, for example, the middle and north section of the Hillview estate moved from being ranked in the top 10% most deprived areas for crime in England in 2004 to being placed in the top 15% in 2010. Over the same six year period the south end of the neighbourhood also experienced an improvement in the crime domain ranking which took it from the top 15% of LSOA's in England to the top 30%.

Official statistics can only illustrate a limited amount about crime and disorder in a neighbourhood what these statistics miss is a sense of the ecology of crime in Hillview. Like in many socio-economically distressed areas an extensive black market economy operated in Hillview and a plethora of goods including illegal and prescription drugs, alcohol, tobacco, clothes, electrical goods and household items such as meat and washing powder were brought and sold. The black market was seen as a way residents could survive on, and supplement, low wages and/or benefits and items could be obtained by local shoplifters to order. Hillview is an established community and much of this activity was organised through the extensive kith and kin networks that were the backbone of the estate. Much of the black market activity in Hillview was controlled by two powerful families, the Kindles and the Smiths. The Smiths were a well established feature of life in Hillview as Nan and Grandad Smith has lived on the estate for over fifty years. The Smith family was large and by the time the fieldwork started in 2006 five generations lived on the estate. The Kindles moved into Hillview in the early 1980s and only three generations of the family lived on the estate when the fieldwork was being conducted. There was reportedly a long running and bitter feud between these two families and residents, who were not related to either family, actively aligned themselves with one or the other.

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[9] The crime domain ranking is calculated using rates of recorded violence, theft, burglary and criminal damage.

Notes on the research

Unlike other published work that has focused on the views and experiences of young people on the new forms of youth justice and community safety policies (Squires and Stephen 2005; 2006; Stephen and Squires 2003, 2004, 2007; McIntosh 2008) the young people who participated in this research were not included because they were already the target of an intervention of some form, or were involved in any way with the criminal justice system. Instead the two primary groupings of young people who participated in this research were involved because of their residence in Hillview. Most had lived on the estate for the majority, if not all, of their lives and had extended kith and kin networks in the locality.

'The Kiddies' ('kiddie' was a local term used by young people to describe a young person) were between fourteen to seventeen years old at the time of the fieldwork. Mainly, but not exclusively, members of The Union Club, a youth organisation in Hillview that was the primary base for the fieldwork, this group had grown up during the period when the law and order policy shifts were being developed and implemented in their neighbourhood. In contrast 'The Soldiers', a self-employed label used to describe their role in the collective effort to provide security against victimisation in many forms, were a group of young adults in their twenties whose experiences provided insights into life on the estate in the 1990's, the period immediately prior to the election of the New Labour government.

This thesis provides a comparative analysis of the observations, thoughts, views and experiences of growing up in Hillview, intertwined with observation and interviews with adult residents and practitioners that provide the basis of Chapters Four, Five and Six, the findings chapters of the thesis. This thesis is therefore a detailed analysis of the themes and issues that were articulated as, and observed to be, significant and important to the young people who participated in this research.

Relationship to other work

There has been a long history of concern about children and young people being poor, socially excluded or exposed to multiple deprivations. Since the early 1990's the way that marginalized children and young people are viewed by society, and more specifically governments and criminal justice agencies appears to have altered (Wilson and Ashton 1998; Campbell 1999; Goldson 2000a; Pitts 2001). Young people outside of the dominant culture are increasingly identified as being 'a risk' rather than 'at risk' (Brown 2005; Hill and Wright 2003). In youth justice the traditional debate regarding protecting the welfare of young people or punishing them for their crimes was philosophically resolved by New Labour when in power. It was stated clearly that the government saw no conflict between protecting the welfare of a young person and using intervention to prevent offending by children and young people (Home Office 1997). This is a departure from how previous governments have addressed this issue (Harris and Webb 1987; Smith 2007) and could be seen to support the argument that New Labour created a 'new' youth justice in England.

There has been a considerable academic debate over whether the developments in the youth justice system amount to a 'new' youth justice landscape (Goldson 1999a; Goldson 1999b; Goldson 2000b; Bell 1999; Pitts 2001; Savage and Nash 2001). Critics of the reforms of New Labour (Goldson 2000; Pitts 2000; Muncie 1999 Pickford 2000; Stokes 2000; Scraton and Haydon 2002) argued that reforms to the youth justice system have the potential to widen the net of the justice system to incorporate increasingly young children for behaviour that is not by definition criminal. This thesis provides further empirical evidence that this has been the case and in Chapter Four the impact of these developments on young people's use of public space in the neighbourhood has produced a new, more contested and problematic relationship with space. Chapter Five examines the impact this has had on the policing of young people.

The impact of specific community based intervention on young people and their families has been explored (Stephen and Squires 2003, 2004; Squires

and Stephen 2005, Nixon and Parr 2006; Nixon *et al* 2006; Scott 2006; Smithson and Flint 2006; Parr and Nixon 2008; McIntosh 2008; Holt 2008) and research in this area highlights how intervention can compound existing feelings of exclusion, does not always address the needs of a young person and can focus predominantly on the modification of behaviour in a seemingly arbitrary way. What is under researched, however, is how community safety practice has impacted upon young people who live in areas that in themselves present a perceived high level of risk in terms of crime and disorder.

The root cause of this 'neighbourhood factor' (Pitts 2001) has been the refocusing from the 'problem' or 'criminogenic family' to the 'problem area' and 'crime prone estate' (Goldson 1999a p14). In this scenario all young people living within a locality can legitimately be classed as 'at risk' of offending and therefore subjected to high levels of scrutiny by professionals and other residents (James and James 2001). This situation was intensified with the introduction of statutory partnership working in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. It is now a requirement that representatives from education and health work closely with community safety teams and as part of this process also have an obligation to prevent offending by children and young people (Omaji 2003; Burnett and Appleton 2004a, 2004b). This process has been criticised because of the extension in the monitoring of young people's behaviour in a range of diverse settings (James and James 2001).

This thesis critically engages with the concept of community safety which was identified by New Labour as offering a more progressive way forward on the issue of crime by making offending, incivilities and environmental issues part of a more comprehensive agenda (Crawford 1997, 2001; Pitts and Marlow 1998; McLaughlin 2002; Hughes; 2007; Gilling 2007). Community safety as a concept is inherently problematic as it suggests that community based solutions can be found for crime issues (Hester 2000; Crawford 2001; Hughes 2007). However, the ability of community members in general, and children and young people in particular, to impact upon the reduction of crime and disorder issues in their neighbourhoods is limited due to a lack of economic

status and power (Haines and Drakeford 1999; Matthews 2003). A situation is therefore created whereby a group, who research has shown suffer high levels of victimisation (Hartless *et al* 1995) and are the targets of most enforcement work, are the most excluded from the development of community safety strategy.

'It just feels like it's always us'

The methodology employed in this research has enabled themes and insights to emerge that were not, and perhaps could not have been, 'foreshadowed' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007 p21) at the beginning of this process and also are not currently discussed in the same ways, if at all, in other criminological work. This thesis uncovers the culturally innovative and unique ways young people build and develop a sense of individual and collective safety inside the neighbourhood. It draws critical attention to the significance for young people of police initiated street based encounters, stop and search in particular, and examines how the pursuit of the 'anti-social' has extended the scope of police powers and the groups it targets. The research reveals how experiences of violent, and sudden, multiple peer bereavement experiences blight the lives of some young people and erode subjective and fragile feelings of safety and security. Finally, the thesis details how deliberate and novel displays of 'community' are used to ameliorate the psychological harm such losses stimulate.

Cumulatively, what surfaces from this is the tangible sense, encapsulated by the quote included in the title of this thesis 'It just feels like it's always us', that young people in this neighbourhood considered themselves to be the targets of both traditional and 'new' crime control policies and agents whilst simultaneously being responsible for their own safety from the range of social and criminal harms to which they were exposed. Tiny, the twenty two year old who made this statement, said it to describe how he felt about the multiple peer bereavements he had suffered since the age of fifteen; deaths concentrated amongst his immediate peer group. Tiny's own murder in July 2007 injects his comment with even greater resonance; however, its sentiment can also be applied across the key findings in this research. It is

applicable to the young people who considered 'safety' to be something they had to provide for themselves; resonates with young people's perception that they were the target of street based policing; and characterizes the strategies developed over time to manage grief.

With this perspective young people, particularly poor young people, seem less 'out of control', as characterised by the political and policy rhetoric of New Labour (Home Office 1997, 2003; Blair 2004, 2006; Brown 2009). Instead, a picture emerges of young people who, despite their best efforts, are unable to control the impact of the social and criminal harms faced or the social and economic realities of wider society, where the root of these experiences can be traced (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Dorling 2010). Those whose job was to create a 'safer' neighbourhood lacked awareness, or significant interest, in these issues and were not in touch with young people's concerns primarily because this group were considered 'the problem' for local crime and disorder management. Thus community safety policies and strategies were targeted at this group of young people as perpetrators, or potential perpetrators, of 'anti-social' behaviour. This narrow focus led to intervention strategies, which as the comparative analysis of the data show, undermined and eroded the capacity of participants to develop a collective response to such harm and took no account of the longer term consequences of this for the young people. The continuation of the premature deaths of young males throughout the period that community safety polices and strategies were implemented in Hillview is, perhaps, the ultimate example of the hollowness of this approach.

Summary of thesis

The thesis is unusual as it begins with an examination of the changes in legislation and policy which originated with New Labour rather than a more traditional literature review of the themes that emerged out of the data. Organising the thesis in this way was deliberate as policy reform and legislative change enacted by New Labour was the bedrock upon which the research rests as a whole. It was decided that a more integrated and synthesised use of the literature on the themes that emerged from the research would strengthen the analysis presented in the findings chapters of

the thesis and so each separate findings chapter also engages with the relevant published literatures.

Chapter Two therefore analyzes some of the thinking about policy and practice which took place over this period. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 made it a statutory requirement for all youth justice practitioners to prioritise the prevention of offending by children, and in addition to this widened the field of service providers involved in this process by creating a general duty on local government to take account of the community safety dimension in all its work (Hope 1998). In line with this new legislation the prevention of offending by children and young people became primarily addressed through early intervention schemes based at a neighbourhood level (Anderson 1999; Muncie 1999; Goldson 2000; Newburn 2002a) designed to address 'anti-social' and disorderly 'pre-delinquents' (Smith 2003) and implemented by Community Safety Teams (Pitts 1998; Matthew and Pitts 2001; Omaji 2003; Burnett and Appleton 2004a, 2004b).

This chapter teases out the complexities, contradictions and academic criticisms of such reform and questions what was omitted from the debates on crime and anti-social behaviour. It contends that debates about social inequality, and the consequences of not having equality as a policy ambition, were sidelined in both academic, political and policy debates as 'law and order' dominated. The chapter also uses local documentary evidence to chart the social, economic and educational challenges faced by young people on the Hillview estate.

Chapter Three is a discussion of the research methods employed and the complex ethical issues it raised. It includes engagement with the post-modern critique of ethnography and provides justification of its distinctive value as a method for this research. It outlines the process of negotiating access and informed consent and gives details of what research was conducted in the field. Lastly some critical reflections on the methodology are given.

Chapter Four explores the ways in which young people were constructed as 'the problem' for those engaged with the local Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum (NCPF). It shows that young people were excluded from the consultation on crime and disorder issues and, therefore, had no influence on the shape of the community safety policies and strategies implemented in the area. It argues that this absence created an uncritical space for practitioners and some adult residents to operate moral authoritarian discourses about the nature of 'youth' on the Hillview estate. The dominance of this discourse resulted in the repeated use of a very narrow range of intervention strategies, primarily targeted police enforcement, to 'do something' about young people in the area and shut out alternatives.

Chapter Four then develops to examine young people's understanding of themselves and shows that rather than seeing themselves as 'the problem', young people understood themselves to be 'the solution' to the crime and disorder threats they faced. It argues that 'The Soldiers' had developed strategies, albeit ones that that threatened their own safety and drew them into contact with the traditional criminal justice system, of self protection not exhibited by 'The Kiddies'. This latter group, whilst remaining outside the protection of formal agencies, were forced to draw on their familial and kinship protection networks for safety, rather than develop collective strategies of their own.

Chapter Five examines young people's relationship with the police. It argues that, despite the recent lack of academic focus on this traditional area of criminal justice research; street based policing was a real concern across the age grades. It shows that despite the introduction of Neighbourhood Policing (NP) and the reassurance agenda young people in Hillview continued to be subject to intensive, coercive and often adversarial police practices. These practices deeply affected young people as they embedded and reinforced the notions that Hillview was 'crime prone', and furthermore that the police were an illegitimate and brutal force who would not, or could not, offer protection to them. The introduction of NP had not significantly improved the relationship between young people and the police. Stop and search continued to be

overused and new populations, primarily young females, were also subject to this tactic at the same time as there was an escalation in the levels of force used by Response Team officers on the street. In addition the formation of the Community Safety Partnership gave Neighbourhood Officers access to 'new' spaces, primarily the home, thus creating an additional layer of discretion through the creation of an additional layer of ASB enforcement strategies.

Chapter Six focuses on young people's experiences of multiple peer bereavement. It details the extent of the losses of friends to murder, drug death, and suicide uncovered by the research. It examines the short and longer term impact of these experiences on young people's sense of safety and security. It shows that the established nature of Hillview, and its extended kith and kin networks, led to these experiences having a significant psycho-social impact upon the whole community of young people, not just the bereaved family and close friends. The innovative coping strategies young people had developed over time are outlined and in contrast to New Labour's construction of 'deprived' communities and 'youth' as having a deficit of community and lack of respect this chapter contends that such strategies were underpinned by a form of organic community, in which respect for the dead and the bereaved family was crucial. Furthermore, the central role of 'named' families', particularly those with local reputations for crime and violence belie some of the simplistic claims often found in local community safety strategies, that such communities can be easily divided into (either) the 'law abiding' and 'law breaking'; or victims and perpetrators.

This thesis concludes that New Labour community safety policies and strategies did not have a positive impact upon the young people who participated in this research. National policy constructions of young people as 'the problem' were replicated locally and this worked to further marginalise and exclude this group in their own neighbourhood. Young people's concerns: the right to use public space; the impact of coercive; and intensive, street based policing; and experiences of multiple peer bereavements were unacknowledged and unaddressed. This left young people, already struggling in educational and employment terms, primarily responsible for the production

of their own safety and security. The strategies they had developed and operated to ameliorate the social and criminal harms they faced prove that this group recognised their own vulnerability and were able to actively implement attempts to ameliorate the harms they faced. Such strategies, however, proved fallible and could not prevent the event that had the most devastating impact upon subjective feelings of safety; the sudden, violent deaths of young men.

CHAPTER TWO

New Labour and Youth Justice: intervention, prevention and 'Community'

In May 2010 New Labour failed to secure what would have been an historic fourth term in government. The new Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government, formed in the wake of the inconclusive election result, has already made announcements that give some indications of the shape of criminal justice policy over the length of this parliament. The Minister of Justice, Ken Clarke, has proposed what, on the surface, looks like radical reform of penal policy, although the likelihood that the proposed 'rehabilitation revolution' (Ministry of Justice 2010) will be implemented has already been questioned (Garside 2010). The Home Office meanwhile has published a consultation document on policing (Home Office 2010) and will have to implement the budget cuts announced in the Comprehensive Spending Review (HM Treasury 2010).

Criminal justice policy is entering another period of reform. One that may, or may not, produce policy more sympathetic with current criminological concerns or the initial optimism may turn to disillusionment once it is realised that what at first glance may seem progressive and bold merely masks the continuation of more of the same. The announcement in July 2010 of the scrapping of ASBO's for example was quickly followed by the announcement that police officers were to be granted extra powers to manage 'disorderly' people and that Baroness Helen Newlove has been appointed as the coalition government's ASB Champion (Home Office 2010b). Indeed in her speech on ASB the Home Secretary Theresa May (2010) said,

> 'Some people seem to believe anti-social behaviour is just a bit of a nuisance – a fact of modern life – but I believe it is time for us to stop tolerating it. Anti-social behaviour ruins neighbourhoods and can escalate into serious criminality, destroying good people's lives'

ASB it seems, as a political concept and part of the 'law and order' agenda', has not been 'undiscovered' by the coalition government.

Whilst the future of these debates is currently unknown, the policy review currently being conducted by the Labour party in opposition means that it is likely to be on the run up to the next general election that their law and order policies are unveiled. The criminal justice reforms of New Labour between 1997 and 2010, in particular the early reform to youth justice (Goldson 1999a, Goldson 1999b; Muncie 1999; Pitt 2001) and the metamorphosis of social and situational crime prevention into community safety (Matthews and Pitts 2001; Gilling 2007), are central to this work.

Although this thesis is not specifically about the relationship between New Labour and 'law and order' as shifts from penal welfarism to policies focused on prevention are an 'adaptive strategy' (Garland 2001) that have been pursued to a greater and lesser extent by all governments in the developed world. Garland (2001) contends that these changes are far more significant than the pursuit of power through crime control of any individual party or government but are a consequence of the changing socio-economic and political landscapes of Western industrialised countries more generally. It was, however, New Labour, both in opposition and government, who developed the powerful political and policy narrative of 'law abiding citizens' reclaiming their communities from the 'law breaking minority' and 'anti-social youth' (Labour Party 1994, 1995; Home Office 2003a, 2004, 2006). A narrative that provided the basis for the watershed criminal justice legislation, such as The Crime and Disorder Act 1998, The Police Reform Act 2002 and The Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 which established the local structures of community safety and steered the policies and strategies that this thesis is assessing the impact of.

This chapter therefore provides a detailed overview of the philosophical influences of New Labour's criminal justice reform and its political context and then moves on to explore the significance of 'youth' for New Labour in debates on crime and disorder and details the importance of the concept of community safety in anchoring concerns about youth disorder in local neighbourhoods. Next there is a critical examination of New Labour's contention that 'community safety' could promote greater social justice,

particularly for those living in socio-economically disadvantaged areas. Lastly there is an outline of other key areas of literature that have informed this thesis as it developed.

Youth Justice Policy and New Labour

New Labour fundamentally altered the political landscape (Finlayson 2003). Their attempt to create a 'third way' (Giddens 1998) between the old socialist left and the conservative right pulled political debate in Britain into the centre ground (Leggett 2005). Commentators of this changing landscape noted that in the attempt to renew social democratic ideals, political ideology was replaced by political pragmatism (Smith 2003). In such a climate public policy was noted to be directed by a conflation of 'what works' and 'traditional' values such as equal worth, opportunity for all, responsibility and community rather than ideological purity (Finlayson 2003).

The 'law and order' agenda was hugely significant to New Labour, particularly after Tony Blair became Shadow Home Secretary in 1994 and throughout the first two terms in office. Savage and Nash argue that 'Of all the sea changes heralded by the emergence of the New Labour agenda, the shift in Labour's strategy for law and order has perhaps been most significant (2001 p102). Former concerns about the power of the police, the abuse of prisoners, and the rights of offenders were marginalised in mainstream political discourse and replaced by discussions of risk, responsibility and efficiency (Jones 2001b; Smith 2006).

It has been noted that attempts to create a 'third way' in British politics and Blair's natural affinity with communitarian philosophy are the key to understanding the law and order policy transformation (Crawford 1999; Hughes 2007; Gilling 2007). The next section of this chapter explores both in detail and briefly moves on to examine the importance of both left realism (Lea and Young 1984) and broken windows (Wilson and Kelling 1982) to the pursuit of the 'anti-social' in 'deprived communities' and the connection to the concept of social justice.

New Labour, Communitarianism and the Third Way

> I have always believed that politics is first and foremost about ideas. Furthermore ideas need labels….The 'third way' is to my mind the best label for the new politics which the centre left is forging in Britain and beyond (Tony Blair 1998).

It has been argued that the transformation of Labour into New Labour established 'Third Way' politics in Britain (Giddens 1998; Jessop 2002). A shift from the left to centre-left that had already proved successful in America and other European countries such as Sweden. Indeed it has been argued that rather than being called the Third Way it is more aptly named 'the American way' (Jessop 2002). Giddens (1998 p21), the main contributor to the Third Way debate in Britain, argues that the necessity for change was driven by 'a changing distribution of values, which fits neither class lines nor the left/right dichotomy. It entailed not only the renewal of the state, but equally as importantly, the renewal of civil society'.

Giddens argued that to achieve state renewal a series of steps and processes must be undertaken by government. The broad overarching aim is to 'democratize democracy' (ibid p72), to renew the legitimacy of the state that he argued has been undermined by the shrinking influence of custom and tradition and the lack of a definable enemy to unite people. In order for this to be achieved government has to respond by, altering the structure of government, devolving power down in order to create more power at the centre, encourage open and accountable government practises, prioritising efficiency and effectiveness, use public consultation as a means of developing policy, and take over the role as primary manager of risk. The renewal of civil society follows several of these themes, and is an attempt to reverse the perception of weakening community structures, high crime levels and the breakdown of the family. At the centre this involves prioritising the concept of community, increasing partnership working between government and civil society, the renewal of deprived communities through encouraging economic enterprise, increasing the involvement of the voluntary sector in service provision, focusing upon the prevention of crime, and encouraging the formation of the 'democratic family' (p95).

Communitarianism, which in its call for a focus upon rebuilding communities has many parallels with the Third Way (James and James 2001) was another influence upon the reshaping of Labour Party policy (Finlayson 2003). As a theoretical movement communitarianism consists of two strands. Firstly a concern for community life and a claim that certain forms of social relationships have value in themselves (Braithwaite 1989), and secondly, to reinforce the importance of an interdependent, rather than independent, society (Spicker 1994). Communitarians argue that promotion of rights without responsibilities has led to an increasingly dysfunctional and selfish society (Etzioni 1995).

Communitarian philosophy also breaks with traditional ideas of left and right; both free markets and the welfare state are viewed as dangers to the stability of the community (Lasch 1995). However, what is significant about communitarianism is that it also has a moral agenda. One of the most basic tenets in communitarian thinking is the regeneration of moral obligation between citizens, as Etzioni (1995, ix) states,

> Communitarians call to restore civic virtues, for people to live up to their responsibilities and not to merely focus upon their entitlements, and to shore up the moral foundations of society.

To examine how both the third way and communitarianism appeared through the policy developments of New Labour in opposition, Martin (2000) argues that The Report of the Commission for Social Justice (1994) begins to document this transformation. Several significant shifts are highlighted within the report, social justice and economic efficiency were pulled together as being mutually supporting concepts, there was a move from a passive to an active welfare state, and the standard method of redistribution through the tax system was replaced with a greater emphasis on redistributing opportunities (Lister 1998). Paid work became a cornerstone of the New Labour project (Driver and Martell 1998; Levitas 2005), and the introduction of the minimum wage and tax credits system were designed to make work pay (McLaughlin *et al* 1999). New Labour would place increasing importance upon the concept of

citizenship in which there would no longer be 'entitlement for entitlements sake' and individuals would have a responsibility to work, take care of their health, education and be responsible for their families (Lund 1999). Social exclusion would be addressed through a mixture of regeneration and work based initiatives, work was identified as the main way people could move themselves out of poverty. Those who chose to take advantage of this new strategy were welcomed in Blair's Britain, those who could not or would not it is argued, faced increasing pressure and stigmatisation (Le Grand 1998).

> The basis of this modern civic society is an ethic of mutual responsibility or duty. It is something for something. A society where we play by the rules. You only take out if you put in. That's the bargain (Tony Blair 1997).

Flint (2002) argues that there was an explicit appeal to the newly responsibilised and 'active' citizen to take on the task of governing urban disorder. Communitarian ideas of civic engagement he notes were posited as an alternative to authoritarianism and develop a more collective, rather than right orientated individualistic, concept of the active citizen. The failure of New Labour to stimulate such a response Flint (2002 p246) argues has resulted in,

> 'A return to law and order policies focused on acts of punitive intervention. Marking a return of State agencies as governors of social control'

Chapter Five of this thesis argues that more traditional forms of street level response team policing, and the intensive and coercive tactics used, were considered problematic for both the 'The Kiddies' and 'The Soldiers'. The implementation of the NP and reassurance agendas did not change the ways young people experienced street encounters with police officers. Such commonality of experience suggests a continuation of the social control function of State agencies, rather than withdrawal and return, nevertheless as the next section of this chapter highlights the 'law and order' agenda was absolutely central to New Labour.

New Labour's Developing Relationship with Crime

In 2006 Squires (2006 p146) argued that the 'Law and Order' issue has 'undoubtedly been the making of New Labour'. From 1992 Labour began to develop policies on crime that were distinctly different from what had been developed by the Labour party in the past. Labour policy had traditionally placed welfare and the rehabilitative ideal at the centre of policy making, and although fraught with tensions of its own, it had nearly succeeded through the Children & Young Persons Act 1969 to remove young people from the criminal justice system altogether (Rutter and Giller 1983).

New Labour policy on crime was distinctly different from what had gone before; being 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime' became something of a mantra for New Labour politicians in opposition (Newburn 2001). This, as pointed out by Drakeford (1998) could simply have meant the Labour party should be tough on criminals as they are purported to be the most obvious causes of crime. However, and as Anderson and Mann (1997) comment, it was explained as reflecting the recognition of the links between social exclusion and crime but also an acknowledgment of personal responsibility for crime and disorder. This was a message that resonated with a public increasingly concerned with crime and disorder issues (Newburn 2001), was crucial to electoral success (Pitts 2001) and was later one of the cornerstones of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal[10].

Between 1992 and 1996 New Labour produced twenty papers on crime related issues (Jones 2001b) foreshadowing the main themes of subsequent policy and legislative changes (Smith 2003). In accordance with communitarian and third way thinking these papers proposed several developments that are of particular significance. Emphasising the importance of supporting the community with crime and disorder issues was aired in October 1995. In *Safer Communities, Safer Britain*, the then shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw made the conceptual link between community and

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[10] The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal was a New Labour policy that aimed to narrow the gap in rates of worklessness, crime, health, housing and environment between the most deprived neighbourhoods and other areas in England (SEU 2001).

crime and emphasised the importance of making 'communities' safer as a direct way of tackling fear of crime (Labour Party 1995). Creating partnerships and placing a far greater emphasis on multi-agency crime prevention was a key element of *Partners Against Crime* (Labour Party 1994), and making the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' parenting and its relationship to the criminal justice system was central to *Parenting* (Straw and Anderson 1996).

What appears most within the papers published by New Labour in opposition significantly was the issue of youth offending. Five papers were specifically produced concerning the issue of youth and crime (Michael 1993a; Michael 1993b; Michael 1993c; Labour Party 1996; Straw and Anderson 1996), and clearly demonstrate the direction that New Labour would take in government on this issue. This body of work promoted the merits of early intervention, the need to reform the cautioning system, the repeal of doli incapax for children aged ten to thirteen years, the use of secure custody for younger populations of children and the targeting of incivilities or anti-social behaviour, as opposed to dealing with young people through the existing mechanisms of the criminal justice system, to address fear of crime and quality of life issues.

It has been argued extensively that the 'tougher' stance that New Labour adopted was one to directly compete with the Conservative party's reputation as the party of 'law and order' and that most of its ideas were derived from existing Conservative policy developments (Ryan 1999; Muncie 1999; Pitts 2000; Goldson 2000; Pitts 2001). This cannot be completely discounted, however, after the election victory of 1997 crime and disorder issues did not get relegated down the agenda (Smith 2003). If anything the rhetoric of anti-social behaviour, low level disorder and young people coalesced into a wider discussion about the very nature of contemporary society. The launch of the Respect Agenda by Tony Blair in December 2005 is an example of the political significance of such themes for New Labour.

Most people in Britain respect one another – we wouldn't have such a great country if they didn't. However there are a few among us who don't adhere to the values of respect. They are the anti-social few who can intimidate, ruin and distress. This type of behaviour continues to be a top concern for many of you. Labour has listened to your concerns and launched the Give respect Get respect campaign. This campaign aims to further the government's drive to clamp down on anti-social behaviour by intervening to tackle its causes (foreword on www.labour.org.uk/respect).

To explain this shift as merely an attempt to compete with the Conservatives does appear to be somewhat of an oversimplification. As Downes (2001 p8) argued 'they (New Labour) have needlessly ignored both hard won experience and academic expertise. So much so that New Labour might have based their crime control policies on an inversion of every criminological warning of the past fifty years. It is also clear that whilst they were developing their criminal justice policy there was advice, criticism and alternatives from academics and other Labour Party members (see Downes 1997). Jones, (1996 p4) for example, labelled the emerging New Labour approach as 'tough on crime and nasty to children'.

Gilling (2007) notes, however, that local crime and disorder problems, specifically concerns about young people perceived to be 'out of control' were being brought to MP's from their constituents. Furthermore, the influence of left realism (Lea and Young 1984) and 'broken windows' theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982) on the emergent agenda legitimised the form of criminal justice policy innovations. Breaking the connection between low level disorder and more serious crime, a connection Wilson and Kelling's (1982) hugely influential research into the impact of beat policing in low income neighbourhoods established, is fundamental to the ASB agenda (Home Office 1997, 2002, 2003). Tackling low level disorder and disorderly people, it was argued by New Labour, pays dividends in a number of ways, it reduces fear of crime and thus restores the health of the community and prevents the further deterioration of the environment which attracts serious crime.

Left realism, in comparison was a more specifically British affair. Lea and Young (1984), on the strength of their research in London, called on the left to take crime in deprived neighbourhoods seriously. The authors argued the concentration of victimisation found in poor areas further compounded issues of poverty and other social problems. Such was the influence of left realism it was described as 'a crucial vertebra in the intellectual backbone of New Labour's third way on crime, disorder and community safety' (Giddens 1998 p42). Tackling crime in poor areas, therefore, became transformed into a social justice issue, a concept New Labour indicated they had a deep commitment to but were not radical enough to deliver.

It was not, however, merely crime policy that is significant to this thesis but the particular place where young people, particularly poor young people, were located in these debates. This provides vital context for Chapters 4, 5 and 6 and it is to a discussion of these issues that this chapter now turns.

New Labour, Children and Young People

> 'For most parents, our children are everything to us; our hopes, our ambitions, our future' (Tony Blair 2003, foreword, *Every Child Matters*)

The challenge faced by New Labour was extensive as the evidence showed that the poorest sections of British society had been devastated by the neo-conservative policies of Margaret Thatcher, continued by John Major. By 1995 over 50% of households living in social housing had no breadwinner, and between 1981 and 1991 the average income for the poorest fifth of the population halved (Dean 1997). Rates of child poverty tripled (Bradshaw 2003) leading to significant socio-economic problems for children, young people and their families (Novak 2002). By 1997 it was estimated that 25% of young people under the age of sixteen in the UK were living in socially and economically deprived neighborhoods (Burroughs 1998).

It has been argued that children were moved to the heart of the social policy agenda by New Labour (Lister 2003, 2004, 2006; Williams 2004). Increases in Child Benefit, the introduction of Sure Start and Children's Centres, the

National Childcare Strategy, the pledge to eradicate child poverty[11], and investment in schools, particularly early years education, have all been highlighted as indicative of this policy shift (Hendrick 2005; Lister 2003, 2004, 2006; Williams 2004). William's (2004 p410) argues that the government's approach represented a 'new seriousness' towards children in policy circles.

It has been contended however that this shift was very specifically focused in its orientation; it was not primarily aimed at improving the well-being of children generally, but at investment in children in order to create adults capable of maintaining Britain's place in the global economy in the future (Lister 2003, 2004, 2006). This, according to Lister (2003, 2004, 2006) is a further example of New Labour policy being influenced by the Third Way agenda as it draws upon Gidden's (1998) notion that social policy spending by the State should be conceptualised as 'social investment', as opposed to a model of social inclusion (Levitas 2005; Rodger 2008).

Although the focus of children was broadly welcomed such an approach was, according to academics, problematic as it failed to create policy on the needs of children as children, rather than as future adults (Lister 2003, 2004, 2006), disconnected the needs of children from that of families, mothers in particular (Lister 2003, 2004, 2006; Henriskson and Bainham 2005) and relied on paid work to reduce deprivation and promote social inclusion (Lister 2003, 2004, 2006). Some commentators at the time did provide some support for this approach.

> There is little doubt that Welfare to Work is likely to be a
> great social good in its own right, because whatever people
> say about 'Mac-Jobs' almost any job is better than none for
> workless households (Toynbee 1999 p114).

Lister's critical analysis of social investment highlights that this model neglected some children because they were not seen as a good investment, in particular disabled, gypsy and traveller children, children seeking asylum, and children whose households were reliant upon State benefits (Dobrowolski

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[11] An approach described as 'consistent with the concept of social justice that lies at the foundation of Blair's vision for social welfare' (Walker 1999 p139).

2002; Hendrick 2005; Lister 2003, 2006) and 'underplay[ed] structural and economic and social class determinants…reframing the matter as one of personal responsibility in the quest to equip oneself to take advantage of 'life chances'' (Hendrick 2005 p56). This had the effect of binding social policy investment to notions of personal responsibility, personal morality and active citizenship.

Children and young people in Hillview, like those in other 'deprived' areas, benefited from New Labour's additional investment. It was designated an Education Action Zone[12] in 1999, received additional neighbourhood renewal investment through the NDC area based initiative which funded The Union Club until March 2007, provided the investment for a range of local programmes designed to improve the life chances of children and young people in the area and funded a brand new Children's Centre and other nursery provision. The Citywide Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy also began in 2002 with the task of reducing inequalities between neighbourhoods.

Despite this, however, ONS figures show that by 2006 nearly half of all adults living in Hillview continued to rely on benefits, a combination of Jobseekers Allowance, Income Support and Incapacity Benefit, as their main source of income (ONS 2006). A series of reports on social inequality across the city commissioned by the Local Authority (OCSI 2007a, 200b), concluded that NR investment had failed to close the gap on important indicators of inequality. Child poverty was found to be concentrated in the east of the city, the Hillview estate in particular (OCSI 2007a). Lone parents, households mainly headed by women, were noted to be particularly disadvantaged as they constituted 70% of all out of work households in the city (OCSI 2007a).

The narrowness of the local economic strategy was noted as providing at least a partial explanation for the continuation of deeply entrenched inequalities in the city as it was considered that the emphasis on investment in highly skilled, media and Information Technology innovation had squeezed

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[12] Partnerships between schools, the Local Education Authority and other local organisations set up to tackle problems of educational underachievement and social exclusion in socio-economically disadvantaged areas (DfEE 1997).

low skilled workers out of the local labour market (OCSI 2007a). This is supported in the literature by research conducted by North and Syrett (2008) who examined the effectiveness of Neighbourhood Renewal strategies in deprived areas across England and Wales. They contend that there has been an 'increasing polarization between high skilled professionals… and low grade service sector workers… that has further concentrated disadvantage in poor areas' (North and Syrett 2008 p136).

As the analysis on the social investment concept suggests the reliance on paid work and disconnection of the needs of children from that of families has resulted in the continued concentration of multiple disadvantage amongst children and young people living in socio-economically 'deprived' neighbourhoods despite additional investment. Children and young people living in these circumstances are picked out in both reports as being disproportionately affected by multiple disadvantage and discrimination (OSCI 2007a, 2007b). This conclusion is supported by ONS (2009a, ONSb) data which shows only 15.2% of young people in Hillview achieved five A-C grade GCSE's, including English and maths, at Key Stage Four compared to 45.2% in Brownstone as a whole and 50.7% in England. This is of particular local significance when two out of five Brownstone residents are educated to undergraduate degree level (OCSI 2007a). This was reflected in the participants in this research. Only three participants, out of the twenty eight who were over secondary school age, had attained five A-C grade GCSE's.

Nationally the picture is mixed. By 2002 New Labour had succeeded in lifting just over a million children out of poverty[13] (DWP 2002) but more recent figures show that since 2005 numbers have risen. In 2008/09 1.6 million children were defined as living in 'out of work' child poverty, the lowest rate since 1984, however in the same period 2.1 million children were defined as living in 'in work' child poverty, the highest number since the records started in 1979 (Parekh, MacInnes and Kenway 2010). The government's prioritization of work over increases in welfare as a route out of poverty, without the

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[13] A household is described as living in poverty if its equivalised income is less that 60% of the median for all households in that year (Child Poverty Act 2010).

necessary legislation for a living wage, rather than minimum wage, have resulted in 58% of all child poverty being 'in work' (Parekh, MacInnes and Kenway 2010). This point was raised in a press release from the Child Poverty Action Group published in response to the rise in child poverty in 2006. It highlights the failure of government policy to address the structural causes of child poverty and the significance of overall levels of inequality experienced within British society.

> The Government's strategy must now open up new fronts to attack poverty. It's time to address the structural causes, including Britain's dependence on poverty-pay jobs and the high levels of inequality in Britain compared to European countries with low child poverty rates. (CPAG 2007).

In 2005 a report by the Institute of Fiscal Studies (Brewer *et al* 2005) showed that levels of inequality were marginally higher at that point than those inherited by New Labour, furthermore, it stated that 'the net effect of seven years of Labour government is to leave inequality effectively unchanged and at historically high levels' (Brewer *et al* 2005 p3). Published research conducted by Wilkinson (1996, 2001, 2005), whose interest in inequality stemmed from a professional interest in public health (Wilkinson 1996), explored the relationship between levels of income inequality in a society and the presence of a range of social problems. His extensive comparative quantitative analysis of levels of trust, the presence of a range of social 'problems' such as drug misuse, and homicide rates between the American States and the twenty one most industrialized countries led him to conclude that reducing inequality in incomes, rather than poverty, should be the a primary policy goal. In relation to rates of homicide for example he stated that,

> 'In the developed world as much as half the variation in population health, in homicide rates and in social cohesion appears to be due to differences in income inequality alone' (2001 p64).

There is a growing recognition in the published academic literature (Ridge and Wright 2008; Dorling 2010, Hutton 2010; Wilkinson 2008; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009a, 2009b) of the importance, and impact, of high and persistent

levels of social inequality. This focus has been supported by a number of recent reports on the extent of a range of inequalities in Britain including health (Marmot Review 2010), income (Hill *et al* 2010), and education (Cassen and Kingdon 2008; Hill *et al* 2010; Smithers and Robinson 2010).

A range of different explanations for the presence of social inequality is offered in the literature including the role of hierarchy (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009a), the persistence of a set of beliefs by elites that greed is good, exclusion is necessary, prejudice is natural, elitism is efficient, and despair inevitable (Dorling 2010). Neo-liberal economic policy and globalization have also been identified as shaping inequality (Peck 2001; Wade 2001; Aldersen and Nielson 2002; Coburn 2004). For Hutton (2010 p4) 'the tolerance of towering disparities in wealth and power and the blind faith in individualism and markets' is at the core of the sustained replication of 'two-nation Britain' (p2).

In relation to crime a report from the Crime and Society Foundation (Downes and Hansen 2006), exploring the relationship between welfare expenditure and penal punishment, concluded that states with low levels of inequality and well developed universal welfare systems experienced lower crime rates and lower rates of incarceration in comparison to states adopting a liberal, market driven approach to welfare. If the evidence is correct and inequality does play a role in both rates of offending and attitudes towards punishment, the question remains why New Labour, ostensibly committed to social inclusion and social justice, did not use more traditional methods of income redistribution and protectionism as its key crime reduction strategy.

The influence of Third Way politics, discussed earlier in this Chapter, provides a partial explanation; however, Garland's analysis on the development of a 'culture of control' in America and Britain provides a theoretical base from which to explore this question (Garland 1996, 2000, 2001). Garland contends that high rates of recorded crime stimulated adaptive responses from the State. On the one hand this involved overt displays of sovereign 'power' through more extensive use of 'tougher' law and order policy, and on the other saw the responsibilization for crime and disorder issues pushed downwards

to other civil institutions and the public. The penal welfarist approach to crime was one casualty of these shifts as a public, particularly the 'professional' middle class, which felt increasingly exposed to and victimized by crime withdrew support for it. Crime control policy therefore became less about the notion that government policy could 'solve' the problem of crime, and instead focused on the management of crime and 'risk'.

Elements of Garland's analysis are found in Pitts' (2000 p3) contention that New Labour's 'response to crime derives from an analysis of the needs of modern political life'. In this analysis Pitts argues that governments now have to gain support from the working and middle classes in order to win elections, and that it is these sections of society that demand that government is run with cost efficiency and value for money in mind. It is also this sector that, apart from job security, are most concerned about the criminal victimization posed by the growing number of unemployed and disengaged urban poor. However, due to the impact of globalization and increasing fiscal pressure posed from outside, the government cannot ameliorate the impact of global capitalism and at the same time cannot afford to embark upon economic or social reform that is robust enough to deal with this issue. In order to retain political legitimacy it, therefore, intervenes in the lives of the poor, focusing upon the type of incivilities that the new constituencies are most afraid will threaten their quality of life. As Callinicos (2001 p27) observes, the 'social and material refurbishment of communities' appeared completely at odds with the continuation of the deregulation of labour markets, the free market culture and the apparently unfettered progress of big business under New Labour. New Labour was not about politics but instead was 'a vehicle for the acquisition and retention of power' (Pitts 2000 p1).

In light of the coalition's proposed cuts to services and social support provided by the State to the poorest families, and the forecasted impact these might have on child poverty rates and opportunities for children and young people (Browne and Levell 2010; Brewer and Joyce 2010), offering a critical account of the effectiveness of New Labour's approach to welfare feel iniquitous. Lack of long term and embedded progress in significantly transforming the life

chances of the poorest children and/or reducing social inequalities within British society (Dorling 2010) did not however arrest New Labour from the development and implementation of youth justice and community safety policies targeted at a wider net of poor children and young people. It is perhaps no coincidence that the steep levels of inequality present in the City of Brownstone were accompanied by a use of ASB intervention measures greater than in other places in England and Wales between 1999 and 2005, including areas with much larger populations (Home Office 2005). Measures the OCSI (2007b) report shows were targeted disproportionately at young people as over half of all interventions by the Brownstone ASB Team in 2006 were directed at young people.

This chapter will now move on to explore more specifically the developments in the youth justice and community safety policies. It is innovations in these criminal justice policy areas that underpin the local policies and strategies implemented on the Hillview Estate between 1999 and 2007 and which are the focus of this research.

A 'New' Youth Justice?

> An excuse culture has developed within the youth justice system. It excuses itself for its inefficiency, and too often excuses the young offenders before it, implying that they cannot help their behaviour because of their social circumstances. Rarely are they confronted with their behaviour and helped to take more personal responsibility for their actions. The system allows them to go on wrecking their own lives as well as disrupting their families and communities (Straw, foreword to *No More Excuses*, 1997).

When examining the literature that has been produced in responses to the changes to the youth justice system since the election of New Labour there are a couple of issues that are vitally important. Firstly, it is fair to say that much of what went on in opposition regarding the race to be seen as 'the party of law and order' did not abate after 1997. It was noted that concerned practitioners and academics believed that once in power the policies that were developed for transforming youth justice would be altered and the proposed pace of change would be renegotiated (Smith 2003), a position that failed to

acknowledge the extensive development of these policies in opposition according to Smith (2003) . However, as Jones (2002) points out any serious opposition or criticism of the developments of New Labour youth justice policy that was developed in opposition was essentially buried or regarded as unhelpful to the prospects of a party preparing itself for power.

It is also important to acknowledge that after publication of the White Paper *No More Excuses* (Home Office 1997) there was tenuous support given to the government's position by those writing in the youth justice field. The general position was that although the recommendations in the White Paper, which were subsequently put into legislation in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, appeared to be increasingly punitive, some of the measures proposed by the government were seen as liberal and progressive. The use of restorative justice, increasing consistency in sentencing and piloting new intervention to only implement 'what works' were highlighted to support this view (Smith and Stewart 1997; Savage and Nash 2001; Newburn 2001; Smith 2003). The Crime and Disorder Act received Royal Assent in July 1998 and was arguably the most significant piece of youth justice legislation in the last thirty years as it made a series of radical reforms to how young people who found themselves in the criminal justice system through committing a criminal act, or not in the case of Child Curfew Orders, would be dealt with (Hope 1998).

The reforms planned in opposition were given supposed vindication by the publication of *Misspent Youth* (Audit Commission 1996). This report posed both a critique of the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the existing youth justice system and through its recommendations and emphasis on specific criminological theory developed a blue print for a new one (Pitts 2001). The government had already committed itself to using these recommendations when legislating for changes in youth justice as it justified a programme of reform that chimed with their new policy approach. What New Labour appear to have missed (or ignored) are the inconsistencies, exaggerations and outright inaccuracies embedded in the report. These are documented in Jones's (2001a) searing attack on the report that highlights; the lack of attention paid to the complexity of the youth justice system, the selective use

of evidence and the misuse of crime statistics and financial data. Jones argues that *Misspent Youth* painted a fundamentally flawed picture of the youth justice systems effectiveness and questions whether the Audit Commission, because of its focus on value for money and performance, is best placed to judge what is needed in a system that often deals with vulnerable young people.

Immediately after their election victory, New Labour set up the Youth Justice Task Force which made several recommendations to the government concerning the reform of youth justice that were surprisingly similar to the direction the previous government indicated they were heading in from 1992 onwards. These recommendations included; speeding up the youth justice process, enforcing parental responsibility and confronting young offenders with the consequences of their actions (Pitts 2001), and were expressed by government initially in the White Paper *No More Excuses*, and subsequently in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

Whether these changes amounted to a 'new' youth justice or simply an adoption of the policies of the previous Conservative Government has been extensively debated (Goldson 1999a; Goldson 1999b; Bell 1999; Pitts 2001). The justification for this argument is that from the early 1990's youth crime had been repoliticised by the Conservative government following the backlash caused by the murder of James Bulger in 1993. This marked, according to Wilson and Ashton (1998) a defining moment in the public consciousness that provided the public with an outlet about fears of an increasingly crime ridden society and the lawlessness of young people (Campbell 1999; Pitts 2001). In response there was an assertion by the then Home Secretary Michael Howard that 'prison works' (Drakeford and Vanstone 2000) which was closely followed by The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (Loader 1996). This Act effectively overturned the idea that custodial sentences for young people were expensive, inefficient and counter-productive, an idea that had been supported by all Conservative Home Secretaries between 1983 and 1992 (Pitts 2001), by doubling the maximum sentence that could be imposed on young offenders by the youth court (Newburn 2002a). It also lowered the

age of the use of police detention and secure remand to twelve and established Secure Training Centres (Pickford 2000). However, despite the increasing 'toughness' of Conservative government policy it is arguable that there are areas in which New Labour youth justice policy did reflect a new approach.

From 'Welfare' to 'Justice' to 'Managing' Children and Young People

Although apparent in the youth justice system throughout the 1980's and 1990's corporatism, or 'the third model of juvenile justice' (Pratt 1989 p236) had been revived by New Labour and the Crime and Disorder Act. It has became the dominant ideology within the new youth justice landscape despite the fact that in formal terms the key principle underlying all work with young offenders remained that of ensuring their general welfare (Muncie 1999). It has been argued that the corporate agenda introduced by the Act was just an extension, albeit a more punitive one, of the policies of the preceding Conservative governments (Smith 2000), and it is apparent that from the late 1980's youth justice was no longer about delivering traditional outcomes of welfare or justice, but one of developing the most effective means of managing young offenders (Crawford 1997; Pitts and Hope 1997; Muncie 1999). A corporate youth justice system as defined by Pratt is one preoccupied with 'administrative decision making, greater sentencing diversity, centralization of authority and co-ordination of policy, growing involvement of non-judicial agencies, and high levels of containment and control in some sentencing programmes' (1989 p236). The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 placed a statutory obligation upon all agencies working within the youth justice field to work in partnership and have the overarching responsibility of preventing offending by children and young people (Smith 2003) and prioritizes efficiency and effectiveness by focusing on prevention, as suggested by the Audit Commission (1996).

The most obvious corporate development was the establishment of the Youth Justice Board (YJB) in September 1998 (Smith 2000), subsequently to be dismantled in the Coalition's 'bonfire of the quangos' (Curtis and King 2010). The Board had powers and resources to commission research and award

grants to promote good practice, and in 2000 became the commissioning body for all placements of under eighteens in secure establishments on remand or on sentence from a criminal court (Newburn 2002a). It also collects, collates and reports on the effectiveness of Youth Offending Teams nationwide. The YJB produced a series of 'corporate plans' that set out the aims and objectives of youth justice that emphasized the importance of implementing what works and prioritizing the efficiency and effectiveness of youth justice. This broad overarching managerial framework appeared to be at odds with the apparent devolution of power to local authorities of the management of youth justice in their areas that is also a central part of the Act. Far from devolving power, it has been argued that the creation of the YJB further centralized the youth justice system (Clarke and Newman 1997). It shifted the emphasis for youth justice practitioners from working directly with young people to managing the administration of the process, creating a 'steering' and 'rowing' relationship (Clarke and Newman 1997), and stifled local, innovative practice because of funding restrictions (Sparks and Taylor 2001).

Making it a statutory requirement for non-judicial agencies to be members of crime partnerships is another example of increasing corporatism. The main multi-agency working structure that was created in the Act was the establishment of Youth Offending Teams (YOT) (Hancock 2000). Representatives from the local health authority and the local education authority, as well as youth justice agencies and the police, are statutory partners in this process. Crawford argues that this model of working enables there to be a holistic approach to crime that is 'problem focused' (1998 p25) rather than bureaucratic. However, research into this area has suggested that this approach effectively closed down certain sources of support that could have been found outside the realm of youth justice (Clarke and Glendinning 2002), created a whole new tier of bureaucracy (Turner and Martin 2004), and developed a system driven by the need to economically justify its own existence in terms of delivering effectiveness and efficiency and not necessarily the best outcomes for young people (Bailey and Williams 2000; Holland 2000).

The youth justice system has also experienced radical change in the required skills of its workforce. Pitts (2001) argues that there was a sustained 'deprofessionalisation' of the youth justice system, and that the 'no more excuses' rhetoric was directed as much at youth justice professionals as it was at the young people who made up the client base. Traditional youth justice workers were identified by New Labour as much as part of the problem as they were the solution. New skills valued by the corporate approach included the ability to work in partnership with other agencies, the ability to formulate strategy and apply strict rules of financial management and a clear commitment to the aims of government policy. Research in this area suggests that some professionals working in youth justice have developed ways to resist these practices and continue to deliver support to young people (Appleton and Burnett 2004a, 2004b). Chapter Four of this thesis argues that the narrow occupational base of local community safety practitioners, who were primarily former local authority housing officers, meant that there was an absence of professional knowledge about young people in local practice. This, it is shown, was one factor that contributed to the identification of young people as 'the problem' for crime and disorder management in the area.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 also created a whole new range of disposals available to magistrates when sentencing a young person, including the detention and training order and the action plan order. The new options in sentencing, combined with the reform of the cautioning system have meant that young people are less likely to come through a court appearance without being sentenced to something (Leng, Taylor and Wasik 1998). The primary function of the new sentencing options appears to be the monitoring of young people's behaviour (Smith 2003), a trend that was extended by subsequent legislation introducing tighter surveillance measures for young offenders. These included the introduction of the new Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP) and the extension in the use of tagging for young people on bail (Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001).

The danger in the development of the corporate agenda is that young people end up receiving neither welfare nor justice but are lost in a wave of

contractual obligations, surveillance and social control. The experiences of multiple peer bereavement, discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis, highlights the consequences of this outcome. The idea of the 'lost offender' is one that is raised by Hayward (2004) and is indicative of the needs of a late modern society, which demands increasing security and protection but turns instead on those least able to help themselves in an unstable social, economic and cultural climate.

The Rights of Children and Young People

> ..human rights are not a pick and mix assortment of luxury entitlements, but the very foundation of democratic societies
> (Office for the Commissioner for Human Rights 2005)

Children and young people are a relatively powerless group within any society (Haines and Drakeford 1999) and need the protection of laws that not only recognizes this position but takes into consideration the different stages of development experienced by them and the impact of this on their behaviour (Pickford 2000). The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) fundamentally undermined the progress of a rights based agenda for children and young people in this country by abolishing the presumption of doli incapax (incapable of evil) for ten to thirteen year olds (Cavadino 1997; Stokes 2000). In addition it extended the reach of the youth justice system to reach an increasingly younger population through the principle of prevention (Muncie 1999; Scraton and Hayden 2002). At ten, the age of existing criminal responsibility for children is one of the lowest in Europe, something that had already been criticized by the United Nations and that has remained unchanged despite comments made by the Children's Commissioner in 2010 that the age of criminal responsibility be reviewed (Thompson and Sylvester 2010). The development of secure training centres (STC's) for young people as young as twelve further eroded the rights of children and young people to be treated as a distinct group within criminal legislation.

What made this situation even more paradoxical is that the UK is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This is an international treaty that is the fullest legal statement on children's rights in

existence (Freeman 2000) and provides a basis for the recognition of child abuse, exploitation and marginalization, and established a framework through which a rights based agenda for children can be built through case law (Scraton and Haydon 2002). Ratification by states implies a general commitment to the principles underpinning the UNCRC and specific articles concerning youth justice, including affording primacy to the needs of the child, giving children an opportunity to be heard in any judicial or administrative process, using the age of eighteen as a benchmark for establishing the age of criminal responsibility and only using arrest, detention or imprisonment of a child as a last resort and for the shortest possible time. However, one of the most fundamental rights that children must have is laid out in s40, that all children should be presumed innocent until proven guilty by a court of law.

The use of secure facilities for ever younger children, the shift from using criminal to civil law to impose punishment, the failure to increase the age of criminal responsibility and the removal of the courts' necessity to promote the welfare of young people, were all criticisms levelled at New Labour regarding the Crime and Disorder Act's erosion of young people's rights. It appears that New Labour chose to disregard its obligations both to the UNCRC but also to the later incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights in October 2000 (Pickford 2000).

At a domestic level the youth justice system was out of step with the 1989 and 2004 Children Acts. Both afforded the welfare of children as the prime aim for children's services and promoted the integration of children's services to provide a non-stigmatizing and collaborative approach when working with children, young people and their families. This integrative and collaborative approach appears lost in the government's guidelines for dealing with young people who are involved in the youth justice system. If anything this laid bare the contradiction at the heart of New Labour policy.

> Currently the sentencing of young people is subject to several different statutory aims and principles – preventing offending, taking account of welfare and ensuring just deserts. We now propose a single main sentence purpose of preventing offending (Home Office 2003b p4).

This shows that the right to ensure the welfare of young people applies to all young people apart from young offenders (Smith 2005); a contradiction that was not lost on organizations concerned with children's rights, their welfare and youth justice. Much of this concern was directed at the government persisting to single out young offenders as a separate category of young people despite the fact that they are often the group who are in greatest need. Whilst acknowledging that a move back into welfare principles is not without danger (Pitts 2004) what is worrying in this situation is the continuation of the idea of young offenders as not having the same needs or deserving the same treatment as other children.

However, an area that has not been explored as fully as the denigration of the rights of children and young people within the youth justice system is the impact of increasing levels of formal intervention with young people at a neighbourhood level. Children and young people are subjected to levels of intervention previously unprecedented in England and Wales and this intervention is often sparked by behaviour than in itself is not criminal (Squires and Stephen 2005). Child curfew schemes, ASBO's and child safety orders were all placed on statute by the Act. This, according to Stephen, has led to a situation whereby

> children and young people labelled as 'anti-social' are
> becoming recognisable as *homo sacer,* 'neither defined by
> any sense of positive laws nor carrier of human rights'
> (Bauman 2004 p32) (2006 p220).

Chapter Five of this thesis picks up on the theme of children's legal rights as it is shown that interventions involving the police in the home, justified as an early intervention tactic, did not adhere to the legal rights of children as outlined by PACE.

Community Safety, the Ethos of Prevention and the consequences of Intervention

> It shall be the principle aim of the youth justice system to prevent offending by children and young persons (Crime and Disorder Act s37 (1).

> To restrict the actions of the well meaning is the single strategy most likely to slow down the spread of social control, and the strategy which….is the most difficult to achieve and sustain (Harris and Webb 1987 p18).

The period from the mid 1970's to the end of the 1990's witnessed a shift in focus from situation to social crime prevention, to disorder and eventually to community safety (Matthews and Pitts 2001). As has been widely documented the developments enacted by New Labour included a shift towards 'criminalisation' of social policy (Crawford 1997; Gilling and Barton 1997; Smith 1999; Muncie 2000; Beckett and Western 2001; Rodger 2008). This process was placed on statute by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 which created a general duty on local government to take account of the community safety dimension in all its work (Hope 1998). This can, as Crawford argues,

> …serve to extend a particular vision of crime control..(which tends) largely to be pragmatic and managerial. The forms of intervention tend to be short-term and situational. Those interventions which are amenable to simple evaluation so beloved of funding bodies, the commercial sector and the media are consequently accorded priority. As such, they tend to focus on target hardening, 'designing out' crime, and other 'technological fixes' at the expense of interventions which question the social causes of crime (1997 p232).

Absolutely central to the developments in the Crime and Disorder Act was the emphasis that it placed upon prevention of offending. The concept of preventing children and young people from committing crime could be approached in a myriad of ways. All young people could be prevented from committing crime if New Labour had declared that they would not treat offending behaviour by all those under eighteen as criminal, a tall order for a government that created 139 new offences in the 1999 to 2000 parliamentary session alone (Sparks and Taylor 2001).

New Labour adopted a direct, interventionist, approach to tackling the issue of young people and crime. According to New Labour 'by intervening early and effectively before crime becomes a habit, we can stop today's young offenders becoming tomorrow's career criminals' (Home Office 1997 para 47). The firm emphasis was therefore placed on community safety to use a range of new disposals that intervened in the lives of children and young people before they committed a criminal offence. In *No More Excuses* (1997) New Labour insisted that there is no conflict between protecting the welfare of a young person and preventing that young person from offending. This, according to Smith (2003 p63) resulted in a conflation of rights and responsibilities and led to 'a conceptual adjustment that provides the justification for limitless scope for intervention across all aspects of young people's lives'. The clearance of young people from public space in Hillview outlined in Chapter Four is one such example of this.

The Crime and Disorder Act provided the basis for earlier interventions into the lives of young offenders and children and young people deemed 'at risk' (Newburn 2002a). This was a radical departure from the Conservatives offender and deterrent/punishment orientated philosophy (Savage and Nash 2001) and inextricably tied youth justice into the wider agenda of community safety and a different ideology about child development and intervention (Muncie 1999; Smith 2003; Armstrong 2004). The Act introduced two new measures that would enable intervention in the life of a child of any age, the child safety order and child curfew schemes (Leng, Taylor and Wasik 1998). Both of these interventions were designed to target 'pre-delinquents' and as such extended the scope of the criminal justice system into areas of behaviour management previously beyond the reach of the criminal law (Smith 2003) and is a clear example of what Muncie (1999) describes as the 'institutionalized intolerance' of young people.

Possibly the most significant development of this agenda was the creation of the ASBO, established in the Crime and Disorder Act and often justified in terms of closing 'the justice gap' (Squires and Stephen 2006), tackling the cumulative harm on poor communities of disorderly behaviour (Hansen *et al*

2003), and addressing 'quality of life' issues, the ASBO is a civil order that could result in a period of imprisonment if breached. The loose definition and subjective nature of ASB (Squires and Stephen 2005; Millie *et al* 2005; Millie 2009; Chakrabarti and Russell 2008; Burney 2009) enabled numerous interpretations. Anti-social behaviour measures have come under serious and sustained academic criticism (Waiton 2001; Pitts 2001; Brown 2004; Stephen and Squires 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Squires and Stephen 2005, 2006; Stephen 2006, 2009; Burney 2005; Scraton, 2007; Goldsmith 2008; Chakrabarti and Russell 2008; Yates and Goldson 2009) for the 'inappropriately low' standard of proof required for a magistrate to grant an order, crossing the boundaries by blending the civil and criminal law, and their ability to punish individuals for behaviour that, in itself is not criminal. In combination these developments have 'effectively widened the criminalizing net..and refocused the gaze from the 'problem' and 'criminogenic family' to the 'problem area' and 'crime prone estate' (Goldson 1999c p14).

The focus on tackling crime within specific types of neighbourhood, those with high levels of deprivation, unemployment, poor housing and low educational attainment, with community safety strategies was not in itself a new development. The Conservative government tried a similar approach with the 'Five Towns' demonstration project that ran for eighteen months beginning in 1986 (Tilley 1993). For the Conservative government, however, an unwillingness to financially support these crime prevention initiatives, and a reluctance to devolve power down to local authorities resulted in a patchy and uncoordinated approach (Crawford 1997). What distinguishes the approach taken by New Labour was the statutory nature of partnership working within the community safety agenda. One of the questions addressed by this research was the extent to which the practice of community safety penetrated the everyday lives of residents, particularly young residents of these areas.

The shift from crime prevention, to social crime prevention to the broader concept of community safety has been a process that has occurred over the past forty years in Britain (Crawford 1997; Pitts and Marlow 1998; McLaughlin 2002). However, the publication of *Safer Communities: The local Delivery of*

Crime Prevention through the Partnership Approach (Home Office 1991), otherwise known as The Morgan Report[14], was the point at which New Labour tied itself to a commitment to implementing community safety as an integral part of their criminal justice policy making. This position, like that of youth justice, was influenced by a panic about the perceived increasing criminality of young people, the rise of the 'underclass' (Murray 1990) and the break up of communities (McDonald 1997; McLaughlin 2002). It is also another example of the development and influence of the third way and communitarian influence on New Labour. Indeed this change in stance was steeped in the language of these two ideologies promoting an emphasis on 'family', 'responsibilities' and 'obligations'.

Community safety was seen as offering a more progressive way forward by making crime, incivilities and environment issues part of a more comprehensive agenda (Crawford 1997). New Labour identified crime as another issue that compounded the cycle of poverty and exclusion that some people in Britain experience (Hope 2001). Community Safety Teams were first located within 'deprived' neighbourhoods and were there to play an active role in the broader National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/). Balancing the needs of the 'community' and assisting them in the development of strategies that target local problems of crime and disorder, and on the other hand being subject to centrally driven monitoring, performance management and targeting nationally driven priorities could have implications for the work conducted at a local level. Chapter Four of this thesis shows that community safety in Hillview was preoccupied with the perceived 'anti-social' tendencies of young people and that whilst this has vocalised as a priority for the small minority of residents active at the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum this in no way reflected the concerns of young people themselves.

Young people were a pre-occupation in both the report of the Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention, known as The Morgan Report

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[14] The Morgan Report was the product of an independent working group convened by the Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention. This group, chaired by Mr James Morgan, examined the opportunities and difficulties of working in partnership to reduce crime.

(Home Office 1991), and the Crime and Disorder Act. In fact, the only group that are singled out in the recommendations of the Morgan Report are young people.

> Local multi-agency partnerships should give *particular* attention to the issue of young people and crime in preparing a portfolio of crime prevention activities (section 4, italics added).

This emphasis has serious implications for young people. Firstly, a great deal of the implementation of legislation is defined by the interpretation of that legislation by those who have responsibility for it on the ground. The tone of the Crime and Disorder Act is one that promotes the idea that young people have been 'getting away with it' and as a consequence have become increasingly prone to involvement in crime and anti-social behaviour. Apart from neglecting the 'toughness' of the youth justice reforms of the early 1990's (Pitts 2001) it could be argued that this tone has had a direct impact upon the shape of neighbourhood interventions. Campbell's (2002) research on the application of ASBO's in fourteen separate areas shows that a sense of youthful impunity drove the intervention process.

Community safety for young people appears to be founded on the assumption that they are first and foremost perpetrators of crime and anti-social behaviour. As Squires and Stephen (2005 p366) argue 'government sound-bites and rhetoric suggests that it is easy to identify 'victims' and 'perpetrators' within community safety discourses'. However, ABC's, ASBO's, curfews and the establishment of YISPs all neglect young people's exposure to crime as victims. Chapter Six of this thesis shows that the construction of young people as 'the problem' meant that the social and criminal harms faced by young people were not known by local practitioners, leaving young people exposed and vulnerable.

This was, however, identified previously as a serious error on the part of New Labour as young people in general, and marginalized young people in particular, are more at risk than any other group to experience high levels of victimization. Research published in the early 1990's (Anderson *et al* 1990, 1991, 1994), for example, showed that a sample of over one thousand

children reported 'unbelievably' (Anderson *et al* 1990 p16) high rates of victimization across a range of offence categories. One half of girls and a third of boys in the sample reporting harassment perpetrated by an adult, for example, and one half of the 120 children interviewed for the study disclosed being a victim of either assault, threatening behaviour or theft. Hartless *et al* (1995) replicated this research in a different city and uncovered very similar levels of direct and indirect criminal victimization amongst the sample of 208 11-15 years olds who participated in the research. Such high levels of victimization led the authors to conclude that the young people who had participated in the study were more 'sinned against than sinning' (Hartless *et al* 1995 p114).

Deakin (2006 p377) argues, however, that it is not just criminal victimization that young people encounter but 'a range of types of victimization that are not defined as criminal such as harassment and bullying that may take the form of physical attack, threatening behaviour and emotional abuse'. This research, which was conducted with a sample of 2420 children between the ages of nine and sixteen in north-west England, also uncovered an alarmingly high rate of victimization amongst those who had participated in the research. 80% of participants claimed to have experienced harassment, 54% physical assault, 24% theft and 21% sexual intrusion. It also revealed, however, that gender, age, ethnicity and area of residence had a marked impact on the types and frequency of victimization experienced. Boys were more likely to have experienced physical assaults, thefts and verbal threats than girls, for example, but significantly the research showed that area of residence was related to the levels of victimization reported by participants. The author states,

> 'Children from inner cities and peripheral housing estates revealed greater levels of victimization (with the exception of sexual intrusion) than their counterparts in rural and suburban areas' (Deakin 2006 p387)

In January 2009 the British Crime Survey was extended to include children between the ages of ten and fifteen. Estimates produced from the first data

sets show that children have a rate of victimisation that is six times that of adults and similarly to the Deakin (2006) study it was concluded that personal and background characteristics elevated victimisation further. Boys were more vulnerable to victimisation than girls, children with an illness or disability had a higher risk of being a victim of violence and personal crime and children living on social-rented housing had a higher risk of being victims of violence than those living in owned accommodation.

Not taking account of young people's experiences of victimization and developing community safety polices and strategies that posits them primarily as perpetrators of crime and ASB is not, however, without consequences.

> …targeting groups of people in a personal and adversarial way..not only creates scapegoats, but risks sparking confrontation..the point is that whenever one group is targeted and blamed for the ills of society, they are likely to interpret this as dismissal from the mainstream (Charles Pollard, Chief Constable of Thames Valley cited in NACRO 1997 p18).

The tone of government rhetoric, the coverage in the media, and the focus of community safety interventions had the clear potential to subvert how young people are viewed and treated in their own neighbourhoods. Research by Measor and Squires (2000) suggested that residents of more deprived neighbourhoods are often more susceptible to this rhetoric, and, therefore, more likely to complain about the behaviour of young people. Moore and Scourfield (2003) take this one stage further and argue that not only are negative interventions socially exclusionary, once the 'problem' population have been the recipients of such intervention the 'community' expresses little, or no interest in what happens to them next.

The idea of young people being a 'problem' population has been further exacerbated by the community safety agenda. This agenda was supposed to focus on improvements to the quality of life and community safety of all residents by the way of consultation, participation and 'active citizenship (Hill and Wright 2003). Unfortunately there appears to be a feeling that society is increasingly 'at risk' from children and young people (Scott, Jackson and

Backett-Milburn 1998) and despite apparently being committed to combating social exclusion New Labour appeared to be working to exclude rather than include them as citizens (James and James 2001). Levels of active engagement and participation by marginalized young people in the development of strategy according to NACRO (1999 p6) research indicates that 'efforts to engage young people as a part of the community rather than as a problem to be dealt with by the community were less in evidence', a point explored in greater depth in Chapter Four. Non-participation by marginalized young people can leave them open to what Innes (1999 p407) describes as the 'tyranny of the majority', whereby strategies are used to target stigmatized, unpopular minority groups.

CCTV is increasingly being used in deprived residential neighbourhoods to combat fear of crime (Norris and Armstrong 1997), as a tool to collect evidence for the local authority and the police (Norris and Armstrong 1999; Lyon 2001) and to act as a 'deterrent' for criminal or anti-social activity (Coleman 2004; Coleman and McCahill 2010). As the introduction to this thesis stated Hillview was the first residential area outside London to have static CCTV cameras installed. Young people are an available population to monitor on the streets of these neighbourhoods as it has traditionally represented the only available space free of adult supervision, although this is increasingly changing. It may be paradoxical that public space often represents areas of privacy to young people (Valentine 1996a). How increasing surveillance levels have impacted upon the use of space by young people within their neighbourhood is examined in Chapter Four.

Concern is also raised by the potential for interventions to escalate quickly if a young person or their family refuses to co-operate, even if that intervention is at the 'soft' end of the enforcement spectrum such as an ABC. Research has suggested that the assumption often is that the young person is guilty of whatever allegation has been made against them (Hester 2000). Families have limited power in this situation to defend their child or young person. Interventions such as ASBO's and ABC's are not primarily concerned with addressing social or welfare needs of the young person or their family, but are

focused on changing behaviour. Research conducted by Squires and Stephen (2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005) highlights how ABC's are experienced by families as an additional burden which can place already vulnerable families under considerable strain, placing additional stress on family relationships. These authors also argue that interventions can have serious consequences for young people subject to them. It is argued in Chapter Four of this thesis that the consequences of interventions implemented to reduce or deter ASB do not just fall on those young people who are directly subject to an intervention. On the contrary attempts to clear young people from neighbourhood streets has resulted in short term, and potentially longer term, issues for young people growing up in Hillview.

There are much broader fault lines in the concept of community safety however that also impact upon young people. As Bauman (2001) suggests the word 'community' often evokes thoughts of tight social networks providing support for one another. The reality is somewhat different to this depiction, communities have become increasingly fractured and dislocated due to the impact of the neo-liberal policies of the Thatcher and Major years and the broader economic and social pressures experienced in an increasingly globalized world. This presents community safety with a problem. If communities are fractured and dislocated there is a question mark over whether community safety policies and strategies can be designed and delivered to address the needs of the whole 'community' (Squires 2006).

It has been argued that one way around this is to make communities 'real', and in order to achieve this boundaries and distinctions have to put in place and spaces have to visualized, mapped and represented (Rose 1999). These boundaries and distinctions, however, are not just actual space; they also take place at the level of moral values, lifestyle and choices. By making a community 'real' you have to develop an identity for that community that enables a distinction to be made between those who belong and those who do not. Chapter Four of this thesis explores the idea that the understanding of the 'community' in Hillview for those active in the NCPF were based on visions of the estate prior to its redevelopment throughout the late 1970's and

1980's. The recreation of a lost stable, respectable working class area aligned them philosophically with practitioners' own understanding of Hillview as requiring a restoration of respectable community. In contrast Chapter Six of this thesis demonstrates that the young people who participated in this research operated a distinct and innovative form of 'community' as protection from the consequences of the criminal and social harms faced by them.

The main consequence in the shift in agenda appears to be the increasing involvement of marginalized young people within both the control mechanisms of community safety and youth justice (Goldson 2010). These developments have 'widened the net and thinned the mesh' (Cohen 1985) of the youth justice system and have resulted in an overall increase of young people entering custody (Smith 2003; Goldson 2010). As well as increased numbers of young people subject to community based, early intervention processes, for example there was a 39% increase in interventions with young people in Brownstone between 2005 and 2006 (OCSI 2007b). More young people, therefore, have to live with the long term implications of this process.

Additional Literature

In the planning and preliminary stages of this research the literature on youth justice and community safety policy was very important as it provided critical insights into the significant policy developments achieved by the New Labour government. It also enabled the foreshadowing of some initial themes that have arisen during the fieldwork and in the data analysis stage of this research. In that respect it provides the policy context for this whole thesis.

As was stated in the introduction, however, the methods used in this research meant that the findings chapters of the thesis, Chapters Four, Five and Six, uncover themes not anticipated at the beginning of this process. This meant that the analysis and write up stages were accompanied by the necessity for immersion in new areas of literature. This included drawing from children's geographies, geography and urban studies to examine young people's relationship with public space. Re-engaging with the literature on young people and the police was essential to Chapter Five. In addition to this it was

necessary to engage, in some detail, with the academic literature of young people's experiences of bereavement. This included sociological and psychological studies, although when writing up the data it was the sociological literature that proved most relevant. Material on the sociology of death was also accessed.

The thesis now shifts focus to examine the methodology designed for this research. It includes an analysis of ethnography as a legitimate research method, a discussion of the epistemological and ontological position of the research, and an overview of how research ethics were applied to the study. It also includes a descriptive account of negotiating access to the fieldwork sites and issues of 'insider' and 'outsider' status in research. It concludes by addressing some of the critical insights on research methods that emerged as a consequence of the research.

Conclusion

This chapter charted the origins and philosophical roots of New Labours Youth Justice and community safety reforms. It identified the schism at the heart of policy making which placed children at the core of the social policy agenda whilst simultaneously constructing some groups of children and young people, including socially and economically 'deprived' young people, as a significant threat to the stability of communities. This position failed to acknowledge the levels of criminal and social harms faced by young people in such circumstances and the evidence showing that the socio-economic position of this group has not vastly improved.

CHAPTER THREE

 Methodology

This research is an ethnographic study within the interpretative paradigm, which employed a range of qualitative methods to explore the impact of community safety practice on young people in Hillview. The fieldwork started in July 2006 and was conducted over eighteen months, finishing in December 2007. As a piece of ethnographic work the fieldwork was based on the Hillview Estate, primarily at a neighbourhood based youth organisation, the Union Club. Observation and interviews were conducted in multiple sites and in a range of different circumstances, including a specialist group for young women between the ages of fourteen and nineteen and their babies and the monthly Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum. The Union Club, an organisation set up by a small group of local parents after the fatal stabbing of a sixteen year old local boy in 1999, which was established to provide a 'safe space' for young people in Hillview between the ages of eleven and twenty five years old.

'Soldiers' and 'Kiddies'

It was recognised during the planning stages of the research that in order to make any claims about the impact of local community safety policies and strategies on young people in Hillview it was essential to look at the experiences of young people over time. Thus two groups of young people were included in this research. 'The Soldiers' were young adults in their twenties whose experiences of Hillview as young people occurred predominantly before the youth justice and community safety policy shifts had become embedded at a neighbourhood level, and prior to establishment of the Community Safety Team. These young adults, which included ten young men and five young women, had grown up in Hillview in the 1990's and were also the group who, after the murder of Ray Peterson, the Union Club was originally opened for. In contrast 'The Kiddies', aged between fourteen and seventeen years old, had spent their formative years in the neighbourhood during the time when community safety policies and strategies were being

developed and implemented. It was also recognised at the beginning of the research that a practitioner perspective was important. Insights into the perspectives and pressures that statutory agencies on the estate adopted and deployed were gained through observations at the NCPF. The research also involved a small number of interviews with local community safety officers, Neighbourhood Police Team officers, and youth service practitioners.

An outline of which methods were used with which groups is outlined in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Research Groups

'The Kiddies' 30 participants in 15 interviews 8 focus group members	14 - 17 years 16 boys 14 girls 6 girls 2 boys	Unstructured interviews, focus group.
'The Soldiers' 15 participants in 10 interviews 7 focus group members	20-29 10 men 5 women 6 men 1 woman	Unstructured interviews, focus group
Practitioners 9 interviews No focus group	Professionals - youth workers, community safety officers, Neighbourhood Policing Team Officers	Unstructured interviews, participant observation at NCPF
Young mum's	14 – 19 years	Participant Observation Site 1: Young mother's group
The Union Club	11 – 25 years	Participant Observation Site 2: Youth work setting

Taking a comparative approach to this research, whilst considered essential in order to make any claims about the impact of community safety policies and strategies implemented locally was not wholly straightforward as using retrospective data has been identified as problematic in the research methods literature (Russell Bernard *et al* 1984; Beckett *et al* 2001; Elliott 2005). Firstly, this highlights that asking people to recall events and retell them is going to be a selective process, and, secondly, that this can lead to events being distorted. Unlike in a court setting where obtaining an accurate factual testimony is imperative for the process, this research was seeking to uncover an understanding of participants' experience in whichever way they wanted to express it by employing an unstructured interview technique. In practice this sometimes did involve a self-directed chronology, but more regularly the participants would talk at length about a specific event and weave in other experiences, using the initial event as a springboard. Generating data in this way is a method that has been used successfully in other research with young people, focusing on youth transition (Thompson *et al* 2004; Henderson *et al* 2007) and experiences of marginalization (MacDonald and Marsh 2005).

Choosing to include practitioners in this research was initially a difficult decision. There was initial concern about how interviewing practitioners, particularly police officers, would affect other relationships developed in the field, as well as anxiety that the final thesis would become an examination of how community safety policies and strategies were delivered in Hillview rather than an analysis of what insights young people's lived experiences uncovered about the impact of community safety policies and strategies. After considerable deliberation, however, it was decided that practitioners might offer potentially useful insights into the extent to which young people were the focus of crime and ASB intervention in Hillview, and an opportunity to explore the justifications for this. Further, it presented an opportunity for the research to include an analysis of 'what works' in terms of Community Safety practice from the perspective of practitioners on the one hand, and young people on the other. On reflection this was the right decision as it enabled this thesis to make a number of claims about the effectiveness of local community safety policies and strategies and community safety as a concept.

Crucially, however, this research prioritized the perspectives of young people and building on the small body of qualitative research with young people on community safety and ASB issues (Sadler 2004, 2008; Stephen and Squires 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Measor and Squires 2000; Measor 2006; Goldsmith 2006, 2008; McIntosh 2008) it is the experiences, stories, and meanings they have read into these events which has generated the fresh insights this thesis has to offer.

Choosing qualitative methods

Conducting research that aims to develop a better understanding of the social world and lived experience of individuals, groups or communities requires methods that can engage in a personal way that respects the rights of individuals (Fine and Weis 1998). In this respect qualitative methods have several key advantages that were vital to the success of this study. They are reflexive and grounded in interpretivism (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Crotty 1998) which, unlike positivist ontology, asserts that that the researcher and reality are inseparable (Seale 2004). Qualitative methods advocate a holistic perspective whereby the phenomena under study can be explored as a complex system, and encourage the use of small samples that can provide a rich narrative, are contextually sensitive and can enable the researcher to place any findings within a social and historical context (Quinn-Paton 1990). As Ritchie and Lewis state:

> qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach
> concerned with understanding the meanings which people
> attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values
> etc.) within their social worlds (2003 p3).

Accordingly, qualitative methods provide a tool box for researchers of personal, participatory strategies which reflect and embody ethical issues that, if executed with care, can elicit stories, narrative, thoughts, observations and experiences that can open up the phenomena under study. Qualitative research resists hypothesis testing and instead is an inductive, holistic process that respects the humanity of participants (Rossman and Rallis 1998;

Marshall and Rossman 1999). An integral part of this equation is how issues of ethics and representation of marginal groups can be supported by the use of qualitative methods.

When we research individuals who live in particularly deprived situations then issues of how individuals are represented in our work, and the ethical considerations that are a key part of it, become a vital component of the research process. In addition to this, it is argued, these considerations are *different* to those experienced by other groups (Fine and Weis 1998; Fine *et al* 2000). This perspective has been developed by Michelle Fine and Lois Weis who carry out their research in socio-economically distressed areas of the United States in order to explore issues of class (Weis 1990; Weis 1994; Fine *et al* 1997; Weis 2004), race (Fine *et al* 1997), crime (Daiute and Fine 2003), education (Fine 1991; Weis and Fine 2000; Fine and Weis 2003) and poverty and further issues of social justice. In their book *The Unknown City: the lives of poor and working class young adults* (1998) they make the point that participants who live in socially and economically deprived situations are more vulnerable to exploitation in the research process. This vulnerability manifests itself in a number of ways, including the possibility of researchers to further 'other' marginalized individuals, and research findings being misused to support the objectification and legislative pressure on working class communities. Researchers who have a commitment to issues of social justice, therefore, have to fully engage with what they call the 'ethics of responsibility' (Fine *et al* 2000 p125) in order to avoid potential harm to either individual participants or the communities in which they live.

> ….we err on the side of telling many kinds of stories, attached always to a history, larger structures and social forces, offering neither to glamorize nor to pathologise, but to re-view what has been, to re-imagine what could be in communities of poverty and the working class, and to re-visit with critical speculation, lives, relations and communities of privilege (Fine *et al* 2000 p126).

In order to avoid any such harm and potentially 'othering' already marginalized groups Fine *et al* (2000 p126-127) suggest a number of

strategies that can be deployed by social researchers. Locating the voices of individuals back to the set of historic, structural and economic circumstances in which they are situated they assert, prevents individual behaviour being labelled as pathological. Instead it can illustrate the forces which bear down upon communities which experience social and economic distress and can produce behaviour that, seen out of context, can appear harmful, irrational or criminal. They advocate the use of multiple methods so that data that is generated can be engaged with and analysed in a variety of different ways. Describing the mundane aspects of daily life is as important as focusing upon 'bad stories' or dramatic events and failure to do this, they argue, further 'others' already marginalized groups. Moreover, discussing data that has been generated from fieldwork with participants (or an equivalent) is actively encouraged. This supports the process of analysis and adds to the authenticity of findings. One of the innovations of this research has been to use the work of Fine and Weis, and others (Bourgois 1996, 2003; Mullins 2006) conducted in the United States, to begin to develop research that has the pursuit of social justice at its heart here in Britain.

This framework was central to the development, data generation and analysis stages of this research. The actions and experiences of young people, which are examined in the findings chapters, are critically engaged with but not judged and are located firmly within the broader social, economic and cultural contexts of their lives. For readers of this thesis the informal protection networks discussed in Chapter Four, experiences of policing in Chapter Five and multiple peer bereavements outlined in Chapter Six could be perceived as the kinds of events Fine and Weis suggest can portray an imbalanced view of lives in marginalised communities. It is argued here, however, that for the young people themselves actively constructing their own safety through a form of collective action, and, the routine intensive policing they experienced was rather ordinary, and, in some ways mundane experiences. Peer bereavement was not a mundane experience but unfortunately was not an unusual event either for the young people who participated in this research. As Chapter Six shows, following the murder of Tiny in July 2007, the strategies participants had developed over time in an attempt to ameliorate

the psychological harms it stimulated were put in place in an immediately organised way, with apparently little discussion amongst the young people involved. This in itself illustrates young people's practice with tragedy in Hillview.

Ethnographic work reduced to its simplest form is a researcher immersing him/herself in a group or setting for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said and asking questions (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). The ethnographic tradition has extended out of its anthropological roots and is used as a research method in a number of different disciplines, such as health (Becker *et al* 1961; Bloor *et al* 1988; McKeganey and Barnard 1996; McKeganey *et al* 2008), education, (Ball 1981; Benyon 1985; Aggleton 1987; Blackman 1995) and criminology (discussed below).

> Ethnographic research has the capacity to produce
> historically, politically and personally situated accounts,
> descriptions, interpretations and representations of human
> lives (Tedlock 2000 p455).

During the initial phase of developing this research it became clear that an ethnographic approach had the potential to generate the greatest range of data from a multitude of perspectives. Ethnographic research methods supported the desire to conduct ethically sensitive work that could promote working *with* and *for* the participants in ways that challenged power relationships and encouraged participation in the field.

Historical context

There is a long tradition of ethnographic research in criminology and sociology that has radically altered our interpretations and understandings of marginal groups including the lives of young people. This history extends back to the work of the Chicago School (Anderson 1923; Cressey 1932; Becker 1963; Shaw 1966) and many of the 'classic' studies in sociology and criminology are ethnographies of the lives of young people (Whyte 1955; Thrasher 1963; Downes 1966; Parker 1974; Willis 1977; Corrigan 1979). These studies

focused on 'deviant' behaviour whether that is not subscribing to the rules of school (Willis 1977), the activities of young people 'hanging about' (Corrigan 1979) or exploring the relationship between young people and urban space (Downes 1966). What all of these studies set out to do was to provide a greater insight into the lives of young people and the meanings young people ascribe to their social world.

In more recent criminological history it has been noted that in the UK there has been a reluctance to engage in ethnographic community based studies (Noakes and Wincup 2004; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007), although there is some evidence of resurgence in this type of work at postgraduate level (Winlow 1999; Sadler 2004; Yates 2006; McAuley 2007). Ethnographic research in criminology, particularly the work being conducted in cultural criminology (Ferrell and Sanders 1995) is continuing to push back the boundaries of what is known about criminals, crime and marginal groups (Katz 1988; Hamm 1995; Ferrell 1995; Weisheit 1998; Bourgois 2003; Hayward 2004) and how criminological ethnographies can be conducted. The approach that is used in these studies has been shaped by the "postmodern agenda" insomuch as there is an abandonment of the idea of the researcher as purely an objective observer of a phenomenon. This type of ethnographic work is involved, reflexive, ethically problematic, and potentially dangerous. Its innovation, however, is that it can place behaviour otherwise labelled 'deviant' or 'immoral' within historic, economic and cultural contexts (Ferrell, Young and Hayward 2008).

This research has drawn on 'classic' and more contemporary ethnographic work conducted in America and the UK. It aims to add to the growing body of research that seeks to challenge the hold administrative criminologists have in debates over crime and its 'causes', and instead generate new understandings of how criminal justice policy can marginalize, control and damage the lives of young people living in challenging circumstances.

Needs and aims of the research

In addition to being able to draw from the tradition of ethnographic research in this area the research methods literature states clearly that ethnography can be a particularly effective approach to use when working with young people (Eder and Corsaro 1999; Detheridge 2000; Christensen 2004; Davis *et al* 2008). Eder and Corsaro (1999) argue there are three features of ethnographic methods that are particularly useful for the study of young people. Firstly that ethnography is sustained and engaged and typically involves long fieldwork. This they argue enables the researcher to have an understanding of

> what daily life is like for them – the physical and
> institutional settings…the beliefs that guide their actions,
> the linguistic and other semiotic systems that mediate
> these contexts and activities (1999 p521).

Secondly, that it is microscopic enough to capture the specifics of everyday life and yet engages in interpretation in a more holistic sense that seeks to capture 'thick description' (Geertz 1973). Thirdly, that ethnography is a flexible method both in its approach to working with young people and when it comes to analyzing data and building theory.

Ethnographic methods are also identified as being able to support the complex ethical issues with which this research has had to engage. Spending a considerable amount of time in the field enabled a whole series of relationships of trust to be built. It was made clear by one of the gatekeepers at the very beginning of the process that the young people engaged in this research had been let down repeatedly by adults (those close to them as well as those in other settings such as school). Being consistent and reliable in the field was as an integral part of the fieldwork as conducting interviews or participant observation as one could not have been achieved without the other.

Using multiple methods

Ethnographic research has traditionally included a combination of qualitative methods (Brewer 2000; Delamont 2004). Continuing with this tradition has been one of the most rewarding and fruitful aspects of the research. Providing space for a variety of different 'voices' to be heard in a number of different ways has been instrumental in being able to explore and untangle how community safety developments within Hillview have been experienced, constructed, and impacted differently on individuals, who at face value, could be considered as belonging to the same group, and between different groups (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Sieber 1992; Flick 1992; Ezberger and Prein 1997). Generating data that is sensitive to these differences has provided the backbone for this thesis, and has enabled the production of new knowledge about the issues under exploration.

Other benefits of using a multi-method approach are clearly documented in the research methods literature and it has been argued that; it can increase the accuracy of the research findings (Moran-Ellis *et al* 2006), support the reliability and validity of research findings (Sieber 1992) and increase the level of confidence in them (Fielding and Fielding 1986). These claims of reliability and validity are primarily made on the strength that multiple data sets can be triangulated and therefore provide an accurate representation of the object under study (Silverman 2008). It must be acknowledged, however, that issues of reliability (Marshall and Rossman 1999; Hammersley 1998), validity (Mischler 1990; Altheide and Johnson 1994), and the ability of triangulation to support these aspects of qualitative research is highly contested terrain within research methods literature (Patton 1980; Maxwell 1992; Blaikie 1991; Sandolowski 1993; Massey and Walford 1999; Talburt 2004). Post-structuralist writers such as as Scheuritch (1997) and Lather (2001) have arguably provided the most searing critique of this issue. Whilst acknowledging that this literature has contributed significantly to debates about the nature and purpose of qualitative research, some qualitative researchers argue that validity and reliability are important concepts for qualitative researchers to engage with (Morse *et al* 2002; Silverman 2008). As

such these issues have been engaged with in two particular ways in this research.

Firstly, there has been participant validation through the Research Advisory Group, a small group of Union Club volunteers who met approximately every eight weeks over the duration of the fieldwork to discuss emerging issues and key findings from the research, and interview participants having access to their own transcripts. Secondly, a process of constant comparison across data was started as soon as the fieldwork began, enabling any themes that were arising from data generated by one method to be informed by data generated in another setting. This not only provided support for themes that were emerging but also assisted in the identification of negative cases. Working reflexively across the data in this way was the key to the findings discussed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

The fieldwork was started in the summer of 2006 and was conducted over eighteen months and the participant observation lasted throughout this whole period. The interviews were mainly conducted through the autumn of 2006 and the spring of 2007 and all of the focus groups took place in April 2007. Using a methodologically integrated approach (Moran-Ellis *et al* 2006) during the fieldwork assisted in the generation of data that felt connected and robust.

Engaging with the Postmodern

> Where modernism purports to base itself on generalisable, indubitable truths about the way things really are, postmodernism abandons the entire epistemological basis for any such claims of truth…postmodernism commits itself to ambiguity, relativity, fragmentation, particularity and discontinuity (Crotty 1998 p185).

The philosophical essence of the postmodern argument according to Lather (1991) is that it claims that the dualisms which continue to dominate Western thought are inadequate for understanding a world of multiple cause and effects. Postmodernism is a rejection of the grand narratives and pursuit of objective rationality characterized by modernity (Alvesson 2002). As such the

evolution of postmodern thinking has challenged the foundations of the 'social' and the 'science' aspects of social science research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Smart 2000; Alvesson 2002). Postmodern researchers and academics dismiss the existence of an 'objective truth' (Lather 2001; Sheuritch 2001; Richardson 2000) that can be uncovered through the use of empirical theory and method (Lather 1991; Scheurich 1997; Smart 2000; Alvesson 2002).

For ethnography this has resulted in what Denzin and Lincoln (2000 p17) have described as the 'triple crisis of representation'. Firstly, this questions how ethnographic work can capture lived experience when this is so influenced by the priorities and position of the researcher (van Maanen 1988; Fielding 1993). Secondly, how can research be analyzed and interpreted when issues of validity and reliability have been so extensively deconstructed (Guba and Lincoln 1989; Lather 1993; Olesen 2000) and lastly, it has questioned what contribution social science research can make to the social world. Ethnographic writing also came under attack for making culture rather than discovering or reflecting it (Clifford and Marcus 1986).

As it has been argued by Brewer (2000 p7) taking the deconstruction of ethnography to its limit would take it to a point where it 'dissolves into air, leaving everyone uncertain as to the value of the data collected by it' and lead to impotency. This is an ultimately self-defeating position. As is argued by Atkinson *et al* (2001) the personal nature of much ethnographic work would have made it highly unlikely that any researcher engaged in it would have subscribed to a purely positivist perspective. This is evidenced in the majority of sociological works on deviance including Becker's *The Outsiders* (1963) and Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1955) and is a key element in phenomenological approaches. There have been attempts to reconstruct a workable 'post' postmodern ethnography that lay some claim to capturing a version of reality by Atkinson (1990), Hammersley (1992) Altheide and Johnson (1998), Brewer (2000) and Lather (2000). As Fine *et al* (2000) acknowledge the postmodern perspective is useful insomuch that it forces us to engage with concepts of identity and community in a less static way. Where ultimately it falls down is in its failure to acknowledge structural inequalities

that get reduced by postmodernism to a 'mediated text, not reality' (Willis and Trondman p10).

It is primarily this aspect of the postmodern agenda which is rejected by this research. As commentators have acknowledged living in contemporary Britain is to live in a society divided by social inequality (Goldson 2002; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Dorling 2010; Hutton 2010), reduced social mobility (Blanden, Greg and Machin 2005; Blanden and Machin 2007), and a time in which poverty is increasingly individualized (Stepney *et al* 1999; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002;) and pathologised. Researching the lives of young people through the prism of a changing welfare state, punitive criminal justice policy, and structural inequality is essential if the impacts of these changes are to be understood from their perspective. An essential part of this undertaking is supporting the participants' right to assert that their experiences as they articulate them do represent their *reality* (Talburt 2004), but simultaneously reflect multiple representations of 'private' and 'social' worlds (Banks and Banks 1998).

Accordingly this research employed a framework that drew from the multiple epistemological perspectives of critical realism (Bhaskar 1989), symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969), phenomenology (Schutz, 1967) and hermeneutics (Habermas 1971). Through its acknowledgment that social structures are 'real' and have the capacity to constrain agency, critical realism enables the investigation of how individuals employ agency to negotiate the wider structural framework. Working with young people, this perspective is particularly relevant because of the vulnerability and socio-economic marginality they often experience. Enabling the experiences of young people to be contextualized through this lens, adds a greater depth of understanding of issues identified by them. Symbolic interactionism rests upon the premise that individuals act in response to their interpretation of any given situation (Blumer 1969). Experience is therefore not static; individuals make sense of their own world by using meaning as a tool to guide future action. This is particularly salient in discussions regarding the formation of identity and how changes to the way a phenomenon is interpreted can impact upon identity.

Phenomenology in contrast asserts that our experience of the world is intersubjective because we experience the world with and through others (Moustakas 1994). Whilst hermeneutics requires an interpretation of social life that includes an engagement with the social and cultural forces that have shaped individual or collective experience.

Adopting a combined epistemological approach has added a depth to this research that could not have been achieved if a single perspective had been adopted. Part of the challenge of working with young people, who in some ways have suffered extreme disadvantage, is to engage with their resilience and acknowledge the ways in which they act in resistance of their circumstances, as well as engage with structural inequalities. It is, therefore, essential that the philosophical legacy that we as researchers are able to draw from reflect these requirements. This epistemological pluralism is an example of what Denzin and Lincoln (1994) discuss in terms of the fifth moment in qualitative research. Drawing upon Levi-Straus (1966) term *bricoleur,* a wild form of thought he regarded as characteristic of the Neolithic age, he conceptualised a bricoleur as solving problems by making do with whatever resources came to hand, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) in contrast use bricolage as a model for social science research. They take its central feature to be pragmatic flexibility, the use of multiple ideas, perspectives and methods, with none privileged over the other. Although this interpretation has been questioned (Hammersley 1999) this research has drawn from its central themes. Namely, that its use is compatible with the very inductive nature of qualitative research, and that the representations that result from it fit together to form a complex understanding of a phenomenon.

This research does not claim to have discovered either an 'unknown world' or a unified truth about the impact of community safety practice on young people. In some ways the lives of those who are most vulnerable are open to us in a number of ways, although this is predominantly through mediated images that can be distorted and objectifying. This research by contrast is an attempt to access the interpretations of those living with, and through these issues. This has opened up a number of themes that *problematise* the shift in

approach to tackling crime and disorder issues at a neighbourhood level and directly challenges the 'lack of respect' and 'lack of community' discourse operated in policy and political rhetoric.

The fieldwork for the research was based in one neighbourhood and, therefore, it is not suggested that the themes generated would be necessarily applicable elsewhere. This could be identified as a strength of the research as it has been highlighted one of the ways ethnography has adapted in order to rise to the challenge of its critics is a shift to more localized research (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Brewer 2000). In response to the questions arising over developing more generalisable research findings however this research would align itself cautiously with the position taken by Brewer (2000 p62). Brewer argues that generalizations can be made if the research conducted is rigorously designed, the researcher uses reflexivity in their practice and the grounds for which any claims made are identified.

One the most significant areas of concern highlighted by postmodernism is the rejection of the idea that research is divorced, and therefore not directly influenced by biography, from the researcher (van Maanen 1988; Dey 1993; Fielding 1993; Altheide and Johnson 1998). Participant observation, for example, has been described as 'the observation of a single individual selectively recorded' (Waddington 1992 p30). Individual biography is important in a number of ways when it comes to research. It can be a direct influence on the sorts of topics and research questions that people pursue (Strauss and Corbin 1990). It can impact upon how a researcher communicates with their participants, what is said, what is heard, how it is interpreted and their status within the field (Zinn 1979; Styles 1979; Oakley 1981; Brewer 1986; Naples 1996; Griffith 1998; Hodkinson 2005). This research has been influenced by the biography of the researcher who lived in Hillview for a significant period of her life and has worked in the area with young people; this will be discussed further in a later chapter. Rather than identify this as a weakness, however, this experience has been one of the contributing factors to the production of new knowledge in this study. A further

discussion of the insider/outsider aspects of this research are discussed later in this chapter.

Ethics and Participation in Research with Young People

In line with contemporary sociological approaches to studies of childhood (Robinson and Kellett 2004; Fraser et al 2004; James, Jenks and Prout 1998; Punch 2002; Alderson 2004; Alderson and Morrow 2004; Backett-Milburn and Harden 2004) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989) this is research 'with' rather than 'on' young people. Over the past decade it has been acknowledged that young people are competent and reliable witnesses to their own lives (France 2004). This change in attitude towards the capacity of young people to provide a unique insight into their world is reflective of a growing trend within the sociology of childhood that sees children and young people as subjects not objects of research (Curtis *et al* 2004) and recognises the 'rise of childhood agency' (James, Jenks and Prout 1998 p6). It enables the use of more innovative methods (Christensen and James 2000), encourages participation by children and young people in research (Thomas and O'Kane 1998; McNeish 1999) and demands a more holistic and reflexive approach towards working with them (Christiansen and James 2000).

It has been recognised, however, that these shifts have not benefited all young people equally (Curtis *et al* 2004). The voices and opinions of children and young people who live on the edges of society are often missing from research conducted into mainstream service provision (Hill 1997; Curtis *et al* 2004); they are lacking in community consultation exercises (Mathews 2003) and are noticeably absent in debates about crime and disorder issues. This leaves this group in a particularly vulnerable position. Mayer (2001) has argued that our lack of understanding of the needs of this group is adding momentum to an increasingly 'adult-centric' policy agenda that appears committed to legislating in ways that negatively impact upon young people's freedom and mobility. Hill (1997) has highlighted the detrimental consequences of not including young people who are in greatest need about the shape and delivery of services, and at a neighbourhood level their lack of

participation and representation can cause them to be singled out as the main source of crime and disorder problems (NACRO 1999; Newburn and Jones 2001; James and James 2001).

Recognizing this injustice, this research was conducted in ways that challenged inequality and pursued social justice. This according to Fine (1994), later developed in Fine and Weis (1998), encompasses a commitment to working in ways which directly address power relationships within research, acknowledges that qualitative research can reproduce the discourse of the "Other", and challenges all researchers to represent participants responsibly. Approaches to working with children and young people (and other marginalized groups) have been greatly influenced by the critique of orthodox, positivist research methods by feminist researchers (Oakley 1981; Harding 1987; Stanley and Wise 1993; Hill Glaser and Harden 1995; De Laine 2000; Finch 2004). A desire to address the power dynamics within the research process has driven feminist thought. Feminist researchers attempt to locate themselves in their research on an equal basis with their participants; the process is as shared and democratic as possible. This chapter will now move on to detail how this was achieved and how a constant awareness of the ethics of the research was embedded at the heart of the practice.

Ethical Framework

This research used the ethical guidelines produced by the British Criminological Society (2006), the relevant academic literature on ethics (e.g Hill et al 1995; Alderson 1995; Morrow and Richards 1996; Masoon 2000; Adam 2004; Alderson and Morrow 2004; France 2004; Fraser 2004) and the advice and support of the supervision team to assist in the ethical decision making for this study. The research also took into account the full implications of the Human Rights Act 1998. This protects an individual's right to self-determination, privacy and dignity, anonymity and confidentiality, fair treatment and protection from discomfort and harm (www.homeoffice.gov.uk/hract/).

Establishing contact, negotiating consent

As stated in Section 4 iii. (BCS 2006) all research should be based on 'the freely given informed consent of those studied in all but exceptional circumstances'. In April 2006 three informal meetings were held with the project managers of a youth work setting based in the proposed area of study. The meetings were designed to discuss the preliminary ideas for the research, its aims and the proposed methods that would be employed. The discussions were successful and a great deal of support was provided by the facility who gave permission for participant observation to be conducted on site and made available the possibility of this being extended to a local group for mothers between the ages of fourteen and nineteen.

As there was an established relationship between the managers and myself it was decided that a formal request for permission to conduct the research on site would be sent to the Steering Group of the organisation. This was done and at the end of April a presentation was given to the board about the research and consent was granted that enabled access to the project. This permission allowed participant observation to be conducted, young people in the sessions to be approached for interviews, participation in a focus group or be part of the Research Advisory Group. Records of the original members of the facility which opened in 2000 were also made available so that contact could be made with the older group of young people.

Despite successfully negotiating access with the initial gatekeepers it was essential that the informed consent of the young people be negotiated. This was of particular importance to this research because of the emphasis on participation by young people and the prioritization of their perspectives. This 'hierarchy of consent '(Woods 1992 p379) was negotiated by being present at a number of sessions run at both sites prior to the start of the fieldwork. I attended a number of open sessions on different evenings in order to speak to as many of the young people as possible about the research. What the research involved and what was being asked of the young people in these setting was discussed at length. A combination of speaking to the young

people and discussions with the youth workers led to the decision being made that consent had been given. As a consequence the fieldwork began in July 2006.

Research Advisory Group

One of the first tasks focused upon after the participant observation had started was establishing the research advisory group. The idea behind the group was that it would provide a forum where young people who used the organisation, but were not involved as research participants, to discuss the research, suggest areas of inquiry that they felt were important and be involved in the interpretation of the data (Measor, Tiffin and Miller 2000). The monthly Youth Forum meeting provided the perfect opportunity to generate interest in the group. A short presentation was given to the Forum in June 2006 and a number of interested young people agreed to meet informally the following evening at the session.

Six Union members attended the first meeting, which took place in the back room of the old Union Club building, and for the first couple of months the group met together at the same location. On reflection I think that one of the reasons these young people agreed to participate in the advisory group was that it enabled them to carve out a quiet space amongst the noise and squash that characterised Union club sessions at that time. It was also the case that it made them feel different to other members of their peer group and in some way, special. It was noted on numerous occasions, for example, that advisory group members would loudly protest their annoyance whilst simultaneously communicating their participation with their friends when asked to attend a meeting or discuss a particular issue that had arisen in the research. This became something of a ritual over the course of the fieldwork, as the following data illustrates,

'I finally caught up with Ashleigh [RAG member] and said the drinks and biscuits were ready. 'Oh' she whined 'you're *so* annoying'. She stamped her feet as she said this and I noticed that Ashleigh's' group of friends looked around to see what the commotion was about. Ashleigh smiled at me and said even more loudly 'do I *have* to?' I replied that of course she didn't but she followed me anyway, her parting shot to her mates 'I'll meet you here later. They can't start without me y'know' [fieldnotes October 2006]

As the fieldwork progressed it became more difficult to get all six advisory group members together all at once. In January 2007 the new Union Club building opened and the new facilities, which included a music studio, large sports hall, new computers and a large kitchen, enabled the Union to offer a number of different activities on club nights. Advisory group members were busier and much more likely to be otherwise occupied on Club nights than they had been before so in order to keep the group on track my engagement tactics evolved. Rather than try to meet in a semi-formal capacity at set time the advisory group started to meet in much smaller numbers on a more ad-hoc basis usually when it was observed that members had some spare time, and/or when there was a specific research question to discuss. Overall this approach worked well and the advisory group continued to meet until the fieldwork came to an end.

Working with the advisory group had a big impact on the research. It provided a vital space where the emergent themes of the research could be discussed and their relevance contextualised in accordance to the views and opinions of young people themselves. At times this stimulated new ways of thinking about a particular issue, for example, in February 2007 representatives from a production company visited the Union Club four times to recruit a handful of young people to participate in a documentary they were proposing to make about life on a social housing estate. At the time Union members were observed talking to these adults and the atmosphere at the Union Club on these visits was noted as one of 'excitement' [fieldnotes February 2007]. However, when this was discussed at the advisory group a rather different picture emerged. Advisory members expressed anger that the production

company had seemed interested only in young people who were already involved in the criminal justice system because they were worried that this might result in a distorted view of life on the estate being broadcast of national television. This worried them, they said, not only because it was felt that this would reinforce and hardened outsiders' negative views of Hillview but would also attract 'bad' people into the neighbourhood.

On other occasions the research advisory group confirmed the importance or significance of a particular issue that had emerged from the data, for example very early on in the fieldwork it became clear that the police, and in particular, young people's experiences with the police in the neighbourhood, were of real importance to 'The Soldiers' and 'The Kiddies'. However, at the time, it was felt that this might not fit with the community safety focus of the research and so, therefore, there was a question mark over the extent to which it should be included in the final thesis. In the summer of 2007 I gave a verbal summary of the key points in the data on this issue and asked members of the advisory group whether they felt the analysis was fair and, if so, what role they felt it should play in the final work. It was the discussions that ensued that reminded me forcefully that whilst the purpose of this research was to assess the impact of community safety policies and strategies it committed to doing so through prioritising the views, perspectives, and opinions of young people. Seen in this light it was clear that because young people themselves prioritised the police then the thesis had to reflect this.

Interviews

A number of the original users of the project, named 'The Soldiers' in this research, were still in touch and would visit the site regularly. Personal contacts were also used to access members of this group. The opportunity was taken to speak with these individuals and a snowball sampling technique (Hartnoll *et al* 1997) was used in order to gain access to other members of the group. Fifteen 'Soldiers' were interviewed and seven more participated in a focus group. Voluntary informed consent 'consent that is given freely, without threat or undue inducement' (Sieber 1992 p5) was negotiated with these, and all other, participants. All participants were talked through the research, its

aims, how much (or little) commitment that they needed to make, and were assured that they were able to withdraw from the research process at anytime without any adverse consequences.

It is accepted practice that parents or guardians should make the final decision as to whether or not a young person can be involved in research (Alderson 1995). There is also an ongoing debate in the research methods literature about the rights of children and young people to agree to participate in social research themselves (Alderson 1995; Grieg and Taylor 1999; Masson 2000; Alderson and Morrow 2004). Although this was acknowledged it was decided that seeking parental consent regarding the participation of a young person would fundamentally undermine the ethos of the research. Support for this position is contained in the law and the research methods literature. It has been argued that a child's ability to make a reasoned decision with respect to participation in research reaches adult-like levels in mid adolescence (Sieber 1992; Stanley and Sieber 1992; France 2004). The legal framework in the UK has embedded within it the right of young people to make decisions about their own lives. The Children's Act 2004 states clearly that young people have the right to make decisions about the welfare services they receive, and the Gillick ruling (1985) determined the rights of young women to make choices about their health needs. It is also important to acknowledge, as this is a piece of criminological research, that section 34 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 abolished the presumption that 10 to 13 year olds are *doli incapax* (incapable of evil) (Cavadino 1997; Jones 2001a, 2001b; Stokes 2000) and has led England and Wales to have one of the youngest ages of criminal responsibility in Europe.

The tension within this debate appears to centre on whether or not young people are competent enough to make this decision on their own and how competence can be assessed. According to the Gillick (1985) ruling competence is 'having sufficient understanding and intelligence to understand what is proposed and sufficient discretion to enable [a child] to make a wise choice in his or her own interests'. Grieg and Taylor (1999) warn about the dangers of using other people's opinions of a young person's competence to

be a participant in social research as this can exclude young people who could make a significant contribution to whatever is under study. Competence is also a social construction and therefore *who* is assessing the competence of a young person is as important as what judgment they make. In practice this was resolved through a combination of being actively involved at the research sites, which involved building familiarity and informal relationships with young people, and negotiating their informed consent. There were a number of young people who had experienced a particularly problematic and fractured relationship with school, some had been non-attenders for significant periods of time, whilst others had experienced several periods of exclusion. Issues such as these were not seen as a barrier to a young person's ability to agree to participate in this research. If a potential participant appeared to understand the aims of the research, and their part in it, they were assessed as competent.

Overall thirty young people were involved in participating in fifteen separate interviews. Initially interviewees were accessed through the participant observation youth work site. A total of eighteen young people participated in eight interviews that were conducted in the Information Technology room at the site. Interviews lasted between twenty five minutes and one hour. After the interviewing process at the club started it became apparent that there were young people from Hillview who were not regularly, if at all, participating in the clubs' activities. These included the older siblings of some of the regular attendees, young people mentioned by the youth workers and at NCPF meetings. Gaining access to this population was far more problematic because there was no one obvious place where they could be reached. After a series of failed attempts a breakthrough came when there was a chance meeting at the local shops with one girl from the club and her older brother, who, after being introduced, agreed to an interview the following evening at his house. It was this event that led to a total of seven interviews involving twelve young people being conducted in a variety of locations across Hillview. These interviews were generally longer, lasting between forty five minutes and one and a half hours.

Gaining access to practitioners was negotiated through contacts made in the course of the participant observation, particularly through the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum, and the young mum's group. A total of nine interviews were conducted at the practitioner's place of work. Before the interview commenced the aims of the research were discussed, as were issues of confidentiality and privacy. After this discussion consent to continue was requested, during the interviews all of the practitioners continued with the interview process at this point. A range of practitioners were spoken to including a number working in the Community Safety Team, Safer Neighbourhoods police officers, including Police and Community Support Officers, youth workers and the Hillview Teenage Pregnancy Coordinator. All interviews were taped and lasted between forty five minutes and one hour.

Using unstructured interviews was a choice that was made during the initial research design process. This was driven by a desire to make the experience of the interview as relaxed and informal as possible (Ramos 1989). But more fundamentally because the literature suggests that this method weights the balance of power in favour of the participant by enabling them to set the agenda, the pace and direction of the interview (Corbin and Morse 2003). Despite initial concerns as to how this dynamic would work between an adult researcher and a young person, in practice the young people involved in the interviews appeared to have no trouble articulating the things they felt were important. Although there was no mechanism built into the research process to officially ask them how they had felt during the interview this was always asked at the end of the session. Despite the discussion of sometimes extremely sensitive issues the feedback was consistently positive. A further indication of this was that interviewees regularly suggested the names of other young people whom they thought would like to be involved and actively sought them out independently on my behalf, a practice repeated by 'The Soldiers'.

In practice interviews were started with the same question (or a version of this depending upon the group being interviewed), could you tell me what it's like to live in Hillview? After that initial question had been asked, the response

would be followed up with a question that related directly to the initiated topic or a request for clarification. Despite postmodernism's scepticism of the value of research interviews (Lather 1991; Sheuritch 1997) the interviews generated a wealth of rich, in depth data which has been used extensively to inform the findings of this thesis.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were employed as it has been argued that they can provide an insight into multiple and different perspectives on a topic under research (Litosseliti 2003), enable the researcher to observe the dynamics of the group and retain a level of flexibility that can allow unanticipated issues to be explored (Krueger 1994). It has also been noted that focus groups can provide an alternative way at looking at social phenomena, that they can produce data that engages with the collective experience that can provide a good balance to the more personal, in depth data derived from individual interviews. (Fine *et al* 2000). This method has also been used extremely affectively in other research involving young people (Lyon, Dennison and Wilson 2000). Two focus groups were run in April 2007, one with 'The Kiddies' in the Information Technology room at The Union Club and one during the evening at the home of one of 'The Soldiers'. In the research design a third had been planned but was not conducted because practitioners, who initially agreed to participate, later withdrew.

The focus groups lasted for approximately one hour and were started with the question 'Could you describe what an average day is like in Hillview?' This was followed up with questions that probed a particular issue or sought further clarification. 'The Kiddies' group was dominated by discussions of the difficulties they had using public space on the estate and the role local response police officers played in their contested relationship with the street. Similarly, discussions of policing also played a big part of the focus group conducted with 'The Soldiers' but it did not dominate in quite the same manner. A vein of back humour that ran through 'The Soldiers' recollections of the police in the 1990's, whereas anger and frustration characterised their younger counterparts, 'The Kiddies', accounts of intensive street policing. The

deaths of Omar and Michael, which had happened the year before, and the impact these deaths had on 'The Soldiers', were an important part of this focus group. The strong emotional response this stimulated made the hour very draining and particular care was taken to close the group down completely before everyone went their separate ways. Over the coming days my concern lingered and was only appeased when, over the weeks that followed, 'Soldiers' talked to me about their experience of the group and seemed positive about it.

Participant Observation

As noted by Spradley (1980 p54) a participant observer comes to a social situation with two purposes, to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and to observe the people, activities and physical aspects of the situation. At two sites, the Union Club and young mums group, an active role in these environments was undertaken as soon as the participant observation began. At the Union this initially involved serving in the tuck shop, a role that put me into direct contact quickly with the young people attending the sessions. Although this setting was a familiar one, it took a significant period of adjustment to feel comfortable in my role there as a researcher, something not really anticipated. Extracts of the fieldwork diary that were completed between July and September 2006 reflect this, for example.

> I feel like a bit of a spare part. I'm doing all the things I should be doing like doling out the crisps and getting change for the pool table but I'm not really sure how to take things a step further. Doing the tuck is great because I can talk to the kids and they are getting to know me much better now. Tonight Tiff and Jo spent most of the evening with me just chatting about stuff like what's going on at school and that's great. When I walked up the path (to the club) loads of kids said hello so I think I am making progress but I need another way in (fieldnotes 6th September 2006).

In retrospect this period was vital as it allowed me to watch the dynamics of the space and the interaction between groups, both young people and workers. It also meant that my presence was not overpowering for Union

members, and that with time they realized they could rely on me being there. The young people who increasingly involved me in their activities eventually negotiated a 'way in' for me. Playing board games, table tennis and pool were opportunities to interact with club members and chat with them about events that were happening in their lives and developments in Hillview more generally. Something I came to appreciate over the duration of the fieldwork was the sheer volume of adults, some from statutory services in the area and others with a variety of different agendas, who would attend the sessions with promises of resources or activities that were generally not met.

The experience of young mums was very different. These were young women who were going through a number of changes in the time the fieldwork was being conducted. Giving birth, becoming a parent, relationships, housing and issues of education and employment were a constant presence in the weekly sessions. Being a young parent myself felt like a significant factor in their apparent acceptance of me in a short space of time. Even so, relationships with these young women had to be negotiated carefully at all times as even unconscious actions on my part had the potential to lead to misunderstandings and loss of confidence.

Regularly attending the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum meetings was not something that had been decided on at the beginning of the fieldwork. Once the fieldwork was into its fourth month, however, it became apparent that some engagement with local community safety policies and strategies was needed. This is discussed in more detail in the following chapter, however, as meetings were open to the general public attendance began in October 2006. This experience required a different set of skills than the other sites of participant observation. Being as unobtrusive as possible, including never speaking in the main meeting and taking limited notes, enabled me to continue attending until May 2007.

Despite the difficulties involved in conducting this aspect of the fieldwork it was consistently illuminating. Hammersley (1991) discusses the ability of qualitative research to throw up 'surprises' in the research process and it was

negotiating these that firmly embedded me in all of the research settings. Further, establishing long-term relationships based on trust were the single most productive act throughout the whole process as these engendered a more sophisticated understanding of the lives of those involved in the research. This did lead to sensitive topics being broached in ways that produced thoughtful answers (Bourgois 2003) and further supported the commitment of the research to investigating lives holistically.

Confidentiality and Privacy

In line with section 4 iv. (BSC 2006) this research had a duty to protect the confidentiality and privacy of the individuals who participated in it. This was particularly salient because of the nature of the data generated, and the harm the data potentially posed if this responsibility was not taken seriously. Confidentiality refers to data, and how data are to be handled in keeping with subjects' interest in controlling the access of others to information about themselves (Sieber 1992 p31). General points that were handled prior to the instigation of the fieldwork that assisted in this process included the ethical clearance obtained in July 2006 by the University of Brighton's Research Ethics Committee, obtaining a computer that has a password facility and taking advice on data storage and having use of a lockable drawer in my workspace and home in which all material relating to the research was kept. All of the data was anonymised at transcription stage with names, places and special events being changed or omitted so that individuals were unable to be identified. Hillview and Brownstone are also pseudonyms.

When relating this to participants, all of the interviewees were assured of the confidential nature of the data generation process in the discussions that took place prior to any participation in the research. They were also advised that this confidentiality would only be broken if the researcher felt that a participant was either a danger to themselves or others. It is important to acknowledge, however, that qualitative inquiry can also lead to what Guillemin and Gillam (2004) describe as 'ethically important moments'. These moments can take the form of disclosures by the participant of abuse, pregnancy, offending or another form of harm that a participant has either experienced or is

experiencing. Discussing or witnessing sensitive, and frequently upsetting, issues became an integral part of the experience of the fieldwork. As Chapter Six, which includes data where young people describe multiple peer bereavement experiences, shows disclosure of harm, whether that be physical or psychological harm was one aspect of this. These situations had to be handled as sensitively as possible and closing down interviews appropriately, often by offering information on sources of additional support, was how this was approached. At no time was the identity of a participant disclosed to another party without their permission.

Privacy differs from confidentiality insomuch as it relates to,

> The freedom of the individual to pick and choose for himself [*sic*] the time and circumstances under which, and most importantly, the extent to which, his [*sic*] attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and opinions are to be shared or withheld from others (Kelman 1982 p48).

Witkin (2000 p214) warns researchers against using participants as objects from which 'data' can be 'extracted' by research instruments, distorting their experience, and excluding participants from inputting into the research process. In as many ways possible participants were involved in steering their experience of the research. This included setting times and dates for interviews and choosing an interview (or focus group) setting. At the beginning of each interview it was made clear that participants could refuse to answer any question that was posed to them without explanation. Interview transcripts were also offered to all participants upon completion in order for them to agree to their use in the research. It was important for this work that the participants felt a sense of ownership over their own words (Fine and Weis 1998) and how they are represented in the study.

During the fieldwork protecting participants' confidentiality and privacy was a much more complex issue than had been suggested by the research literature. Two specific issues will be discussed here. Firstly, as a significant amount of my time in the field was spent at the Union Club the managers of

this organisation were fully aware of the research that was being conducted; they would often ask questions about how the research was progressing. Generally this was fine; however, there were occasions when questions became very specific. An example of this would be when questions were asked about the content of interviews. Interestingly, this never arose with the interviews conducted with young people but did happen for practitioners. It must be asserted here that the commitment to protecting the confidentiality and privacy of those who had agreed to participate meant that no information was ever divulged. This had to be managed in a way that supported my presence in the field and great care was taken to divert such these enquiries in a way that did not offend the questioner. Secondly, in March 2006 representatives from a private company based in London seeking Home Office funding to conduct 'life coaching' for 'disadvantaged kids' visited the youth club to prospect for other funding opportunities. They asked to talk about the research and its possible findings, as they felt this could provide them with an opportunity to bid for funds to work with the young people at the Union more effectively. Although they were not asking specific questions about individual content, it was felt that engaging in any way would compromise the confidentiality and privacy of the participants. A request received to discuss the research by this company was therefore declined.

'Insider'/ 'Outsider Research

> 'The Outsider thesis celebrates the perspectives of the 'stranger' or 'observer' while the Insider thesis claims that knowledge is tied to experience.' (Griffith 1998 p364)

Debates within social science research methods include discussions about the subjective position of researchers within fieldwork settings (Merton 1972; Zinn 1979; Styles 1979; Brewer 1986; Griffiths 1998; Coffey 1999). Central to these debates are ideas concerning the role of 'Insider' status within research, what this means, and how such a position can contribute to, or generate problems for researchers in the field (Merton 1972; Zinn 1979; Styles 1979; Brewer 1986). There is also a recognition that taking such positions can

impact upon how data is interpreted, analyzed and findings generated (Hodkinson 2005). 'Insider' research (Roseneil 1993) is a term used to denote work characterized by an initial close proximity between the researcher and the researched. Ethnographic work has a tradition of placing researchers within a close proximity to those individuals or groups that are the focus of study and much classical sociological ethnography laid claims to either existing 'insider' status or outline strategies that were used in order to negotiate 'insider' status (Anderson 1927; Whyte 1955; Cohen 1955; Becker 1963; Humphreys 1970; Patrick 1973).

There is general agreement in the literature that claims of 'insider' research need to be examined carefully as membership or proximity to those under study is not adequate enough to claim 'insider' status (Merton 1972; Styles 1979; Brewer 1986). Griffith (1998) notes that the situated knowledge of the researcher is only the beginning of the story as research involves a series of negotiation with others who may, or may not, accept or recognise claims of common experience. Using the example of middle class African American social scientists in the US Brewer (1986) argues that before any claims of privileged or 'insider' knowledge are accepted, categories of social class, age, gender, and 'race' all need to be accounted for.

For this research these debates are important because of my own biography and the extent to which any claims of 'insider' status can be made. I spent much of my childhood living on the Hillview estate after moving into the neighbourhood with my family in 1984 during its redevelopment. I also lived there as an adult with my own young family during the late 1990's and early part of the following decade. During this time I became a volunteer youth worker at The Union, participated in the early work of the NDC initiative and was able to undertake several short courses provided by NDC investment because of my residential status. I no longer live in Hillview, but members of my immediate family do, and I continue to have extensive family and friendship connections in the neighbourhood.

During the development of the research these connections meant that decisions needed to be made first and foremost about how ethical it was for the study to take place at all. McCoy (1998, cited in Lather 2001 p482) contends that despite all good intentions 'all research is to some degree surveillance'. Due to the socio-economic status of Hillview many of its residents are already subject to high levels of official monitoring. These forms of surveillance take many guises but include the presence of physical measures such as CCTV, the concentration of a range of state and voluntary agencies that are involved in family life in Hillview, and the levels of disclosure required in the existing system of State benefits focused on clamping down on fraud. It was never the intention that this research should add to this burden or make life any more problematic for any resident of the estate.

There were, however, a number of factors that led to the conclusion that this research was valuable. Firstly, it was apparent that despite the significance of the government's Community Safety agenda there was a lack of empirical work that had explored the consequences of this for young people in the academic literature. Having worked in community safety as a practitioner, and having conducted research (Goldsmith 2006) and work with young people in Hillview it was clear that the experiences of young people were not being fully represented. Secondly, it was felt that this could have longer term implications for young people. Although the significant limitations of this research, in terms of having any impact upon the agenda of any government was acknowledged, this research does provide an opportunity for the voices of young people in Hillview to be heard more widely that would have otherwise have been the case and to make a small contribution to debates on youth justice and community safety policy. Thirdly, whilst talking to residents, young and old, prior to the research it was evident that above all, they felt an exploration of these issues was warranted and, in recognition of this, lent their full support to the project.

Having a certain level of 'insider' status can make certain practicalities of the research process smoother (Zinn 1979; Hodkinson 2005). In this case this was applicable in a number of important instances. Access to participant

observation sites was a relatively straightforward process to negotiate because of existing relationships with people involved in working with young people. Although it took a while to feel embedded within these sites my presence often generated interest rather than hostility or indifference. During any contact with young people it often felt that being able to make common connections between us was an important process for them. They would repeatedly ask questions about my experiences of Hillview and always seek to find familial and friendship connections. Negotiating interviews with those in their mid twenties was also made a relatively straightforward process because of this 'insider' status. Siblings and parents were often willing to help out organizing interview dates, times and locations. During the interviews it was usual to have a brief conversation about people and places that we had in common.

It must be acknowledged, however, that unlike reading ethnographic work that often perpetuates the idea that once your place within a field setting is initially negotiated, and your presence accepted by those who are the focus of the research, the rest is relatively unproblematic, the experience of this research was far more complex. In line with the assertion made by Merton, an idea of researchers being absolute insiders or outsiders is based on 'deceptively simple' conceptions of identity and status (1972 p22). Like the experience of other researchers (Gillespie 1995; Song and Parker 1995; Mullings 1999; Yates 2006) asserting different aspects of my identity, at different times, was crucial in gaining some form of legitimacy in the eyes of different people, so for example, with practitioners, my researcher identity and experiences of community safety practice were more important than that of my identity as someone who had grown up in the area. It was the case, however, that others' perceptions of me changed during the fieldwork, for example when my former resident status and kith and kin connections became known to practitioners after I attended a meeting about an ASB Injunction between the ASB Housing Officer and a local resident. After this incident community safety practitioners who had already participated in this research became more guarded towards me and all eventually withdrew from attending the practitioner focus group I had organised.

My life experiences also differed from that of my research participants in many ways. In contrast to 'The Soldiers' I did not attend the local secondary school, for example, and had spent a considerable period of time living away from Hillview. I was also a graduate, one of only two who I have ever come into contact with from the estate, and was teaching in Higher Education throughout the fieldwork period. Being in my late twenties I was considerably older than many of the research participants and, as many of them were boys and young men, a different gender. On the other hand I know the estate; like many of my participants had experienced the stigma of being from an area with a reputation for crime and disorder problems and had grown up in a family which, unfortunately, had experienced many of the problems poverty can produce. I was both 'insider' and 'outsider' at different times in this research.

Zinn (1979) contends that insider/outsider status is more complex, however, than just acknowledging where a researcher is situated. She argues that it is as important to consider how research participants make knowledge available to the researcher by relating to them either as insider or outsider. On reflection this is where my connections to the estate were most crucial as participants disclosed experiences and feelings, the data on peer bereavement and safety is an illustrative example of this, which I doubt would have been available in the same ways to others considered more firmly 'outsiders'. It also opened doors to participants who would not have participated in other research and to spaces that might have been closed to other researchers, for example the informal gathering (described later) which took place on the night of Tiny's murder in July 2007.

Overall, no claim is made that this research benefited from a straightforward 'insider' perspective, if such a thing exists, however my 'insider' status with young people, built upon shared experiences, memories and family and friendship connections did greatly contribute towards the generation of data that tells us something new and unique about young people and community

safety. It also means that there is an ongoing commitment to disseminate the research in ways that involve participants and seek to make a difference.

Data Analysis

Once the fieldwork had been conducted the data that was generated included a fieldwork diary detailing the participant observation, interview and focus group transcripts. As Wolcott suggests it is not the generation of data that tends to be problematic but 'how to figure out what to do with the data' once you have it (Wolcott 1994 p9). The extent to which 'raw' data should (or should not) be described, analyzed and interpreted pre-occupies much of the literature on data analysis (Agar 1980; Silverman 2008). In terms of analysis this research has drawn extensively on the approach developed in Charmaz and Mitchell's contribution to the *Handbook of Ethnography* (2001). In this chapter they argue that using a grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) approach to ethnographic work can increase the ethnographer's involvement in their research enquiry; a strategy that they argue provides a balance between participation in the research setting and the theoretical development of the work. Although they engage with both the realist (Loftland and Loftland 1984; Sanders 1995) and postmodern (Denzin 1994) critiques of grounded theory they identify that 'its open ended approach to studying the empirical world…add rigor to ethnographic research by building systematic data checks into both data collection and analysis' (2001 p162).

As such the basic tenets of a grounded theory approach have been employed in the conduct and analysis of this research. These include a simultaneous involvement with data generation and analysis, analytic codes and categories developed from the data not from a preconceived hypothesis, theoretical sampling aimed at theoretical construction rather than representativeness, and independent literature reviews conducted after analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; Strauss 1987). Line by line coding was conducted with the interview and focus group data. Following the advice from Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) the participant observation data was coded in larger parts using whole scenarios or events. Codes were kept as active and specific as possible to allow for better analysis. Coded data was then compared and

analyzed in order to begin developing theoretical categories. As themes were arising a process of theoretical sampling was utilized in order to continue to explore these issues in different ways. The findings presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are dominated by the themes articulated and observed as being significant to the young people who participated in this research. Starting Chapter 4 with practitioner perspectives on young people was a difficult decision. After some discussion it was decided that this provided vital context to the thesis as a whole as it generated sufficiently important insights on young people's exclusion from local consultation on crime and disorder issues, exposed the contradiction at the heart of local crime and disorder consultation, and demonstrated the importance of multiple perspectives on local problems that not starting with the perspectives of young people was justified.

Critical Reflections

Taking an ethnographic approach was the right methodological choice for this research. Ethnography is an intrinsically flexible method that utilises the whole range of qualitative techniques and this meant that the original research design could be altered in response to the demands of the fieldwork and needs of participants. Conducting observations at the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention forum, for example, was not in the original research design but early on in the fieldwork it became clear that an understanding of how local community safety policies and strategies were developed and implemented was needed because not being familiar with the landscape of community safety in Hillview was limiting my immersion into the field and limiting my knowledge of the lives of young people on the estate. Whilst this decision is discussed in more detail in the next chapter it was the plasticity of ethnography that provided the flexibility required to make this choice, and others, in direct response to an identified flaw or gap in the original design. The extension of the observation sites, to include the NCPF, and the analysis of the minutes from previous NCPF meetings worked well and proved vital to the production of the new insights this thesis presents in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Ethnography also enables researchers to be in the field for a protracted period of time and this aspect of the method was critical to the success of this research. As it was noted earlier in this chapter many of the young people who participated in this research had experienced being let down by adults. It took being consistently reliable over months of fieldwork to develop relationships with young people that were based to a great extent on trust and not suspicion. This was not a static process but it could not have been done had a different methodological approach been used. This process was vital as relationships of trust provided the foundation for this research and it was only after these were established that I felt my role in the field was secure and this was reflected in the quality of the data. Many of the key findings in this research, in particular the insights into the role of multiple peer bereavement in the erosion of subjective feelings of safety and insecurity, were possible because of relationships nurtured over time. Being embedded in the estate for eighteen months also enabled me to observe events on the estate and how these developed and unfolded over time. The most significant of these was the murder of Tiny in July 2007 and had I not been present to witness the aftermath of his death the powerful new insights this thesis offers in Chapter 5 on the innovative and distinctive coping strategies used in this situation by young people and the essential role played by 'community' in these circumstances would have remained hidden.

Being attached and embedded in this way was not a completely positive experience, however, as coping with very painful issues in the field ultimately threatened the continuation and completion of the research. During the fieldwork it was common to work with very vulnerable young people whose families were experiencing poverty, mental health and/or substance misuse problems, and who themselves bore the brunt of this situation. Interviews where young people disclosed their experiences of bereavement, violence and feelings of vulnerability were emotionally intense. It was, however, the murder of Tiny, a participant of this research, in July 2007 which placed the greatest pressure on me and caused me to question the future of the research. His death impacted on everyone related to the research. At this time I had to manage my own personal feelings of bereavement whilst

simultaneously assessing the impact of his death on the research and making decisions about how best to proceed. In particular this involved some extremely difficult ethical choices about whether his consent to participate in the research should apply after his death. If it would constitute a breach of his privacy if I discussed his participation with his parents, whether I should disclose the existence of the recorded interview to anyone and, furthermore, if the fieldnotes I was producing in the immediate aftermath of his death should be stopped, or a decision made not to include a discussion of these issues in the final thesis.

All extremely difficult decisions for any researcher facing these events but ones that took on an even greater significance in this research because of my relationship with the estate and its people. It was at this point that my biggest crisis of confidence occurred as I questioned my ability to continue, questioned the purpose of the whole project, which in the face of events seemed irrelevant, and questioned whether it was legitimate to conduct social science research in an area with which I was so intimately connected.

In the end, however, it was the strength of those connections which drove the research forward. Many of 'The Soldiers' approached me in the weeks that followed and encouraged me to continue with the work. I also discussed with many of them the fieldnotes I had made immediately after Tiny's death and consent was given for these to be used in the research. A chance encounter with Tiny's mum, who I have known since childhood, provided the necessary opportunity to talk about Tiny's participation in the research, although the recording of the interview was not raised, and she too encouraged me to keep going. Overall, however, it was the interview data in which participants, including Tiny, talked at length about their experiences of multiple peer bereavement and its psychological and emotional impact on them that cemented the decision to carry on. The legitimacy of this thesis and whether ultimately it has been successful in its aims will be decided by others.

In addition to such concerns the limitations of the research sample also needs to be acknowledged because it impacted on what is presented in the findings

chapters of the thesis. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 is an analysis of the experiences, views, and perceptions of those who participated in the research and does not represent the lived experiences of all groups on the estate or outside agencies involved in community safety in Hillview. There was no systematic interviewing of adult residents, for example, even though adults are the other significant group in the neighbourhood who may have shed a different light on community safety and crime and disorder issues. Interviews with practitioners were limited to those who were currently working on the estate and access to them was primarily negotiated through the NCPF. Further efforts were not made to access professionals or agencies outside of the partnership and interviews were not, therefore, conducted with response team police officers who, as Chapter Five illustrates, played a significant role in the street lives of young people. The decision not to interview both former and current response team officers was a difficult one but ultimately it was decided that to do so would detract from the focus on the lived experiences of young people and, furthermore, could destabilize and/or undermine the relationships I had spent a considerable period of time building with young people in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, this thesis does not capture the lives or represent the views and experiences of all young people who resided on the Hillview estate. The majority of 'The Kiddies' and 'The Soldiers' who participated in this research lived in the middle belt and north end of the estate and, as the introduction to this thesis describes, Hillview had internal divisions that included real tensions between the north and south parts of the neighbourhood. The Union Club was located in the north and being based there, rather than at the youth club located in the south of the estate, meant that the voices of young people who might have been reluctant and/or prevented by parents and carers to enter the north of the estate are absent from this research. In addition I am aware that there was another constituency of 'hidden' young people who this research did not access and these were young people who not allowed to use public spaces and youth facilities at all because of parental concerns about getting involved the 'wrong crowd'. It is likely that the experiences of these

young people would have offered a different perspective on what life was like in Hillview and the impact of community safety polices and strategies.

CHAPTER FOUR

'I'm a Soldier'

This chapter begins with an examination of the ways practitioners, and local residents who attended the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum (NCPF) used specific modes of explanation to construct children and young people as *the* threat to social order on the estate. It ends with an analysis of how this construction compares with the ways the participants in this research see themselves. This is primarily as a 'solution' to the social and criminal harms they face. To begin the analysis with the views of practitioners and adult residents was a difficult decision as it was felt that this could be interpreted as reneging on the commitment that is the foundation of this research, namely to prioritise the voices, perceptions and lived experiences of young people. It was considered, however, that the examination of the label children and young people had been given as 'the problem' in Hillview was a bedrock of this thesis as it contextualises young people's perception of living outside of the protection offered by State agencies, one of the most important themes of this research.

This chapter does not, however, just set the scene for the subsequent chapters as it offers new insights into neighbourhood based crime control processes. Published academic work on the post 1998 Crime and Disorder Act partnership approach has focused almost exclusively on the more formal operation of partnerships in either specific parts of the 'new' Youth Justice System (Burnett and Appelton 2004a, 2004b) or Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (Skinns 2005, 2006). This work has generally not examined the operation of Local Action Teams (LATs), very local structures established as outposts to CDRP's. LATs operate at a neighbourhood or area level and are an official, insomuch as they inform local community safety policies and strategies and represent these issues at a Citywide Community Safety Forum, partnership of locally based practitioners and 'active' residents. In Hillview, the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum operated as the LAT

for the area and was one of thirty nine listed on the Local Authority website as in operation across Brownstone.

This chapter uses data generated at the NCPF to show that whilst there were examples of very effective practice, concerns specifically about 'youth ASB' dominated the agenda. It is not argued here that public anxiety about youth disorder is new because published academic work has already established that there is a historical tradition of this in Britain (Pearson 1983). In addition research by Loader, Girling and Sparks (1998) has shown that the perceived 'incivilities' of the young can be the prism through which local people understand both local crime problems and the condition of society more generally. What this chapter demonstrates, however, is that despite a statutory obligation to have community consultation processes which included groups defined as 'hard to reach' (Crime and Disorder Act 1998), the formalisation of local consultation processes, combined with the political and policy rhetoric which depicts young people as 'a threat', resulted in the construction of young people as 'the problem' in Hillview.

Indeed, the data from this research show that the LAT was an exclusive space, made up of formal partners and residents of interest who have quite distinctive social and material investment in the area. The non participation of other residents, including children and young people, meant that the LAT did not operate as a space for community consultation. Indeed, as it will be shown later in this chapter, the role of the LAT was not to consult about crime and disorder issues but to identify local problems and work in partnership with other agencies to develop solutions. LATs were not independent but were the bottom rung of the formal crime control framework that was operational in Brownstone. Crime control, according to Stenson and Sullivan (2001 p113), is 'the continuum of strategies and technologies that are involved in the struggle to prevent and reduce crime, and impose sanctions on offenders'.

Views that young people were 'the problem' on the estate were founded on a narrow understanding of the 'crime problem' in Hillview; one that did not reflect the lived experiences of the young people who participated in this

research. This narrow vision was nevertheless used by LAT members to justify its strategic focus on 'anti-social' youth while pushing alternative discourses of the marginalised social and economic position of young people in Hillview out of the main public meeting and into the peripheral spaces occupied by refreshment break and the start and finish of forum meetings. Although it is well established already in the literature on community consultation that in practice consultation is frequently unrepresentative (Atkinson and Cope 1997; Evans 1997; Foley and Martin 2000; Cook 2002), practitioner dominated (Foley and Martin 2000; Jones and Newburn 2001; Cook 2002) and often excludes the views of children and young people (NACRO 1999; Mason 2000; Jones and Newburn 2001) this chapter goes further and argues that exclusion from community consultation has serious consequences for young people. As will be discussed in Chapter Six this exclusion from consultation enables those working in community safety to ignore the social and criminal harms young people living in deprived communities face; artificially makes them the focus of community safety policies and strategies designed to make the 'community' 'safer' and fractures their ability to build and sustain the alternative protection mechanisms this research shows are relied upon to provide security.

Lastly, this chapter develops and examines how the young people who participated in this research viewed themselves. It shows that, in contrast to the construction of practitioners, young people identified themselves and their peers as offering a 'solution' to the social and criminal harms they face. In the older group, 'The Soldiers', this manifests in a very strong sense of group identity and sense of responsibility towards one another, which, as their accounts show, was grounded in the friendships they cultivated as teenagers on the street. By contrast younger members of the Union Club, 'The Kiddies', whose 'anti-social' use of public space had been the target of a range of interventions over a long period of time did not have recourse to such a solid sense of collective identity or protection. Younger children, therefore, had differential access to informal protection based on family and family friendship networks. It is argued that this situation made isolated children more

vulnerable and is something which could have longer term and very negative consequences for this group in the future.

'Gina Shelley's lot'

Attending the local NCPF was not a part of the original research design. Although practitioners were a group identified as being part of this research it was thought that their perspectives were best gained through interview, this would provide sufficient insights into the day to day work of the Community Safety Team and its local partners for the thesis to comment on the place of children and young people in local community safety policy and practice. Interviews were, therefore, planned to take place throughout the fieldwork period as access was negotiated. Approximately two months into the fieldwork, however, it became clear that the original design was flawed because not knowing the local landscape of community safety was having a detrimental impact upon my ability to settle into the role as field based researcher.

How this local knowledge deficit first came to my attention is illustrated by young people's attitudes towards using the other local youth facility on the Hillview estate, The Bee. The Bee is a mainstream funded youth facility located approximately a twenty minute walk south of the Union. It has been providing local youth work sessions since it was built in 1982 and much of my own childhood was spent engaged in the various activities it offered. Very quickly it became apparent that Union members felt a sense of antipathy towards The Bee. I found this surprising at first because of my own very positive experiences there, but the data showed there were a range of explanations for this.

Firstly, there was a form of territoriality that operated in Hillview that affected young people, and adults' use of a range of facilities including The Bee. Primarily based on difference in housing tenure and the distinctions residents made between 'the respectable' owner occupiers living in the south, and the

'unrespectable' social housing tenant of the north[15] this territoriality had resulted in certain facilities being 'owned' or predominately used by different sections of the residential population. This state of play prompted the second issue, the identification young Union club members felt towards its management and staff who all lived in north Hillview and were long term residents of the estate. By contrast the youth workers at The Bee were generally employed by the Local Authority and lived outside of the area and so were considered not to relate to young people living in the north of the estate.

In addition to all of this, however, were the emphatic statements made by a significant number of Union members that they did not, and would not, go to The Bee because it was used by 'Gina Shelley's lot', as this data illustrate.

> I asked Mark (15) tonight if he ever used the other youth club. 'No way' he said. His eyes widened considerably as though I'd just shocked him. 'Gina Shelley's lot go there'. He looked at me as though I'd offended him by daring to ask that question and walked off quickly. I stood behind confused. Who is Gina Shelley? And who are her 'lot'? [fieldnotes September 3rd 2006]

Gina Shelley, it later emerged at the NCPF was the specialist ASB housing officer attached to the Community Safety Team and her job involved the implementation and management of a range of interventions, including ASBO's, ABC's and ASB injunctions. When references to her 'lot' were made in the data it could be interpreted as a reference to the other Community Safety Officers who ran and supervised specialist closed youth work sessions at the Bee for young people targeted by the YISP. It also might have been a

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[15] An analysis of the history of the estate shows that this pattern of tenure was caused by the way in which the Hillview estate was rebuilt in the 1970's. The houses located at the south of the estate were built first and are bigger, with larger gardens, than those in the north. Former residents of Hillview who decided to move back into the estate after it was rebuilt were housed first into these properties. When the Housing Act 1980 gave social housing tenants the right to buy their homes there was a concentration of a change in tenure from public to private in the south. This still remains the case as although some residents in the north of Hillview have purchased their houses, overall the housing stock is of much lower quality because Brownstone Housing Corporation ran out of money when the estate was being rebuilt.

reference to the young people who were required to attend these sessions. In September 2006 this was unknown to me, but clearly it was significant to young people. It was decided at this point that immersion into local community safety practice would significantly enhance my understanding of young people and how they were connected, or not, as this thesis demonstrates, to young people. To do this I attended the local Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum.

'Behind the fences and spikes'

Consulting the public on their experiences and concerns about crime, policing, victimisation and community safety is a statutory requirement for local authorities and the police (Crime & Disorder Act 1998). A prime example of the recent 'responsibilisation' of crime and disorder policy, whereby the State seeks to act upon these issues through partnership and local activism (Garland 1996, 2001) concerned when NCPF was advertised in the local newspaper as an 'informal, community led, meeting for residents concerned about crime and anti-social behaviour' [fieldnotes September 25th 2006]. Meetings took place on the last Wednesday of every month at 10am. Between September 2006 and May 2007 the data show that the average attendance at the NCPF meetings was twenty five.

All meetings were held at The Brook Social Club which, prior to attempts to regenerate the estate, had been the southern equivalent of a working man's club. When I was growing up in Hillview it was the place where local adults would drink and socialise at the evenings and weekends. Post NDC The Brook had been transformed into a different type of community space, it now housed meeting rooms, a sports hall, a low cost cafe, and a pre-school nursery. This transformation had also made the building look very different as the following observation illustrates.

There used to be a long zig zagging slope that led the way to the entrance and the only thing between you and getting into the Brook was Bob, the manager. You had to be a member to get in when I was growing up. The adults would sign their names on the clipboard by the door. Now the Brook is surrounded by a six foot metal fence with spikes at the top. Behind the fences and spikes there are two CCTV cameras attached to the top corners of the building. The slope is gone. It's been replaced by steps that take you behind the metal fence so it now feels like you're entering a dark tunnel. Inside there is a reception behind a glass screen and a series of reinforced wooden doors [fieldnotes October 2006]

Of the twenty five individuals present at the NCPF, on average four of these would be local residents who attended the meeting every month. The remaining twenty one attendees were drawn heavily from professionals employed by the NDC initiative; these included the Community Safety Team, Neighbourhood Police officers, YISP workers, and environmental services. Other local statutory and voluntary agencies, including the library, youth service and The Union Club, were also part of this group. The NCPF's regular attendees were overwhelmingly practitioners, not residents.

The residents who did attend were all in their sixties or older, were in all but one case female, and present at the NCPF to represent local Tenants and Residents Associations (TRA) which operated in the sheltered housing schemes at the north of Hillview, the Housing Association flats at the south, and the small cluster of high rise flats adjacent to the sheltered housing. This, rather small and selective group had all lived on the estate for over twenty five years, many of them prior to the redevelopment of the estate in the late 1970's and early 1980's and informal conversations with them highlighted a set of common views on the estate that give an insight into why they attended the NCPF. All of these women had very firm views that the estate since redevelopment had gone into decline, a view echoed in the autobiography of Ron Simpkins, a resident in Hillview since 1932 who concluded that redevelopment had 'ripped the guts and took the heart out of Hillview' (Simpkins 2002 p52).

Decline was not, however, understood as a consequence of successive government policies which prompted the residualisation of social housing from the early 1980's or the hollowing out of the welfare state during this time (Hughes and Lewis 1998). Instead, it was considered by these residents that the old working class community they knew and felt part of was broken by redevelopment, and had been replaced by a 'new', less cohesive and problematic population, which had undermined Hillview as a 'community'. It was people, and more specifically damaged and disorderly people, who in the minds of these residents were responsible for the bad reputation of the Hillview estate, rather than policy.

Whilst it is true that the estate was radically altered by the redevelopment; all but two of its original streets were demolished and replaced by a design which enabled its population to treble in only five years. 'New' families with small children from across Brownstone, including my own, were relocated there and many 'old' families moved elsewhere, disrupting long established community networks. The notion that Hillview had ever been the site of a 'golden age' of community are complicated by the, albeit limited, published material about the history of Brownstone, and life on the estate from the 1930's until its redevelopment in the 1970's (QueenSpark Rates Book Group 1983; Mackenzie 1988; Cordon 1990; Simpkins 2002; Seldon 2005). This alternative perspective, which was outlined in the introduction of this thesis, shows that poverty was endemic on the estate and, furthermore, that it had a reputation for come and disorder.

It is not stated here that NCPF residents were misinformed and that, contrary to their experiences, the estate was always 'bad'. Their own lived experience told them otherwise, however, the significance of this is that what motivated their involvement, the notion that Hillview had a deficit of 'community' and that this had been precipitated by irresponsible individuals and families chimed with the communitarian roots of New Labour's crime control policies (Gilling 2007).

Accounts show that local Community Safety practitioners, all former Local Authority Housing Officers, operated almost identical modes of explanation in the data as this group of residents. Not that Hillview was but a shadow of its former cohesive self, but in line with the national policy agenda, that the cause of crime and disorder problems were the absence of 'community', a lack of individual responsibility, a lack of 'respect' and poor parenting (Home Office 1997, 2003, 2005). Such views were best illustrated in the data by one CSO, who, when asked what she considered the causes of disorder on the estate replied,

> 'I think a 'can't be bothered' culture has become ingrained in this area. There are families who don't take responsibility for themselves or their children. Children need boundaries but a lot of them over here just don't get taught that they need to respect those around them. They don't go to school regularly, people don't go to work because they feel they don't have to and so there's no aspiration' (Community Safety Officer)

Such perspectives dominated practitioner accounts, which lacked any reference to the structural issues Hillview residents faced. Resistance to this narrative was thin on the ground, and it was only the local Teenage Pregnancy co-ordinator, employed by the NDC initiative to reduce the rate of teenage pregnancies in the area, who considered the structural inequalities faced by areas like Hillview were significant.

Hughes (2007) makes the point that differential enforcement rates across England and Wales suggest that approaches to community safety differ geographically. It is the case that the City in which Hillview is located has been a champion of New Labour policy on crime control, although in order to protect the anonymity of the participants, specific examples of how this has manifest itself will not be discussed here. It is the case, however, that all of the Community Safety Officers who worked in Hillview were formerly employed as Local Authority Housing Officers, and are drawn from a fairly narrow occupational base. Published research (Clapham *et al* 2000; Saugeres 1999, 2000) into the occupational culture of housing professionals

does provide some insight into why else the national policy agenda, and its attendant explanations of the causes of disorder in communities, dominated.

Housing officers, it was found, operated primarily as agents of social control to the tenants they served, seeing some of them as 'irresponsible children who need to be controlled' (Saugeres 2000 p599). This perception it was argued was underpinned by the notion that social housing had become the tenure of 'last resort' (Clapham *et al* 2000 p71) and that respect for authority and family values had been lost over recent years because of the residualisation of social housing (Clapham *et al* 2000). 'Kids' in particular were seen to embody these changes and posed a particular challenge to order and stability (Saugeres 2000; Clapham *et al* 2000). As this research was not focused specifically on the working practices and occupational culture of those tasked with creating a 'safer Hillview' no claims can be made about how the shift in occupation had altered the working practices and perspectives of this group (see Squires and Stephen 2003). It is the case, however, that in addition to being gender and age selective, the group of residents active at the NCPF had a distinct understanding of the root causes of crime and disorder problems which mirrored local community safety practitioners.

On four separate occasions other residents, always women in their late twenties and early thirties with children, swelled the numbers of residents at the NCPF by one. It is discussed later in this Chapter that if an alternative view on the behaviour of children and young people was ever articulated during the public meeting it was these women who offered it. The data show, however, that this group came to the forum with specific complaints, for example motorbike use on the green space located to the west in November 2006, neighbour noise nuisance in January and May 2007, and stone throwing in October 2006, and they did not attend any meetings after this.

There were groups, however, which were not represented at all at the forum. Male residents, with the exception of Keith, a TRA representative in his late sixties, were never observed at NCPF meetings. Members of Hillview's, albeit very small, black and minority ethnic community were also absent and,

significantly for this research, so were children and young people. As all meetings were held at 10am on a weekday this was hardly surprising, however, as this data illustrates, the ASB Housing Officer, Gina Shelley, considered that their absence protected other residents and facilitated the work of the NCPF. When asked why all meetings were at 10am and whether she considered that this excluded young people she responded,

> ASB HO: 'It's not something I've really thought about [pause] but now you've mentioned it I'll raise it at the next meeting. [makes a note on the pad in front of her and looks up] It's very unlikely that if we did have a meeting at a different time that they would want to attend. It also might make some of our regular members feel uncomfortable'.
>
> INT: 'Why?'
>
> ASB HO: 'Because it would make residents wary'
>
> INT: 'What would they be wary of?'
>
> ASB HO: 'At every meeting ASB is discussed and it's probably the thing we spend most time on. Having young people present would make this really hard and some residents might be reluctant to report their concerns'
>
> INT: 'When you talk about ASB then are young people central to the meetings?'
>
> ASB HO: 'Yes because that is what we [the CST] get the most complaints about, it's what we talk about at the forum and most of my work is targeted at youth ASB. Adults aren't a problem in the area'.

This extract echoes Squires and Stephen (2005) 'pounds and pence' analysis of ASB policy, the idea that as adult offending declined greater attention is paid to the next tier of harmful behaviours, and it was a view echoed by a number of practitioners. Although rates of recorded crime had declined in Hillview since the late 1990's it had not reduced to zero. Furthermore, drug and theft offences were also raised as a problem on the estate at the NCPF and the experiences of the young people who participated in this research support this. The comments made by the ASB HO, however, give insights into

the place young people occupied in the minds of those engaged in community safety work. They were 'the problem', viewed primarily as perpetrators of ASB, not as potential beneficiaries of community safety policies and strategies. Young people threatened the work of the NCPF because of fears that their presence would elicit discomfort and/or suspicion amongst residents, and by implication, partnership members. Issues of crime and safety, it is asserted, are of 'no interest' to young people, although what evidence this view is based on was not clarified during interview.

This thesis shows that in direct opposition to this belief the young people who participated in this research were profoundly engaged and interested in issues of crime and justice. Chapter 5 of this thesis discusses how the police and policing dominated young people's concerns and, moreover, Chapter 6 demonstrates how the very real experiences of criminal and social harm experienced by young people had a profound impact on subjective feelings of safety and security. What this view illuminates most is the gulf between the experiences and views of young people and those engaged in Community Safety.

This state of affairs is not, regrettably, unusual. Published academic literature show that children and young people are frequently marginalised and/or not included in local community consultation processes (Fitzpatrick *et al* 2000;; James and James 2001; Jones and Newburn 2001; Cook 2002; Stafford *et al* 2003; Mathews 2003). Indeed it has been noted that children are frequently 'frustrated and intimidated' (Cook 2002 p7) by professionally dominated consultation processes, and furthermore are not defined as members of the community and therefore not considered in plans for consultation (James and James 2001). New Labour at least did recognise this and made it a statutory requirement for CDRP's (later CSP's) to make special provision for the consultation of 'hard to reach'[16] groups.

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[16] Jones and Newburn (2001p13) are highly critical of the label 'hard to reach' and make the point that 'in many cases 'hard to reach' actually means hard to engage with on a positive level'.
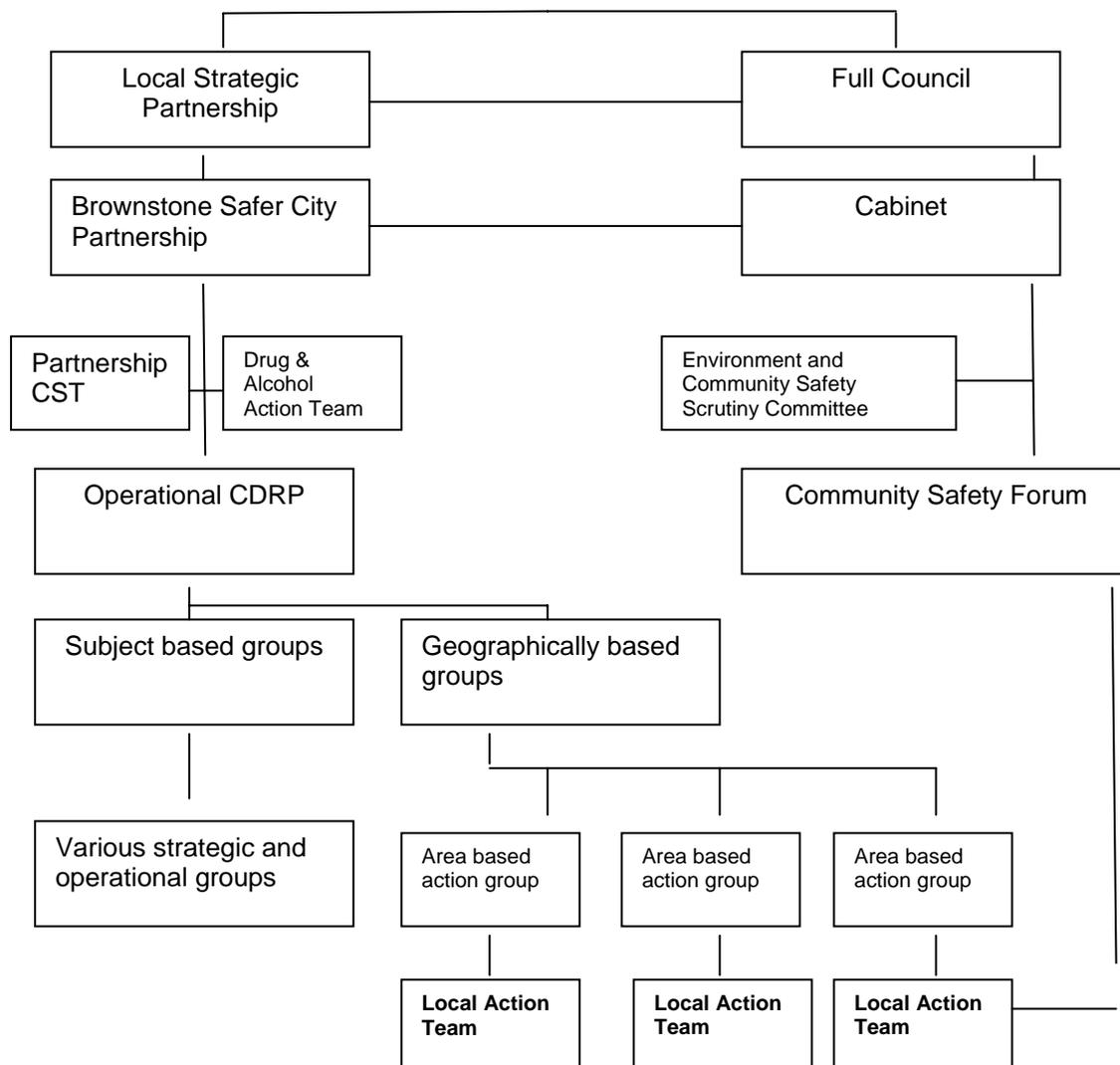
Work that has evaluated children and young people's involvement in consultation since the Crime and Disorder Act, however, has concluded that consultation with young people was not widespread (Mason 2000), issues relating to the safety of young people were focused on offending reduction (Mason 2000) and furthermore that there is little evidence that children and young people were considered part of the community and not 'the problem' (NACRO 1999). Jones and Newburn's (2001) work on police consultation led them to conclude that some groups, including young people, are usually absent from consultation processes because of inadequate attempts by agencies to engage them or they are intentionally excluded from consultation processes because agencies want to avoid the issues they raise.

There is, however, another aspect to these debates that has not yet been raised in the published academic literature with regard to local community consultation processes on crime and disorder issues. It has already been stated in this thesis that the Crime and Disorder Act made it a statutory obligation for CDRP's to consult with local communities and required them to demonstrate that this included 'hard to reach' groups. Brownstone CDRP literature states that LATs are the mechanism used to consult with local communities (Brownstone 2009). The views of the LATs are included into City wide strategy as representatives from the action teams attend the Brownstone Community Safety Forum and this is considered the way in which the statutory obligation to consult is fulfilled (Brownstone 2009). An examination of documentation that outlines the functions of LATs, however, highlights that consultation is not one of their functions. LATs, according to the definition on the Safer Brownstone website, are,

> 'any group of local *community champions* linked directly
> to the Neighbourhood Policing Structure, who can
> *identify* crime, disorder and anti-social behaviour
> problems in their neighbourhood...[to] analyse local
> *causes* and provide the basis for an effective strategy
> [and] commission work of other agencies, including the
> police to *resolve* the problem' (Brownstone 2009 italics
> added)

LATs are concerned with the identification of local crime and disorder, the analysis of the causes of such phenomena, and are tasked with the job of resolving these in partnership with the police. They are a partnership between *community champions* and formal crime control structures, specifically the Neighbourhood Police and CDRP's. They are not independent bodies but are tied into local and national community safety policies and strategies through their quasi official status, as the following diagram taken from Brownstone Drug and Crime Strategy (2009) makes clear.

Figure 2: Tiers of Community Safety, Crime Reduction and Drug's Strategy in Brownstone 2009

Local Strategic Partnership

Full Council

Brownstone Safer City Partnership

Cabinet

Partnership CST

Drug & Alcohol Action Team

Environment and Community Safety Scrutiny Committee

Operational CDRP

Community Safety Forum

Subject based groups

Geographically based groups

Various strategic and operational groups

Area based action group

Area based action group

Area based action group

Local Action Team

Local Action Team

Local Action Team

Consultation with the wider community is not mentioned in either Local Authority web resources for LATs or in the extended guidance on the role and functions of them produced by Brownstone Council (2009). It is asserted here that LATs are inherently exclusionary spaces because who should, and therefore who should not, participate in them is stated clearly. This contradicts the view repeatedly expressed by practitioners and agency representatives active at the NCPF that the sorts of interventions and strategies implemented in Hillview were legitimate because they were 'what the community wanted' [Chair NCPF, fieldnotes October 2006]. Given that community consultation was not primarily a function of the NCPF and that those residents who did engage considered themselves, or were considered by others, as community champions and therefore inherently different from other residents, who by implication lacked 'community' or were the source of crime and disorder problems, such claims were illegitimate. Given the socio-economic marginalisation suffered by many in Hillview and the extensive informal economy witnessed in operation on the estate it is argued here that such distinctions actively prevented a more informed debate about crime and disorder from taking place.

So far this chapter has demonstrated that resident involvement in the NCPF was confined to a very narrow section of the resident population and furthermore that there was symmetry between how these residents understood the causes of disorder in the neighbourhood and those explanations offered by practitioners. It then showed that children and young people were actively excluded from, what at least superficially, is community consultation processes in Hillview. It then demonstrated, however, that the NCPF's role as a LAT was very specific and did not include the obligation to consult the community. This, it was argued, undermined the claim that strategies developed at the forum were bottom up, instead it is asserted that LATs represent the lowest tier of the Community Safety and crime control framework developed by New Labour in office. This status, combined with what has already been argued is highly selective membership undermines claims made during the NCPF that policies and strategies were intrinsically 'community' led and exposes the bigger fallacy that Community Safety as

implemented by New Labour is underpinned by meaningful consultation with local communities (Home Office 2003a).

The sections which follow on highlight some of the consequences of the utter absence of meaningful inclusive community consultation. First the NCPF observation data is used to examine the ways 'youth' ASB came to dominate meetings and how young people were actively constructed as 'the problem' for crime and disorder management in Hillview.

'They're a bloody nuisance'

NCPF meetings were tightly structured. The agenda always began with a roll call of attendance and apologies, previous minutes were then agreed and the discussion would move on to 'matters arising', then 'anti-social behaviour', and lastly 'any other business'. The short agenda did not translate into brief meetings; on the contrary meetings were long, on average approximately two and a half hours, although three hour sessions were not unusual. Analysis of the data show that the majority of this time, apart from in June 2007 when a major incident took place on the estate, was taken up with reports and discussion about alleged incidents of children and/or young people engaged in 'ASB' in public spaces. Such allegations were primarily raised by residents in attendance, representatives from the Community Safety Team and the police. The issues that were covered during the fieldwork were smoking, drinking, stone and brick throwing, noise nuisance, fire setting, bullying, and ball playing in restricted areas. Only one 'serious' incident, when a stone thrown at a bus smashed a downstairs window where passengers were sitting, was reported throughout this time.

The vast majority of reports of young people's alleged ASB were grounded in the perceived misuse or illegitimate use of public space, as the following observation illustrates,

'There's been a gang of kids using the corner of Hillcrest Crescent and Barley Close for just over a week. I'm not sure what's going on there but I've heard that some of them look a lot older than the others. It's dangerous because the older one's can influence the younger one's and they end up in trouble'. [Margaret, North Flats TRA and resident, fieldnotes October 2006]

It is unclear whether Margaret has seen the congregation of young people she describes or whether this has been reported to her, 'not sure what's going on' she said. Here the presence of a 'gang' of congregating youths is articulated as a problem but as well as this the data show that this is further problematised because of the perceived risk that children of different ages can produce further negative outcomes or disorderly behaviour. The inference that peer relationships in general, but more specifically the 'bad influence' of older young people was commonly operated at the forum and is reflective of a contemporary trend to view peer relationships as a potential threat (Waiton 2001).

As in the first observation, concern over potential threat, rather than actual events, was also a characteristic of the complaints made at the NCPF.

'I think it feels threatening to some people when they get asked to buy drink [by young people] by the off licence. What do you say? If you say no [pause]……. well you leave yourself open to all sorts of things. If you do it then there are kids drinking on the street and you get the noise, the shouting. And it encourages this type of loutish, yobbish behaviour' [Barbara, Housing Association TRA and resident, fieldnotes February 2007]

These comments were made by Barbara during discussion about the dangers of binge drinking and attempts made by the Community Safety Team to address this issue with local retailers. There were no reports that young people had threatened adults who had refused to purchase alcohol on their behalf, or even specific examples of young people asking strangers to purchase alcohol for them. This was not a surprise as the participants in this research disclosed that cheap alcohol could be easily obtained locally on the black market where licensing restrictions did not apply. This is an example,

however, of how contemporary anxieties about 'youth', in this case youth binge drinking, were frequently operationalised at a local level and used to infer levels of risk that were not supported by actual events.

Lianos and Douglas (2000) contend that concerns about risk and danger are the lens through which people engage with the social world in contemporary societies, they argue,

> 'Public perception of danger has sharpened and directed. It focuses specifically upon the expectation of social dangers. Instead of helping us overcome primitive fears of otherness, contemporary trends encourage us to redefine and dread the Other' (Lianos and Douglas 2000 p103)

'Youth' have already been identified as a social group that are 'Othered' in contemporary Western societies (Young 1999) and research by Loader *et al* (1998) has made the case that they do act as a lightening rod for local crime and disorder concerns. Media representations of 'youth' also contribute to public perceptions of the threat posed by young people and can amplify public concern. Measor and Squires (2000) note that residents of socio-economically deprived areas are more exposed to these messages than those living in more affluent areas and are seemingly more receptive to these messages. The data does show conclusively that terms such as 'yob' and 'gang' found in media coverage (Muncie 2009; Nichols 2010), political rhetoric (Blair 1997, 2003, 2004, 2006), and policy discourses (Home Office 1997; Home Office 2002;Home Office 2006) were commonly used at the NCPF by residents, the police, and community safety practitioners to describe young people.

Loader et al (1998) argue that local consultation on crime and disorder is influenced by broader factors. The use of political, policy and media language at the NCPF show that what is said in these arenas does filter down into the everyday language of people living in communities. It is argued that the use of language was crucial to the shaping of New Labour and became an essential part of the policy process (Fairclough 2000). There was an intentional

amalgamation of the vernacular language of the normal person and the language of politics which promoted the idea that New Labour was the party which represented 'common sense' values such as decency and fairness (Fairclough 2000). Using language which resonates with the 'man on the street' is clever politics but transmitting negative messages about the behaviour and irresponsibility of whole social groups is more problematic. Speaking in 2004 Blair conjures a rather dystopic vision of society in which young people, violent criminals and drug addicts are conflated together and accused of lacking morals and a sense of responsibility.

> 'All through the 1970s and 1980s, under Labour and Conservative Governments, a key theme of legislation was around the prevention of miscarriages of justice. Meanwhile some took the freedom without the responsibility. The worst criminals became better organised and more violent. The petty criminals were no longer the bungling but wrong-headed villains of old; but drug pushers and drug-abusers, desperate and without any residual moral sense. And a society of different lifestyles spawned a group of young people who were brought up without parental discipline, without proper role models and without any sense of responsibility to or for others (Tony Blair 2004).

The message embedded in such rhetoric, that a new breed' of youth with no sense of responsibility towards others inhabited a community near you, was uncritically recycled at the NCPF and contributed to the criminalisation and 'Othering' of local young people. Lack of critical and/or alternative perspectives contributed to the distorted view of where actual vulnerability to criminal victimisation and social harm was located in Hillview, for example Chapter Six of this thesis will show that it was young people themselves who were disproportionately affected by exposure to criminal and social harm, not older adults. It was also the case, however, that drawing opinion from such a small select group of residents shut out alternative perspectives on local issues problems and concerns. This lack of balance silenced the experiences of young people and covered the, perhaps unintended, consequences of community safety policies and strategies. There were a number of examples of this in the data, however, one particular case will be discussed in detail now to demonstrate this point.

In May 2007 Keith, the TRA representative for the housing association flats, reported to the NCPF that a group of young people had gained access to the flats and were using precisely this space to congregate.

> KEITH (HA TRA): 'I do have an issue to report. A little mob are using the stairwells of the flats during the evening and at weekends. They've vandalised the whole area.'
>
> General murmurs around the table.
>
> KEITH: 'It's been a problem for a few weeks. I've looked but I can't work out how they're getting past the intercom [electronic security system installed in all flats in Hillview] but they're causing problems with litter and as I said they've vandalised the inside of the flats'.
>
> CS Officer: 'We need to assess the damage. What's been done Keith?
>
> KEITH: There's footprints and handmarks all over the walls. It's all dirty and scuffed. There's litter on the stairs. Crisp packets, wrappers. All sorts of rubbish. [Keith looks around]The painting's only just been done in the hallways and now it needs to be done again. Fresh. The residents don't want them there. They're a bloody nuisance' [fieldnotes May 2007]

Keith's complaint is, perhaps quite understandable given his role as TRA representative, focused on the concerns of residents, the perceived failure of security measures, and the damage, which he described as 'vandalism', caused.

The 'little mob' Keith referred to participated in this research. During a group interview the month prior to the complaint being raised at the NCPF, Romeo, Billy, Stephen, Josh, Rex and Coleman talked at length about the barriers they faced in their attempts to spend their leisure time outside the home and not at organised youth activities. This was considered important by the group because, Romeo (15) believed, 'you need time to just chat, chill out with your

mates and that. Y'know get away from stress'. This was a more difficult task than it sounded, they said, as their presence attracted the attention of the police, private security guards, and residents. Lack of money stopped them from travelling by bus into the city it was asserted, although on the odd occasion when they had, they attracted the attention of guards from the private security company employed by the Local Authority to patrol the city centre, the CCTV cameras and the police. This was described by Rex,

> 'We got off the bus at the bottom of South Street and straight away the cameras were on us. They followed us all the way up and then when we got to Rover Road [the main shopping street] the security guards where there. They stopped us and were like 'what are you lot doing here?' It's just pointless' (Rex, male, 15)

The routine and intensive nature of the surveillance some young people are subject to is uncovered by this account. Unable to find spaces without surveillance resulted in a nomadic 'roaming about' (Billy, 14) and 'not standing in one place too long' (Josh, 15) on the streets of Hillview. What appeared like 'solutions' to this predicament arose on occasion and lately, it was explained, stairwells of local flats offered 'private' space, away from the cameras and police. Stephen, 15 elaborated,

> STEPHEN: 'It's warm, it's dry. There's a light so we can see. At the bottom by the bins *we don't bother no-one* and we don't get any grief'

> INT: 'How do you get in [to the flats]?

> STEPHEN: 'People just don't bother to ask who's at the door they just buzz [opening the security door]. Bill noticed it. I think people get pissed off talking through those phone things. You press a random button and wait. It don't always work. But normally it does'

This 'view from the boys' uncovers the pragmatic choices made by young people whose presence in public attracted unwanted surveillance, and likely intervention. Crawford (2009) argues that dispersal zones represent a

criminalisation of sociability, however, Hillview was not a dispersal area, although it was mooted at the NCPF that an 'informal dispersal zone' (Community Safety Officer, March 2007) be considered, yet this data uncovers similar processes. Using the stairwell of the flats was not considered 'anti-social' by this group but 'pro-social'.

This alternative view was missing from the NCPF deliberations. It was decided by forum members that a targeted police patrol would remove this 'problem' and deter them from returning. Romeo and his friends subsequently reported that they were back to 'square one' (Romeo, 15) as attempts to use the flats resulted in repeated police initiated stop and accounts and searches for alcohol and weapons. The consequences for young people of using targeted policing was not considered, the consequences of which are discussed in Chapter Five, and neither was it considered in the public forum that young people had a right to use public space. By contrast published research describes how local crime meetings in one community were 'transformed' (Loader *et al* 1998 p400) by the presence of local young people and a dialogue about the protection needs of this group was begun.

As young people were always absent from forum meetings this possibility was never tested. Writing in 1998 Ballentyne and Fraser (1998 p166) warned that failure to implement active consultation processes, embedded in the experiences of residents, and concerned about safety as much as crime would lead to those communities and groups suffering disproportionately from risk and crime to 'suffer most'. The experiences of premature death amongst young males uncovered by this research and discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis illustrate this point. Speculating on the development of community safety in England and Wales Measor and Squires, drawing on findings from their early empirical work on young people and community safety, stated.

> 'unless the new community safety planning can
> appropriately give a voice to young people then
> 'community safety' may simply degenerate into an
> exercise of scapegoating and youth control'(Measor and
> Squires 2000 p257) .

It is unfortunate that ten years after this publication what has been presented in this chapter thus far suggests that the voice of young people was silent in community safety policy and strategy development and, furthermore, their absence helped to create and perpetuate a situation whereby they were constructed as 'the problem'. As Chapter Six of this thesis will demonstrate this resulted in local community safety practitioners not knowing about the multiple peer bereavement experiences young people encountered or the profound sense of insecurity and lack of safety that flourished as a consequence. It also however meant that the long term welfare consequences of intervention were not considered.

Romeo and his friends were not the only young people reporting the difficulties they encountered using public space in the neighbourhood without intervention of some form. Nearly all children and young people were very reluctant to be seen by the authorities on the streets and, like Romeo and his friends, other more marginalised spaces were regularly used as a 'solution' to the problem they faced. This included areas used for the collection and storage of refuse from flats in the north of the estate, the bushes and scrubland areas that encircled Hillside to the east and, for a time, a large enclosed building site in the centre.

'The Kiddies' use of space was very different to that of their older counterparts 'The Soldiers' who spent most of their leisure time congregating in a large group on the main road that runs right through the estate and this was further complicated by the presence of remote surveillance in the form of static and mobile CCTV cameras. The older Union members, and Romeo and his friends, felt targeted by the cameras as the following account from Kathy (16) illustrates,

> 'The cameras are meant to be for speeding cars but if you watch them they move and follow you when you walk up the street. If a couple of you meet, say up by the flats, the camera swivels round really quickly and stays on you. It just watches what's going on'.

Kathy's description of having her movements followed by CCTV cameras was mirrored in observation data generated on the first day of the fieldwork in July 2006. I was walking down the main road past the newsagents located towards the middle of the estate. It was approximately six o'clock in the early evening and I noticed two boys both aged approximately thirteen walking together on the other side of the road.

> One was wearing a grey tracksuit and the other a black top and jeans. The one on the left was carrying a bag and through the thin plastic I could see a large, plastic milk carton in it. At exactly the same time the two boys reached back over their heads and flipped up their hoods so that their faces were totally obscured. I looked around quickly and noticed that the camera which had been pointing up the road had moved and was following them slowly as they walked past [fieldnotes July 2006].

The levels of remote surveillance increased over the fieldwork period as the NCPF allocated extra resources to increasing the number of mobile CCTV units which operated on the estate. As the two data extracts illustrate, however, young people were under already quite intense scrutiny from this form of surveillance. Hoods in this example were not used to conceal identity because of involvement in criminal and/or anti-social behaviour but as a tool to protect against such an intense gaze. At times some of 'The Kiddies' evident frustration with their predicament resulted in cameras being smashed and vandalised.

Despite the complexity of the issues such data raises about the rights and safety of children and young people it was the case that the removal of groups of youths from the street was repeatedly articulated as one of the most significant and positive outcomes of the work of the Community Safety Team in partnership with the NCPF. It is a message that continues to be mobilised at various community meetings still. At a community 'consultation' on education, employment and training I attended in September 2010 a representative of the company contracted to run the event said that that the removal of young people from the streets of Hillview through the work of the

Community Safety Team, in partnership with the NDC, should be considered a 'success story'. On the other hand, attempts by local people to raise and discuss the Local Authority's failure to deliver on promises to improve the outcomes at Key Stage 4 for children and young people in Hillview, were described as 'unhelpful' [Labour Councillor, fieldnotes 9th September 2010] moments later.

'We were like a family'

The importance of access to use 'public' space, away from the supervision of adults, is identified as a key contributor to the physical and social development of children and young people in the published academic literature (Katz 1998; Morrow 2004). In contrast to the postmodern assertion that the use of local streets, outdoor public places in which young people are found (Matthews *et al* 2000 p63), is of declining importance to young people (Featherstone 1991) empirical work with young people repeatedly reaffirms the importance of the streets in the UK and elsewhere (Childress 1994, 2000, 2004; Mathews *et* al 1999; Watt and Stenson 1998; Mathews *et al* 2000; Skelton 2000; Kearns and Parkinson 2001; Malone 2002; Elsley 2004; Valentine 1996a, 1996b, 2001, 2004; Skelton and Valentine 1998; Kintrea *et al* 2008; Crane 2010). Whether it be in the Valleys of South Wales (Skelton 2000), the streets of New York (Katz 1998), or a small town in Wisconsin (Childress 1994) it is found that public space can provide security, freedom and social opportunity for young people.

Described alternatively as 'thirdspace' (Soja 1996) or 'fourthspace' (Van Vliet 1983) young people, it is argued, place more importance on the use of public space than adults (Elsley 2004). The literature on this area offers a number of potential explanations for this, although it is probable that combinations of these factors come into play at any one time, and are cut through with the dynamics of age, gender, ethnicity and class. Economically young people have restricted status (MacDonald and Marsh 2005), socially they are excluded from participating in the night time economy and other spaces designated for adult social use (Valentine 2004), they have a limited ability to manipulate private property (Childress 2004), and are subject to control and

regulation in other spaces, such as school and home, that they occupy (Valentine 1996a; Valentine 1996b; James *et al* 1998; Valentine 2004).

> Young people's growth and development depends upon environments that provide stimulation, allow autonomy, offer possibilities for exploration, and promote independent learning and peer group socialising....it is poverty, disinvestment, violence and privatisation that threaten environments nurturing growth and development (Katz 1998, 141).

The experiences of Romeo and his friends indicate that crime control strategies can be added to the list of factors identified by Katz that erode the development of young people. It has already been identified in the critical academic literature that the focus on anti-social behaviour within community safety practise has denied the freedom of young people to 'hang around' and take risks (Squires and Stephen 2005). It has also been recognised that this approach increasingly excludes them altogether from public space (Flint 2002; Stephen 2006). Existing empirical research in this area has mainly focused *specifically* on the introduction of curfews and has been conducted predominantly in the United States (Ruefle and Reynolds 1996; Hirshel, Dean and Dumond 2001; Collins and Kearns 2001; O'Neil 2002; Adams 2003). This trend is probably reflective of the historical presence of juvenile curfews in the USA although research in this area has also been published the UK (Waiton 2001; Matthews *et al* 1999; Crawford 2009) where curfews have been used as a disorder control measure.

What have not been highlighted in this literature, however, are the potential consequences for young people of these developments, both in the short and over the longer term. The inclusion of both young people and young adults in the design of this research has enabled it to provide some insight into some of the possible, longer term consequences of the loss of public space experienced in Hillview. 'The Soldiers', unlike their younger counterparts 'The Kiddies', spent most of their leisure time 'hanging out' in large groups on the estate, described in more detail in the following chapter. In the accounts given by 'The Soldiers' that the relationships they developed during this time with

other young people and their families were absolutely vital to their ability to cope with the acute social problems many disclosed were part of their lives as children. Poverty, substance and alcohol misuse, mental health and domestic violence created practical and emotional gaps not filled by State agencies, social services for example were entirely absent in these discussions, but friends as Rachel, a youth worker at the Union remembered.

> 'We were like a family because loads of us didn't really have any parents, well we did have parents but they weren't really there..so if you needed something, like somewhere to sleep, or you wanted advice about something you would have to rely on your friends. They were really all you had' (Rachel, 23).

This extract is not included to romanticise in any way the data but instead as an insight into the level of need amongst 'The Soldiers' at this time. Friends, and the extended support they provided, become vital when poverty, neglect and lack of other sources of adult support are absent. This was not an unusual account and routinely 'The Soldiers' described either giving or receiving, or sometimes both, food, clothes, and/or a safe place to stay from friends. At one end of the scale Leon, 24, talked at length about his plans to commit suicide at twelve, being prevented by a friends' mother and then living with that family for the next four years without any support from social services. At the other end of the spectrum Gary, 25, reported being given a coat each winter by his best friend Mark.

> GARY: 'Every year without fail he'd give me a coat. I'd be standing there freezing my bollocks off and he'd just walk up and say like 'you left this at mine you dickhead' and just throw it at me [laughs]'.
>
> INT: 'Do you think the others [young people] knew?'
>
> GARY: 'I think when it happens six, seven, eight years in a row it's obvious. No-one never said *nothing* though. It was always a fuckin' plush coat as well. Good make. Smart. Nothing trampy [laughs]'.

Gary said that he had never talked to Mark about the where the coats came from, who purchased them, or what prompted these gifts which he said started the year he went to secondary school. What this account shows is an acute awareness amongst young people about the embarrassment, shame and stigma poverty produces. To pretend that Gary had left the coat at his house was an attempt to alleviate or ameliorate such feelings, although by Gary's own admission his wider circle of friends knew the truth. Their collective silence is interesting as this indicates that this knowledge is shared, but unacknowledged, amongst the group. Coats are not just about keeping warm; however, for Gary it was as much about not being identified as 'trampy'. Being accused of being 'a tramp' or 'trampy' in Hillview was the worst insult possible. It meant that you were poorer than everyone else and that other young people had recognised it. Gary's coats being 'plush' and a 'good make' were therefore as important, even possibly more important, than the gift of the coat itself.

Such sources of practical and emotional support, accounts show, lasted into adulthood with employment and housing opportunities being generated through them. It was a strategy 'Soldiers' used to overcome discrimination from local employers who were considered to be reluctant to offer jobs to people from Hillview; as Tiny put it 'I live in this town but I get treated like shit'. Finally the last section of this chapter describes the role of these extended support networks in protection from criminal and social harms.

At the NCPF the consequences of the policies and strategies they developed and implemented were never discussed. The public's desire to eliminate people considered by others to have a 'street lifestyle' and the role of the new ASB and community safety enforcement tools in this process is highlighted in Moore and Scourfield's (2003) study of Cambridge. These authors found that local people who pushed for the removal of such groups were prepared to use any (policy) means possible and did not consider the implications of removal might bring for those individuals. At least during the public parts of the NCPF this was also the case.

It was not just residents at the NCPF however who took the view that young people in Hillview lacked 'respect' and were 'a problem' on the estate. The vast majority of adult residents who were encountered over the course of the research sympathised with this view, or actively articulated it to some degree or another, including adults involved in the extensive informal economy which operated on the estate. In August 2006 a shiny sports car pulled up outside the Union. Its owner, an immaculately groomed woman in her mid forties, with a reputation as a major player in the illegal drug economy, stepped out of the car and approached me. As she came nearer I complimented her on the car, she replied,

> 'You can't have anything nice on this estate. [Gestures to the car] It's getting ruined by a bunch of kids who play football in the street. They kick up all the stones and it's [the car] scratched the doors, all round the front. Little bastards. Do you know. [distracted, looking through her bag then looks up] I came home the other day and they'd pulled up all the plants that the council had planted in the borders. It looked really nice for a couple of days. But there was mud all over the road and bits of debris everywhere. I thought 'if I puncture a bloody tyre on any of this I'm gonna kill em' (Pamela, mid forties, female).

This angry outburst, delivered without irony and in a combined tone of frustration and annoyance, could be considered surprising. Particularly by politicians and policy makers who too simplistically categorise society into either the 'law abiding majority' or the 'law breaking minority' and act as though these groups are inherently different from one another. In Hillview it was common for people who regularly broke the law to get exercised by the behaviour of young people who lacked 'respect' for adults and/or the neighbourhood. Adults who make their living from the informal and illegal economy are, like the rest of us, a part of the social world and so have been exposed to the same media, political and policy rhetoric as everyone else. As the above observation shows they also care about the physical environment in which they live.

The data also show that established criminal networks, active in the informal economy, were essential to the maintenance of social order on the Hillview estate. Public and private displays of 'respect' ensured the continuation of established hierarchies and disorderly events and disorderly people were considered a threat to this finely calibrated status quo. Such individuals were, therefore, perhaps then just as sensitive, or perhaps more sensitive, to behaviours considered 'anti-social' or 'disrespectful'. Not because they are fearful of young people but because not to respect the expensive car, or the street, of a powerful individual or 'named family' was considered disrespectful to them and, therefore, a challenge to their status. It might have been previously thought that young people considered 'anti—social' by the authorities might have found more tolerance, or even a limited form of protection from others in the neighbourhood who operated on the wrong side of the law. This was definitely not the case. Instead those engaged in forms of criminal activity that involved the informal economy were just as likely as other adults to complain about children and young people being 'anti-social' or 'disrespectful'.

Up until this point the Chapter has established that the volume of reports at the NCPF about the alleged ASB of children and young people created the impression that this was the problem on the estate. Young people were, however, problematised because the use of public space by this group was deemed illegitimate and a threat to the 'safety' of the estate. Discussions about the threat young people were perceived to pose were not always grounded in actual events but often prompted by concerns about the risks posed by young people more generally. Resident complaints foregrounded the alleged 'anti-social' behaviour and the absence of young people's perspectives and experiences hid the consequences of much community safety policy and strategy. The negative consequences of these approaches for young people were not considered.

This chapter will now shift focus away from how complaints were reported to examine how they were responded to by forum members, practitioners in particular. It is shown that it was the police and Community Safety Team, the

ASB Housing Officer in particular who were at the forefront of intervention development. These members operated moral authoritarian discourses about young people and their behaviour which determined the sorts of interventions and strategies eventually sanctioned by the forum. This 'tough on ASB' rhetoric marginalised alternative, and more explicitly welfarist, discourses (Rodger 2008).

'If they want sympathy they can go and look it up in the dictionary'

Despite being an explicit function of the LAT the observations show that discussions about the *causes* of youth ASB were not a major part of the NCPF agenda. Comments were made about the role of irresponsible parenting in incidents of ASB, for example parents allowing children to be on the street particularly late at night was identified as a cause of youth ASB on the estate, however these remarks were more focused on the apportion of blame. More reflective, open, debate about the position of youth and their welfare did not occur. This may have been because these issues were discussed elsewhere, in meetings focused on the other themed areas of the NDC initiative, for example. This might account for why they were not observed in the course of this fieldwork. 'Causes of ASB' were not an agenda item, a small observation but an important one. Complaints were raised, the 'problem' discussed and intervention decided upon, leaving little space for consideration of anything else. There was also a tangible urgency, particularly from the police and Community Safety Team, to implement interventions swiftly. This could be interpreted as the need to be 'seen to be doing' and respond to resident complaints. All of the agencies in attendance at the NCPF also had to consider the monitoring, evaluation and target-driven nature of much community safety policy and strategy work. The data show quite clearly, however, that any discussion of the causes of youth ASB was interpreted, by the police in particular, as excusing the behaviour. In January 2007 a discussion about reports of young people throwing stones prompted this response from the East Brownstone District Commander,

'We don't want excuses. If they want sympathy
they can go and look it up in the dictionary. No.
We must remind them that this community will
not accept this behaviour. They know what they
are doing and we cannot afford to let them get
away with it' [East Brownstone District
Commander, fieldnotes January 2007]

Nobody at the NCPF publicly challenged the District Commander on these
comments. If such comments appear unsympathetic it is important to note
that such authoritarian sentiment, that explanation equals excuse and
intervention should be enforcement driven and 'tough', was commonly
exercised by the police, community safety officers, NCPF Chair, and on
occasion, residents. In this regard the forum echoed exactly the discourse and
philosophy of the 'No More Excuses' (Home Office 1997) approach to youth
justice installed by New Labour (Goldson 2001, 2010; Muncie 1999, 2009;
Pitts 2000, 2001; Squires and Stephen 2005, 2006).

Muncie and Hughes (2002 p16) have argued that New Labour youth justice
policy contains different, sometimes competing and contradictory, discourses
of welfare paternalism, justice and rights, responsibilisation, remoralization
authoritarianism and Managerialism (see also Levitas 2005; Rodger 2008) .
The importance of this is that different discursive practices opened a 'diverse
and expanding array of strategies that is available to achieve the governance
of young people' and amongst this remains the possibility of 'conflict, struggle
and resistance (p13) within the system. The power of how something is
communicated argues Levitas (2005) is that it;

'..structures our understanding, so in turn
governs the paths of action which appear open to
us. Can both open up and close down courses of
action' (Levitas 2005 p3)

In the public parts of the NCPF, moralising and authoritarian discourses were
used to describe young people and their behaviour. This, in turn, sheds some
light on the development of 'tough' and enforcement driven interventions that
primarily involved the police and community safety team. The data show that
targeted police patrols and the deployment of mobile CCTV were the most

common form of intervention used in response to complaints about young people's behaviour in public space. Interventions by the ASB Housing Officer came next and if a situation was not immediately resolved, contracts, primarily ABC's, were employed. By the summer of 2007, however, ASBO's, were also being used.

The role of partners who were not the police or Community Safety Team was less clear. The NDC initiative had invested substantially to improve youth provision in Hillview; for example it provided nearly eight hundred thousand pounds of investment to the Union Club which paid for staff, activities, and a brand new building. It also funded school holiday programmes over the summer and Easter holiday periods and funded extra staff at The Bee. The police also provided some funds to support intervention work with young people including sports projects and activities. Towards the end of the fieldwork, however, the NDC withdrew financial support for a significant number of local projects, including The Union. The extra youth work capacity was reduced significantly as attempts were made to secure mainstream Local Authority funding and manage cuts to Local Authority budgets which it is predicted will hit children's services hard (The Children's Society 2010).

Despite being present it was very noticeable that few of the local practitioners at the NCPF participated in the public meetings. The youth worker from The Bee for example only spoke once in the public forum between September 2006 and May 2007. The published academic literature on partnership working shows that this lack of participation could be interpreted in a number of ways, for example, organisations not seeing their work as relevant to the partnership, not understanding their role within it, power imbalances embedded in this approach and the withdrawal of co-operation as a form of resistance (Skinns 2005; Gilling 2007; Hughes 2007). The problematisation of young people at the forum may have silenced these practitioners, who, as a consequence of their own occupational cultures might have deployed alternative understandings and different responses to many of the issues raised. This is significant; however, as it shows that coupled with the

exclusion of young people was the silence of those adults who could have represented them.

Critical voices were not, however, entirely absent from the data generated at the NCPF. On rare occasions the 'one off' younger female mothers would question what was being said in the public forum. In November 2006, for example, the NCPF discussed how to advertise a new strategy that would enable police officers to seize motorbikes being used on the green space, adjacent to the Union Club. Christine, a mother in her late twenties who lived opposite the green, got involved.

> HOUSING OFFICER: 'We're thinking of doing a leaflet drop to all the houses surrounding Bramble Road. Young people need to know that we *will be* confiscating their bikes using s59 legislation'.
>
> CHRISTINE: 'I live there and the people who are riding bikes aren't kids. They're adults. And they don't come from Hillview. They drive their vans onto the pitches and unload their bikes.
>
> HO: 'Well, we need to get the message to the kids in the area'.
>
> CHRISTINE: 'But I told you [frustrated]. It's not the kids that are causing the damage or the noise. It's the bigger bikes'.
>
> HO: [Interrupts. Looks around] 'Does anyone have any ideas about how we can make the leaflets attractive to them [children and young people]? Maybe we can use pictures?'

This was not the only time in the data that an alternative, and arguably more informed, perspective on a local crime and/or disorder issue was not taken on board in the NCPF meetings by practitioners. Christine repeats twice that it was adults and not young people, who used motorbikes in the area and yet the Housing Officer who was sitting on the table to the side of Christine 'talked over her' and 'avoided eye contact' [fieldnotes November 2006]. The 'bottom up' and more informed perspective on the motorbike issue was thus ignored and the leaflets duly designed and distributed.

There were rare examples in the data where alternative, more welfarist, discourses were operated at the forum and this data was primarily generated from conversations between residents about the position of their own or friends families. Over the months I attended the forum the data show that overcrowding, problems with local schools, particularly regarding poor attainment levels, and lack of access to Children and Families mental health services were all observed being discussed. This shows at least some recognition of the challenges faced by some families and some children on the estate. Crucially, however, these were not raised in the public forum but almost entirely during the refreshment breaks in forum meetings and so away from the police, Community Safety Team practitioners and other NDC representatives.

The extent to which concerns about welfare and the support provided to children and families had been marginalised in the public meetings is best illustrated by an incident that occurred at the NCPF meeting in February 2006. In the public forum there had been a complaint raised by a community safety officer about an alleged incident of ASB involving at twelve year old boy called Peter. This was dealt with in the routine way and a decision was made that an ABC would be issued against this boy as it was not the first time complaints had been made about his behaviour. Over coffee I was approached by Pauline, a regular resident at the forum in her mid-to-late sixties who was familiar to me, although not a part of my immediate connection of family and friends, as she and her family were long term residents in Hillview. She began without introduction,

PAULINE: 'His mum's just been admitted to Coldharbour [local psychiatric hospital] and his dad's not coping at all. I just don't know what to do with him at the minute. He stays with me but there are five of them and....

CG: [interrupts]: 'Sorry Pauline I'm not following you'

PAULINE: 'Peter. My Terry's boy. It's all very well saying with the ABC but with his mum in Coldharbour [trails off. Long pause]…………………………………………… Terry's working and getting no help. You can't keep your eye on 'em all the time. I don't know how I'm going to tell him about this' [fieldnotes 22nd February 2006]

Peter was Pauline's grandson, a boy who had been living with his mother's serious mental health problem for some years until two weeks before the forum meeting she was sectioned and admitted into hospital. The family left at home, her son Terry and his five children were struggling to cope and received no assistance apart from the support that Pauline herself and the rest of the family could provide. Peter, she said had also been temporarily excluded from school. Pauline did not utter a word during the public discussion about Peter's alleged ASB; she did not even acknowledge that he was her grandson. Perhaps because she did not want to discuss a private family matter in public, or maybe she was embarrassed by the allegations against Peter, that he had set fire to a bin on the estate. Having looked across all the data generated at the forum it seemed abundantly clear that the needs of children and young people were ignored in favour of talk of their deeds; demands for 'tough' action left little space for compassion or understanding. The individual parent or child held was responsible without any reference to the responsibilities of society. In this climate Pauline's silence becomes perfectly understandable.

This chapter now shifts focus to explore that ways in which young people in this research understood themselves in relation to crime and disorder issues.

'I'm protected'

Participants did not describe themselves or their friends as 'anti-social'. Instead accounts show that 'The Soldiers' perceived their only form of security

or protection from the criminal and/or social harms they faced was each other. Many of the young adult male participants described themselves as 'Soldiers' as the following focus group data illustrate.

> BIGGY (25): '*We're* the fuckin' soldiers'
>
> INT: 'What does that mean?'
>
> BIGGY: 'We're on standby until something happens'.
>
> INT: Like what?
>
> BIGGY: 'Anything. If things kick off or things happen then we have to be ready'.
>
> INT: 'Ready to do what?'
>
> BIGGY: 'Help someone out. Retaliate. Mop some shit up. The lot'.

Unlike other research where the term 'soldier' is used in reference to the internal structure of the illegal drug market (Pitts 2008; Young and Hallsworth 2010) in Hillview its usage means something quite different; being a 'Soldier' in Hillview was to be part of an established network of people active in the production of a form of safety and protection for its members. As this extract explains this primarily involved being 'on standby' and prepared to take action at any time to assist, defend and/or retaliate against incident(s) perceived as harmful. Although this network was made up of individual young adults it nevertheless represents a primarily organic and collective response to the insecurities felt by this group about life in the Hillview estate. As it is shown earlier in this chapter it was not just anxieties about criminal harm but also broader social and welfare needs which were supported by the group. The data demonstrates that the network established by 'The Soldiers' on the street throughout the 1990's was also used as an attempt to manage and ameliorate both the *likelihood* of criminal victimisation and, as shown in more detail in Chapter Six, some of the repercussions of it.

Accounts show however that it was not just internal factors that made such a network necessary in the minds of these young adults and as the following

account illustrates the profound marginalisation experienced by 'Soldiers', underpinned by the stigmatization of these young adults as a threat to others, was also at the core of this phenomenon.

> COOPER (24): 'I'm a soldier. That's how I see it. It just the way my life is'.
>
> INT: 'Can you explain why?'
>
> COOPER: 'Cos you've got loyalty to your mates. We've been together from when we was nippers [puts hands down by his knee to indicate]. Y'know *really* young. Primary school. Nursery school. I've spent most of my life with these people so if there's trouble I'm gonna help 'em and if I've got trouble, or my missus has got trouble, or my kids. I know I've got people behind me watching my back. I'm protected. It's the way it is round here cos it's not like any other fucker gives a shit. We're considered shit by everyone outside of this estate. The level of hate is fucking out of control. We're the worst of the worst don't y'know? You should be afraid' [laughs out loud].

A deep sense of fatalism radiates from this data. Cooper states clearly and without sympathy that being a 'Soldier' is 'just the way it is'. Deeply rooted friendships based on loyalty are at the heart of this response to the intrinsic human need to feel protected. Membership of this network did not only act to shield the individual but also participants' close family, partners and children in particular. Being outside was perceived to heighten the risk of harm occurring. For Cooper the assurance of having 'people behind me watching my back' made him certain that he, and his family, were protected. It was not just internal factors that led participants to perceive that such informal forms of security were absolutely necessary.

The data also show that external factors were as significant in creating the need for 'The Soldiers' informal protection networks. Cooper describes the perception of others outside his neighbourhood as one embedded in 'hate', which he contends has got 'out of control', which promotes the idea that he is *the* threat to society, a prejudice that effectively masks the lived realties of these lives, particularly when it comes to the levels of social and criminal harm

they are exposed to. Another external factor that emerged from the data was the 'Soldiers' relationship with the police. This is explored in much more detail in the chapter that follows, however, what the accounts show were 'The Soldiers' experiences of adversarial and often brutal policing. This communicated a sense of illegitimacy to this group; a feeling so powerful that they considered themselves entirely unprotected by State agencies, and, therefore did not have the same recourse for incidents of criminal victimisation as other more privileged and better regarded social groups.

More broadly the published academic material has pointed out that one of the characteristics of (late) modern societies is the commodification of security (Jones and Newburn 1998; Squires 1998; Loader 1999; Krahmann 2008). In such circumstances security is not seen as a common good but rather is determined by the individual's ability and/or willingness to pay. Up until now adaptations made by those with the resources to purchase security has been the focus of debates in this area, for example research into the phenomena of gated communities (Atkinson *et al* 2003; Atkinson and Blandy 2006; Low 2001). Less attention, however, has been given to those individuals and social groups who cannot consume security in the ways demanded by contemporary society but yet are disproportionately more likely to experience criminal victimisation. It has been noted in the literature that carrying a knife can be partly explained by high levels of criminal victimisation experienced by young people, 'deprived' young people in particular (Eades *et al* 2007; Stephen 2009). Pitts (2008) study of gangs in Waltham Forrest highlights that fear of crime, in particular fear of the threat to personal safety created by high levels of illegal drug activity can often drive young people reluctantly into gang affiliation.

Always talking about alternative forms of safety in relation to issues of knives and gangs however clouds the issue somewhat. Whilst it is the case that some of 'The Soldiers' made their income in the illegal economy and the protection network described was sometimes used to protect this source of income, this was not the case in the vast majority of examples given in the data. The retrieval of stolen goods, including cars, electronic equipment or

other household goods was the most frequently discussed use of the network and this was followed closely by retaliation against violence, especially violence arising in the local night time economy. Other incidents discussed included interventions against the alleged perpetrators of violence against female relatives and the physical punishment of a man discovered burgling one of 'The Soldier's' homes. In this case it was reported that other residents watched as this took place and did not call the authorities. Furthermore, various 'Soldiers' claimed that using the network to resolve problems encountered in the illegal economy was considered illegitimate by most members, although there was a reluctance to absolutely refuse assistance because of concerns about the loss of protection.

As Chapter Six of this thesis will reveal 'The Soldiers' informal protection network was not able to protect young men from premature death. It frequently pulled 'Soldiers' into skirmishes and violent confrontation in the night time economy which had very serious consequences, for example two of the participants in this research were sentenced to short periods in custody after being convicted of affray committed in a public house over the course of the fieldwork. Being a 'Soldier' also included having little thought for questions of guilt and innocence, as illustrated by the following data.

> INT: 'How do you definitely know someone is guilty of something? You must do things to people who haven't done what you're accusing them of'
>
> UNCLE (27): 'We do know but if we don't we can find out'.
>
> INT: 'But that's impossible. You must get it wrong and get people who haven't done anything wrong'
>
> UNCLE: 'I dunno [long pause] We must do sometimes but like.............. [shrugs]'.

An expanded and critical analysis of the data generated about informal protection networks will be the focus of a later publication after completion of the thesis. The important point for now is that it existed and was an example

of a collective approach to safety and security issues that had developed over time amongst this group of young adults.

In contrast the data show that 'The Kiddies' had not developed a similar collectively based response to local crime and disorder issues. This may have been the result of the decline in levels of recorded crime between 1997 and 2008 when the fieldwork for this research was concluded. The socio-economic vulnerability of the area however had not significantly changed, as the next Chapter shows 'Kiddies' were subject to intensive and coercive street police tactics and did experience wider discrimination at school and outside the estate. In terms of victimisation 'The Kiddies' are located in a vulnerable group socio-economically and as Chapter Six will highlight, they witnessed and were profoundly affected by repeated peer bereavement experiences. It is significant, however, that the route through which the relationships, the foundation of the informal network, developed, 'hanging out' on the streets, had also become untenably compromised by ASB interventions. The impact this may, or may not, have had over the coming years would require further research. Nevertheless one further critical aspect of the ASB agenda has emerged from this work: its effect upon the ability of marginalised young people to keep themselves safe.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that young people, and a representation of their needs and interests, were excluded from local crime and disorder consultation processes. This enabled moral and authoritarian discourses to dominate the NCPF meetings pushing concerns about the welfare of young people and their families to the margins. Interventions designed to target 'anti-social' youth did not account for both the immediate and longer term implications of such policies and strategies for young people. This included the possibility that informal structures of welfare support would leave already vulnerable young people more marginalised and potentially facing crime and disorder problems alone.

This thesis now moves on to examine the issue that the data showed was of overwhelming significance to young people, the police and how the young people were policed.

CHAPTER FIVE

'Some of 'em can be proper out of order': Young people's experience of the police.

This thesis has community safety and young people as its core focus. The decision to consider the theme of policing next rather than the more general topic of community safety primarily derived from the data originating from both discussions and observations of the relationships between the police and young people in Hillview and what the young people said. It was clear that the experience of the police and policing were one of the centrally dominant themes in the data and were of prime and overwhelming significance to the young people involved in this research. Published academic literature focused on young people's experience of policing within the context of the 'new' community safety initiatives and field of governance and governing is rare. What does exist (Sadler 2008) gives an insight into how young people themselves perceive the police and their role within their community. The experiences are overwhelmingly negative,

> '..local young people felt that their common and long standing experience of the police was of being subject to surveillance and regulation…[they] felt the police had always been discriminatory, confrontational and concerned with approaching groups of youths 'for no reason' (Sadler 2008 p68)

The long standing academic interest in policing has already provided significant insights into the relationship between young people and the police. It is argued that young people's routine use of public space makes them an especially 'visible' (Loader 1996 p28) and available (McAra and McVie 2005; MVA and Miller 2000) population to the police. Despite this visibility their criminal victimization and criminalization (Squires and Goldsmith 2010) is often ignored (Morgan and Zedner 1992) leaving them routinely 'over policed and under protected' (Loader 1996 p28). Young people have been identified as one of the socially and economically marginalized groups treated as 'police property' (Lee 1981) and on this basis can be subject to police tactics focused on the maintenance of public order (Choongh 1998). Extremely adversarial and conflictual relationships between young people and the police are not

uncommon (Jefferson 1991; Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991; Anderson et al 1994; Maung 1995). Furthermore data from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime has concluded that young people, particularly those from poor socio-economic backgrounds constitute a 'permanent suspect population' (McAra and McVie 2005 p26) for the police on the street. That these findings are mirrored in the experiences of participants in this research is perhaps unsurprising given the nature of the community they occupy which is in the top ten percent most deprived wards in the index of multiple deprivation in the UK, but nevertheless remains significant.

What is distinctive in this research, however, is the emergence of data about the specific nature of those poor relationships between police and young people, in the light of *contemporary* policies and policing practices. What is new, and what this research offers insight into, concerns the differences and similarities in young people's experiences of the police in their neighbourhood before and after the introduction of the new community safety policy on the estate. The long term association of the researcher with the locality together with the methodologies used and the ethnographic nature of the work have allowed for new insights into the responses that young people have to the policing they were currently experiencing.

These data contribute to an understanding of how policing has both developed and been experienced through the series of legislative changes. The research explores the impacts the changes have had in one 'deprived' community. The combined effect of the policies of The Crime and Disorder Act 1998, The Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001, The Police Reform Act 2002 and The Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 have expanded the remit of the police, as an organisation they now have a statutory responsibility for the local management of crime, prevention, community safety and ASB together with a range of other partners (McLaughlin 2007). Police powers have been extended to include a range of new enforcement tools including curfews, dispersal zones, fixed penalty notices and ASBO's to reflect these new responsibilities and government priorities (Millie 2005). All of which in the words of the former Home Secretary David Blunkett has amounted to a

'radical programme for police reform' that extended the scope of policing 'from the criminal to the anti-social' (Home Office 2004b).

In addition, there has been an explicit strategic shift that has refocused police priorities back into the 'community' and neighbourhood (Innes 2004; Millie and Herrington 2005) and away from a remote style of policing focused on prolific offenders that characterized much of the 1990's (Hughes and Rowe 2007). This new vision was outlined by the former Prime Minister Tony Blair in the foreword to the Home Office Strategic Plan;

> 'we want to revive the idea of community policing, but for a modern world. That means a big increase in uniformed patrol on our streets but linked to 21st century technology – to make sure they have the biggest possible impact on crime and the public's fear of crime…And we'll give local communities a real say in deciding the priorities for the new neighbourhood policing teams' (Home Office 2004c)

Home Office (2001, 2003c, 2004b, Home Office 2004c, 2007) strategy documents on police reform contend that this refocusing will 'provide safety and security for law abiding citizens and their families' (Home Office 2004b), improve public confidence in policing and have a positive impact on crime and the fear of crime. The launch of the National Reassurance Policing Programme in 2003, introduction of Safer Neighbourhoods Policing Teams (SNPT), as well as the introduction of Police Community Support Officers have all been recognised in the academic literature as constituting the resurrection of 'neighbourhood' policing in Britain (Johnston 2005; Loveday 2006; Innes 2006; McLaughlin 2007). The White Paper *Strong and Prosperous Communities* (DCLG 2006) stressed the importance of having neighbourhood policing as a key tool at the core of community safety. The potential of this strategy to reinvigorate police and community relations is articulated by McLaughlin (2007 p194) and his optimistic tone echoes through the academic literature in this area (Millie and Herrington 2005; Innes 2006; Hughes and Rowe 2007).

'The shift to a neighbourhood policing philosophy foregrounds the possibility of more direct face-to-face forms of accountability, or indeed deliberative trust based policing' (McLaughlin 2007 p194).

Despite the extensive academic work on aspects of this new landscape that involve policing such as the role of the police in partnerships and the local delivery of crime control (Gilling 2000; Hughes 2007; Skinns 2006), the responsibilities of the police within the context of community safety policy (Newburn 2002b; Loveday 2006; Hughes and Rowe 2007), and evaluating the development and effectiveness of SNPT's and PCSO's (Crawford 2004; Johnston 2005; Caless 2007) there is not much published work on the cumulative impact of these policies on people inside communities. There is even less on the way those policed under the new arrangements experience it and the perspectives they apply to bring to bear on these experiences. We, therefore, currently have a limited insight into the way that those who are on the front line of, and the first receivers of, such new policing agendas receive and respond to it. Accordingly this thesis provides insights into the ways such policies have been realised in one local area, but more specifically hi-light the ways they have been experienced by young people subject to them as these issues have been rather neglected.

In the current literature Sadler's (2008) ethnographic study examining the impact of the youth ASB agenda on the policing of one inner city housing estate is the only other published article found specifically relating ASB to policing and young people. She concludes her article by stating that the ASB agenda had changed 'how young people on the estate were *problematised*, rather than how they were *policed*' (p69 italics in original). The insights offered by Sadler's study are illuminating and while they extend understanding and reflect some of the experiences of young people on the Hillview estate, they do not exhaust the issues. There are key differences between Sadler's study and this research that provide further insights into young people and the police. Sadler's fieldwork was conducted early on in the local deployment of ASB and community safety strategies, her method was not directly

comparative across time and the area of study was an inner city, ethnically diverse neighbourhood. By contrast the community safety team had been established in Hillview for almost seven years at the beginning of the fieldwork, the method was comparative and the location a predominantly white, peripheral housing estate on the edge of a small city in the south east and might be expected to reveal a number of different issues.

The data presented in this chapter indicate that, despite statistics which suggest the Hillview estate had experienced a decline in recorded crime giving the area one of the lowest crime rates in the city of Brownstone, the perception of young people is that the estate continues to be extremely heavily policed, and policed quite coercively. The use of public order policing tactics has become more common on the street of Hillview and a 'new' population of young people, girls and young women, are being targeted by street officers. What this study makes clear is that that the combination of new police powers to target ASB and local partnership working practices have enabled the police to penetrate previously closed spaces raising issue of this groups legal and human rights.

Overall the data demonstrate that for young people the police remain the primary mechanism through which 'order' is maintained on the street. Furthermore in contrast to the observation made by McLaughlin (2007) about neighbourhood policing facilitating a (theoretically) improved accountability, the data reported later in the chapter questions this. Instead the primary role of the Safer Neighbourhood Policing Team (SNPT) officers was to drive through the ASB agenda alongside the Community Safety Team. They are not a development through which young people are able to access a more accountable model of policing or that generated feelings of trust in this group. This work also confirms the point that community safety is not an indivisible public good and that improved accountability for some adults and agencies has come at a cost to young people especially (Brown 2005; Squires 2006; Stephen 2006). The data generated in the Hillview community offers us some theoretical insights on the recurrent academic debate about the reconceptualization of marginalized groups as 'dangerous' (Lea 1997, 2002)

and 'other' (Young 1999) and might help develop a neo-Marxist perspective on the role of community policing in society (Bridges 1983; Gordon 1983, 1987). It is important now to turn to the accounts to document these issues and reactions in some detail.

'Hillview anthem'

Academic research has argued that many socio-economically deprived communities had been effectively abandoned by the police in the 1980's and 1990's (Campbell 1993; McConville and Shepherd 1992; Crowther and Campling 2000). The perception of 'The Soldiers', however, was rather different as they considered that Hillview was subject to a considerable police presence between 1994 and 2000.

> 'whenever you was out [on the street]..all the time you'd see old bill. Fucking everyday..driving up and down, up and down' (Roman, 24, male)

Roman's version of events indicates his resentment of the continuous police presence. It was there 'whenever' he and others were out on the street; Roman claimed the police went up and down constantly. Roman offers important details about the kind of police presence the estate experienced in that it was intensive and that it was vehicle based. His anger is clear but his tone has a kind of resignation in it. Roman's view was echoed in the accounts by all of the other 'Soldiers' who were interviewed for this research.

> 'there were shit loads, shit loads of coppers up here driving about or parked up. Constantly.'
> (Mark, 25, male)

> Hanging about with your mates and that when we was younger you'd see tons of 'em [police] on the estate' (Rick, 26, male)

> 'There were plenty of old bill up here when we was kids' (Tiny, 22, male)

The sense of surveillance did not stop and it rarely varied. Like Roman's comment other participants appeared resigned. The observations also show

that resignation could switch to frustration and then anger very quickly. My field notes from the focus group with 'The Soldiers' recount:

> Everyone was chilling out, sitting on Rick's deep brown leather sofas or the huge beanbags scattered around the living room floor. The mood was relaxed, jovial even. As the session progressed the participants began talking about street policing and the whole room felt very oppressive and downbeat. Mark made a comment about an officer he called Mulch and Rick, who was sitting immediately to my right sat up quickly and crouched on the edge of the sofa dragging hard on his cigarette. The others did the same, leaning forward and inwards over the table. Voices raised sharply and became angrier and more aggressive (field notes April 18th 2007)

During this period Hillview was experiencing some of the highest levels of crime in Brownstone. There had been three high profile murders on the estate in 1993, 1998 and 1999 resulting in it being dubbed 'the killer estate' in the local press. Furthermore, in April 2000 there was a clash between the police and young people (described by local media as a riot) that contemporary reports claimed resulted in fifteen arrests, injuries to three police officers, and one female resident being attacked by a police dog. Serious crime, high rates of recorded offences and the estate's reputation for crime and disorder provide the context within which the high levels of policing embedded in 'The Soldier's' descriptions are understood by participants themselves.

Lea (1997, 2002) points out that in contrast to the idea that there was an acceptance of policing amongst the working classes this was not the case for the so called 'dangerous classes' of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This group of individuals and families were not completely eradicated by the growth of industrial capitalism and at the very lowest rungs of the social hierarchy they continue to be characterized as 'depraved' rather than 'deprived'.

These understandings have to be set in the medium term history of Hillview, as the introduction to this thesis documented this is one of slum clearance,

very limited access to local employment, and social housing residualisation, all of which calls into question the extent to which residents were ever able to use political power or other means to assuage the power of local law enforcement. It is not an area traditionally associated with housing the 'respectable' working classes but instead the 'illiterate' and those requiring 'socially uplifting' as it was delicately expressed in a Brownstone local authority policy document in 1975 (Brownstone Council 1975, cited in Queenspark Rates Book Group 1983 p25). This does not, however, completely explain the anger, resentment and resignation threaded through discussions about the police with 'The Soldiers'. To understand this more fully, their use of the street and their claims about aggressive policing tactics targeting young people require more specific examination.

Previous research (Loader 1996; McAra and McVie 2005) has highlighted the police comprehensive surveillance of public space produces an 'available' (McAra and McVie 2005 p8) population of young people on the street exposed to policing. 'The Soldiers' reported spending prolonged periods of time on the street so in addition to their being an available street population the accounts of the participants in Hillview show that young people witnessed the intensive and extensive watch over the use of public space on the estate. What appears to be of particular importance for 'The Soldiers' was that the critical spaces where the police showed their presence were all located on or adjacent to the main road, the only road in and out of Hillview. As discussed in Chapter Four, academic research argues that the presence of young people in public spaces is increasingly seen as out of place (Sibley 1995; Valentine 1996a, 1996b), discrepant, undesirable (Valentine 1996a, 1996b; Matthews *et al* 1999, 2001; Stephen 2006; Crawford 2009) or simply criminal (Worpole 2005). The participants recognised clearly why the police had selected those spaces. These prime locations were the centre of activity on the estate, where 'everything happened'.

> 'Everything happened there [on the street] and you used to think you was missing out if you weren't there. Guaranteed you didn't go one night and everyone would like 'such and such a thing happened' (Steve, male, 25)

The excitement and wonder of the endless possibilities of the street conjured up by Steve threads through the data from 'The Soldiers' and echoes the insights of Corrigan's (1979) analysis of the significance attached to 'doing nothing'.

The data shows that the use of very public locations by groups of young people was deliberate and conveyed a message of belonging and ownership to those watching. Confronting the idea that they did not belong,

> 'Because everybody knew they [public spaces] were ours, sometimes people didn't like it but because we were always there they had to accept us…accept that we lived in Hillview too' (Michelle, female, 23)

Michelle's tone of defiance shows that 'The Soldiers' challenged their perceived 'outsider' status in their own neighbourhood through the occupation of highly visible public spaces. For the participants occupying these spaces for concentrated and prolonged periods of time was a statement to 'everybody', whether they liked it or not, that young people were part of the neighbourhood. The other implication of this was that 'The Soldiers', therefore, had a prime location from which to observe the movement of the police on and off the estate. It also meant that any police "occupation" of these strategically and emotionally significant areas was especially contested and resented as explained here;

> 'the benches and videostore were both right on the main road. There's only one road in and out of Hillview and we was there after school everyday, at weekends..*for hours*..if the police were on the estate we knew they was there' *(*Terri, 24, female*)*

Occupying public space is recognized in the literature as one of the primary factors precipitating intensive police activity (Loader 1996; Waddington 1999;

Reiner 2000). Use of public space is 'taken as a symbolic threat to the police's capacity to control the neighbourhood' (Loader 1996 p24). What is more rarely acknowledged in academic literature is the alternative insights street based groups can offer on the operation of public policing. This study in common with other ethnographic work (Bourgois 1994; Wacquant 2008) has been able to add to understanding of how the police operate from the perspective of the street. Bourgois (1994 p30) shows how the police operate static 'profiles' of individuals using street spaces and use these in the daily task of street policing whilst Wacquant (2008) argues that the police operate as a buffer between marginalized spaces and the rest of society.

'The Soldiers' explained that it was not just *seeing* police officers on the estate that led them to believe that Hillview was heavily policed but it was the omnipresence of police sirens, and police cars travelling at high speed, and the regular whir of the police helicopter overhead as a routine backdrop to their lives as typified here:

> 'if you were indoors or in your mates…you could
> hear sirens and cars fucking flying up the road'
> (Biggy, 25, male)

The frustration and resentment is clear in Biggy's words here, as is the sense of speed and noise and intrusion and the perception of being exposed to surveillance for reasons that have not been explained or justified. The capacity of noise to generate a physical response is demonstrated in this description of the sound of the police helicopter provided by Uncle.

> 'It sounds like a really, really loud lawnmower
> 'whoosh, whoosh'.when it hovers that's the noise
> the blades make..if you're close it's like when you
> walk by a driller and it [the noise] gets right in the
> head, its fucking mental mate' (Uncle, 27, male)

The sense of being physically overwhelmed by sound makes the experience of the noise in Uncle's description particularly intense. His tone of excitement at the volume and exhilaration when describing the scenario as 'mental' stripped any trace of resentment out of his voice. It is hard to escape however the intrusive nature of the noise which combined felt as though respondents

were subject to a form of sensory overload. A combination of sights, sounds, physical contact and heightened emotion that punctured the rhythm and boredom of life on the estate. So regular was the sound of police sirens that participants referred to it as the 'Hillview anthem'. The fieldnotes also point to this conclusion;

> As I picked up my coffee the sound of police sirens became audible from the main road. Terri's [participant] raised her eyes heavenward. Looking directly at me she muttered 'Hillview anthem' then turned back to her cuppa [fieldnotes July 21st 2006]

In contrast to a national anthem, supposed to engender feelings of pride and be reflective of the spirit and strength of a nation, the 'Hillview anthem' represents something quite different. It is reflective of the extent to which some people who live on the estate feel that the area is defined by a sense of powerlessness in the face of unrelenting policing. What is missing in the data is any sense that participants had any control of the police presence, and this is reinforced not only by the anger present in some of these accounts but the sense of deep fatalism which accompanies the adoption of police sirens as the sacred song of their own neighbourhood. There is certainly no sense that the police presence offered these young residents any protection.

Further insights into the extent of the police presence and the level of surveillance on the estate were gleaned from the data on stop and search from 'The Soldiers'.

> 'I got stopped thirteen times in a month, y'know those little slip things you'd get. Thirteen. Fucking. Times... I was only fourteen…. Over the whole time [pause] I reckon its gotta be over one fifty' (Mark, 25, male)

As Mark talked about his experiences of stop and search he was sitting with his knees jammed against the coffee table placed in the middle of the room. Each word of 'Thirteen…. Fucking…. Times' was interjected with a jab of his finger on the table, each slightly more audible than the next on the tape. This gesture suggested Mark was angry, which he was, at the time however it was

his tone of sheer disbelief that came as a surprise. It was as if the act of recalling these events had reminded him of what it had been like to be a young person living on the Hillview estate and that his adult self was struggling to come to terms with some of his experiences. Mark was not the only member of this group to claim they had experienced multiple incidents of stop and search by police officers.

> 'All together I must have been stopped and searched at least two hundred times easy…easy peasy…from when I started going to nappy night [local under-age club night] til my age now easy two hundred….easy peasy.. and that's fucking minimum mate. I remember when I got pulled sixteen times in the space of about six weeks…four times in three days' (Twin, 26, male)

> The first time I got stopped I was twelve and I'm sure it was down the little park with Smallsy. I got pulled on my moped seventeen times in the space of three weeks…no two weeks…all in all I reckon I've been stopped and questioned three hundred times and searched at least two hundred (Gary, 25, male)

> 'I've lost count' (Roman, 24, male)

For Mark its 'gotta be' one hundred and fifty, Twin 'easy peasy' two hundred, Gary 'at least' two hundred and Roman had 'lost count'. Unlike Mark these figures did not generate the same air of disbelief amongst all participants. Both Twin and Gary appeared outraged, their comments seared with a sense of injustice particularly when recalling two hundred as the number of times they claimed to have been stopped and searched by police. Roman by contrast did not sound angry, he was closed and perhaps more resigned about his experiences. Based on the data it is clear that while the participants were faced with very similar experiences of the police they displayed a range of subjective reactions that differed from one another. This is a crucial insight as it is mirrored in the data generated with 'The Kiddies' ' who also reacted in very different ways to similar policing tactics which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Research exploring the effect of encounters with the police concluded that having a negative experience has a far greater impact on the individual than other more routine encounters (Skogan 2006; MPA 2008; Bradford *et al* 2009). This might help to explain the almost total absence of recollections of positive experiences with the police in the accounts from 'The Soldiers'. It does not, however, detract from the scale of interventions alleged by this group and what this tells us about the level of policing operating on the estate during this time. Unlike the concern about the policing of the working class by commentators such as Storch (1975) and Cohen (1981) it has been argued that 'race' dominates recent debates on policing (Delsol and Shiner 2006). This work clearly identifies that black and minority ethnic (BME) groups, young black men in particular, are subject to disproportionate levels of stop and search (House of Commons 2007; Bowling and Phillips 2002, 2007; Rowe 2004; MVA and Miller 2000; Waddington *et al* 2004) and experience 'saturation' (Goodman and Ruggiero 2008 p62) policing and/or "over policing" (Reiner 2000; Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991) in their neighbourhoods. Furthermore the published research makes it abundantly clear that encounters and experiences with the police contain 'elements of conflict, of hostility and of confrontation' (Sharp and Atherton 2007 p757).

Hillview is not an inner city, ethnically diverse, area. As the introduction describes it is a peripheral social housing estate, home to predominantly white families. Despite this 'The Soldiers' produce accounts which are remarkably similar to what has been uncovered in research on BME experiences of policing in that 'The Soldiers' also felt intensively policed whilst growing up on the estate and into adulthood and claimed to have been subject to high levels of stop and search. They were frustrated and angry about the kinds of policing they had experienced and alleged that they too were subject to aggressive police tactics which echo those found in the academic literature on policing and 'race' (Kinsey *et al* 1986; Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991). Delsol and Shiner (2008) in their analysis of the regulation of stop and search in England and Wales argue that current focus on 'race' in debates on stop and search needs to be broadened to represent the experiences of other groups who feel over policed. These authors argue (2008 p258) 'there are sections of the

white community that have particular misgivings about the way they are policed'. In particular the literature shows that economic marginalization, or social class, also produces adversarial policing and can be vital to understanding the way some individuals, groups and neighbourhoods are policed as Newburn *et al* (2004 p 677) point out;

> 'Much policing is inherently conflictual and
> adversarial and, almost inevitably adversarial
> police contacts are more likely to be experienced
> by economically marginalized groups in society'

Discussed in terms of 'social disadvantage' (Goodman and Ruggiero 2008) and 'social deprivation' (Sharp and Atherton 2006) rather than social class in the literature, socio-economic status is identified as a key factor in the policing of BME individuals (Bowling and Phillips 2002; Webster 2007; Goodman and Ruggiero 2008; Grover 2008) and more broadly their presence in the criminal justice system (Grover 2008). Whilst the debate about how both class and 'race' act separately or cumulatively to influence the relationship between BME individuals and policing continues (Bowling and Phillips 2002), the evidence also shows that BME groups experience higher rates of poverty and unemployment and that they are much more spatially concentrated in socio-economically stressed, urban neighbourhoods (Palmer and Kenway 2007; Grover 2008).

Social class is therefore a crucial factor in any discussions of policing as the long and radical history of academic interest in class and policing attests (Storch 1975; Cohen 1981; Hall *et al* 1978; Scraton 1985). More recently findings from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime concluded that social class is a mobilizing factor in the contact between the police and young people on the street (McAra and McVie 2005). These authors identify a number of factors which precipitate contact with the police such as previous offending behaviour and keeping what the police define as the 'wrong company', it was nevertheless found that 'among the available population of young people the police are consistently more likely to pick on youngsters from less affluent backgrounds' (2005 p27). Crucially even in more ethnically diverse estates residing in a socio-economically 'deprived' area was

articulated by some young people as a more significant factor than ethnicity to understanding a heavy police presence (Sadler 2008).

Building on the findings from published research, the accounts from 'The Soldiers' show that intensive policing was a fact of life in Hillview during the 1990's when the estate was suffering extreme social and economic marginalization. Young people at the time were over exposed to street policing and a hyperactive stop and search was the form it took. This added to the construction and reinforcement of a 'crime prone' identity for the area that has followed the research participants into adulthood. As the next chapter demonstrate this was also a landscape in which reportedly adversarial and at times brutal policing practices were a part of the lifeworlds of the young people.

'You felt like you couldn't breathe'

The accounts by 'The Soldiers' indicate that it was not simply the heavy police presence which configured the reactions of the young people of Hillview to the police. Their hostility was based upon the experience of some aggressive and even brutal policing practices. During the 1990's 'The Soldiers' felt that their street lives were dominated by experiences of police initiated contact that was aggressive and often resulted in verbal and physical confrontation. During his interview Sonny (25) described what he claimed were his experiences of policing whilst growing up on the estate.

SONNY (25): 'they [police officers] were just in your face, ordering you what to do [raises his voice] 'Stand there. Don't move. Answer my questions. And fuckin remember if you piss me off and don't do what I say I'll fuckin have you, you fuckin Hillview scum'. If you didn't do what they said it would kick off .

INT: what would happen?

SONNY: You'd get ragged up and pinned to the ground with the cops on your back. They would put their knees right in the middle of your back like there [demonstrates]. So you couldn't stop being pushed down and push you into the ground really hard. [pause] You felt like you couldn't breathe and then when you were down there you'd get little digs. Little fuckin punches and sly kicks. Then they'd call for back up [raises voice] 'We need back up, we need back up !!!'

In Sonny's world the police were not a source of reassurance and comfort but violence and risk. His account shows that police officers were aware of their power over 'The Soldiers' and displayed this power by physically dominating young people in public. They were 'in your face', threatening 'I'll fuckin have you' and aggressive. The term 'ragged up' is not present in any of the other literature on policing and young people which indicates that it may well be a specific Hillview term. The first time it was used during interview the participant was asked to explain further.

'Getting ragged up is like [pause] getting pulled about by a cop. Having your clothes grabbed and your arms pulled behind your back, fingers in all the points they can, truncheons pinned on you and getting shaken up like a rag doll. Even if you were acting sweet they treated you like that' (Smallsy, male, 24)

The imagery of the rag doll in this account is highly evocative as it suggests that young people perceived themselves to be viewed as toys by police officers and as such were able to be manipulated by them and had little individual worth. Smallsy's claim that this type of physical interaction occurred even if a young person was 'acting sweet', in other words was compliant with the instructions of police officers implies that the actions of police officers

were not necessarily a response to reactions of 'The Soldiers' once stopped but were a symbolic tactic used by the police to overpower them on the street. Sonny's is a vivid account of his experiences that he delivered in a performative style which added to its impact. He deepened and sharpened his voice making the police officer sound aggressive and authoritative. Sonny stood up and acted out how officers physically restrained him, bending down on one knee and holding his hand to the floor to show the way he claimed his head was pushed to the ground as he spoke; the noted quickness and deftness of his actions a demonstration of his familiarity with this form of restraint.

None of the officers who policed the estate participated in this research so this thesis cannot present their perspective on the policing of Hillview during this time but such accounts indicate that officers were not afraid to use very aggressive tactics against 'The Soldiers' in a very public setting, giving us some indication into how vulnerable 'The Soldiers' perceived themselves to be on the street. The police did not seem to feel constrained by what public opinion might think, say or do. In this account they appear to feel quite safe using such policing practices in this neighbourhood. Sonny was certainly not the only participant to offer such accounts of police interventions. When listening to them firsthand and later analyzing the content Sonny's assertion that 'you felt like you couldn't breathe' took on real significance. It not only gives some indication of the level of force used against 'The Soldiers' and the level of surveillance they felt under, but also the overwhelming sense of panic and claustrophobia that was so much part of their lives on the street.

The data also raises the question of proportionality in the street policing of young people as claims of disproportionate policing tactics and police brutality were also common.

'I was standing on the street and the cops came up
to me and my mate and started saying that they
thought we'd been involved in a burglary or
something like that when we'd been standing at
the benches for about five hours or something.
The next thing is my mate ran off cos he couldn't
be bothered to spend any time in the cells. I just
stood there and the copper [pepper] sprayed me
right across the face [uses his hand to illustrate
that he was sprayed across the eyes]. I staggered
back and fell backwards over this wall and I was
fuckin rollin around in the dirt screaming' (Rick,
male 26)

Rick's claims of brutality make uncomfortable reading but were not
uncommon in accounts given by 'The Soldiers'. This incident was clearly
distressing and painful; he describes how it left him 'screaming'. In these data
the arbitrary and sometimes brutal nature of street interventions is laid bare.
Rick's friend was sure that being in a public place, surrounded by other young
people for a considerable period would not guarantee that he would not get
taken to the police cells. The creation of that kind of uncertainty on the street
by police officers reinforced the vulnerable and powerless position of 'The
Soldiers'. Other data contains claims that 'The Soldiers' experienced being
(partially) strip searched on the street and were at times physically and
verbally abused by officers.

'I've been told to take off my shirt, my shoes and
socks and been left standing there [on the street]
in a pair of fucking shorts. Like you're gonna say
fuckin 'cheers, nice one mate' (Biggy, male 25)

'they always got rough. You'd be left with bruises
on your arms and your back, sometimes your legs
where it got heavy handed, out of control. [pause]
But I've seen loads of shit. I've seen em give
youngsters some right proper hidings' (Bluey, 22
male)

Discussions of disproportionate policing and police brutality is present in
published academic work on the policing of ethnic minorities in Britain
(Bowling and Philips 2002; MPA 2004; Newburn *et al* 2004). In evidence
given to the MPA (2004) scrutiny of stop and search practices in London
young people alleged they had been asked to remove items of clothing in the

street, been strip searched without the presence of an appropriate adult and seen aggressive policing tactics used on the street against other young people. In response to these testimonies the report (MPA 2004 p42) states;

> 'To argue that the widespread use of stop and search as a police practice is harmless, that it only hurts those who break the law, is to totally ignore the psychological and social costs that can result from always being considered one of the usual suspects'.

What is distinctive about this research is that it alerts us to the fact that social class and social exclusion creates a similar type of policing that brings with it similar psychological and social costs to those who are the brunt of it. The embarrassment of being restrained in a public place, being arrested and detained in custody and therefore getting caught in the net of the criminal justice system and ultimately creating a deep sense of mistrust and opposition to the police that bolsters an informal culture of protection, with all its attendant risks, into adulthood.

Despite the intensity of the policing they experienced the data show that 'The Soldiers' did develop and evolve some strategies that enabled them to at least partially subvert and resist the power of the police on the street on a day to day basis. These actions clustered around a central goal, to actively undermine police authority on the street. Participants recalled verbally challenging officers during a police initiated street intervention, attempting to abscond from stops and engaging officers in a 'chase' situation as well as making sarcastic and/or derogatory comments to police officers in front of peers.

> 'I didn't want to back down [pause] so whenever I got stopped I'd keep saying 'Why are you stopping me? 'Why are you stopping me? Tell me why you're stopping me?' and the copper would be fucking gnashing his teeth, and snarling right in your face' (Twin, 26 male)

Twin's description of an officer 'gnashing his teeth' and 'snarling' has more in common with depictions of feral children than the usual representations of the

police; it is a very aggressive, animalistic and intimidating vision. 'The Soldiers' accounts included very visual and vivid images to describe being targeted by police officers. They were 'backed up' (Gary, 25), 'hunted down' (Mark, 25) and 'easy prey' (Smallsy, 24) and 'slayed' (Uncle, 27) by the police. A newspaper article on Operation Leopard, the intensive surveillance programme run by Essex police to combat ASB amongst children and young people, provides a fleeting but insightful glimpse into how officers policing the street also share these understandings. A Forward Intelligence Officer participating in the operation was reported to have described it as 'the hunt' (Lewis 2008). The language used by 'The Soldiers' in their accounts of street life should not be dismissed as it shows the extent to which *some* children feel they have been constructed as 'wild' and 'feral' by some criminal justice agents.

Omaji (2003) argues that criminal justice agents construct their own perceptions of the phenomena they attempt to control and that the operation of these perceptions can themselves be criminogenic. He points out that outside events have a profound impact upon the ways in which some groups, 'youth' in particular, are constructed by those agents. He concludes (Omaji 2003 p38);

> 'It is not idle speculation that the mannerisms of criminal justice agencies, towards young people, based on their own jaundiced perceptions, define the character of their responses and severely constrain the crime prevention potentials of their privileged position.'

Omaji's observations show that it is not just the operation of 'cop culture' that influences the policing of young people but also media and political discourses about this group and their characteristics. As commentators have noted it was during the 1990's that young people were reconstructed as being 'out of control', 'feral', and 'wild' (MacDonald 1997; Muncie 1999; Pitts 1998; Stephen 2006). This distracted attention from the reality of collapsing social and economic conditions, spiralling inequality and structural failure (White and Cunneen 2006). Furthermore contemporary social theorists (Young 1999; Lea

2002; Wacquant 2008) have argued forcefully that the more recent social, economic and political transformations of Western industrialized nations have revitalised a perceived need to exert control over 'risky' populations. This 'movement from an *inclusive* to an *exclusive* society' Young argues (1999 p7 italics in original) necessitates the need to scapegoat, blame and believe that criminality and/or disorderly behaviour is a product of individual deficit or choice. Thus stripping away from our understanding of crime the complexities of social context, the impact of living in a 'grossly unmeritocratic' (p198) society, and the corrosive effect of being simultaneously included and excluded.

The form these resistant acts took must be seen within the context of 'The Soldiers' marginal position. Making an official police complaint was repeatedly articulated in the accounts as not a realistic option. 'The Soldiers' stated that they had neither the money or the access to solicitors needed and perhaps most fundamentally felt a complaint would not be believed or taken seriously.

> 'If it comes down to police making statements against youths it's not likely to go in your favour is it? [Addressing interviewer] It's you against the police so making complaints wasn't an option cos then they've gotta justify why they've stopped you fifty times in six months. They need something on you' (Gary, male 25)

Much of the academic work on resistance to policing has been conducted in the United States (MacDonald *et al* 2003; Engel 2003; Tyler 2004; Tyler and Fagan 2008) and not in Britain. It shows that cooperation with the police and judgments on police legitimacy are directly related to whether police procedures are considered fair and just by those who are subject to them. If individuals consider the ways in which the police exercise their authority is problematic or unfair this increases the likelihood of individuals acting in ways that are considered resistant to, or in opposition to the police. Furthermore, those resistant acts: talking in a manner deemed aggressive and/or not judged to be cooperating by police officers, can escalate the amount of force used by officers and increases the likelihood of arrest. Paradoxically the work

of MacDonald *et al* (2002) shows that the greatest amount of force was often used by the police in the least threatening types of offence categories.

This analysis in the American published literature helps dispel the idea that some areas and/or social groups are blindly 'anti-police' but puts resistance to policing within a broader context of how policing is experienced by those subject to it. It is also a concept that is being given more importance in recent work exploring young people and policing (Hinds 2007; Crawford 2009). As Hinds (2007 p203) argues;

> 'Police use of fair procedures entails giving young people an opportunity to have their say before making a decision, being treated in a neutral and consistent way, and being treated with dignity and respect'.

Comparing this definition of procedural justice to the experiences of 'The Soldiers' illustrates the chasm between theory and reality. This shifts some of the responsibility of poor police/community relations back to the police and to those who set policing policies, strategies and priorities and undermines the idea that more policing or different policing is automatically going to fundamentally change attitudes towards the police amongst all groups within a neighbourhood. As the next section of this chapter demonstrates perceived procedural *injustice* is vital in understanding the younger participants' relationship with the police as there is no indication that young people feel fairly treated despite the introduction of neighbourhood policing. This leaves open the possibility that this group could develop the same oppositional and fractured relationship with the police as adults articulated by 'The Soldiers'.

Acts of resistance were heavily quashed by police officers as this account shows;

> 'I asked one of the old bill why he didn't have
> windowscreen wipers cos it was raining on his
> glasses and he went fucking mad and pinned me
> up against the wall. I got arrested for that' (Gary,
> 25, male)

Like Gary, all of 'The Soldiers' claimed to have been arrested as a consequence of police initiated street interventions. Some disclosed having convictions for public order offences that stretched back to this time and were a consequence of adversarial encounters with police officers on the streets of Hillview and, furthermore, all male 'Soldiers' reported ongoing problems with the police as young adults. The long term impact of criminal convictions on job opportunities and successful transition into adulthood meant that displays of youthful resistance came at a heavy price for the 'The Soldiers'. It must be stressed, however, that in the context of over policing described by 'The Soldiers', and the limited opportunity they felt they had to address this through legitimate channels, these strategies were considered as one way of exerting some control and registering dissent. Uncle was the most vocal amongst 'The Soldiers' about this.

> 'It was a battle. We were having to fight hard to
> stay on the street. We had to hold our nerve and
> take some right fuckin knocks. We all knew they
> [the police] were doing things that weren't right.
> Things happened that other people wouldn't
> *believe*. [pause] But we wanted to be able to walk
> round our area and be out without being harassed
> and intimidated from the police. There's no way
> other people would put up with police like that. It's
> not alright. [pause]. It's fuckin terrible really but at
> least we were all in it together' (Uncle 27 male)

Uncle's recollection of his time growing up in Hillview makes it clear that from his perspective young people and the police were in active conflict during the 1990's. The significance that street life has to him is also abundantly clear. What is also evident is that Uncle's interpretation of events included the police being participants in this conflict. 'The Soldiers' 'took some knocks' from police officers. Importantly the support from his extended friendship group and the sense of collective action strengthened the resistance that was seen as vital.

A 'New' Policing?

By 2006 the official policing strategy had undergone significant change. Recorded crime rates had fallen in Hillview mirroring the broader trend throughout England and Wales (Nicholas, Kershaw and Walker 2007). Just over forty seven million pounds had been allocated to 'East Brownstone', an amalgamation of socially and economically deprived areas in the city that included Hillview, as part of the NDC programme which was intended to tackle social deprivation and exclusion and create more cohesive communities through local resident participation and regeneration projects (SEU 1998, 2000). As part of this initiative's aim to reduce rates of crime and build safer communities, a Community Safety Team had been established in Hillview. In line with the reform of policing discussed earlier a Safer Neighbourhood Policing Team was installed in 2002 which resulted in there being a locally based police presence in the neighbourhood for the first time. In the six years between the implementation of this process and the beginning of the fieldwork Hillview was subject to a number of initiatives designed to improve neighbourhood outcomes in comparison to those of the surrounding city by making it 'more prosperous, better educated, healthier and safer' (NDC Plan 2000).

For children and young people specifically the landscape had also altered and funding had been used for specific provision for them. The youth club, in which most of the participant observation for this research was conducted, had received funding from the NDC to increase their opening hours, recruit more staff and offer a wider range of activities. The local secondary school was closed in 2005 by the local authority as a result of chronic under achievement and this had resulted in secondary school age children being dispersed to schools throughout the city. Perhaps one of the most radical changes to young people's lived experience identified by this research is 'The Kiddies' qualitatively different relationship with public space than that described by 'The Soldiers'. The data revealed that unlike 'The Soldiers' their younger counterparts rarely congregate in groups in highly visible public spaces. Instead some of them use more marginalized spaces like the

stairwells and bin areas of the high rise flats at the north end of the estate and the green scrubland area to the east whilst others, reluctant to be seen 'hanging out' in any one place for a prolonged period of time, reported spending time walking around the estate in small groups. The vast majority of 'The Kiddies' ' said they were reluctant to be involved in large groups as it was perceived that this attracted the attention of the police.

This is crucial as on the one hand it suggests that 'The Kiddies' are not "available" on the streets to the police in quite the same way as their older counterparts. They are more fragmented and hang out in smaller groups that sometimes use spaces hidden from view. On the other hand the data generated with 'The Kiddies' lacks the collective observance of the mundane rhythm of policing recounted by 'The Soldiers'. The 'up and down' of police cars, interspersed with flashes of intense and often adversarial activity highlighted by 'The Soldiers' did not emerge. Findings from 'The Kiddies' ' accounts of policing had splintered, in line with their very different use of public space, to produce an array of *experiences* dependent upon age, street use and being 'known' to the police. Despite this, the accounts offered by young people indicate that they continue to report being subject to intensive policing on the street and perceive that they are disproportionately the targets of stop and search activity and other types of police initiated interventions. It is to these accounts that this chapter now turns.

'You just feel like feel..invaded"
Tackling crime and ASB has been central to attempts to regenerate 'deprived' neighbourhoods because it was argued they compounded social exclusion and generated fear (Hancock 2006). As the previous chapter demonstrated there was considerable emphasis specifically on tackling ASB in Hillview and the police played a driving role in the partnership working process. Concerns about ASB allegedly perpetrated by young people were responded to primarily by using targeted, high visibility policing in line with the shift of police focus to address ASB as well as crime (Home Office 2004b). The use of the police to tackle ASB within neighbourhoods is according to Innes (2006) indicative of a contemporary neighbourhood policing model that has

embedded within it a signal crimes perspective, the idea that certain crimes and disorders exhibit such profound influence upon levels of public insecurity they necessitate a targeted and visible police response in order to reassure and engender feelings of security. Following Innes' (2006) line of argument, therefore, the targeting of ASB by the police has broadened the remit of the police from one of crime control to the provision of security. Innes is not the only academic to note this shift, according to Crawford (2006 p965).

> 'The new emphasis on reassurance radically expands the police mandate beyond crime fighting to the elephantine concept of social cohesion. It posits a 'police solution' to the problem of insecurity' (Crawford 2006 p965)

Whether the police have a 'solution' to the insecurities and instabilities of the late modern world so deftly described by commentators such as Young (1999, 2007), Beck (1992) and specifically in relation to young people Furlong and Cartmel (2007), France (2007) is unclear, the very attempt to install policing solutions seems doomed to failure. Nevertheless interviews with practitioners and police officers highlight how important the concept of reassurance is in the context of policing in Hillview.

> 'We're very lucky to have such a large number of officers based on site and working in Hillview…it provides reassurance for residents, reassurance that Hillview is a safe area' (Community Safety Team manager)

> 'Answering calls for assistance is what the police do. It's an essential part of our job but people feel more confident if we're out there [in the neighbourhood] speaking to residents, getting to know them and what their concerns are [pause]. Going to local meetings, answering questions, things like that. We're showing the community that we take things seriously and we're on the same side' (local SNPT officer)

Visible policing, it is asserted, is able to transmit the message that Hillview is a 'safe' area and therefore generate feelings of security and confidence amongst residents. The notes from the interviews show that both interviewees

were very sure of their respective positions on the importance of reassurance and the ability of policing specifically to help promote this within the neighbourhood. This rhetoric sounds familiar as the linkages between the police, reassurance and community are at the heart of police reform documents produced by this government (Home Office 2001, 2004b, 2004c, 2007). What was missing from both these accounts and in discussions with other practitioners was any sense that this was perhaps not as straightforward as first presented, that Hillview's often fraught relationship with the police could have any impact upon the new police reform or that not all members of 'the community' would share in this vision and/or be reassured as a result of intensive and visible policing.

> INT: 'So do you think that all of the people that live here, all of the different groups in Hillview feel reassured by the police?
>
> CSM: 'I'm sure that all residents feel safer with the police here on the estate. The police did some work on this when they were looking into their overall levels of performance in the area and they found that the residents they spoke to all agreed that they felt safer because of the neighbourhood police and better about living here'.

The report referred to in this conversation, although access was never granted to it, does at least suggest that some residents articulated an enhanced sense of security because of the visible police presence in Hillview and this is important to recognize. The evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) (Tuffin *et al* 2006), the foundation for the current Neighbourhood Policing model (Innes 2006) supports the Community Safety manager's claims by concluding that reassurance policing has had a positive impact upon feelings of safety and public confidence across the six sites used as part of the study.

In relation specifically to young people, knowledge on the impact of reformed policing models is far patchier. The national evaluation of NRPP (Tuffin *et al* 2006) does not include any of the findings from those between 16-24 as it was decided by the authors that they were underrepresented as a sample and,

therefore, no weight was given to the data. Furthermore under 16's were not even included as a sample in the evaluation research, a glaring omission given what we know about young people's relationships with the police and their levels of criminal victimization. The failure to include young people in a national evaluation rather replicates the complete abdication of responsibility – or interest – in young people and their views and experiences that this research found locally. Research into the policing of young people in London (MPA 2008) does show that participants from one London Borough felt reassured by community police officers in their area and that overall young people had positive experiences of policing with beat officers they had developed a relationship with over time, although this latter finding does not indicate whether this experience engendered a sense of safety or reassurance in participants.

In contrast there is very little in the data to suggest that 'The Kiddies' ' felt 'safer' or 'more reassured' because of the presence of the police or as a result of the introduction of Neighbourhood Policing strategies in the area. The presence of SNPT officers, mainly PCSO's patrolling the estate, was noted by 'The Kiddies' and it was claimed these officers could be distinguished from their response police counterparts by the bright yellow, high visibility jackets they wore on patrol. The observational data show that children under thirteen who were under closer parental supervision appeared to have the least contact with the police, and were the most indifferent to their activities on the estate. This group was not unaware of the police presence in the area but they were part of the backdrop to life on the estate rather than a central feature of it. For older young people and/or those whatever age who maintained a street life through choice or necessity or those who described themselves as 'known' to the police the situation was more complex. These groups, who constituted the majority of young people who were a part of this research, reported a much broader range of reaction to the police than their counterparts as the following data highlights;

REX: 'It [seeing the police] stresses me out. I get really stressy about it. If I turn the corner and see a [police] car in the road or parked up I turn right round and go the other way. I don't go near it I definitely won't walk past it cos it stresses me out too much.

INT: 'Can you describe what feeling stressed does to you?

REX: I get spooked out, all panicky and that. I get all mashed up' (Rex, male 15)

In this account Rex, who was one of a group of boys who did not use the youth facilities regularly but instead spent most of their time trying to find a street space they could use in their leisure time, describes vividly his dismay at chancing across the police on the street. What he describes as stress, something which is generally connected to the mind is for him an intensely physical experience. Such a violently strong response shows that Rex is not indifferent to the presence of the police but that he associates them with feeling physically ill and emotionally quite anxious. Interestingly Rex is not talking about how he feels during a police initiated street intervention but what it feels like to him to walk around his neighbourhood and see signs of a police presence, in this case the parked vehicle. In other interviews the resentment about the ways that Hillview was intensively policed was articulated in much more confrontational and problematic ways, and objections to the police it stated more explicitly.

'There's so many police in Hillview, especially on a
Friday and Saturday night if I'm walking back from
being out or something there are loads of police
there and you just think why? There's constantly
police cars everywhere, the cameras…you just
feel like feel..invaded.. I think with your own
privacy. I mean you can't even walk up [the street]
without thinking you've done something wrong
because there is police everywhere and that is
genuinely how I feel' (Chantelle, 16, female)

Unlike Rex whose reaction is very physical in this account Chantelle exposes
the range of emotions prompted by the police she encounters on a walk home
up the main road from a night out. Despite it being late at night, when the
dangers of 'the street' and specifically street violence is seen to be at its
greatest, and, therefore, a police presence is perhaps most reassuring, her
reaction is much more complex.

Chantelle expresses her resentment about the high police presence and it is
significant that even in this context she cannot understand 'why' they are
present indicating that she does not perceive there to be a clear and present
danger on the streets of Hillview. Her lack of concern about street crime is
closely linked to other young people's experiences of crime which is
discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Significant here is how she
articulates the effect on her of the constant street police presence. It left her
feeling 'invaded..with your own privacy'. This suggests that the space of the
street is a private space, 'her' space, a feeling that Chantelle shares with
young research participants in other published studies (Mathews *et al* 2000;
Valentine 2004). The police presence represents an incursion into her territory
and they are not seen as offering a welcome or protective net but are an alien
'other', resurrecting the 'us' and 'them' language of 'The Soldiers'.
Furthermore, her account shows powerfully that the presence of the police
make her feel as if 'you've done something wrong'. Later on in the interview
she elaborated on this further;

> 'I'll be walking around and a police car will slow
> down like its following you but it makes me feel
> paranoid knowing that I can't walk around without
> them having a problem'.

Chantelle describes being so restricted and pressured by the police that she feels fearful, suspicious and mistrustful of them. Her perception is that police activity in her area, and more specifically how they police her, 'a police car will slow down like its following me', indicate to her that she is a 'problem', not that she should or could seek assistance from the police. She indicates, however, that she perceives this to have a direct impact upon her as she claims her experiences prompt her internal psychic processes that result in her feeling 'paranoid'. Research conducted by the Metropolitan Police Authority (2008) into policing and young people in London found that not informing young people about the specific purpose of policing in an area was unsettling to them and could generate resentment but rarely is there any discussion in academic work of the impact high levels of policing has on the emotional well-being of young people. Both Rex and Chantelle provide a window into young people's physical and emotional responses to policing and unfortunately both of their accounts suggest that any impact is negatively felt by them through heightened feelings of stress and psychological pressure, insights that are supported in the observational data from youth club sessions.

> 'I fucking *hate* them, they're *wankers*' Brad said.
> His face was flushed red and he was visibly
> shaking. Barry also looked hot and stressed out.
> 'They make you so angry you want to hit out at
> them' he said to me as he leant up against the tuck
> shop hatch. 'I've never hit a policeman but I'd
> fucking love to' Brad replied. 'Yeah I'd love to do
> that' stated Barry [fieldnotes 12th May 2007]

Young people normally criticized for rash and impulsive behaviours and inability to make the 'right' choice show a huge amount of restraint and control in this account. Brad and Barry have to make a conscious choice in these situations not to resort to violence and they make this choice regularly and in the presence of real provocation. Again, however, this observation shows how

this incident prompted a visible physical reaction in both boys whom it is noted looked shaky, hot and harassed and that this made them want to 'hit out' at police officers. Even those participants belonging to the younger and more protected group displayed very strong emotional reactions to policing strategies at times when they were unexpectedly drawn into contact with officers. Milly and Ella, both twelve, lived next door to each other and had to be home by eight thirty from the youth club. To make it on time they would regularly ask the time and how long they had left before they had to leave to walk the short ten minute journey home. One dark night in February, when they were late leaving, the following incident occurred.

> Milly and Ella came rushing back after we shut
> tonight. They both looked as white as a sheet.
> They said that they had been stopped by an
> unmarked police van, for running down the street
> on their way home, and searched. Jamie and Rich
> (club workers) had to take them home because
> they were too scared to walk by themselves
> (fieldwork diary February 2007).

The description of both girls looking 'as white as a sheet' indicates how frightened they were as a result of this encounter and in addition that it left them feeling less safe walking home than they were prior to the incident. This observation highlights real parallels with the position taken by Chantelle that the presence of the police at night left her having more subjective feelings of vulnerability because of the threat their presence posed. In March 2007 at the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum it was reported that Milly and Ella's encounter was part of an operation conducted by officers searching for young people carrying stones[17] and that running down the street was a legitimate reason to conduct a stop and search under this premise. The age of the girls, the lateness of the hour and the officers being in plain clothes were not considered by police officers present to have provided enough reason not to conduct the intervention. The feelings of Milly and Ella or the potential

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[17] Throughout the Winter in 2006/07 there was an undercover operation in Hillview targeting young people allegedly throwing stones at buses on the main road that cuts through Hillview. The Chief Inspector reported that this included the use of targeted police teams and undercover officers given orders to 'remove the criminal weapons from the hands of the youth on the estate' i.e stop and search them for stones and confiscate if found.

consequences of this incident to them were not considered or discussed despite Tracey, the youth club representative at the forum, relaying the reaction of the girls to the event.

Using the previous government's own definition of ASB as behaviour that 'causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress' the data presented here indicates that policing itself could generate such subjective feelings amongst young people but that this was not recognised by local police or community safety practitioners. Policing in Hillview made some young people who participated in this research feel scared, angry, anxious and distressed, not safer or more reassured. Given what is known about high levels of victimization amongst children and young people and in particular the risks to those living in disadvantaged areas (Turner *et al* 2006; Deakin 2006), this is significant. Indeed research using a sample of 2420 young people between the ages of nine and sixteen in England concluded that rates of victimization amongst this sample were extremely high and that those living in inner city and peripheral housing estates were most vulnerable to every offence category apart from sexual intrusion (Deakin 2006).

Examining police reform documents it is clear that the intended beneficiaries of neighbourhood policing were the 'law abiding majority' and this was a central plank to the 'rebalancing agenda' (Tonry 2004; Squires and Stephen 2005, 2006; Squires 2008; Tonry 2010). The government's position on the anti-social tendencies of poor young people, therefore, makes them the target of reform rather than one of the groups requiring an additional police service. Locally 'anti-social' policing, policing that generated fear and anxiety amongst young people, was more in operation than the model of neighbourhood engagement promised by police reform documents despite the establishment of a team of locally based neighbourhood officers whose job involved engaging with the local 'community' and build trust. Different academic studies into community and/or neighbourhood policing do show that one of the outcomes of this model is policing steered by dominant and vocal groups within the 'community' at the expense of other, more marginalized groups (Bayley 1988; Brown 1998; Squires 1998; Van der Broeck 2002; Reisig and

Parks 2004). The status of young people in Hillview and the identification of them as 'the problem' by those residents and practitioners active at the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum excluded young people from having their opinions considered or consulted on policing matters and made them the focus of enforcement. However, as the data presented show, it is the ways in which participants report their feelings, based upon their experiences that continues to shape their relationship with it (see for example Brown 2005 p116-118).

'I'm gonna set my dog on you'

Community safety practitioners and police officers predominantly discussed policing in terms of the work of the SNPT and the role of partnership work in the delivery of the 'new' neighbourhood policing strategies being used to combat crime and disorder in the area. There was little or no discussion in the interviews of the continuing role of the more traditional response policing and its role in community safety. Furthermore at the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum it was *always* officers from the SNPT in attendance, never response team officers and this fundamentally shaped the forum's understanding of the type of police work being conducted on the estate. In contrast the details in the accounts given by 'The Kiddies' suggest that most of the contact they had with police officers on the street was with officers from response teams, not neighbourhood officers. Most of the street based interventions for example were described by participants as occurring in the evenings and/or at weekends, times when officers from the SNPT were not present on the estate, the NDC offices where they were located were closed, and there was effectively a suspension of NP strategies.

> 'It happens to all of us sitting in this room [intervention by the police], all the time [sounds of agreement on the tape] but there's nothing we can do about it. [pause] It doesn't matter what you're doing either, you don't have to be out of order or pissing people off you could be chilling out or walking about on the street' (Billy, male 13, focus group)

Others reported similar experiences;

John (15): They stopped us yesterday. Well…how many times did we get stopped around that period?
Dan (15): About three times a day.
John: Yeah it must have been three times a day *at least*, probably even more.

'if you're in a group they like stop in the car right next to you and get riot vans and that up near the shops. They get the meat wagons out and start picking up kids. Last night they did it and we were just pissed off….you chat back and end up in the cells. It's not that unusual' (Amber, female, 16 fieldnotes October 2006)

Collectively these accounts show that amongst some participants the police were perceived to be operating in Hillview in a procedurally unjust manner. Billy's tone was one of resigned frustration as he articulated his thoughts on his experiences of the police. Police interventions occur 'all the time' and he is unable to exert any control over these incidents as in his own words 'it doesn't matter what you're doing'. Dan and John in contrast were angry when policing was discussed and it is perhaps easy to empathise given the repetitive intensity of stop and search procedures they claim to have been subject to.

This data indicates that repetitive street interventions, intensive use of stop and search and the use of riot vans were used to cleanse the streets of young people and this does not tie in with the claims made by government that NP would act to build trust between police and marginalized and challenging communities. As there is little research on the impact of NP on the lives of young people in 'deprived communities' it is difficult to say whether what the data shows is happening in Hillview is reflective of other areas. However research from the US (Forman 2004) concludes that the continuation of aggressive police tactics on young people after the introduction of community policing is not uncommon. After reviewing the US literature on the effectiveness of community policing strategies the author argues that even though its implementation has brought benefits to some residents the young, particularly BME and socially disadvantaged youth are 'still…policed as they

were under the warrior model – as threats to public order' (Forman 2004 p20). Forman goes on to argue that this is only understood once the development of community policing is seen within its broader political context, community policing strategies became popular in the US at the same time as the construction of the young 'super predator' became valuable political currency thus singling out young people as the primary cause of inner city crime and violence.

Translating Forman's analysis to the British experience it is hard not to see parallels, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 made the police a statutory partner in local crime reduction partnerships and therefore made them accountable for ASB in addition to crime (Bland and Read 2000). Furthermore NP was designed and implemented to build trust in communities primarily to reduce fear generated by ASB and low level disorder. Both of these developments occurred throughout a time when government and media discourses constructed young people, particularly marginalized youth, as dangerous, criminal and anti-social (Pitt 2001; Squires and Stephen 2005; Goldson and Muncie 2006), not as 'victims' of broader social injustices or crime. Seen in this context it is perhaps unsurprising that the data indicate that the relationship between the police and some young people, particularly those who operated a street life, continued to be based upon adversarial street interventions much like those described by 'The Soldiers'. On the one hand it would be easy to say that not much had changed in Hillview, however, closer inspection of the data does highlight some important developments in the experiences of young people that shine a light onto contemporary police practice as operated in the neighbourhood. One issue concerns the widespread use of police dogs in routine encounters with young people on the estate.

Experiences of being 'ragged up' was something both groups had in common however there is data that suggests police tactics experienced by some of 'The Kiddies' ' had changed to include public order policing methods.

'This policewoman came up to me and said 'you've been involved in throwing stones at cars'. I was by myself and she like grabbed my arms, smashed me up against this car and the dog was off the lead and it was like barking and I was like 'get that dog away from me' and she went 'if you don't fucking shut up..if you move I'm gonna set my dog on you'. I was like 'okay' and then she checked on her radio if my description fit it, and they said no and she was like 'you can go'' (Yasmin, 17, female).

Yasmin repeated this story angrily twice during the interview and pulled up the sleeves on her T-shirt to show the red marks on the tops of her arms she claimed had been the result of this encounter. Yasmin claimed the officer 'smashed' her against a car and 'grabbed' her arms before she was threatened that non compliance would result in her having a police dog 'set' on her. This incident is important as it shows how vulnerable some young people, particularly those like Yasmin who described themselves as 'known' to the police, were vulnerable to disproportionate, pre-emptive and sometimes violent policing. The extreme aggression used by Yasmin as she recounted the police woman's comments, 'if you don't fucking shut up' she reports her as saying, 'I'm gonna set my dog on you' remove any notion that these young people's experiences of the police have been greatly improved as a result of the introduction of NP strategies.

The officer who precipitated this intervention would not have been a Safer Neighbourhood officer and so, therefore, perhaps it is unfair to judge the success of a policing strategy by the actions of those not directly engaged in it. This does, however, uncover an important issue, more traditional type response policing of the kind described by 'The Soldiers' was not replaced by NP strategies in Hillview but was implemented alongside it. This finding echoes the concerns of critical neo-Marxist academics writing in the early 1980's on the implementation of what was then termed 'community' and not neighbourhood policing. They argued that community policing was not a replacement but a further addition to the police resources in neighbourhoods scarred by negative and adversarial policing (Gordon 1983,1987; Bridges

1983; Hall *et al* 1978); a Trojan horse enabling greater penetration and consolidation of police power but not greater accountability. The role neighbourhood officers play in this setting is discussed later in the chapter, however, the experiences of 'The Kiddies' ' show that response policing remained the norm for young people and this had not changed since the implementation of NP strategies into the area.

The level of insecurity generated by the presence of police officers with dogs on the estate is evident in other data.

> 'TOBY (16): 'You see the police with the dogs in the evenings but mostly Friday and Saturday nights when I suppose they think people are gonna be out on the streets drinking and that'
>
> CAMERON (17): 'I've seen police dogs by the shops quite a few different times and I've had some things happen with them myself'
>
> INT: 'Can you describe those things for me?' (Interviewer)
>
> CAMERON: 'Me and some mates were going down the fair and all of a sudden there were all these old bill and they had dogs…we were all searched and the dogs got really close and I felt threatened by them. On the street. Another time a couple of us were at the Southway [name for local shopping parade] and this policeman came up to move us on and he had a dog and it was well barking. And pulling on its lead. So we just went. It didn't look like he had proper control over it'.

In the following account Ryan, 17, describes an incident he claims to have occurred again at the local shops at the south end of the estate in September 2006.

'He [Ryan's friend Bill, 17] had a crate of beer in his hands that he's got some man to buy at the shops when the cops came up to us so he dropped 'em on the ground and started to go backwards. I didn't have anything on me so I stood there but they [police officers] let the dog off the lead and it chased him, and it grabbed the back of his legs and they pinned him on the floor and pepper sprayed him..he weren't struggling or nothing but there were three officers and they were kneeling on his back and he's only little. He's about the same size as me [small build and about five seven in height] and it was really bad' (Ryan, 17, male)

Although Ryan claimed to have witnessed this event, rather than been the direct target of it, his account is similar to Yasmin's insomuch as he describes the police using the police dog and subsequently a significant amount of force to overwhelm a young person for what appears to be on the surface a relatively trivial matter. Ryan's description of the event, 'he weren't struggling or nothing' and physical characteristics of his friend whom he describes as 'only little' brings attention to the contrast between the reaction of the police, the use of a dog to apprehend Bill and the subsequent use of physical force and pepper spray, with his understanding of Bill as not deserving or provoking such a response. On the one hand this could be interpreted as Ryan trying to defend the actions of his friend, and having not interviewed the officers concerned it cannot be stated with complete assurance that there were not other factors from the police perspective that had prompted such an intervention.

In contrast data on the use of police dogs in 'The Soldiers' accounts of growing up in Hillview were confined to one event, the Hillview 'riot'.

'My head was in a puddle and three police in riot
gear were pinning me down and I knew that there
were [police] dogs so I just stayed down' (Tiny, 22)

'The fucking [police] dog bit her leg and wouldn't
let go..its jaw locked and the officer was punching
it in the face to get it to let go but it wouldn't and
she's on the floor screaming fucking 'get it off me,
get it off me!' (Sonny, 25)

Newspaper reports on the 'riot' confirm that one female resident sustained very serious injuries as a result of an attack by a police dog and showed photographs of police officers wearing riot clothing handling police dogs. In January 2007 a CCTV recording of the 'riot' was observed and although the quality of the images were described in the fieldwork diary as 'grainy and poor quality' (fieldwork diary 18th January 2007) police dogs being used to control a crowd of approximately thirty young people were visible on the footage. Other than this, however, there is no data to suggest that police dogs were on the estate at any other time.

This development shows that some of the tactics used to police public order problems in the past are being used more routinely to police ASB and incidents of minor disorder in Hillview. The critical commentators on community policing writing in the 1980's warned that the introduction of this model would not mean that more traditional response policing would disappear from the neighbourhoods in which it operated and that the problems of aggressive policing associated with response officers in socio-economically 'deprived' areas would continue (Gordon 1983,1987; Bridges 1983; Hall 1984), a position given some credence by this finding. However, the intensification of police tactics in such a way is not fully explained by this analysis. More recently in his examination of the more recent police reforms McLaughlin (2007) suggests that the use of highly visible police actions using officers clothed in paramilitary style clothing has been a feature of contemporary policing post 2000 (McLaughlin 2007). McLaughlin (2007 p138) notes that 'high definition 'sovereign policing' actions involving such officers are used by the police to 'reclaim the streets' and that their dress is used to distinguish them from neighbourhood wardens and police officers.

The use of police dogs is another marker that separates out and exerts the authority of 'real' police from SNPT officers and sends the strong message that the response police control the street so this could explain their use in Hillview. The use of Forward Intelligence Teams, another public order policing method, in the execution of Operation Leopard targeted at reducing anti-social behaviour and minor crime on one social housing estate does show that such tactics are being integrated into other socio-economically 'deprived' neighbourhoods. The internal police risk management agenda might also be crucial to this shift as police officer's now wear anti-stab vests routinely to prevent injury. In addition to the signals these methods emit to other officers and those on the street they also send a powerful message to sections of the community worried about ASB and street disorder and so, unlike Wacquant's (2008) assertion that police officers acted as a buffer between deprived neighbourhoods and those outside, it is argued here that these tactics operate as an internal buffer between different sections of the residential population. In the case of Hillview this is further exacerbated by the perception that the mostly private owner occupied south of the estate suffered as a consequence of the 'rough', social housing occupied north.

'You ain't allowed to search me'
Further insight into changes in police practice occurs in the data on the experiences of girls and street police initiated intervention. Despite a routine use of public space that mirrored that of their male counterparts the accounts given by female 'Soldiers' indicate that they were more typically the observers of street policing rather than targets of it.

CASSIE (24): 'The police hated the boys but the feeling was definitely mutual and they would wind each other up all the time'.

INT: What about the girls, did the girls get stopped or anything?

CASSIE (24): No. They [police] were after the boys and we [girls] were ignored but I suppose that was a good thing. [pause] At least we didn't get harassed all the time like they had to put up with. I never got stopped. None of us [girls] got arrested at the riot but loads of the boys did'

KELLY (25): 'We never got arrested did we Terri?' [addressing the question to her friend sitting on the other side of the table]

TERRI (24): 'Nah. We weren't one of the boys'

KELLY (25): 'Yeah that's right'

The perception of all three young women was that being male attracted attention and intervention from the police in a way that being female did not. Campbell (1993 p28) discusses the role masculinity plays in the relationships between 'the lads' and the police in her study areas, it is a 'shared predilection for masculine company' she argues that explains the co-dependent relationship between young men and the police found in some of Britain's most deprived places. The assumption that 'the lads got into trouble and the lasses got pregnant' (Campbell 1993 p23) is perhaps one factor at the heart of this tension, young working class girls are 'trouble' not because of their criminal behaviour but rather their 'moral' choices and, therefore, were not a police priority on the street. This analysis fits neatly into Cox's (2003) comprehensive account of the history of females, welfare and justice as this author demonstrates that the policing of girls in public space was enmeshed in concerns over female sexuality and not criminal activity, a point made earlier by Hudson (p1989 p55) who argues that the policing of girls 'aimed to moralize rather than criminalize'. Girls who were 'trouble' it was assumed would be dealt with within the boundaries of the family (Hudson 1989).

The accounts of policing given by the female "Kiddies", however, show that what has been termed the 'sexualisation account' (Worrall 2004 p43) of intervention by agents of the State in the lives of girls has changed and transformed into a much more straightforward concern about their anti-social and criminal behaviour. In Hillview girls had become the target of police initiated street interventions that mirror their male peers. This chapter has already presented the accounts of Chantelle, Milly, Ella, Yasmin and Amber's experiences of policing and these are not unique amongst the girls who reported being routinely subject to stop and account and stop and search procedures as they moved around the estate.

> KIRSTY (15): 'I get stopped some nights on the way here and on the way back…more than once in a night!
>
> INT: 'Why do you get stopped?'
>
> KIRSTY(15): It changes sometimes they say for alcohol, sometimes they ask about drugs like 'are you carrying cocaine?' but the other night I got stopped about seven on my way down here cos they said people were carrying knives on the estate and then the *same* copper's stopped me on the way back for the *same thing*. Knives. Cos of knife crime they said'
>
> 'The policemen got out of a car which was undercover come up to us and showed us their badge and said 'we need to search you' and I said 'what reason have you got to search us?' 'We believe people are walking around the estate carrying cocaine' I said 'and that gives *you* the right to stop *me* and search me?' (Emma, 17, female)
>
> 'We were on our way to [youth] club and the police stopped us and asked if we had any drink and I thought it was a bit stupid really like why would I have drink I'm walking to club? But they said they had to check cos we might be lying, which we weren't, but they searched my bag and my mates bag and then let us go' (Evie, 14, female)

Street based repetitive stop and search generated similar feelings of confusion, anger and frustration in girls as they did in boys in Hillview. In all of the extracts the young women challenged the legitimacy of the police intervention(s) they claimed to have been subject to and the range and seriousness of justifications reported by participants in the data as used by officers in the conduct of those searches contrasts sharply with the 'official' position taken at the Neighbourhood Forum that Hillview was one of the safest areas in the city. This thesis does not offer any ultimate 'truth' claims on this matter, however the Chapter that follows picks up the themes of safety and young people. What this data does show is that the police now target their stop and search activity at girls as well as boys on the street and that these interventions are prompted by concerns about 'criminal' rather than 'moral' acts. This finding gives some weight to the position taken by Worrall (2004 p41) who argues 'youth, class and race may be displacing gender in the categorization and management of offenders' but this finding locates that process more specifically and shows that these other factors have subsumed gender in the construction of *pre criminals* and the process of criminalization and not just those already engaged in the net widened criminal justice system.

The published academic literature provides insights into why the girls in Hillview report being targeted by police interventions in a way not shared by their older counterparts. Barron and Lacombe (2005) argue that it is a growing concern in society about what is perceived to be an escalation in rates of serious violence amongst young women, a process described by the authors as the 'metamorphosis from sweet to Nasty Girl' (p52) that has facilitated a push towards the criminalization of this group. A position shared by Worrall (2004 p41) who contends that despite rates of offending that run contrary to this argument a new category of 'violent girls' now exists within criminal justice discourse. Batchelor (2009) has noted that the British media has regularly featured articles about the 'problem' of 'gangs' and girls since the beginning of the 1990's and more recently these have included stories on the sexual exploitation of girls by gangs in the inner cities and in the UK (Batchelor 2001; Batchelor, Burman and Brown 2001; Bradshaw 2005; Aldridge and Medina 2008; Burman and Batchelor 2009) internationally (Joe and Chesney-Lind

1995; Miller 2001; Moore and Hagedorn 2001; Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2007) girls' involvement in offending and violence has become the focus of academic attention.

The data from this research show that the police stopped and searched girls due to a suspicion that they were involved in the commission of serious offences including involvement in drug and knife crime. This suggests that any notion of girls not being capable of involvement in serious offending has eroded and the construction of girls as 'criminal' is more salient. An examination of girls in the official criminal justice data supports this position as Home Office data show an increase in the number of girls between the ages of ten and seventeen arrested for notifiable offence in England and Wales, in 1999/2000 54,000 arrests were made (Home Office 2001b) a number that had risen to 71,100 by 2006/2007 accounting for just under one in four total arrests for this age group (Ministry of Justice 2008).

It is, therefore, known that more girls are being arrested by the police. However there is a significant and important gap in knowledge about girls and stop and search, as reports published by the Home Office do not capture either age or gender data so nothing is known about the frequency of this intervention for this group. For example Ward and Diamond's (2009) evaluation for the Home Office of the first year of the TKAP initiative does not distinguish between male and female offenders. Further pressure on this issue is being exerted by the national knife crime moral panic and the impact of this on police practice and calls for an intensification of the police response to this issue (Squires and Goldsmith 2010). Across the data on policing it was evident that knives were one of the primary justifications for stop and search for this age group.

What is new about this research is that it has found that girls reported similar rates of stop and search as boys, were stopped and searched for the same reasons and displayed similar feelings of anger and frustration as a result and, furthermore, their experience was qualitatively different to their older counterparts. This issue has hardly been picked up by academic work so

these are important findings and give crucial insights into girls and stop and search tactics. The data go further than this, however, and show that the girls' experience of stop and search had an added gender dimension that highlights their vulnerability on the street and the power of the police in this setting. Amber, the sixteen year old girl who was observed as being 'not happy' about being stopped on her way home from the Youth Club in January 2007 later agreed to be interviewed for this research. Towards the end of the interview Amber's mother entered the kitchen where the interview was being conducted, stopped and listened to what was being discussed and the following exchange ensued;

> AMBER (16): 'It was three male officers [on the night of January 15th] and I said to them 'you ain't allowed to search me' but they did'.

> LORENA: [interrupting] 'You shouldn't be letting them do that to you Amber cos it's not alright for them to do what they want. [Addressing interviewer] Did she tell you about the night they stopped her for stones and he was *feeling* you. What did he say?'

> AMBER: 'People on the estate have got knives so we've got to search you' and I said 'yeah do what you want'

> LORENA: [getting angry] 'see that's not what you should be saying Amber, you can't let them get away with doing that to you'

> AMBER: 'Yeah but I ain't getting arrested for refusing to get searched'.

After this Amber 'sighed deeply, shrugged and looked away' and then 'stopped speaking until her mum left the kitchen' [fieldnotes February 12th 2007]. Amber's claim that the officers searched her despite her protests highlights her marginal and powerless position on the street and was grounded in her incorrect belief that male officers are not allowed to search girls on the street without the presence of a female officer. There is no data that sheds light on the origins of this belief but it was shared by all of the girls who discussed this theme at interview and this suggests that police officers

themselves had not actively dispelled it. In order to limit the scope of the intervention Amber allowed the police officer to search her, even though her perception was that this constituted an illegal search. This course of action, however, held little value to Lorena whose angry response directed at her daughter included the accusation that she was letting the officers 'get away with doing that to you'. It was noted after the interview that Lorena's anger suggests she 'didn't understand the situations Amber was sometimes in, they were out of her control' [fieldnotes February 12th 2007] however listening to the exchange some weeks later it was evident that Lorena's perception was that the search had a sexual dynamic, this was evident in the disgusted tone she used and her choice of words when she said 'he [the officer] was *feeling* you'. There is no evidence in the data that Lorena's perception was grounded in reality or that officer's were using stop and search to exploit or abuse girls on the street, however, it does raise an important question about the importance of gender in this context. Girls may be stopped because of their 'youth' or 'class' but interventions are conducted on a gendered body and in a climate of paranoia about the abuse of children it does seem odd that this issue has not been raised by academics or policy makers sooner.

Amber was not alone in her incorrect belief that male officers were not permitted to search girls without a female officer present; although inaccurate this was a view expressed by a number of different girls over the course of the fieldwork. The following account given by Amy, a seventeen year old regular at the youth club, about a stop and search experience she claimed to have had a few days prior to her interview in September 2006 is an example of this that gives an insight into the certainty of participants in this regard.

> AMY (17): 'they [police officer's] couldn't do the strip search [on me] obviously'.
>
> INT: 'Why?'
>
> AMY: 'Cos it was two males [officers] and no female. But I was with a male at the time and they stripped searched him completely. Obviously he had nothing on him'

Amy further elaborated about what this 'strip search' had included.

> AMY (17): They made him stand with his hands in the air, searched his pockets, took his wallet out, went through all his cards, made him take his jacket off, patted him down and asked his name'

It is clear in this account that Amy interpreted the police officer's decision not to search her as being directly related to her gender and the 'rules' she thinks govern this. It was these encounters that the data show added a further dimension to the girl's experience of, and feelings about, stop and search and the police. In the minds of the female participants being stopped and searched without the presence of a female officer was illegitimate and illegal and when such interventions did occur it was considered by female participants as provocative. It also reinforced the perception that the police did not listen to young people and the data show that the girls were more frustrated and angry at the police than their male counterparts because of this. Many of the girls who participated in this research were very suspicious of the police and expressed extremely negative feelings towards them.

> YASMIN (17): 'Whatever they say I don't really understand. They talk to you like you're a piece of shit…some of em can be proper out of order'.
>
> INT: 'How does that make you feel?'
>
> YASMIN: 'I hate em..I hate em. I don't reckon they help people out at all hardly'.

There is no clause in PACE however that prevents a male officer from conducting a street search on a female suspect or furthermore any guidance on this issue in the stop and search manual produced by the Home Office (2007) that was distributed to all police officers in England and Wales. Gender, or more specifically the stop and search of female suspects are not mentioned in the legislation, official guidance or other documents accessed for research purposes and information and clarifying the position of the police on this issue was difficult. This lack of clarity resulted in a serving police Sergeant being approached through a third party to outline the police

management of this issue and in a telephone conversation he stated the following;

> 'There's nothing in PACE to prevent any officer searching a female suspect but some officers are worried about accusations so they either refuse to search them [female suspects] or always get a female officer to the scene but that's not always practical. People need to be in the right place at the right time and getting a female officer can't always be done in the timeframe. So it's about officer discretion and judgment but it's tricky'

It is clear from this then that the operation of police discretion is the key to this issue. However, the Home Office Stop and Search manual states clearly that it is 'Important that before the search the person has clearly understood your explanation and reasons for exercising this power' (Home Office 2007 p28) and furthermore that 'the dignity and privacy of the person being searched is of paramount importance' (p29). This research has found that the legal context in which the search is being conducted is not being fully explained and this is evidenced by the data showing that all of the female participants who were asked about this issue held the same belief.

On the one hand this could be because individual officers are not aware that the girls think this, or that individual officers' use discretion differently in relation to this issue and therefore send out conflicting messages. However, as the official figures show more girls are being arrested and, if the findings from this research on stop and search are reflective of a broader trend, also stopped and searched more frequently, this issue needs to be addressed. Not only because a lack of clarity can cause friction but also because how dignity and privacy are negotiated by officers conducting searches on young girls on the street and parents' understanding of the vulnerabilities of girls and police intervention are of real criminological concern.

Lastly this chapter will explore the erosion of police free spaces in the lives of young people. It will demonstrate that the tools designed to tackle 'anti-social' behaviour and the use of partnership work by the Community Safety Team

and SNPT officers have enabled police officers to penetrate the homes of participants in ways not available to them before the recent developments in community safety and police reform.

'There was a copper sitting in my kitchen'

Accounts given by young people show that the changed enforcement regime and altered intervention practices driven by the ASB agenda brought policing and local authority interventions forcefully into the homes of young people in ways that the older group had not described or experienced. Participants in both groups did have experiences of policing in the home, primarily because of domestic violence or allegations of drug dealing by adults, but there is no data from 'The Soldiers' to suggest that the police entered the home in pursuit of young people. On the contrary 'Soldiers' talked about how the front door of a young person's home constituted a physical barrier police officers were reluctant to breach. The perception of many of the older group was that this was related to the legitimacy of police tactics against young people on the estate and officer reluctance for this to be exposed to adults, as Rick describes here;

> 'The copper made me drive to my house to get my documents and as I went through my front door my mum went to him 'come in officer' or something like that. But he would not. He would not step in my house. Probably cos he knew he was being bang out of order. The cops never came into the house for me. Ever.' (Rick, 26)

There were several incidents that mirrored Rick's experience in the data and his view that the scrutiny of adults at the door unmasked the police's lack of legitimacy and misuse of power. Home in this context could not be penetrated by the chaos on the street and acted as a safety mechanism that could be triggered by young people that put them out of reach of the police. From the outside the reluctance of police officers to enter the home could be seen as a failure of enforcement, if children are engaged in behaviour that requires police attention then this should follow through into the home. However, as has been demonstrated by this chapter so far, 'The Soldiers' did not

necessarily have to be engaged in wrongdoing to attract police attention and, in this context, staying indoors was reportedly used by participants as a way of avoiding police attention for sometimes protracted periods of time.

By contrast the data show the situation has changed as Ernie describes here;

> 'He comes to my house and tries to say I've been doing stuff [pointing at local community officer passing the Youth Club]. The first time it happened I got in and there was a copper sitting in my kitchen waiting for me. He started questioning me about this bloke who lives up the road who says kids keep knocking and asking for sugar and throwing pellets at his window' *(Ernie, 15, male)*

Ernie claims that a police officer had conducted a number of interventions with him not just on the street but also in his home. His perception is that these interventions involve the officer making allegations against him, he 'tries to say I've been doing stuff' he commented but then he goes on to give an insight into the sort of allegations he means. 'He started questioning me' said Ernie about 'knocking and asking for sugar' and 'throwing pellets' at a neighbours house. Ernie was not the only participant to describe such an event as the following data highlight;

> 'My mum was sitting like there [points directly across the table] on the sofa and the council woman was sitting next to me. She had loads of make-up on and was trying to be mates at first and the copper was over this side [pointing to her left] sitting there in her *stupid* uniform' (Evie, 14, female)

> BRANDON (14): 'And he [police officer] went on and on at me 'we know you've been chucking stones at the buses Brandon' and I went to him 'how do you know?' and he was just like 'you've been seen' like with the CCTV and all that, and he reckoned you could see my face and that I was identified and that but I think he was trying to get me to give up information and it was well full on. Trying to get me to talk'.

INT: 'Was this on the street? Did he just walk up to you and start asking questions?'

BRANDON: 'Nah [mumble]

INT: Pardon?

BRANDON: [Louder] It was at mine. The police and that council woman came to my house and it all came on top there really.

JJ (14): 'They just wanted to know all this stuff about where I'd been and who I was with on this day and that day and what I knew about Coleman and his little mob. The officer said [accusatory tone] 'we know it was you and Coleman that were in the flats' [pause] 'there are witnesses' and then he [police officer] went to me 'you've been vandalizing the flats' and I was like 'what the fuck!' I didn't have a clue what he was going on about'

The experience of participants was not that the home was a private space that the police were unable, or reluctant to penetrate. Participants talked about home based interventions in a way that indicates they were not an unusual occurrence within the context of their lives, they were not surprised by them and there was no indication that they had any knowledge of the experiences of 'The Soldiers'. That does not mean however that they were unproblematic, for as the data indicate participants felt confused: 'I was like 'what the fuck!' I didn't have a clue' said JJ. They were asked to defend themselves against allegations alone and on the spot 'He reckoned you could see my face and that I was identified' and 'Give up information' about friends. Brandon described his experience as being 'Well full on' and this phrase really captures the essence of how home based interventions were experienced, they overwhelmed.

It has already been demonstrated in the literature that ASB enforcement tools have the capacity to open up the home (Nixon and Parr 2008; Nixon and Hunter 2009; Holt 2008) so in this sense academics are already attuned to this shift. The focus thus far, however, has been on penetration of *practitioners* into the homes of women, because of the policy focus on

dysfunctional families and bad parenting, (Nixon and Parr 2008; Nixon and Hunter 2009) in contrast, this finding shows how the policy focus on 'anti-social' and 'early intervention' with 'pre-criminal' youth has enabled the penetration of the *police* into the home as carriers and enforcers of government policy on ASB.

This raises all sorts of important questions about the legal position of children in these circumstances and whole households where the eviction issue hangs heavily, or mothers in breach of Parenting Orders[18] who are being accused of, and/or asked to give information about incidents without the protections afforded to them through legislation like PACE. On the one hand it could be argued that it is preferable that ASB is managed and prevented through 'informal' early interventions as these keep children away from formal legal processes, and therefore limit the construction of delinquent identities and the power of the state to damage and stigmatize but the data show that the situation as experienced by participants undermines this position.

It was reported that the range of events that prompted a home intervention did not just include issues that could be defined as 'anti-social', some participants alleged that they were questioned about incidents of arson, criminal damage, and on one occasion homophobic abuse, designated a hate crime under the provision of The Criminal Justice Act 2003.

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[18] Introduced by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 a Parenting Order can be issued to parents whose child has been convicted of an offence or where they have received an ASBO, Sex Offender Order or Child Safety Order. In 2003 the Anti-Social Behaviour Act extended this use to include children engaged in ASB. Parenting Orders require parents to attend a counselling or guidance programme and ensure their child complies with other specified conditions (Holt 2008).

'you've been shouting homo [stumbles]
homophobic comments at this man'. I didn't know
what he [police officer] meant, whatever they say I
don't really understand cos they say stuff like
'section this thing of the blah blah'. Then he said
this man said I called him a 'gay prick'. Then he
asked me loads of questions and I got *really*
frustrated cos he weren't listening and whatever
you say they don't get so I laughed. And he went
'why are you laughing Yasmin? Are you not taking
this seriously?' [aggressive tone] But I don't know
why I laughed. It wasn't funny but I was nervous'
(Yasmin, 17)

Yasmin claimed that the home based police intervention described here took place when she was sixteen and that her mother had been present throughout. Her account highlights serious points of concern about the use of 'informal' home based police interventions with young people in the name of ASB investigation and prevention. It is clear that Yasmin does not understand what she is being accused of, something she herself connects to the use of 'official' language by the police, 'I don't really understand' she said 'they say stuff like 'section this thing of the blah blah''. Not being understood goes two ways however and a lot of the tension in this account centres on the inability to communicate and be understood on both sides 'I got *really* frustrated cos he weren't listening and whatever you say they don't get'. As this is an 'informal' intervention none of the legal mechanisms designed to protect children caught up in the criminal justice system need be observed and so, therefore, the appropriate adult and/or legal representative that would have been present had Yasmin been officially questioned were not present. Instead the intervention continues until she reacts to the pressure perhaps like a child might, by laughing seemingly out of context. This, she claimed, prompted an immediate, and as her tone denotes, aggressive response 'Are you not taking this seriously?' he said and again the participant was asked to defend herself in the absence of appropriate protections.

Tessa, Yasmin's mother claimed that the home based intervention lasted for a considerable period of time. 'That [police] officer sat in my house for over two *damn* hours interviewing her' she said 'he had no bloody right' [fieldnotes

November 26th 2006]. But that is not the case and, in the current policy framework of the renewal of NP to tackle the 'anti-social' minority in partnership with other agencies using specific enforcement powers that blur due process distinctions, Tessa's angry opinion sounds rather old fashioned. The academic literature is clear on this, young people's 'rights' have been drastically eroded by current ASB strategies (Hudson 2003; Stephen and Squires 2003b; Squires and Stephen 2005; Goldson and Muncie 2006; Stephen 2006, 2009) and as Stephen (2006 p232) has argued forcefully 'laws already exist to tackle any acts of criminality without the need for recourse to legally and morally spurious 'anti-social behaviour' measures' of which home based police interventions can be added to the roll call of ABC's, ASBO's, curfews and dispersal orders. Grouping these interventions together can be helpful in as much as it gives a broad understanding of the erosion of rights but it is argued here that the data show that home based interventions with the police are significant in more specific ways.

Firstly, on a practical level home is no longer a place where young people can escape the intensity of street policing, a very significant threat to the emotional lives of young people who are experiencing the collapse of space free from surveillance. Secondly, it shows that police officers now have at their disposal an additional discretionary power as officers' decision making is no longer confined to whether an intervention should occur but crucially NP officers, in partnership with the community safety team, now have a further discretionary decision to make, whether an act constitutes criminal or 'anti-social' behaviour. Whilst this will be shaped by circumstances such as how the behaviour came to light and what type of complaint was made it is not hard to see how this could be vulnerable to abuses of power as officers make rational calculations about how much control they can assert on a 'problematic' individual and/or group through the use of ASB enforcement practices rather than traditional criminal justice responses.

Giving the police more legitimate discretion over marginalized young people is not necessarily in their best interests however, it has been argued that,

> 'The calculated use, or abuse, of discretionary powers produces a highly arbitrary system of policing, which undermines the official posture of the force as neutral arbiters of justice' (Cohen 1981 p126)

And whilst the experience of working in Hillview made it clear that young people have been exposed to a highly arbitrary policing style over many years, the concern is that additional discretionary power of this type, central to the new NP, both reinforces the sense found amongst young people that policing is procedurally illegitimate and offers them no protection.

Conclusion

Both groups of young people who participated in this research talked at length and in detail about their experiences with the police and this saturation of the data occurred despite the fact that all of the interviews started with the same open question that asked young people to describe what it was like to live in Hillview. This shows that even though New Labour created multi-agency partnerships to tackle problems of crime and disorder in local areas this research found that the police were still the agency that young people had the most contact with and policing played a vital, if problematic, role in their lives.

This research found that intensive and adversarial policing is not just an issue for inner city, ethnically diverse areas of Britain and that the tactics and strategies employed by police officers in one of the most socio-economically deprived areas of the country show how it is not just 'race' but social class that stimulates such police practices. Such strategies had a deeply negative impact upon the young people who participated in this research. They embedded and reinforced the notion that Hillview was 'crime prone', and that the police were an illegitimate and sometimes brutal force who would not or could not offer protection to them.

The evidence provided in this chapter also shows that the introduction of NP has not significantly improved the relationship between young people and the police. The overuse of tactics such as stop and search continues but targets new populations, particularly young girls, and this has occurred at the same

time as an escalation in the levels of force officers' use on the street. In addition to this police officers now have access to the home in ways that show an additional layer of discretion has been created by ASB enforcement strategies. The rights of young people have been further marginalized and eroded in this process and 'safe spaces' invaded.

Overall this chapter finds that what would have been considered illegitimate police (sub) cultural practice, the targeting of a specific social group, repeated use of stop and search and investigation in the home without the protection of the law, has become legitimate police action because of the need to manage 'anti-social' youth in Hillview. Police law and procedure has been brought into line with police practice. This transformation has been sanctioned and partly driven by those practitioners and residents engaged in 'Community Safety' work, it has also been broadly sanctioned in many parts of the British media who construct young people as a serious threat to social order and demand still more of this kind of robust policing. Cumulatively this chapter has demonstrated that despite consistencies in experience across the two age groups who participated in this research, police reforms combined with the ASB agenda and the new legislative powers that have provided the legal tools of enforcement has altered the ways in which some of our most marginalized and vulnerable young people are policed in contemporary Britain. It has not only reinforced their position as a 'permanent suspect population' (McAra and McVie 2005 p26) on the streets but has all of the elements: for example, use of extraordinary legal powers, public support and changes to enforcement practice that led Hillyard (1993 p258) to conclude that the Irish had become a 'suspect community' both at home and in Britain throughout the 1970's and 1980's.

CHAPTER SIX

'Hillview – Defend Your Own!'

This chapter returns the thesis to its core focus, young people and Community Safety. It does so through an examination of one of the most distressing aspects of life in Hillview; the repeated, sudden, unexpected and often violent deaths of some of the young people who call it home by examining the impact this has on those left behind. This may seem a rather unconventional way of exploring young people's relationship with Community Safety, after all it may be difficult to imagine what insights such events can offer to work that is concerned with Community Safety policy. It is the case, however, that the data show that these experiences had significant implications for feelings of safety and security of many who lived in Hillview. A surprising number of participants in this research had experienced not just one but multiple peer bereavements, that is 'the process of losing a close relationship through death' (Ribbens-McCarthy 2007a p31) over a relatively short time span. These experiences left them feeling profoundly vulnerable and *acutely fearful of their own safety* and for *the safety of friends and family*. Such feelings did not fade in the aftermath of such tragedies but persisted for some considerable time. Extracts from the data generated to be presented in this chapter indicate their continued effect on the young people's psycho-social wellbeing in the longer term. One impact with direct relevance for any policy with a concern for feelings of safety in a community was the perception the participants had of themselves as excluded and marginalised. Participants in interviews disclosed other forms of bereavement, for example the loss of parents and other family members, but the focus of this chapter is exclusively on peer bereavement. This is justified by the level of significance which respondents accorded to these experiences and how these accounts saturated the data. Furthermore it is also warranted by the impact that these experiences exerted on young people's sense of safety and inclusion within the community.

The data is replete with accounts which indicate and emphasise the capacity of such peer bereavement events to rupture everyday life in Hillview. From a policy perspective what is key is data which demonstrates that such impact was almost exclusively ignored by those who task it was to create a 'safer Hillview'. There is evidence that Community Safety practitioners frequently were simply unaware of the deaths and once they knew they were understood as either individual 'bad luck' or a consequence of 'bad choices.' More than that the impact of these bereavements on individuals, communities and Community Safety was overlooked by 'professionals', as were the ways young people mobilised 'respect' and 'community' as a means of coping with these experiences. Raising money for the bereaved family, building virtual shrines to the dead, the acquisition of memorial tattoos and the observance of strict codes of behaviour and dress at funerals were well practised rituals developed in the absence of outside recognition of this accumulation of loss and other more formal support mechanisms. Such survival strategies present a direct challenge to politicians and policy makers who develop policies underpinned by the notion that 'deprived' neighbourhoods and 'youth' have a deficit of 'community' and a lack of 'respect' (Home Office 1997; Straw 1998; Home Office 2003a; Home Office 2004a; Home Office 2006). What this research by contrast indicates is that a more 'organic' (Bauman 2001) form of community continues to operate in Hillview. It is developed in truly dire circumstances, but nevertheless it shows the ways in which young people play an active role in community life, one adapted to their lived experience and which values and recognises the needs of those around them. The data requires that we consider in a new light the question of the agency of such groups of young people and their creative problem solving strategies for the difficulties of a world in which they find themselves.

Accordingly the insights this chapter develops about the lives of young people in a 'deprived' and marginalised community are unique. There is no published academic literature that explores Community Safety and the cultural organisations of young people specifically in the context of the theme of peer bereavement and its impact upon feelings of safety, community, and respect. The first point to make here is that there is a general dearth of writing and

empirical research specifically addressing young people and Community Safety (for notable exceptions see Measor and Squires 2000; Stephen and Squires 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Squires and Stephen 2005; Stephen 2006; Goldsmith 2006, 2008) despite this group being a primary target for Community Safety interventions. Even once broken down into more specific avenues of academic inquiry such as what impacts upon young people's safety, experiences of peer bereavement and how young people engage with 'community' in deprived neighbourhoods there still remains significant gaps in academic and policy related knowledge.

There is considerable focus in the literature on the risks that young people pose and create for the safety of the community themselves (Farrington 1995; Loeber and Farrington 2001; Farrington 2005) there has been far less research focused on young people's perceptions of the risks they face, and the strategies they use to negotiate dangers they may be faced with in their everyday lives (Squires and Goldsmith 2010). Within this limited literature there is an emphasis on the risk and the role and perceptions of parents rather than of young people directly (De Groof 2008). Published academic literature that explores children and young people living in socio-economically 'deprived' areas like Hillview and their perceptions of risks and safety is even more rare (for exceptions see Nayak 2003; Squires and Stephen 2005; Turner *et al* 2006; Measor 2006). This is surprising given the increased exposure to a wide range of social harms, including criminal victimisation (Anderson *et al* 1994; Hartless *et al* 1995; Loader *et al* 1998; Muncie 1999; Stephen 2009), that young people in these circumstances may face in comparison to their more affluent counterparts (Turner *et al* 2006).

The other key concern of this chapter, young people and peer bereavement has also received very little sociological attention (Ribbens McCarthy and Jessop 2005; Ribbens McCarthy 2007a, 2007b) and has been 'largely ignored' by academics, researchers and service providers who focus on parental and sibling deaths (Ribbens-McCarthy and Jessop 2005 p4). Discussions of young people and bereavement are primarily confined to the psychological literature, where bereavement experiences are considered to

rupture or delay the cognitive development of the adolescent brain (Bowlby 1980; Fleming and Balmer 1996; Balk 1998; Balk and Corr 1996, 2001; Noppe and Noppe 2001) and in psychoanalytic writing. This latter literature is concerned with bereavement as a disruption to the emotional and developmental tasks of adolescence and the ongoing impact of this into adulthood (Van Eerdwegh *et al* 1982; Dietrich and Shabad 1989). As the interviews conducted for this research were not designed to specifically address bereavement as a sequence of psychic processes this chapter does not develop existing psychological or psychoanalytic work.

Bereavement has not previously received much research attention as a contributory factor in feeling unsafe in Britain especially in research on young people's perception of safety in areas of disadvantage despite it being acknowledged that,

> 'being brought up in a low income household
> and/or in a disadvantaged area brings a
> heightened exposure to risk in the sense of both
> environmental hazards and diminished life
> chances' (Turner *et al* 2006 p451)

This lack of understanding is somewhat at odds with the findings of the body of work published by Hollway and Jefferson (1997, 2000, 2001, 2005) who argue that 'all human behaviour has a social and psychic dimension' (2005 p148) and therefore emotions, whether expressed, hidden or unconscious are crucial to an understanding of fear of crime and how fear presents differently across age, gender, family structure and neighbourhood.

Furthermore, despite academic writing on young people and 'youth' as a specific social group in late modern society and a recognition of the challenges this poses for them (Brown 2005; Furlong and Cartmel 2007; France 2007) there has been little research that has qualitatively examined young people and their lives as they live them in their neighbourhoods and communities. Instead young people in general, and disadvantaged young people in particular are portrayed as a 'threat' to the stability' and social order of the spaces in which they live (Stephen 2006).

The chapter begins with an assessment of the extent of the peer bereavement experiences participants disclosed, and an attempt to trace the impacts these had on the erosion of their feelings of safety. This is followed by an account of and an analysis of the rituals employed by young people after these tragic events. The focus is on the meanings these cultural activities have for those who generate them. The chapter highlights insights these ritual processes afford into the lives of young people living in 'deprived' communities. In stark contrast, the chapter will conclude by documenting how those engaged in 'Community Safety' perceived these events and, and in doing so will critically appraise this issues this raises about contemporary Community Safety policies and strategies.

'Our friends are always dying'
Peer bereavement was not mentioned in the original research proposal and neither did it come to light in the published academic literature on young people, youth justice and community read in the first year of study. From the start of the fieldwork, however, the death of young people was a surprising and significant emerging theme. The primary site of observation, The Union Club, was established following the fatal stabbing of sixteen year old Ray Peterson in 1999 and its purpose, to provide young people with a safe space, grew from that tragic event and represents a collective, community response to it.

The management and most of the staff at The Union who were instrumental in setting up the Club after Ray's death or were his friends or contemporaries at the time saw the Union at the simplest level as a lasting memorial to Ray. It meant that Ray, his life and more specifically the impact of his death continued to play a key part in the organisation. In one of the first research visits to the Union it was noted:

> A picture of Ray sitting casually with his hands crossed
> in front of him, a big smile on his face and cap perched
> on his on his head hung at the entrance to the building
> and was on The Union's website. [fieldnotes 6th July
> 2006].

The Union Club made annual memorial to Ray by marking his death in their activities and cyclically inserted a reminder of his significance. Such activities remembered the person and the death and signalled clearly that the loss remained a powerful and fundamental event for the individuals and the community.

> The evening [The Union Club Annual Prize Giving
> Event, held at a venue in the City centre] started with a
> powerpoint presentation of the history of the Union from
> the stabbing of Ray right up until the present day.
> Seeing all the old photos was a real walk down memory
> lane. A group of Union members provided a running
> commentary and Luke introduced this history by saying
> Hillview and the Union could only be understood as
> 'before Ray ['s death] and after Ray' [fieldnotes March
> 15th 2007]

Marking Ray's death in this manner insists that the death will not be forgotten and furthermore is an acknowledgement that his death marked a critical turning point after which nothing was the same as 'before'. It also asserts that the consequences of that tragedy will not just be tragic but that it was also marked by a community initiative to collectively make things better and make a difference.

Interview data also reinforced this impression and interpretation and this sentiment echoed through the interviews with 'The Soldiers', for whom Ray's death was experienced as a 'critical moment' - defined by Thomson (*et al* 2002 p339) - as 'an event described in an interview that either the researcher or the interviewee sees as having important consequences for their lives and identities'. The extract which follows, taken from the interview with Steve who was twenty five at the time illustrates this;

'I saw him [Ray] laying on the ground and the
ambulance men were working on him, y'know trying to
stop the bleeding but he was already dead just on the
street [pause] Til the day I die that image will be in my
brain and I'll always remember everything about that
night. I was gutted mate I tell you. It was like I couldn't
believe what happened. Well we all were. We took all
our duvets up to the spot [where he died] and just
wouldn't leave. We sat there, the lot of us, in the pissing
hard of rain for a week and then eventually the mums
got us all to go home but I think of that as the beginning
of what a lot of us have been through. [long pause] It
was the first time I'd ever known anything like that'.

The account is intensely evocative and was offered by a young man who had
no formal qualifications, was actively engaged in the black market in Hillview,
and six months after interview was sentenced to a period in custody after
being convicted of affray. Steve was the sort of young man New Labour would
consider 'a risk' to the law abiding majority, although this would ignore both
the complexities of his own biography and the socio-economic and political
conditions of society (Webster, MacDonald and Simpson 2006). He would
therefore be characterised as a person not able or willing to consider his own
feelings, let alone discuss them in a way that dramatically portrays the events
and takes the reader 'there' so profoundly. Here Steve recounts this event
seven years after the night Ray died but time has not stripped the events of
the immediate sense of tragedy, disbelief and shock felt not only by him but
his friendship group. Seared into his memory was what he witnessed that
night was so profound Steve could not think of a time when he would not carry
the burden of it, the memory has not faded but is still very much alive.

Ray's death symbolised the 'first time', the first bereavement of its kind but
also signified 'the beginning', the start of a different life for Steve, a life where
the experience and pain of peer bereavement was no longer unknown or alien
but instead becomes a regular tragic event that punctured his world and that
of other 'Soldiers'. It signifies something significant and marks the moment
that this group's marginalisation begins to result in its most extreme
consequence, violent premature death. In addition to this, the narrative has a
number of profound symbols within it which rouse our deepest feelings and

alert us to its significance for the individuals, like Steve, who know it, and tell it, and continue to tell the story of that night.

Measor and Woods (1983) were concerned to interpret narratives used by young people facing significant emotional matters. They suggested that the interpretive frameworks of Levi Strauss (1955) and Lewis (1980) on myths and rituals can help as tools to uncover the meaning and place of stories told by young people in the transfer from primary to secondary school. Levi Strauss (1955) posits that it is crucial to pick up in analysis any element within a story that is not crucial to the myth making. Lewis (1980) states that a way to recognise these elements is to look for things that are 'out of place' in the data or do not fit. Although Steve recounts an actual event there is the same sense that something is out of place in this data. To gather and mourn the violent loss of a peer at the scene of death makes sense, and has been highlighted in other research on peer bereavement as being a response young people do use to such a tragedy (Podell 1989). Going home to get your duvet first does not. This act, however, opens up the interior worlds of these young people at the time of Ray's murder.

Duvets are not designed to be used outside in the rain but in this context the use of them from home as a source of comfort sharpens too intensely for the reader's comfort the sense of vulnerability of these young people and challenges a sense of what is right. It signals that the murder of a sixteen year old boy is out of place, out of time and out of order. The desolation of this is still felt and it still echoes in the living pain and immense bleakness of the scene he recreates of a communal, silent and cold grief. It is also the response of children, not adults and the intrinsic childishness of this act reminds us that Steve and the other 'Soldiers' who lived through this event were children at the time it occurred. Importantly this response is unlike other qualitative work which has noted that young people need to have opportunities to engage in collective mourning, a need that goes unrecognised by parents, family and institutions such as schools (O'Brien *et al* 1991). This account suggests that in this case at least a number of the adults involved both understood and respected this need. Adults involved tolerated

the duvets being used in the 'wrong' place and this shows recognition that duvets can be destroyed and replaced, unlike a human life.

Next, data is presented that comes from an interview with one participant named Tiny. Tiny was aged 22 at the time he was interviewed for this research ten months before he, himself, was fatally stabbed in July 2007, and five months after the deaths of two of his closest friends Omar and Michael. The data gives a sense of the deeply shocking scale of peer bereavement experiences and of how much loss these young people had encountered and faced.

> INT: 'How many friends have you lost?'
>
> TINY: [pause] 'Ray, he was murdered when I was nearly sixteen, just over a year later Craig died of a heroin overdose and then Mick drove off a cliff and topped himself. [pause] Smithy got banged [knocked] out that night by some geezer in a club and died. .These are all kiddies I went to school with. Now Omar and Michael. It just feels like it's always us. Our friends are always dying. We were adding up how many funerals we'd been to of friends who were our age and there were tons but none of them died of cancer or shit like that, not that I don't think that would be hard because it would but I think it might be easier to deal with but with us its murder, drugs, fighting and shit like that.

It is hard to imagine in what circumstances outside of war, that a group of young people in their early twenties would sit and discuss how many funerals for their peers they had attended. It is also important to note Tiny's view that 'it just feels like it's always us', this implies that this group of young men see themselves as set apart, as different and particularly vulnerable and that these deaths are not understood as just fate. There is a suggestion in this statement that other factors are involved and Tiny's claim that collectively he and his friends considered there to have been 'tons' gives an indication of the extent of peer loss in this small neighbourhood. Tiny's disclosure was not unique, the data show that Omar and Michael's sudden deaths in April and May 2006, just months before the start of the fieldwork had an enormous

effect on participants and it was in this climate of loss that the interviews took place. It is important to note that peer bereavement was a significant theme in all but one of the interviews with 'The Soldiers'.

All of 'The Soldiers' reported having multiple peer bereavement experiences in ways that mirrored Tiny's as the following data illustrate. The data forms a cascade of accounts of bereavement after loss, loss after bereavement, in an unending wave:

> RICK (26): 'I've lost loads of people close to me since I was a teenager. Not family. Well not blood family. Mates but they are family really. When you've met up virtually every day since you started nursery school then you're family. I was saying to Lucky the other day I've buried at least ten of my mates, maybe more'
>
> INT: 'You've lost a lot of people. How did they die?
>
> RICK: 'Some were murdered. Some died through drugs, not all overdoses but accidents caused by drugs and others topped theirselves '
>
> TERRI (24): 'Ray was the first [peer bereavement] but after that it's been boom, boom, boom one after the other over the last few years. All people I've grown up with'.
>
> SONNY: 'I've lost at least six of the kiddies I went to school with, people and who were really close to me and my family. Part of my circle'.
>
> TWIN: 'Omar's death has brought it all back again [pause] but I'm getting used to that feeling now. Getting somewhere and then being knocked back. Everytime this [a peer bereavement] happens it brings up all the old feelings that I don't think I've dealt with from when Ray died. But after Ray I lost another seven, eight friends'

It has been argued so little attention has been paid to bereavement in published research about young people because like duvets in the rain or the attempt to take comfort and security symbolically onto the streets, in late modern societies 'youth and death are categories that are not expected to coincide' (Ribbens McCarthy 2007a p27). These accounts show that this was

not the case for participants in this research, many of whom were intimately acquainted with bereavement in circumstances where young people 'who were our age' were lost. These included young people that interviewees had been to school with, those who were a part of the extended friendship group of approximately thirty young people which was first described in Chapter Five, and, even more closely, friends who were identified as being as significant as 'blood family'.

It was not just the interviews that gave insights into the extent of peer bereavement experiences on the Hillview estate. When the access for this research was being negotiated it was noted that;

> 'a large, square cardboard box with a slot cut into the top
> was on the tuck shop counter at the Union with a piece
> of A4 white paper on which had been scrawled one word
> in permanent green marker pen 'Omar'' [fieldnotes April
> 2006].

When the research started it was explained that this box functioned as a collection box, used to collect small change from Union members for families of young people who had died prematurely. Over the course of the fieldwork this box was used to collect money for five different young males.

The participants' accounts explain that peer bereavement experiences started at approximately the age of fifteen, involved the death of young men only, and continued throughout the late teenage years into early adulthood. Published research in this area finds that young people who have suffered peer bereavement are more likely to report that these deaths have been the consequence of a sudden, unexpected and sometimes violent event rather than an illness (LaGrand 1985; Podell 1989; Schachter 1991; Ringler and Hayden 2000) and this was exclusively the case in Hillview. To use the words of Tiny, peers did not die of 'Cancer or shit like that' but 'murder, drugs, fighting'. There were no indications that any peer bereavement experiences resulted from either illness or other type of accident.

The proximity of death and not just the volume of peer bereavement experiences delineate and define the levels of fear and insecurity those living on the estate live with. This research uncovered and highlights the nature of the world that advanced marginality makes for those exposed cruelly to it. It is important to present the accounts to grasp not only the weight they lay upon those experiencing them but just the incessant reoccurrences. Like Steve at the beginning of this chapter, other participants also described being at or near the scene near the time of such a death. Several interviewees reported being present immediately after Ray was stabbed, others recalled being with Omar on the night he died and another group recalled what they witnessed when they arrived at the scene of Tiny's murder, as Jez (25) describes here,

> JEZ: 'We were in the pub and I got a call that something had happened so we all piled in Tony's van and when we got out there they had a cordon across the street. The police weren't letting anyone through but I could see him fuckin' flat out on the pavement so I started shouting 'Tiny! Tiny! Come on mate! Come on!' trying to wake him up but he weren't moving'

To witness such an event once would be horrific but Jez claimed also to have been present at Ray's death, which occurred in very similar circumstances to the one he describes here. Jez's helplessness and sense of confusion is palpable in this data however the regularity with which 'The Soldiers' talked about being witness to the death of a friend on the street and the significance of death to young people in this research adds a new perspective on sequestration theory (Blauner 1966; Mellor and Shilling 1993; Mellor 1993; Walter, Littlewood and Pickering 1995; Wouters 2002). Developed in the sociology of death literature this theory posits that death, dying and bereavement in (late) modern societies have become removed from public life and public space (Mellor and Shilling 1993; Mellor 1993) and relocated into hospitals, mortuaries and funeral parlours (Mellor 1993; Walter, Littlewood and Pickering 1995; Wouters 2002). Understood as a consequence of the changes to patterns of mortality, death has become concentrated amongst the elderly as health and rates of infant mortality have vastly improved. Furthermore a desire to manage death hygienically, the sequestration of

death it has been noted has left individuals with little experience of death or dying (Mellor 1993).

The pattern of experience presented thus far in this chapter, however, shows that the participants in this research were not hidden from death; on the contrary young people bore witness to the deaths of their friends on the streets, usually the familiar and well-walked streets of their own neighbourhood. To other young people who live in the main parts of the City bereavements on this scale would be alien and unknown. These bereavement experiences represent a specific condition of life endured by these young people who are marginalised and excluded from society because of their socio-economic deprivation. They are an additional burden to lives already marked by poverty, discrimination and exclusion.

The complete failure to acknowledge these arguments from the current literature could be explained by the dearth of research that has examined the working classes experiences of death and bereavement (Allen 2007). It is not just the immediate experience that requires exploration; however, it is also important to track the implications that such experiences can have for those exposed to them. It has already been noted in other US studies on peer bereavement that young people can become fearful of their own personal safety as a consequence of the death of a friend, and that this can manifest itself in withdrawal from friends, reluctance to leave their homes and nightmares (Podell 1989; Schachter 1991). Podell (1989 p68) who worked with students in one High School in the US who had lost five friends in a fire notes;

> 'The traumatic loss destabilised the students
> psychic poise and turned their emotional
> worlds upside down'

A study by Schachter (1991) who examined the emotions stimulated by a peer bereavement in a self selected sample of American students found that feelings of fear were precipitated by such a loss and that fear was especially likely to result if the bereavement was caused by something other than illness. This is addressed more directly in the next section of this chapter, however,

whether being present at the time of death further intensifies the erosion of a personal sense of safety and a collective sense of the security in the immediate and longer term, or results in worse psycho-social outcomes are not questions this thesis can answer. These data, however, allow attention to be drawn to the significance of the proximity to death and multiple peer bereavement experiences. There is not a significant research tradition in criminology or in the social sciences, which takes account of such factors. While the psycho-social literature looks at the consequences for the inner world of the individual (Jefferson and Hollway 2000) there is also a need to develop an understanding of what such experiences mean not just for the psyche and the emotional functioning and well-being of such young people but also for the ability of Community Safety policies and strategies to address these specific matters.

Figures that estimate how prevalent peer bereavement experiences are amongst young people are 'elusive' (Ribbens McCarthy 2007a p16) so it is, therefore, difficult to make an assessment of how unusual the scale and extent of the peer bereavement experiences uncovered in this research are. An extensive search of the literature only uncovered one published study that provided an estimated figure for the extent of peer bereavement experiences in a British context. This research found that 10% of a sample of 1746 11-16 year olds reported that they had experienced a 'close friend' who had died (Harrison and Hartington 2001). Clearly the extent of peer loss to participants in this research is significantly higher than this. It must also, however, be noted that the data show these losses began to occur at around the age of fifteen for participants so the Harrison and Hartington (2001) study cannot be used as a direct comparison, it is equally important to recognise that the number of 'Soldiers' interviewed for this research was small and concentrated to one friendship group. More qualitative work that has focused on 'marginalised' young people in challenging communities and transition, however, does show bereavement, although not exclusively peer bereavement, to be a significant part of the tapestry of lived experiences for young people on the edges of society (Jones 2002; Webster *et al* 2004; Johnston *et al* 2007).

An examination of the literature on the distribution of social and criminal harms according to age, gender and social class, however, does contextualise these accounts further. Risk, it has been argued, is unequally distributed and accumulates at the bottom of late modern societies (Beck 1992). Poor neighbourhoods are disproportionately affected by the harms produced by crime. This was recognised in the early reports by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU 1997, 2000) and is reflected in the fact that crime reduction became an explicit neighbourhood renewal priority (SEU 2000). It has been argued, however, that criminal justice policy reform and public service investment has not changed this concentration of harm and crime continues to be concentrated (Flint 2002; Pitts 2008), and even have become more concentrated (Hope 2001), in socially and economically distressed neighbourhoods.

Statistics show that young, between the ages of fifteen and twenty five, males who are located in lower socio-economic groups are a particularly vulnerable population for example in 2008, 809 young females died as a result of traffic accidents, violence and self harm but the figure was 2,034 for young men (ONS 2009). Dorling's (2005) analysis of murder in Britain shows that over the last thirty years the chances of being murdered are significantly higher if you live in the poorest ten percent of neighbourhoods, particularly if you are male between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Likewise epidemiologists calculate that the risk of accidental death is greater in socio-economically deprived areas (Rezaeian *et al* 2005). Analysis of suicide patterns also highlights the disproportionate number of poor young men who take their own lives (Hawton *et al* 2001; Rezaeian *et al* 2005).

Collier (1998 p4) contends that it is believed that 'there is something distinct about men and the experience of 'being a man' which (at the very least) disposes men to criminality'. This author also asserts that this can only be properly investigated if criminologists engage more readily with masculinity/ies' as a gender category. The concentrations of risk outlined above begs a related question: what is it about the experience of being young,

poor and male in Britain, an advanced capitalist society, that heightens the risk of exposure to serious criminal and social harms in the form of murder, suicide, accidental and drug deaths. A complete answer to this is beyond the scope of this research but the literature on masculinity/ies does provide insights into the marginal position of this group, insights that shed light on the wider structural position of young men in contemporary western society.

McDowell (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006), who undertook a longitudinal qualitative study with twenty four young males making the transition from school into employment, argues forcefully that the shift from industrial to service orientated work; combined with the rise of consumerism, individualism and the erosion of the welfare net has resulted in young, socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged young males being a group who have been 'particularly adversely affected by economic change' and 'neglected – indeed discriminated against – by social policy makers' (McDowell 2003 p4). McDowell's central thesis is that, far from experiencing a 'crisis' in masculinity, the young men she researched identified with traditional forms of working class masculinity, however, the transformation of society in the ways outlined above had made these 'redundant' in contemporary Britain (*cf.* Stephen and Squires 2003, 2005).

Young, socially, economically and educationally deprived males are not therefore just excluded because of their particular individual circumstances but because of who they are and what they represent. In Hillview the 'Soldiers' who participated in this research, apart from Tiny who had a permanent full-time job with a company as an electrician, were either unemployed, engaged in the informal economy and/or illegal economy or had irregular employment in low paid, low status jobs in local call centres, betting shops and as labourers. 'Having a trade', an aspiration for all of the younger boys at the Union club had not insulated 'Soldiers' from this boom and bust economic cycle as those with trades reported that it was difficult for them, or for friends in the same position, to maintain a regular supply of work. As the introduction to this thesis outlines, Brownstone, the city in which Hillview is located, has a highly skilled, service and media orientated economy with only

five percent of the City's workforce engaged in either manufacturing or construction (OCSI 2007). A decline in construction and manufacturing employment of over ten percent of over the last decade has made the possibility of regular employment for young people from Hillview even more difficult (OCSI 2007). Experiences in the field also illustrate just how acute this problem was. In May 2007, before the economic shock of the global recession, the city's Connexions worker came to the Union club with two apprenticeship opportunities offered by a local firm who had a contract with the Local Authority to carry out council house repairs across the City. How limited such opportunities were for young people became apparent when the worker was asked whether The Union club members had privileged access to these apprenticeships and he replied,

> 'No no..these are open for kids across the city.
> Actually they're the only two things I've got to
> offer'. I asked him how competitive it was going
> to be. He said 'Very. I think we'll get at least
> two hundred applications for these two places.
> Being realistic I know that for some of these
> boys this is the only opportunity of work they're
> going to get' [fieldnotes 26th May 2007]

Lack of opportunity, rather than an absence of commitment to it, was a reality that many of 'The Soldiers' were faced with, and the younger 'Kiddies' had to look forward to. Living a life which conforms to society's expectations of 'success', one which includes the ability to consume, therefore, was a real challenge to young people on the estate.

The data presented in the accounts offered thus far represent voices from the coalface and these voices say that young people in Hillview suffer multiple peer bereavements that young men are dying, and seeing their friends die on the street. It has also been shown that these young people live on the very edges of economic life, with access to few secure employment opportunities. They represent a British 'precariat' (Wacquant 2008 p244), the precariously employed proletariat who live lives of advanced marginality in circumstances of social and economic fragmentation without political representation or class

consolidation (Wacquant 2008; Hall and Winlow 2007). These voices are rarely heard as many criminologists conduct work that focuses on the criminal or gang cultures said to exist in such spaces while politicians talk of 'yobs' and 'louts'. Both of these labels fail to acknowledge or capture the brutality of the British class system at work.

The chapter now moves on to examine the psycho-social impact of such experiences, in particular the generation of acute fear and insecurity these experiences produced amongst young people.

'It's like. A fear'

The data indicate that it is not just the number of peer deaths that was important in Hillview but that the psycho-social impact of multiple peer bereavement experiences were profound and did not only affect close friends in the same 'age grade' but also younger members of the Union, and the wider community. At the very start of the fieldwork it was noted that younger Union members talked about Omar and Michael's deaths amongst themselves and with staff members, who shared their own sense of loss. Young Union members were actively involved in fundraising for the bereaved families and many displayed signs of sadness and distress. Superficially this may not make sense, after all Omar and Michael were not of the same generation as the current Union members; they were anything up to a decade older. Akin to the findings of Turner *et al* (2006), however, young Hillviewers displayed an acute awareness what was happening in their neighbourhood and articulated a real connectedness with those who had died. Members of the Union perceiving themselves to have had a variety of relationships with these young men as illustrated here:

EVIE (14): 'I think it's terrible what's happened. Omar was like my big brother cos he was my brother's best friend. He taught him everything and they were always together'.

LULU (14): 'He [Omar] always used to come down after work and play pool. There are photos of him everywhere [points to the clip frame collages on the walls of the portacabin], some with me when I was younger like 11..12. He did the army assault course with my cousin. Look [points to picture]. My family know Brinn and Trina [Omar's mother and sister] and I know they're having a really hard time trying to get their heads round what's happened. I just can't believe he's dead'.

INT: 'Why do you think it's important to raise money?'

JOHN (15): 'He [Michael] was an original.

INT: What do you mean?

JOHN: Original Union club, part of the crew that was before my older brother and then us coming up now. Kiddies my age like we follow those that go ahead of us. They started it all off and none of this [Union Club] would be here if it weren't for them.

Hillview is an established community and kith and kin networks are extensive and a central part of life on the estate like in other working class communities (Williams 1956; Frankenberg 1957; Young and Wilmott 1957; Rosser and Harris 1965; Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter 1969). Evie, Lulu and John demonstrate above how the complex web of familial and friendship ties that bind young people to others in their neighbourhood are the bedrock of the sense of loss and shock they feel. It is recognition of the mutuality between young people living in working class communities, something that is rarely the focus of academic attention. Similar sentiments were expressed by young people after Tiny's murder in July 2007 and again young Union members participated in fundraising and other acts of ritual at that time. This confirms that these tragic deaths did represent a loss to them and not just to those closest to the epicentre of these particular tragedies. These insights add something new to an understanding of the impact of peer bereavement

because unlike other research in this area that has primarily used samples of self selected individuals and focused in on these individual experiences (Sklar and Hartley 1990; O'Brien *et al* 1991; Schachter 1991; Ringler and Hayden 2000) the community setting of this research enabled the broader impact on young people as a group to be observed and uncovered.

Studies that have examined the psychological impact of peer bereavement experiences show that young people experience a range of emotions in these circumstances; including sadness, shock, disbelief, surprise, anger and confusion (Podell 1989; Schachter 1991). As one might expect, participants in this research also were observed and reported experiencing the whole gamut of emotions that could be expected after such an incident. What this list does not capture, however, is the intensity and ferocity of these emotions as they are experienced. Less than two hours after Tiny's murder, approximately twenty 'Soldiers' gathered at the house of one of his friends, Wallsy. It was here that the following observation which gives an insight into how complex and powerful these emotions were was captured,

> The room was crowded with people littering the sofas and the floor but the room was dark. Only the light from the kitchen spilled in to show the blank, pale and sometimes tear stained faces of 'The Soldiers'. Smallsy got up and manoeuvred his 6ft 2inch frame onto the exposed wooden floor in the centre of the room. He started to pace. 'It's happened *AGAIN,* fuckin' bastard. *AGAIN'* he shouted. He started banging his head with his hands. 'Shit. This is not even *FUNNY'*. Agitated he took big gulps of smoky air into his lungs. Then the tears came in a burst and he just stood crying. He looked aggressive, furious and defeated all at the same time [fieldnotes night of Tiny's murder July 2007]

The data reveals the desperate vulnerability, frustration and anger of Smallsy in this situation. It shines through these observations and contrasts sharply with the more common perception that young males who live in 'deprived' neighbourhoods pose 'a risk' rather than being in any way 'at risk' (Brown 2005). His acute distress was triggered by the murder of a close friend but as this observation highlights, at the core of his distress was the utter horror that this experience had happened *again*, not just that it had happened at all. On

that night the perpetrator of Tiny's murder was not the focus of discussion and he was arrested by police within hours of the incident, and later convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. What emerged from the data was 'The Soldiers' view that it was their failure to accompany Tiny that night which ultimately led to his death, not that another party had a knife and chose to use it. The events of that night, and the decision to let him go alone, were replayed again and again because this meant that the network of protection which they operated had failed with devastating consequences.

Overall the data show that the perpetrators of Ray and Tiny's murders were rarely discussed and participants' anger directed almost entirely at the lives that had been lost. The only direct discussion of a perpetrator occurred in a discussion with Tiny's mother, and this took place after an early court appearance by the person responsible for his death. For her, the tragedy was not only that her son had been murdered, but that two young lives had been destroyed.

> 'He's [perpetrator] going to prison. I looked at him today and thought what a waste of a life. He looked so young and he's going to spend all that time in prison. It's such a waste. Two lives. Gone. [fieldnotes September 2007]

Repeated experiences of the successive loss of young, vital friends instilled sheer exhaustion in 'the Soldiers' and the profound inner conflict triggered by these bereavements was equally evident in the data. Alongside this, however, was a complicated fear for the future, for their own future and a startling recognition of feelings that there might be a real and present threat to their own security and that of those closest to them. This turmoil was best expressed by Gary as he talked about his experiences of peer bereavement during interview.

GARY (25): 'I can't bury another mate. I don't think I've got it in me to go to another funeral and it's my mate being put in the ground...and everyone's bawling their eyes out and you're watching it but you're a part of it as well. When you're there [at the funeral] a big part of you's thinking 'who the fuck's it gonna be next?' And I remember at Omar's funeral I was looking around at all of us there and trying to think 'who's it gonna be?'

INT: 'How do you feel when that goes through your head?'

GARY: 'I fear for what's gonna happen next. But it's gonna be one of us cos it's always one of us or someone we've come up with'

Gary expresses absolute certainty here that his peer bereavement experiences will continue and that it will be 'one of us' who will be next to die; unfortunately his assessment of risk was vindicated by Tiny's murder eight months after this interview. What emerges through this account is the sense of fatalistic certainty among these young adults who live with the knowledge that as a group they are acutely and unusually vulnerable to the risk of death. The use of the word 'fear' to describe the emotions precipitated by the experience of multiple peer bereavements was commonplace in their accounts. For some, like Gary, the fear was immediately felt in the aftermath of the death of a friend, however, others indicated longer term fearfulness about their own personal safety and it was understood by them to have its roots in their experiences of peer bereavement. This sense of personal threat which haunts 'Soldiers' on a daily basis was best expressed by Mark (25),

'It's like. A fear. I feel it all time. If I'm walking to the shop and a car pulls up by me I'm looking over my shoulder and thinking to myself 'shit' like 'what's happening here'? Sometimes I think I'm paranoid but if you think about it everything that's happened over the last few years has all happened quickly, out of nowhere really. One minute everything's fine and then the next it's not and there's no reason why that can't happen to me. I'm not special'.

For other participants, their fear was not just for their own safety but encompassed an anxiety about the safety of friends and family as Kelly describes here,

> KELLY (25): 'I'm hyper sensitive to everything around me now and I'm quite a fearful person.
>
> INT: 'Why do you think you're like that?
>
> KELLY: 'Because I've lost a lot of my friends over the last few years and I think my experiences have taught me in my mind that it's not safe here'.
>
> INT: Can you give me an example of how this affects you?
>
> KELLY: 'I don't like it when my phone goes. Not just late at night but all the time because straight away I think something terrible's happened. I panic if Lee [participants' partner] goes out to the pub or if he's with all the lads I don't sleep very well. I sit up and wait for him to come home but I've been like this for a long time although it's got worse again since Mike and Omar died'.

Adding weight to the fears expressed above, the observation data also show that some participants viewed the very neighbourhood itself as lethal.

> 'I hate this place' Roman said 'it's toxic'. He inhaled once more and continued. 'What's happened tonight [Tiny's death] just confirms that fact. We should just all leave'. I asked what made him stay. 'What if something else happened' he said 'and I wasn't here, I don't think I could cope. What if I didn't know?' He stayed silent for a minute. 'I don't care. I'm just gonna get wasted'. He lifted the joint to his lips in salute [fieldnotes night of Tiny's murder July 2007]

As we have seen such feelings of threat or of being unsafe were stimulated by multiple bereavement experiences and by a recognition that community safety agencies did not offer any safety or security to the 'Soldiers' in Hillview. In these data participants made it clear that they recognised that there was no protection for them.

Ribbens-McCarthy (2007a) argues that bereavement can further erode feelings of ontological security (Giddens 1991). Data in this research show how experiences of multiple peer bereavement shredded the sense of self and destroyed the notion that their neighbourhood was a safe place for 'the Soldiers'. It is also clear that participants felt a visceral sense of revulsion for Hillview in this context yet felt trapped because of the fear of not being able to cope without the support offered by their immediate circle of support if such a tragedy happened again. Feeling unsafe was not a temporary state for some participants, like those in Hollway and Jefferson's study (2000), it was embedded in their everyday lived experience, and fluctuated in intensity over time. Some participants understood this as a consequence of their own characteristics, being young and male and/or being part of the group that was most affected by these events, whilst others like Roman had the sense that the roots of peer bereavement experiences lay in the neighbourhood, not individuals.

Despite the anger and the despair again the data show how place was such a crucial part of participants' sense of who they are, of their identity. In Chapter Three this was discussed with reference to young people's appropriation of public space in the neighbourhood but here it is lived experiences on the estate, in this case multiple peer bereavements that have penetrated psychic processes and bound young people to the estate in very complex ways. These experiences are part of what defines who they are and the data show that this was not just expressed individually but also collectively through their social networking.

At the Union Club the most popular activity on club nights was social networking on the banks of open access computers the club owned. Like other young people the world over, where internet access is possible participants had an online world that involved the use of MSM Messenger, Bebo, Facebook and a plethora of other online facilities. The vast majority of the Union members had their own social network sites and were also members of the 'official Hillview' Bebo page and it was here that individual accounts of fear and insecurity found a more collective form of expression.

> The pages were black with red and white type. At the top
> was a large sectioned off area of the page and
> contained by a thick white box it stated in bold.
> 'HILLVIEW - DEFEND YOUR OWN! This if for all thos
> who have lost their lives'. Underneath was a list of ten
> names, the same boys and young men that had come
> up time and time again over the course of the research.
> Around this box were tributes, poems, songs and
> messages for the deceased [fieldnotes 23rd August
> 2007].

This message reads like a call to arms to all young people in Hillview. It puts peer bereavement at the centre of young people's lived experiences and makes a powerful statement about the need for self reliance amongst this group, and furthermore the importance of protecting the memory of those already dead. The presence of this message on the World Wide Web could be interpreted as an attempt to breach the geographical constraints of the neighbourhood and send a message to the virtual world outside about these deaths. Published research on young people's use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) including social networking support this interpretation insomuch as it is pointed out that technological developments have broken down public/private boundaries and are a way for young people to connect with the outside, online world (Henderson *et al* 2007; Livingstone 2009; Watkins 2009).

Findings from these studies and others (Sefton-Green 1998; Holloway and Valentine 2003; Cotterell 2007), however, also show consistently that young people use new technologies predominantly to communicate and strengthen already existing, real life social networks and friendships and that, contrary to the global capacity of the web, social networking is still seen as a 'private' space. At Union Club nights young people spent a lot of time online 'chatting' but it was observed consistently throughout the fieldwork that the majority of this time was spent connecting with contacts who were already friends, some of whom were in the same building or even in the same room. The networks 'The Kiddies' were cultivating at the Union Club were, therefore, local rather than global, and this was intentional.

The 'Official Hillview' site was different from personal internet pages and it did represent a more public forum than personal web pages. An analysis of the membership of this site, however, shows that again the majority of its users were local young people and young adults. Although this is perhaps unsurprising given the stigmatised reputation of the estate and its people in the rest of the city it has been argued that social networking is a way in which young people forge communities (Henderson *et al* 2007) and 'reshapes' (Watkins 2009 p3) how community is experienced. The 'Official Hillview' site was a form of active community engagement by its young membership, one not available to 'The Soldiers' as they were growing up on the estate in the 1990's. Membership to it was a virtual representation of an existing community, a community of young people living in Hillview and this makes the foregrounding of themes of loss, bereavement and safety on the site highly significant. It illustrates that young people identified themselves through a deep attachment to place, that peer bereavement experiences were a crucial part of the context in which their lives were lived. Further, these experiences communicated they were not safe and that the only way in which safety could be obtained was by relying on themselves, not criminal justice agencies, nor the Community Safety Team.

The failure of State agencies to provide basic security to young people living in challenging neighbourhoods has already been identified by previous empirical work by Measor (2006) who argues that from an early age young people in socio-economically deprived areas understand this failure and, from an early age develop 'strategies of alliance and liaison for their security' (p184) such as having a sexual relationship, or having a baby by the 'names' in their area. The data from this research is a further example of young people's awareness of their own marginalised safety position, they are not telling one another to tell the Community Safety Team in these circumstances, but to 'defend your own'. Self reliance in the absence of protection is the message here.

Being part of the online community, as well as the 'real' community is another way participants could actively seek security in these circumstances. Belonging to this site expressed an allegiance to the area, demonstrated a commitment to their specific community, and kept participants connected, virtually and in 'real' life to both a collective form of protection. The data also show links to powerful local families or individuals with a reputation for 'being hard', violent and/or criminal behaviour were significant for young people. Measor (2006) described these families and individuals as the 'names'. In Hillview two large families, the Kindle's and the Smith's, and their extended networks of friends, family and other associates were the dominant 'names' in the area . Online posts and communication between young people online often started with specific references to family or friendship connections with the 'names', for example 'cuz' (or cousin) would denote a family connection and 'bruv' a close friendship [fieldnotes August 13th 2006]. Younger 'Kiddies' meanwhile would adopt the surnames of the 'names' online, even if there was no direct blood connection for example Lucy (12), a member of The Union changed her status on the site from Lucy Adams to Lucy Kindle after her mother started a relationship with one of the Kindle brothers, a 'named' family [fieldnotes February 23rd 2007].

Multiple peer bereavement experiences stimulated fears about personal safety and the safety of others for the participants in this research. The neighbourhood was both blamed for these deaths and housed the community young people used in order to recover from these experiences and protect themselves in the future. Not once was it suggested in the data with young people that the police and community safety practitioners either recognised these feelings or offered protection against the continuation of these events. Instead young people attempted to protect themselves through the active maintenance of 'community' and connection to those who could offer protection in the informal, formal hierarchies of the estate. Repeated deaths show that this strategy was limited in effectiveness, however, this was not the only way 'The Soldiers' and 'The Kiddies' actively attempted to ameliorate and cope with feelings of loss, frustration and exclusion. The following section of this chapter examines the use and construction of mourning rituals, all used in

the aftermath of Tiny's murder in July 2007 and it is to this data that the chapter now turns.

'Tiny RIP'

In the shadow of tragedy and well out of the sight of the formal agencies of the state, participants were actively involved in attempts to cope with, and minimise the harm wrought by peer bereavement. It was the death of Tiny that immersed this research into these painful spaces and necessarily this section of the chapter draws heavily from the data generated in the immediate aftermath of his murder. This action was immediate among Union Club members who began raising money less than forty eight hours after his death as this observation illustrates,

> The collection box was back in its place. It had a photo of Tiny pasted to the side and all night club members were putting in the change from their tuck shop money. I was also told tonight that there's going to be a big fundraising event for Tiny's family on Friday with bands, food and a raffle with prizes. All of the Union are asking to help and so Tracey [club manager] started allocating jobs. It seems incredible that this can happen so quickly. [fieldnotes 30th July 2007]

Six days later what resembled a 'mini festival' [fieldnotes 3rd August 2007] took place on the green space adjacent to the Union Club. It was dedicated to Tiny and used to raise money to contribute towards the cost of his funeral. A large percentage of the approximately three hundred people who attended the event were under the age of twenty five and the event itself had been organised by members of his immediate friendship group, fellow 'Soldiers'. Union club members were busy on the night as they walked around 'rattling big black buckets that filled up with notes and coins' [fieldnotes3rd August 2007], sold raffle tickets, ran the small children's rides and helped prepare and sell food and drink from the burger van that had been loaned by a local resident. The entertainment was provided by 'Soldiers' and other Union members who sang, danced and read self penned tributes to Tiny on a small stage that had been erected for this purpose [fieldnotes 3rd August 2007].

The extraordinary speed with which this event and those that followed over the subsequent weeks were organised show how competent and practiced young people were at dealing with the practical needs which resulted from a sudden bereavement. It also indicates how a set of strategies had been developed that met a recognised need. The immediate focus on fundraising met the practical material needs of families who had lost their children, but the very communal and public way in which this need was addressed indicates that other social and psychological needs were also being met. At Tiny's event people 'talked a lot, laughed, cried together, sat in silence and held each other' and 'asked why?' [fieldnotes 3rd August 2007]. This setting gave a collective cradle for the overt expression of powerful emotions and gave space for this community's grief. It also indicates the energy and agency that such a community can mobilise.

Tiny's event was much more than a fundraising opportunity; it was a form of collective mourning ritual (Houlbrooke 1989; Hockey *et al* 2001; Wouters 2002). It was developed by young people in response to the devastation of peer bereavement. Rituals are defined by Romanoff and Terenzio (1998 p698) as,

> '...cultural devices that facilitate the preservation of
> social order and provide ways to comprehend the
> complex and contradictory aspects of human existence
> within a given social context.'

Mourning rituals, it is noted, can be privately or publicly enacted, provide a vehicle for the expression of and containment of strong emotions (Romanoff and Terenzio 1998) including 'despair, fear, powerlessness and sorrow' (Wouters 2002) and cement the relationship between the deceased and the community (Romanoff and Terenzio 1998). It is also contended that public demonstration of mourning 'fulfils a deep need' (Wouters 2002 p13) as it gives the loss public recognition, evokes solidarity, and 'asserts membership to a larger symbolic or 'imagined' community (Wouters 2002 p2). The data presented here show clearly that young people demonstrated their sense of

being important participants in a collective effort which supported emotional well-being and nourished a sense of 'community'.

> 'It's just brilliant what's happened [at the event]. Look at everyone here. It's just brilliant. It just shows we can really pull it off when things are tough y'know? All together. Tiny'd be amazed. It's just brilliant' (Dave, 15 fieldnotes 3rd August 2007)

For Dave 'community' in this context was about collective action for a common goal, respected by others and active in nature, 'we can really pull it off' he said. In contrast to the usual idea that such communities are irretrievably broken and apathetic, the data indicates the agency and energy that this community drew upon in the face of tragedy. It also indicates the collective response to a 'problem' which conservative critics argue is irretrievably lost in the late modern world (Etzioni 1995; Murray 1990).

The perceived breakdown of 'community' was central to New Labour's development of local crime control in the form of Community Safety strategies (Crawford 1998; Hughes 1998; Hughes 2007) as it was argued that crime and ASB flourished, particularly in socio-economically 'deprived' areas like Hillview, because structures of informal social control had been eroded and the internal capacity to enforce standards of behaviour had been lost leaving 'communities' vulnerable and in need of protection (Walklate and Evans 1999). The job of government therefore was two-fold; firstly it sought to mobilize citizens to actively participate in the new partnership Community Safety initiatives in order to reconstruct new, safer 'communities' (Crawford 2001), later repackaged into the tougher 'taking a stand' against the criminal and anti-social (Home Office 2003a).

> 'We are trying to develop the concept of the 'Active Community' in which the commitment of the individual is backed by the duty of all organizations – in the public sector, the private sector and the voluntary sector – to work towards a community of mutual care and a balance of rights and responsibilities' (Straw 1998 p16-17)

Secondly, it reinforced the concept of responsibility or the 'something for something' society, in which individuals had a duty to show 'respect' to one another and the areas in which they lived. Failure to be respectful, or being labelled by those responsible for creating safer communities as in breach of this requirement triggers the newly developed enforcement mechanisms such as ASBO's, ABC's, curfews, and the termination or demotion of social housing tenancies that are thought to reinforce this requirement on 'anti-social' or criminal individuals. The White Paper *Respect and Responsibility* (Home Office 2003a) makes the emphasis on 'respect' as a responsibility very plain;

> As a society, our rights as individuals are based on the sense of responsibility we have towards others and to our families and communities. This means respecting each others property, respecting the streets and public spaces we share and respecting our neighbours right to live free from harassment and distress. It is the foundation of a civic society' (Ministerial Foreword)

By contrast the mobilisation of community and the active participation of young people in the mourning ritual and the community response to the needs of the family of the bereaved, detailed in the data above, highlights that Hillview, unlike the world Bauman (2001 p57 italics in the original) argues is occupied by social elites, was not a '*community free zone*'. On the whole young people did not actively participate in formal Community Safety strategies as they were ignored and constructed as 'the problem' in these spaces. Yet as this chapter has shown they were active participants in grassroots attempts to ameliorate the financial, social and psychological damage wrought by peer bereavement and the aggressive and adversarial policing they experienced.

It was not, however, exclusively the 'law abiding' who actively supported and participated in these mourning rituals. The data show those individuals and families who were amongst the 'names' were important contributors to the creation of these mourning rituals and provided emotional support to bereaved families. As it has been noted before Hillview was an established community and 'names' were often intimately connected through family and

friendship ties to those who had been lost. On a practical level 'names' were able to make direct financial contributions to bereaved families and pay the up front costs for events because, unlike many on the estate they had access to money not needed for basic necessities. Furthermore, as described in Measor's (2006) study the 'names' in Hillview had a quasi like celebrity status, for example 'names' drove vehicles with blacked out windows [fieldnotes July 21st 2006] and on several occasions during the course of the fieldwork it was observed that their 'style' in clothes, hair, cars and interior decoration was replicated by others not active in the illegal economy.

This status combined with the perceived protection 'names' offered was very potent and powerful. Endorsement of, or participation in, events by the 'names' attracted attention and was used as a way to mobilise support for the fundraising that took place in the aftermath of his death. At Tiny's event this was witnessed when Jim Kindle, the head of the Kindle family arrived.

> There was an audible murmur of excited activity as a tall dark haired man in his fifties drove up and parked by the pitches. He looked neat, and was wearing expensive but understated clothes. As he exited the car several people enthusiastically walked up to greet him, all shaking hands. Within minutes he had a coffee in his hands, although he hadn't been anywhere near the refreshment stand. As he continued to walk around the event there were more greetings and shouts of 'Jim. Good to see you'. One person added   'We've all been waiting on you mate' [fieldnotes 3rd August 2007]

Fundraisers were not the only example of community action, however, and many other forms of active participation were observed in the aftermath of peer bereavement and beyond. For example young people offered bereaved families a range of practical help. 'Soldiers' stepped in and honoured the family responsibilities of their dead peers. Mark and Smallsy drove Tiny's disabled mother and grandfather to hospital and doctors appointments, Rick and Steve finished decorating a room that was unfinished as a result of Tiny's death and Roman took on the task of keeping the garden at Tiny's house weeded and in good order. This practical support was not time limited and

more than a year after Omar's death 'Soldiers' continued to support his mother and sister in similar ways. This was identified as a major comfort to his family as the following data, drawn from a long conversation with Omar's mother Brinn, illustrate.

> 'They've ['the Soldiers'] have helped me in so many ways over the last year. I get a visit once a week. And flowers. If anything goes in the house or I need anything fixed all I have to do is call and its 'Alright Brinn, we'll be down to sort it out' and I don't have to pay for any of it. It reminds me of how much Omar was loved and that makes me feel a little bit better in myself' [fieldnotes 7th August 2007]

It is not being claimed here that Hillview was the site of a homogenous and harmonious traditional, working class community. Young (1999) notes, if there ever was such a thing, the ravages of de-industrialisation, rampant consumerism and the individualism of late modern life have ripped out its heart. Bauman (2001) also contends that the concept of 'community' is seductive as it conjures up feelings of belonging and security that contrasts sharply with the precariousness of a world in which institutional safety nets have been dismantled. He (2001 p144) argues,

> 'We miss community because we miss security, a quality crucial to a happy life, but one which the world we inhabit is ever less able to offer and more reluctant to promise' (Bauman 2001 p144)

Organic 'community', a place where 'our duty is purely and simply, to help each other, and so our right, purely and simply, is to expect that the help we need will be forthcoming' (Bauman 2001 p2). Bauman argues that organic community is lost and has been replaced by different notions of 'community' and a society in which the 'safe community or safety *as* community' (p116 italics in the original) is the goal. Thus far this chapter has demonstrated that in these specific circumstances a form of organic community was present amongst specific group of young people who felt themselves connected in important ways to each other through time, place, experience and need.

Young people 'helped each other out' both emotionally, in the aftermath of peer bereavement and practically, through immediate financial support and ongoing assistance to bereaved families. In these circumstances community operated out of a deep need as it provided a way for this group of young people to respond collectively to the risk of premature death and the experience of peer bereavement.

The findings in this chapter thus far illuminate the one dimensional and rather facile concept of 'community' as operated in New Labour policy and rhetoric. 'Community' for New Labour was prefaced on the 'active' engagement of the 'law abiding' in partnership with those structures established by legislation (Home Office 2001, 2003) and the 'rebalancing' of justice under Blair (Tonry 2010). By contrast 'community' as operated by the young people of Hillview functioned as a result of the law breaking as well as the law abiding. It involved actions developed from the bottom up and functioned outside of the policies and strategies enacted by official agents of the State. In some ways this finding would not come as a surprise to academics engaged in long term research in 'deprived' areas, indeed Walklate and Evans (1996) who conducted an in-depth study on two social housing estates in the North of England observed that,

> 'Without this recourse to some sort of community many
> of the local people we spoke to would inevitably have
> been more damaged by the experience of living in high
> crime neighbourhoods than they actually appeared to
> be' (Walklate and Evans 1999 p17)

Damage prevention and the construction of safety drove many of the 'community' strategies that were witnessed in Hillview. The continuation and development of such strategies throughout the period in which the Community Safety policies were enacted illustrates that such policies did little to either ameliorate the risk of premature death or provide alternative mechanisms through which safety was achieved. As this chapter will now go on to demonstrate, it is not just the concept of 'community' that appears to have

been so misunderstood by New Labour during their period in office but also that of 'respect'.

To New Labour 'respect' was not acting in a criminal or anti-social way towards your neighbours or others living in the neighbourhood (Home Office 2003a). The deficit model is once again in operation of the concept in this way, the implication is that those living in areas of deprivation, particularly young people, lack 'respect'. In contrast the data from this research show that this community of young people had an essential humanity that certainly had showing 'respect' at its core. In the aftermath of peer bereavement demonstrations of 'respect' for the dead and bereaved families was the mechanism through which 'community' was actively demonstrated, pain shared and comfort sought and it is to an exploration of this that this chapter now turns.

Manchester United

Much of the published literature places young people who have experienced peer bereavement as a 'hidden population' (Sklar and Hartley 1990 p12) or as 'forgotten mourner' (Doka 1989, cited in Crenshaw 2002 p293). Young people in Hillview, were by contrast, central both to traditional and also to new forms and innovations of mourning rituals practiced on the estate. At Tiny's funeral young people constituted the majority of the congregation, actively contributed songs and tributes at the service and were a very visible presence throughout the funeral:

> 'All around the magnificent black carriage the mourners
> stood quietly. Heads bowed in a two minute silence.
> Tiny's family and 'Soldiers' stood nearest the glass and
> surrounding them was a sea of young people and other
> residents all clothed in red Manchester United shirts.
> Many of them looked brand new. We started the car and
> crawled at a snail's pace behind the carriage and the
> hundreds of mourners who walked the two mile journey
> to the chapel' [fieldnotes August 2007]

In other sections of society it may be usual to purchase or borrow new clothes for a funeral, however the mass observance of the request from Tiny's family that all those who attended his funeral wear red and black, preferably a

Manchester United shirt, in honour of their dead son's favourite football team is one example of the lengths participants and their families would go to in order to show 'respect'. Football shirts are expensive and Hillview is a place in which money is a precious and all too often scarce resource. In the days that led up to the funeral two things happened that enabled nearly every young person to comply with the family's wishes. Firstly 'names' gave Manchester United shirts to some of the poorest 'Kiddies' through the extended kith and kin networks and secondly local shoplifters stole large quantities of these shirts and sold them on the estate at 'cost', one third of the price of the shirt rather than one half which was the more usual transaction on the goods that circulated on the black market, and thus made the display of 'respect' a possibility for more people [fieldnotes August 5th 2007]. In this instance the ability to show 'respect' was facilitated by criminal activity, not eroded by it.

Furthermore, the intense tribalism with which football was associated, particularly among the young men on the estate meant that wearing a Manchester United shirt was for many an ultimate act of deference. This proved to be a deeply uncomfortable experience for many and participants were observed openly ridiculing one another, making disparaging comments, even to those from 'named' families with a reputation for violence who had also observed the dress code [fieldnotes August 2007]. Troy (25), one of the 'names' in Hillview described how it felt to wear the shirt, he said:

> 'Fuckin horrible. I don't even like it touching me
> [pulls at the neck of the shirt as if to emphasise this
> point]. I feel like a right fuckin' no mark [nobody]. I
> bet Tiny's looking down at us all pissing himself'
> [fieldnotes August 2007]

For Troy the ritual of 'respect' was much more profound than New Labour's rhetoric of respecting the streets, public spaces or his fellow resident's right to live in peace. It involved a willingness to feel like a 'no mark', to put to one side his 'front', his reputation and outer representation of himself as 'being a bit handy' [fieldnotes June 13th 2007], capable and willing to use violence if necessary.

An additional way in which 'respect' was shown was provided through further participant observation. In the weeks that followed Tiny's death some 'Soldiers' chose to have tattoos. They stated that they stood as memorial to Tiny – to the most recent death.

> 'Sonny turned to face the window and lifted up his shirt. His back was dominated by a large, ornate black cross with the words 'Tiny RIP' ribboned through the centre. The cross was decorated on either side with identical angels' wings, inky black like the central cross. I stepped forwards to take a look and could see the blood of a new tattoo sprouting on his skin making it look feverish in the strip lighting of the kitchen. I wanted to touch it, to feel the ridges of ink. But it looked too painful. After a few moments he pulled his shirt down, turned around and stared at me with eyes rimmed with red. I asked him why he'd done it. 'So I never forget him' he said simply pulling the shirt down over his back [fieldnotes August 20th 2007].

Memorial tattoos are not the direct focus of this research, and the data related to them was not anticipated at the beginning of this study. The data nevertheless are sufficiently powerful to demand some discussion. The meanings that Sonny makes of his action to obtain a tattoo are abundantly clear in what he says and what he does. The tattoos obtained by the Hillview 'Soldiers' acted as a clear, unambiguous reminder of the loss suffered. The acquisition of such a permanent memorial was an additional mechanism some participants used to show 'respect' to those who had died. Five tattoos, including Sonny's were observed in all. All were very different from one another and were located on different parts of the body but all made direct reference to Tiny in some way. Some had his name, others his date of birth alongside the date of his murder, others had short personal messages to him or combinations of all of these elements.

Despite an extensive search no empirical work on memorial tattoos in Britain was found[19]. Schiffrin (2009), who undertook a small scale project in the United States on memorial tattoos draws some conclusions that give an insight into why such tattoos might be obtained. They represent, she contends, the physical embodiment of either the deceased or the grief experience as they literally write the bereavement experience onto the body. As such they are an outward expression of the emotional pain of bereavement. She argues that they offer the bereaved a way to gain control and exercise agency during the grief experience. The 'Soldiers' who obtained tattoos did not talk at length about the reasons behind these actions, however it is clear that obtaining a memorial tattoo was a conscious decision made by participants, involved pain, and as a form of remembrance. Schiffrin (2009 p86) ultimately concludes, however, that,

> 'the medium of tattoo is becoming a vehicle for
> expression of a grief experience which may often be
> unspeakable for the bereaved in the context of a society
> that predominantly denies death'

The idea that bereavement is unspeakable and death denied in contemporary Western societies chimed with participant's insistence that the bereavements they had experienced went unrecognised and ultimately that the deaths of their friends meant nothing to those outside of the estate. 'No-one's interested' said Lucky (28) 'who gives a shit if we're dying over here. It's one less dole scrounger, one less thief isn't it? [fieldnotes September 18th 2006]. In these circumstances, wider society is not in denial about such deaths, it ignores them despite the well established evidence on health inequalities and premature death and perhaps the memorial tattoos act as a reminder to that.

The focus of this research was not peer bereavement and its long term impact on young people in a community. There is, nonetheless a case to be made that the effects of peer bereavement could have been much more cataclysmic had these strategies that relied on' community' and 'respect' not been in

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[19] An American academic based at the University of Bath presented a conference paper in Britain on memorial tattoos in late modernity (Troyer 2009). Unfortunately a copy of this paper could not be obtained from the author.

operation. Published work has already identified bereavement experiences as an additional 'risk factor' in the lives of young people that may result in poorer mental health, difficulties in education and other harmful behaviour (Ribbens McCarthy 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b). How participants viewed the future in light of their experiences, and what actions these led them to take in their own lives are important themes that this thesis does not have space to engage with now, but which will be explored in more detail in the future. It is, however, important to note that there were limits to what these strategies were able to achieve. Most importantly, they did not, and could not stop the premature deaths of young people. The repetition of peer bereavement shown in this chapter highlights that despite the best efforts of 'The Soldiers' the safety of young people could not be ensured.

Nevertheless the data in this chapter turns on its head the beliefs propagated by New Labour when in power, that young, poor people have no respect and are a drain on their communities because of their anti-social and criminal behaviour (Home Office 2001, 2003a). By contrast, in acutely difficult circumstances young people who participated in this research actively demonstrated a commitment to community and an abundance of respect, in ways not recognised by society more generally. Anderson (1999 p66) in his study on the inner city of America argues that acute social marginalisation makes respect crucial, he observes;

> 'respect is fought for and held and challenged as much as honour was in the age of chivalry. Respect becomes critical for staying out of harm's way' (Anderson 1999 p66)

In Hillview 'community' and 'respect' were used to cope, in attempts to construct a safer environment and to ameliorate the devastation wrought by peer bereavement. The final section of this chapter will examine the ways the Community Safety Team understood their task and the extent to which they were able to have any impact upon developing safety and security for those who were, in the final analysis, the most at risk: young males on the margins.

'That's not really my job'

Throughout this research there was little to suggest that Community Safety practitioners were aware of either the deaths of young people on the estate, the scale of peer bereavements these represented or that young people felt vitally and viscerally unsafe as a consequence of these experiences. This is in part explained by the nature of the relationship, or lack of relationship, between young people and 'Community Safety' as understood and practised by practitioners on the estate as discussed in Chapter Three. The purpose of Community Safety when it came to young people was to target and prevent youth ASB through acting upon reports from residents, other agencies and concerns raised at the Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum. As such their work was tightly focused on young people who were perceived to be 'a risk' to the stability and order of the neighbourhood rather than on the risk involved in being a young person on the estate. The following remark by a Community Safety Officer on the estate illustrates this perfectly:

> CSO: 'My day to day work as a Community Safety officer involves a lot of work on ASB. I'm responsible for taking complaints from residents and organising contracts alongside Gina [the ASB housing officer] but I also manage some of the interventions we run so we do specialist youth work sessions, organise parenting stuff. Lots of things really.
>
> INT: Is this work mostly with young people?
>
> CSO: 'Yes, the vast majority of it'
>
> INT: 'Do you ever do any work that looks at young people as victims of crime or ASB?
>
> CSO: [pause] 'No. But that's not really my job'

This position was further clarified by the Community Safety team manager who articulated that the 'guiding principle' of Community Safety and young people on the estate was to;

'Prevent anti-social behaviour by changing young
people's behaviour' (Community Safety Team manager)

All of the Community Safety practitioners articulated a real commitment to the conceptual parameters of New Labour's position on young people, community and responsibility (Goldson 2002; Squires and Stephen 2005, 2006; Hughes and Follett 2006). It was expressed repeatedly by practitioners that young people were the source of fear in the neighbourhood and that in order to improve the quality of life on the estate tackling this needed to be prioritised. Furthermore the best way to achieve this was through early intervention with young people and their parents in an attempt to 'transform' (Community Safety Officer) these families. Despite attempts to probe this position during interview, practitioners remained firm in their commitment to these ideas and on a couple of occasions displayed visible signs of exasperation when these were questioned. ASB measures were not 'thinly disguised as Community Safety' (Stephen 2006 p223) on the Hillview estate but as far as young people were concerned were the extent of the Community Safety attention they received. Practitioners were asked whether any assessment of, or strategies that sought to address some of the broader structural contexts of young people's lives were part of their role and in all cases it was reiterated that no, their job was to work with young people 'at risk' of offending or already engaged in ASB or offending.

In December 2007 after two more 'accidental' deaths had occurred in Hillview, this time of young males who were aged sixteen and eighteen respectively, a further interview was conducted with the manager of the Community Safety team and again the position of the Community Safety team was made clear,

INT: 'I'm sure you're aware that two young people from the estate have recently lost their lives. What do you think the role of Community Safety is in these circumstances?

CSTM: 'Yes I'm aware of it and of course we all feel for the families involved but these kinds of tragic accidents could happen anywhere. They don't just happen on estates so it's not our job to respond to it. There's very little we [the CST] could do about it anyway'.

INT: 'I understand that tragedies happen in all communities, of course, but a whole list of young people from Hillview have died through accidents of one form or another or have been murdered over the past few years. Has the Community Safety team recognised this or attempted to do anything about it over this time?

CSTM: 'Has there? I wasn't aware of that... [long pause] There are types of behaviour that happen more in places like Hillview and we must be aware of that. There's more binge drinking and drug abuse among the young and accidents are perhaps more likely to happen in these circumstances'.

As the first section of this chapter demonstrated, peer bereavement experiences occurred throughout the seven years that Community Safety strategies were being developed and implemented in Hillview. As has already been demonstrated, these deaths had a profound impact upon those who knew and were connected to those who died yet the extract above shows that the manager of the Community Safety team was completely unaware of how widespread these specific deaths were and more particularly how significant an impact they had on young people. More than this, it shows that even after the extent of the deaths was made clear this information was used to further pathologize young residents.

This rather narrow understanding of young people as the potential criminal or anti-social was embedded in the Community Safety Team practitioner interviews. As it is shown in Chapter Three of this thesis this perspective was also found amongst other partners in the local crime prevention network, and some of the majority of the residents who were observed attending the

Neighbourhood Crime Prevention Forum meetings. The lack of knowledge about the lives of young people in Hillview is at least partly explained by the lack of any engagement with this population. It has also been argued however that community safety policies, as shaped by the central government priorities has reduced a holistic, even 'radical' or 'pan hazard' (Gilling 2007) concept of community safety to a narrow focus on crime and disorder management (Gilling 2007; Hughes 2007) targeted at young people (Squires and Stephen 2005; Stephen 2006). It is perhaps unsurprising then given the ways in which the work of Community Safety practitioners are monitored and 'success' and 'failure' measured, that it is these priorities that dominate the local community safety agenda in Hillview.

As this chapter has uncovered, this approach overlooks the concentration of social (Stephen and Squires 2003a, 2003b; 2004; Goldsmith 2006) and criminal harms poor young people face (Anderson *et al* 1994; Hartless *et al* 1995; Loader *et al* 1998; Muncie 1999; Stephen 2009). In doing so prevailing community safety strategies ignore the profound vulnerability of this vulnerable group of young people to the worst outcomes, produced by broader social inequalities, including increased rates of premature death (Ridge and Wright 2008; Dorling 2010). This echoes a point made powerfully by Stephen and Squires (2004 p367 italics in the original),

> the risk *of* the Other in contemporary Community
> Safety discourses masks the real risks *to* the Other
> simply as a result of their Otherness through
> social, economic and political marginalisation.

It reflects also a 'particularly retarded and inadequate conception of community safety' (Goldsmith 2006 p29).

Conclusion

Participants in this research experienced repeated bereavement experiences through the loss of a peer because of murder, drugs and suicide. The losses continued throughout a time during which Community Safety policies targeted at 'anti-social youth' were being implemented and crime rates were in decline.

These serious tragedies exemplify the distance between the understandings of what it means to live in a 'safe' community brought to bear by the Community Safety Team and its partner organisations and those of individuals whose lives are embedded in the realities of life on the estate. It is argued here that there has to be a shift away from the notion that it is only individuals who perpetrate 'crime' and 'ASB' who create fear and threaten community life. Failing to recognise this will imply that our community safety policies will continue to overlook and ignore the social and economic inequalities which produce the contexts and climates in which so many fatal outcomes are concentrated amongst socio-economically marginalised young people.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

This thesis has been concerned with the ways in which young people growing up in an area of social and economic deprivation were affected by the attempts New Labour made to tackle crime and disorder issues at a neighbourhood level through new forms of community safety policy. The thesis initially focused on the importance New Labour placed upon these policies and sought to explore the extent to which the significance academic commentators placed on the development of 'new' Youth Justice and community safety policies and strategies was justified. The specific interest was rooted in ascertaining the impacts the new policies and strategies had on the lives and lived experiences of socio-economically marginalised young people.

Qualitative methods were adopted because of the research question to examine what recounted lived experiences of such young people could tell us about these policy innovations and their impact. This research was justified because of the dearth of research that prioritised the thoughts, ideas and experiences of young people living in challenging circumstances. The fact that there is little empirical evidence of their lifeworlds and lived experiences and of the changes that the new policies have brought provided the rationale for this research. The emphasis placed on young people's own perceptions of their lives and the deliberate prioritisation of themes and events that were important to them therefore determined the topic, the aims, the methodology employed and the content of this thesis.

In the first section of this concluding chapter the key findings of this thesis are re-iterated. These findings extend knowledge of the lives of young people living in challenging circumstances and provide understandings of the impact the New Labour community safety and youth justice policies and strategies have produced. Issues of methodology are critical in this kind of study and are discussed and assessed in this final chapter. In addition the chapter outlines

the explicit contributions this thesis makes to the community safety literature and lastly considers the policy implications that emerge from it.

Key Findings

Chapter Two outlined the development and philosophical roots of the criminal justice policy innovations implemented by the former New Labour government. It showed that children and young people's place within New Labour policy was contradictory. Children and young people were at the heart of New Labour policy but the social investment model prioritised the needs of some children and young people, particularly those considered a 'good investment', over the well-being or inclusion of *all* children. Some groups of children and young people were, therefore, left behind and were primarily dealt with through criminal justice reform. Socio-economically deprived young people were one such group and the chapter set out the challenging context faced by participants in this research regarding their access to key services and opportunities for the future; this was reinforced in the data presented in Chapter Six. It was argued that New Labour's prioritization of personal responsibility discourses with regard to crime and ASB drowned out action on the structural challenges that very marginalised and deprived children and young people continued to face. As such reforms to youth justice and the development of community safety policy targeted in neighbourhoods were irrevocably shaped to focus on the 'anti-social' behaviour of the individual, and more broadly, reclaiming the (poor) neighbourhood for the 'law abiding' majority.

Chapter Three outlined the methods employed in this research. It argued that whilst the postmodern challenge to ethnography uncovered the need to engage reflexively with themes such as identity the ongoing persistence of structural inequalities, and the impact these have on life chances and lived experience, means that ethnography remains a legitimate method to employ in the study of social life. Furthermore the embedded nature of ethnography made it a particularly relevant methodological choice for this research because its primary aim was to engage with the lifeworlds of young people. The considerable ethical implications of this research were discussed in this

chapter and debates on insider/outsider research were outlined. It was shown that this research benefited from my connections with Hillview in many ways but the complex nature of it meant that multiple roles and identities were crucial at different stages of the process and these often depended upon how participants viewed me, rather than how I viewed myself.

Chapter Four explored the ways in which young people were constructed as 'the problem' for those engaged in the local Crime Prevention and Community Safety Partnership, the NCPF. It detailed how young people were excluded as a group from the consultation on crime and disorder issues and therefore had no influence of the shape of the community safety policies and strategies implemented in the area. It examined how their absence from this process provided an uncritical space for practitioners and some adult residents to deploy 'moral authoritarian' (Goldson and Muncie 2001) discourses about the nature of 'youth' on the Hillview estate. This discourse reinforced the commitment to 'do something' *about* young people rather than *for* them in the area and marginalised concerns about the welfare of children and young people in the neighbourhood.

This study shows that the claim that local communities are consulted on local crime, disorder and community safety issues defaults, in practice, to the identification of those perceived to be 'the problem' and the development of strategies against such groups. In Hillview the dominant perspective is that young people are 'the problem' and that their presence in public space in the neighbourhood is the threat. What has emerged from the data is that this approach fails to account for the short, and longer term, consequences of interventions targeted at this group. The welfare of children and young people is not considered. Crucially the absence of young people's voices in this process has resulted in the issues that are significant to them, such as ongoing experiences of peer bereavement, being entirely ignored.

The gap in the perspectives between young people and those with the responsibility for the safety of the community is clear in the thesis. Young people considered themselves to be 'the solution' to the crime and disorder

threats they faced, not 'the problem'. It was considered by young people that State agencies could not, or would not, offer them protection because they perceived them to be the threat and because these agencies did not understand the world as they perceived and experienced it. For 'The Soldiers' this protection was bound up with the long established friendship group formed whilst growing up on the estate. Problems or threats, either perceived or actual, were managed using this network. This was a far from problem free outcome, for 'Soldiers' risked their own personal safety in defence of the group and became embroiled in the criminal justice system as a consequence. Criminology has failed to research, in any depth; young people's perceptions of safety and security, despite studies which show that insecurity and fear drive some young people to take matters of safety into their own hands and/or seek protection from criminal groups (Pitts 2008).

'The Kiddies' did not have such an established network even though they too felt that friends provided protection from the crime and disorder risks they faced. It was argued that this was at least partly the consequence of the more fractured and contested relationship this group had with public space because of the strategies implemented by the Community Safety Team and the wider partnership that sought to keep young people off of the streets. This prevented extended and embedded friendship groups from developing, however, as these young people did not feel any more protected by State agencies than their older counterparts. The unintended consequences of the removal of young people from the streets, particularly in relation to the extensive and vital forms of social support present in the accounts of 'The Soldiers' it was shown were not considered by practitioners or residents engaged in making Hillview 'safer'.

Chapter Five examined young people's relationship with the police as this was a significant theme in the data with the young people themselves talking at great length about their experiences of policing and the role of the police in their lives. This focus was justified because in addition to this the police were the formal agency with which young people had the most routine contact.

This chapter demonstrated that young people in Hillside recounted being subject to intensive, coercive and often adversarial police practices. These practices deeply affected young people for they embedded and reinforced the notions that Hillside was 'crime prone', and furthermore that the police were an illegitimate and brutal force who would not, or could not, offer protection to them. The introduction of NP had not significantly improved the relationship between young people and the police – on the contrary. Moreover this research elicited data which made it abundantly clear that stop and search procedures continued to be overused. Of significance, a new finding arising was that new populations, primarily of young females, were also subject to this tactic at the same time as there was an apparent escalation in the levels of force used by Response Team officers on the street. There is currently no published literature on young women and police stop and search practices and one of the recommendations made as a result of this research is that, in light of the findings of this thesis, new research needs to be conducted on this theme.

In addition this study indicates the expansion of the 'spaces' and the lifting of traditional limits to the penetration of the police through the accounts presented in Chapter Five which show that the formation of the Community Safety Partnership gave Neighbourhood Officers access to 'new' spaces, primarily the home. Strategies intended to prevent ASB were used in this context and this research indicates how important legal protections afforded to young people are being dissolved in the search for the 'anti-social'. The implications of the new situation are that an additional layer of discretion has been created for police in the neighbourhood. Several examples are offered in Chapter Five of how, during home based interventions, young people's legal and human rights have been overlooked; taken together it is argued that young people have been further marginalised by such practices.

Overall Chapter Five concludes that what would have been considered by academics as illegitimate police (sub)cultural practice such as the targeting of a specific social group, repeated use of stop and search and investigation in the home without the protection of the law, has become defined as legitimate

police action in the eyes of those involved in the community safety initiative because of their perception of the need to manage 'anti-social' youth in Hillview. As shown in Chapter Four this transformation was sanctioned and partly driven by those practitioners whose job was to make Hillview 'safer'. Interventions of this kind are, however, a consequence of the reforms enacted by the New Labour government, reforms which targeted the 'pre-criminal' or 'anti-social' in ways that eroded civil and human rights (Squires and Stephen 2010).

Chapter Six focused on the distressing facts of young people's experiences of multiple peer bereavement. The emergence of this theme was entirely surprising and there was no sense in which this was a 'foreshadowed problem' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) at the beginning of the research. The findings presented in this chapter showed that the loss of friends to murder, drug death, and suicide had been a regular experience for many of the young people as they grew up on the Hillview estate, yet there is little other published research which illuminates this critically important facet of the lives of young people (for exceptions see Sklar and Hartley 1990; O'Brien *et al* 1991; Schachter 1991; Ringler and Hayden 2000). The dearth of empirical evidence, such as is presented in this thesis, means there is little understanding of the impact such harsh realities have upon young people. This study made clear that multiple peer bereavement experiences had left the young people who were the focus of this research fearful for their own safety, and for the safety of friends and family and exerted a particularly strong impact on young men, although young women were also affected and left with a pervading sense of insecurity.

This penultimate chapter outlined the wider impact of these deaths and it sought to analyse the responses made by young people and by wider sections of the community to the experiences. As there is little published material on this issue the analysis had to move into some less familiar academic territory to develop understandings of the situation that were fully responsive to the unusual and unfamiliar material. The analysis drew upon a range of anthropological conceptual material to try to make sense of the

rituals and strategies used by young people in the immediate aftermath of such losses and beyond. It was shown that the established nature of Hillview and its extended kith and kin networks resulted in these experiences having a significant psycho-social impact upon the whole community of young people, not just the bereaved family and close friends. It was identified that the participants of this research had developed a series of innovative coping strategies over time that were used as ways for young people to help manage the emotional impact of peer bereavement.

In marked contrast to New Labour's construction of 'deprived' communities and 'youth' having a deficit of community and lack of respect Chapter Six illustrated that these strategies were underpinned by a form of organic community, in which respect for the dead and the bereaved family was crucial. This was a 'society' that was far from being broken, quite the contrary, although it was held together in ways deemed illegitimate it had the capacity to draw upon its internal resources in attempts to ameliorate the impact of profound harm. Furthermore the central role of 'named' families, those with reputations for crime and violence, in some of these coping strategies make policy claims that such communities can be divided into the 'law abiding' and 'law breaking' far too simplistic. The accounts presented allow us to gaze into a profound event for the community and alerts us to the fact that these experiences are likely to occur in a range of similar contexts.

Lastly Chapter Six detailed the reactions of those engaged in Community Safety practice to these events. It was shown that practitioners did not recognise the connection between this broader exposure to social and criminal harms and their role to make Hillview a 'safer' community. Practitioners felt that their role was to focus on the ASB of children and young people and manage interventions which it was believed modified and improved behaviour. In light of this it was argued that the focus on 'anti-social' youth in community safety policies and strategies at national level overlooked and denied young people's own exposure to criminal victimisation and other forms of social harm. It was concluded that a failure to tackle the social disadvantages and inequalities producing the climate in which so many young

boys and young men lose their lives would not only result in the continuation of peer bereavement experiences but it would also perpetuate the attendant fear and insecurity that flourishes with them. Those charged with the responsibility to improve the safety of the community failed significantly to make any impression on the safety of the section of the community described and discussed in this research.

Reflections on Methodology

Ethnographic methods were employed in this research and from this surfaced some very distinctive and unique insights into the lives of some young people who reside in one socially and economically challenging community. One of the key strengths of qualitative methodologies is the potential of these to uncover the unexpected and surprising and it is important to stress here that much of what is contained in the thesis was not anticipated in the development stages of the research. The research evolved in line with the demands of the fieldwork and was able to because of the methodology employed. Although it was difficult at times to articulate exactly what the research was about to others, or indeed explain the absolute relevance of a chapter on peer bereavement to a study of community safety at an annual review, it is nevertheless in the unexpected and unanticipated that some of the most revealing insights into issues of 'community' and 'safety' are found in this thesis.

Ethnographic research, however, demands a level of commitment to the area of study and participants that is arguably greater than other forms of social research. To be physically and emotionally present in a setting for a long period of time, and sometimes in the face of stressful and distressing events can place real pressure on the research and researcher in ways also not foreseen at the beginning of the process. It is argued here that this is particularly relevant in cases where the researcher to the researched are connected or share similar experiences. Whilst I make it clear in Chapter Three of this thesis that I make no claim to have had privileged or 'insider' status in Hillview I was, nevertheless, very familiar with many of the difficult situations the young people who participated in this research faced.

Observing their daily struggle and listening to their stories resulted in some of my own experiences resurfacing and posing a real challenge to my own 'psychic poise' (Podell 1989 p68). The research methods literature was of very limited use in this situation as there was little that specifically addressed the emotional challenges of social research that did not focus on the ethical obligations researchers have to participants. Even other ethnographic studies conducted with young people in 'deprived' neighbourhoods (Sadler 2004; Yates 2006; McAuley 2007) were eerily silent in this regard.

After the fieldwork ended, and with additional support, this situation did drastically improve. Reflecting on the experience does, however, throw up important questions about the risks of ethnographic research to researchers. In criminology ethnographic methods are considered 'risky' primarily because it may include being in close proximity to criminal behaviour and potentially violent situations that pose physical and moral risks (Ferrell and Hamm 1998; Lyng 1998). Lyng (1998 p222), for example, contends,

> '..many important empirical and theoretical
> problems taken up in the social sciences can
> be thoroughly and honestly studied only by
> placing oneself in situations that may
> compromise safety and security in a normative
> and corporeal sense'.

Whilst this may be case Lyng (1998) does not consider the emotional and psychological risks in his assessment of risk taking in the research process. It is argued here that undertaking research in challenging environments and/or with acutely marginalised groups must be undertaken with some consideration of the emotional risks involved and appropriate mechanisms put in place beforehand to manage these if necessary. It would also be helpful if researchers were less reticent to subject the emotional and psychological impacts of social research to analysis and theorising so that a greater understanding of these processes is developed.

Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis contributes significant and original insights into the lived realities of young people living in one of England's most deprived and challenging neighbourhoods. It shows that what concerns and affects them are how they are policed, the impacts and risk of premature and violent death, and their access to the informal networks that are perceived to offer the only useful form of protection against criminal and social harms. Throughout the writing of this thesis it has been observed that these issues struggle to find voice in either academic criminology or policy circles, and the thesis asserts that it is crucial that such perspectives are included in debates on young people and respected.

There exists an extensive empirically-based literature on marginalised young people within mainstream youth and children's studies (for some recent examples see Deakin 2006; Turner *et al* 2006; Sharkey and Shields 2008; Ralphs *et al* 2009) which have provided genuine insights into the lifeworlds of young people. Given the contemporary policy and political concern about young people as perpetrators of crime and 'ASB' however there is little evidence that the complex and empathetic understandings such studies display is translated into mainstream policy or media discourses about very marginalised children and young people who remain deeply stigmatised, problematised, and frequently *criminalised*.

Academic community safety literature has, largely, focused on explaining the shift in crime control policy from crime detection to prevention and eventually community safety (Crawford 1998; Gilling 2001; Hughes 2002; Tilley 2002, 2005, 2009). Examining the politics and, in particular, the role of New Labour, in the development and local governance of community safety policy and practice (Pitts 1998; Hughes 2002, 2007; McLaughlin 2002; Hope 2005; Gilling 2007) and the role of statutory partnership working in local community safety arrangements (Hughes and McLaughlin 2002; Skinns 2005, 2006; Hughes 2007). Other work has examined the impact of specific orders and interventions on those who are subject to them, for example, ABC's (Stephen and Squires 2003; Squires and Stephen 2005), Family Intervention Projects

(Nixon and Parr 2006; Nixon *et al* 2006; Parr and Nixon 2008), ASBO's (McIntosh 2008) Dispersal Orders (Crawford 2009) and Parenting Orders (Holt 2008).

In contrast this research has examined the impact of a broad range of community safety policies and strategies on young people who live in one neighbourhood. It also prioritised the views experiences of these young people and, therefore, represents a 'bottom up' view of local community safety practice. This perspective extends academic knowledge about the community safety enterprise in some interesting ways. Much of the academic community safety literature has been change focused insomuch as it has tracked and evaluated a new policy response to crime, new ways of working, the development of a new community safety profession and the evaluation of new interventions and ASB prevention programmes. What the findings from this research make clear, however, is that that for young people in Hillview the period marked by the introduction and implementation of community safety polices and strategies is a period of significant and important continuities, and not just change.

As Chapter Five shows in the 1990s 'The Soldiers' experienced adversarial and intensive policing from response team officers that included a high volume of police initiated stop and searches. This left created the impression that Hillview was 'crime prone' and stimulated feelings of fear, frustration and anger. This chapter also shows that despite the introduction of the Safer Neighbourhoods Policing Team, the National Reassurance Policing Programme and the introduction the community safety approach 'The Kiddies' continued to experience very similar problems. The importance of informal protection networks and the development of strategies to cope with the devastation of peer bereavement experiences were no less vital to 'The Kiddies' as they were 'The Soldiers'. Similarly, the profound feelings of vulnerability and insecurity stimulated by multiple peer bereavement experiences and expressed by 'The Soldiers' had no been recognised by those responsible for making Hillview 'safer' and they had not dimmed over

time. Instead young people continued to die prematurely, suddenly and often violently throughout this period.

The community safety perspective at least initially, it is argued, had 'holistic ambitions' (Squires 2006a p237) that the prevention of crime and disorder could become 'part of a wider project of progressive and inclusive social reconstruction' (ibid). Essential to this was the potential of community safety to deliver social justice to multiply victimised individuals and communities and close the 'justice gap' (Squires 2006a). Whilst this perspective has already been subject to critique from commentators who argue that the implementation of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, with its emphasis on the prevention of youth crime and ASB, was the first signal that New Labour had retreated to a less progressive position on crime and disorder issues (Squires 2006a, 2006b; Stephen 2006; Gilling 2007). The findings of this research provides empirical evidence that community safety policies, as enacted by New Labour, did little to engage with or address the concerns of, exposure to criminal and social harms, and insecurity experienced by, one of the poorest, least powerful and most marginalised groups in society.

Young people were not consulted about crime and disorder and their voices were actively excluded from the NCPF. Consequently practitioners had little insight into the lived experiences of young people in Hillview and neither was there an acknowledgement that young people could, and should be, beneficiaries of community safety policies and strategies because of the high levels of victimisation experienced by this group. The narrow focus on ASB perpetrated by young people pushed all of these issues off of the local agenda. It is hard not to conclude that the community gained little benefit from this, given that for practitioners, 'success' and 'failure' was ultimately judged by trends in the volume of crime and ASB reports. Local practitioners did not, however, create the local community safety framework or the legislation that governed it. Politicians and policy makers in central government set the tone, pace and form of criminal justice policy. Given the extended reach that this thesis has shown community safety polices and strategies have created for local practitioners and criminal justice agencies, and the lack of clear benefit

to young people and their families of such powers, it is contended that attempts to create a 'safer' community in Hillview are not primarily motivated by concerns about 'safety' but instead are driven by the need to discipline those made 'redundant' (Bauman 2004 p7) by late modern capitalism.

But as this thesis illustrates this is only one side of the story. It is not just the state that has the capacity to discipline or implement strategies that attempt to control crime or disorderly behaviour. In the absence of protection from the police and, later, in the vacuum created by community safety policies and strategies targeted narrowly at ASB, this thesis demonstrates that young people in the neighbourhood were active participants in the construction and development of alternative strategies to create a 'safer' Hillview. Being a 'Soldier' and playing an active role in informal protection networks, aligning oneself with powerful 'named' families, and using displays of 'respect' in the face of significant loss are all examples of how informal social control is used to produce feelings of safety. Much less academic attention has been paid to exploring such grassroots innovation although it has already been argued by Pitts (2008) that young people can engage in gang activity to protect them from exposure to violence. It is argued here that although such strategies are flawed, and are unable to shift the burden of criminal victimisation young people experience, such strategies are remarkable in their scope and aims.

Unlike formal community safety policies and strategies informal ones were holistic. Young people were able to access food, clothes and somewhere to stay through their networks and, as adults, jobs and housing. Emotional and psychological, and not just practical, support was also on offer as the data generated in the aftermath of Tiny's death shows. Protection from criminal victimisation and some recourse should victimisation occur were also on offer, and importantly, these alternative community safety strategies did not just apply to the individual but children and other family members could also be beneficiaries of them. Significantly this thesis shows that young men and boys were as active, and in some circumstances such as the provision of practical and emotional support for bereaved families, more active than young women or girls in the construction and maintenance of these strategies. In this

specific circumstance young men expressed the greatest fear and articulated awareness that they were at greater risk than their female contemporaries but this finding contradicts the findings of previous work (Campbell 1993) that young men destroy communities and women build them.

Like formal community safety strategies access was needed to the people and/or the right networks of kith and kin and in the same way as attendance to the NCPF was limited not all of the young people who participated in this research had access, or the same level of access, as others. Young people who were not part of the established community or were new to the estate had no, or very limited, access to the networks and little knowledge or understanding of informal community safety strategies although later friendship and sexual alliances could act as an entry route. It was the case, however, that a greater level of active community involvement was observed in these informal community safety strategies than in those directed by the community safety team.

Whilst the formal and informal community safety strategies operated in separate spheres they did, nevertheless, impact on one another. As Chapter 4 and 5 show the street was where 'The Soldiers' could access support and develop friendships that were the foundation of their own community safety strategies. The contemporary focus of removing young people from public spaces in order to make the community 'safer', therefore, has the potential to threaten the development and access to informal networks of protection and their capacity to work to ameliorate risk and bolster safety. Indeed, it is argued that the more contested relationship with public space 'The Kiddies' outlined in Chapter 4 of the thesis risks making them less secure, and perhaps more fearful, over the longer term. If New Labour had been able to spread the burden of criminal victimisation more evenly throughout society and/or the NDC had marked success in improving the social and economic position of the Hillview estate this might be inconsequential. Unfortunately neither of these were achieved and so the removal of young people from public space could have unintended but long term and very negative consequences for the welfare and safety of 'The Kiddies'.

It is not being argued here that informal community safety strategies are superior to those offered by the state, or that they are even desirable. As Chapter 4 shows involvement in these networks can have serious consequences for those involved and even, as in the case of Roman who did not want to leave the estate because of the emotional support provided by his peers, be considered an additional process of social exclusion. It is the case, however, that for some of those who participated in the research, such informal strategies were a necessity. Furthermore, those responsible for establishing and manning the new community safety structure had failed to stimulate sufficient confidence in State agencies to make reliance on informal protection networks less vital to young people. In light of these findings it is insufficient of policy makers and politicians to argue that poor neighbourhoods automatically have a deficit of 'community' and 'respect'. Indeed New Labour's criminal justice policies and strategies were too simplistic and took no account of the necessity of 'community' and 'respect' in surviving the often harsh realities of life in socially and economically deprived neighbourhoods.

Policy Recommendations

Criminal justice policy should not be the primary conduit through which the needs of marginalised groups are managed. Innovation and investment in other areas of social policy, for example, education, health and economic policy should be used more extensively to improve the circumstances for young people living in areas of acute deprivation. Furthermore this approach should be employed at a local as well as national level. For example, the Economic Strategy for Brownstone should prioritise developing a more mixed local economy and taking steps to eradicate postcode discrimination in education and employment.

Local community safety audits should be expanded to include a range of social harms, including rates of premature death for example, and not just focus on narrow crime and disorder indicators. More extensive and comprehensive consultation with children and young people on community

safety, not just crime and disorder issues, should be a requirement of all community safety partnerships. Similarly, young people should be represented on all local community safety partnership boards.

Local community safety partnerships should be trained and encouraged to utilize the skills and resources of all partners and not use the police as a first response to disperse or manage groups of young people in public space. Partnerships should also be briefed on all police activity in an area, including response policing, and not just focus on the work of the local SNPT. Community safety partnerships should avoid policies and strategies that exclude children and young people from the use of public spaces in the neighbourhood. Response team officers should be trained about the importance of procedural justice to young people on the street. The procedure to Stop and Search girls and young women should be more transparent.

Future Research Agenda

There are a number of important areas that arise from this thesis which would benefit from additional academic research. Important insights into young people and the production of safety and security could be gained if funding was obtained for a follow-up study in Hillview which specifically examined 'The Kiddies' access to informal protection networks. Gender and, more specifically, the policing of young women and the role of young men play in building community are two areas that require additional research. Additional research into the psycho-social impact of peer bereavement in multiply victimised communities would also improve the academic understanding of fear, insecurity and social exclusion.

Current Context

Life remains a real challenge for the young people in Hillview as much of the poverty, poor educational attainment, difficulties with employment and exclusion from the rest of the city persists despite the broader social policy agenda enacted by Labour in government. Discourse of the 'work-shy' and welfare as a 'lifestyle choice' (Wintour 2010) currently dominates coalition

policy alongside a commitment to develop the 'Big Society' (Cabinet Office 2010).

One the one hand it is perhaps positive that the Coalition government seeks to require all social groups to take the same kind of responsibility for the welfare of others as those in Hillview have been relied upon by successive governments to provide. It is not yet clear however how the broader impact of the cuts agenda will affect the mutuality witnessed over the fieldwork as although times of scarcity could promote could promote even greater reliance and greater role for 'community' in Hillview very great hardship, produced by welfare reform and cuts to public services, could stretch this community to its limit and precipitate the erosion of these bonds as competition for jobs and resources intensifies.

Already the impact is beginning to filter through locally. The Union Club runs out of funds at the end of March and will in all likelihood close soon after and thus the 'safe space' established for children and young people will be lost. At local community meetings it is being stated very clearly by the local Labour Councillor that the estate, and other socio-economically deprived areas across Brownstone, are now a low priority for Local Authority spending because the NCD initiative represented the last chance for change and this was not taken by residents.

Nationally the IFS have reported that those on the lowest incomes will lose a bigger percentage of their income because of the proposed coalition tax and benefit changes (Browne and Levell 2010). There is also no commitment from the Coalition that the welfare reform proposals detailed in *21st Century Welfare* (Department for Work and Pensions 2010) will be delayed until the availability of jobs has improved and the huge issue of in-work child poverty addressed. The future is uncertain for the participants in this research and if child poverty rates begin to rise and social inequalities deepen, the concentration of social and criminal harms faced by young people, like those in this research, is also likely to increase.

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