A part of community or apart from community? Young people's geographies in mixed community developments

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
At the University of Northampton

2015

Rebekah Ryder

© Rebekah Ryder 8 February 2015.

This thesis is copyright material and no quotation from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON
PARK LIBRARY
ACC. No. 80024365
CLASS NO 304.23083 RYD

Abstract

During the last 15 years mixed tenure communities have been an explicit planning policy in the UK to create socio-economic balance. Despite particular benefits from such a policy ascribed to young people, there has been no specific examination of young people's experiences of living in such communities. Through a mixed methods exploration of two new mixed communities in Northamptonshire, the social and spatial lives of young people aged 11-16 have been explored to see what affect living in a 'new' and 'mixed' community has on their geographies. The study found that tenure did not have a strong effect on geographies, though it was related to population churn and strength of community feeling in the two areas. There was evidence of inter-tenure friendships, as well as negative socio-economic stereotyping. The research revealed that the newness of the development strongly affected geographies in a number of ways. These included a perception of greater safety, the availability of community facilities, an uncertainty over spaces due to continued construction, the building of friendships by recent movers, a rapid growth in population, the establishment of reputation, and the construction of community bonds. The research also revealed that the spaces of Children's Geographies, and their uses, are changing with a greater prevalence for spaces of consumption (such as supermarkets), more mobile use of the street, and a preference for parental lifts. Further areas of research may wish to explore: children's social agency in terms of parental chauffeuring; the effect of newness on place, community, reputation, and geographies of friendship; how geographies of consumption relate to Children's Geographies and community, and space and mobility practices in twenty-first century Children's Geographies.

Key words: mixed communities, young people, public space, tenure, newness.

Acknowledgements

Thanks go to the participants of this study. Without their willingness and generosity in giving up their time to volunteer, I would not have been able to complete this research.

Hearty thanks go to my supervisory team at the University of Northampton: Dr. John Horton, Dr. Faith Tucker, and Professor Andrew Pilkington. Without their guidance and support I would not have been able to get started, nor keep going. Special thanks to John and Faith for their always finding the time for me, exhaustive knowledge, wisdom of experience, calming words, generosity, and hot chocolates. I cannot believe that two better supervisors might exist: dream team indeed. I'm also incredibly grateful to Dr. Sophie Hadfield-Hill who provided some excellent, thorough and thoughtful comments to strengthen my thesis. Thanks also to Dr. Matt Callender for his helpful advice.

An endless number of introductions and contacts have enabled me to access the views of young people in the two case study communities. Thanks go to the planners, community managers and housing strategy managers from the two Councils who took the time to speak to me about the areas. Thanks to Sarah Fisher for providing a much needed contact into the Secondary School of Community B. Thanks go to the headteachers and teachers in both schools for generously agreeing to administer the questionnaire. The youth services in both areas, particularly Community A, deserve a huge acknowledgement for taking me under their wing and allowing me to work alongside them.

My family continuously show me love, support, generosity, and their belief in me; this has been particularly true in the years I have been doing my PhD. I'm incredibly grateful that I can rely on them to care and to make me laugh, as well as remind me of bigger things beyond me (and my PhD). Special thanks go to Laura and Anna for being my friends, as well as my sisters.

A number of friends have also believed in me, kept me sane, and (delightfully) distracted me during the whole process. Louise Sheeran in particular has been a most beautiful source of wisdom, encouragement, and strength. Anne McConnell has helped me find the right attitude. David Waters has proved his generosity and kindness by putting me up and filling me with coffee and cake more times than I can count. Matt Thomas has talked to me of science and study, making me wonder and helping me order my thoughts. Pip Ridley and Cazza Allen have both inspired me and kept me grounded, whilst David Sherrington always showed an interest in my progress. Emily Doe and Anna Maria Everding have provided tea, coffee, cake, and ready ears for the airing of complaints. Fintan Gilbert also kept me smiling during a long and dark period of this. It makes me happy to have so many friends to thank.

I'd also like to thank some particularly kind and diligent friends who proof read parts of this thesis for me: Cazza Allen, Hannah Bates, Claire Dorman, Stephen Nutt, Pip Ridley, and Caitlin Rogers. Any errors that remain I claim all for my very own.

Contents

	Abstract	**i**
	Acknowledgements	**ii**
1.	**Introduction**	**1**
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Context for research	1
1.3	Research aims	2
1.4	Structure of the thesis	3
2.	**Mixed Communities**	**6**
2.1	Introduction	6
2.2	Understanding community	7
2.3	Defining neighbourhoods	9
2.4	The importance of community	11
2.5	The making of place	12
2.6	Introduction to mixed communities policy	14
2.6.1	Early history	16
2.6.2	Early twentieth century	17
2.6.3	Social balance and the Conservatives	18
2.6.4	New Labour	20
2.6.4.1	Justification for mixed communities under Labour	22
2.6.5	Northamptonshire planning policy on mixed communities	24
2.6.6	Future of mixed communities policy from 2010	24
2.7	Evidence review	25
2.7.1	Building bridges across tenure	26
2.7.2	Tenure as the means to create mix	27
2.7.3	The benefits of tenure homogeneity	28
2.7.4	Impact on employment opportunities	29
2.7.5	Evidence of service improvement	30
2.7.6	Changes to area appearance and reputation	30
2.7.7	Young people and mixed communities	31
2.8	Conclusion	32
3.	**Children's Geographies**	**34**
3.1	Introduction	34
3.2	Defining children and young people	35
3.3	Conceptualising adult-youth relations	38

3.4	The children's rights agenda	39
3.5	The growth of Children's Geographies	40
3.6	The spatial lives of young people	41
3.6.1	Public space and the street	43
3.6.2	Semi-public space	47
3.6.3	School	48
3.6.4	Home	49
3.6.5	Playground	49
3.7	Critical reflections on the variable spatial lives of childhood	50
3.7.1	Mobility	51
3.7.2	Socio-economic position	53
3.7.3	Gender differences	54
3.7.4	Urban and rural	55
3.8	Young people and community	57
3.9	Young people and participation in urban planning	59
3.10	Conclusion	59
4.	**The Case Study Communities**	**63**
4.1	Introduction	63
4.2	Northamptonshire	63
4.3	Relevant national and local planning policy	65
4.4	Community A	68
4.5	Community B	71
4.6	Conclusion	73
5.	**Methods**	**74**
5.1	Introduction	74
5.1.1	Selection of study area	74
5.1.2	Sample size and selection	75
5.2	Research techniques	79
5.2.1	Entering the case study areas	80
5.2.1.1	Access	80
5.2.1.2	Making contacts	81
5.2.1.3	Observation of case study areas	82
5.2.2	Extensive data collection	83
5.2.3	Intensive data collection	85
5.2.3.1	Semi-structured interviews	87
5.2.3.2	Diaries	90

5.2.3.3	Participant-taken photographs	90
5.2.3.4	Participant-led neighbourhood tours	91
5.2.3.5	Street interviews	91
5.3	Process of analysis	93
5.3.1	Extensive data collection	93
5.3.2	Intensive data collection	96
5.4	Leaving the field	101
5.5	Considerations for research with children and young people	101
5.5.1	Ethics	101
5.5.1.1	Offering payment to participants	102
5.5.2	Positionality	103
5.6	Conclusion	105
6.	**'Out and About': The Everydayness of Mixed Communities**	**106**
6.1	Introduction	106
6.2	Mobility	107
6.2.1	Transport choices	107
6.2.1.1	Walking	109
6.2.1.2	Parental lifts	112
6.2.1.3	Cycling, skateboards and scooters	115
6.2.1.4	Public transport	117
6.2.2	Limitations on mobility	119
6.2.2.1	Parental control	121
6.2.2.2	Fear and perception of safety	126
6.2.2.3	Lack of friends in local area	131
6.2.2.4	Conflict	134
6.2.2.5	Health	135
6.2.2.6	Schoolwork	136
6.2.2.7	Affordability	137
6.3	Activities	138
6.3.1	Organised activities	138
6.3.2	Informal activities	141
6.3.3	Limitations on informal activities	149
6.3.3.1	Parental controls	149
6.3.3.2	Family activities versus activities with friends	150
6.3.3.3	Affordability	151
6.4	Everyday interactions	151

6.4.1	Family	152
6.4.2	Friends	154
6.4.3	Neighbours	158
6.5	Negative stereotypes of teenagers	161
6.6	Conclusion	164
7.	**Young People's Use of Public Space in Mixed Communities**	**167**
7.1	Introduction	167
7.2	Defining public space	167
7.3	Public spaces in the mixed communities studied	170
7.3.1	Community facilities	170
7.3.1.1	Youth shelter in Community A	177
7.3.2	Semi-public spaces: shops and supermarkets	178
7.3.3	Country parks and green spaces	187
7.3.4	The street	196
7.3.5	Recreation grounds	203
7.3.6	Playgrounds	208
7.4	Conclusion	211
8.	**'Getting Together': Young People's Experience of Mixed Communities**	**213**
8.1	Introduction	213
8.2	Definitions of community	213
8.2.1	Exploring the concept of community	215
8.2.2	Understandings of mixed communities	218
8.3	Encouraging a sense of community	220
8.3.1	Newness of community	220
8.3.2	Building area reputations	224
8.3.3	Importance of community events	225
8.3.4	Relevance of population churn to development of community	227
8.3.5	Future community for participants	229
8.3.6	Future expansion of communities examined	232
8.4	Social and economic aspects of community	233
8.4.1	Value of communication	234
8.4.2	Role of employment	236
8.5	Availability of good services	237
8.5.1	Accessing transport	238
8.5.2	Feeling safe	239
8.6	Ensuring a mixed and balanced community	240

8.6.1	Thoughts on social housing	241
8.6.2	Issues of equality	244
8.6.3	Feelings of belonging	246
8.7	Urban design and public space in mixed communities	247
8.7.1	Creating a 'sense of place'	248
8.7.2	Influence of design on community	250
8.7.3	Significance of public space and community facilities	253
8.8	Conclusion	256
9.	Conclusion	260
9.1	Summary	260
9.2	Key research findings	261
9.2.1	Aim One: the uniqueness of young people's everyday experiences of mixed communities	261
9.2.2	Aim Two: what young people's use of public space reveals about Children's Geographies in mixed communities	263
9.2.3	Aim Three: clarifying what everyday experience and use of public space reveals about understanding and experience of community for young people	264
9.3	Critical reflection on limitations of the research	265
9.4	Directions for future research	266
9.4.1	Out and about	266
9.4.2	Recreational use of space	267
9.4.3	Young people and mixed communities	267
9.4.4	Future publications	268
9.5	Conclusion	268

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Completed risk assessment

Appendix B: Letter of introduction to gatekeepers

Appendix C: Leaflet used to promote research in Community B

Appendix D: Copy of questionnaire

Appendix E: Parental consent form

Appendix F: Interview consent form for participants

Appendix G: Participant information sheet

Appendix H: One page information sheet for participants

Appendix I: List of contacts who could provide guidance on sensitive issues raised by participants

Appendix J: Interview questions

Appendix K: Copy of diary given to participants for completion

Appendix L: Street interview questions

Appendix M: Street interview consent form

Appendix N: Issues concerning data collection and ethics

Appendix O: Participant characteristics

List of Tables

Table 4.1	House prices in Community A in April 2014 (Source: rightmove.co.uk)	70
Table 4.2	House prices in Community B in April 2014 (Source: rightmove.co.uk)	73
Table 5.1	Key information concerning case study areas	76
Table 5.2	Extensive research methods used and amount of data as a result	83
Table 5.3	Characteristics of questionnaire respondents	84
Table 5.4	Summary of intensive research methods	86
Table 5.5	Summary of participant characteristics at intensive research stage	87
Table 5.6	Characteristics of street interview participants	92
Table 6.1	Transport modes of interview participants by case study community	108
Table 6.2	Transport modes of interview participants by gender	108
Table 6.3	Transport modes of interview participants by tenure	108
Table 6.4	Transport modes of interview participants by age	108
Table 6.5	Limitations on mobility of interview participants	120
Table 6.6	Limitations on mobility of interview participants by community	120
Table 6.7	Limitations on mobility of interview participants by gender	120
Table 6.8	Limitations on mobility of interview participants by tenure	120
Table 6.9	Limitations on mobility of interview participants by age	120
Table 6.10	Parental job compared to housing ownership for questionnaire participants	137
Table 7.1	Summary of public space use by interview participants in terms of social and geographic factors	171

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Structure of thesis 'A part of community or apart from community? Young people's geographies in mixed community developments'	3
Figure 4.1	Location of Northamptonshire within England. © Crown Copyright/database right 2013. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.	64
Figure 4.2	Location of Northamptonshire within English regions. © Crown Copyright/database right 2013. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.	64
Figure 4.3	Planning policy levels under which applications for development should be determined	65
Figure 4.4	Typical street view of Community A (Source: Author)	70
Figure 4.5	Typical street view of Community B (Source: Author)	72
Figure 5.1	Community A (Source: Author)	78
Figure 5.2	Community B (Source: Author)	78
Figure 5.3	Process of research methods	79
Figure 5.4	Example of a plan-verbal, low detail and low accuracy map showing neighbourhood	94
Figure 5.5	Example of a plan, low detail, high accuracy map, showing neighbourhood	94
Figure 5.6	Example of a pictorial-plan-verbal, high detail, low accuracy map showing neighbourhood	95
Figure 5.7	Example of a plan-verbal, low detail, low accuracy map showing just house	95
Figure 5.8	Example of cluster with limited scatter in interview map	96
Figure 5.9	Example of limited scatter in interview map	97
Figure 5.10	Example of cluster with wide scatter in interview map	97
Figure 5.11	Example of double cluster in interview map	98
Figure 5.12	Example of wide scatter in interview map	98
Figure 5.13	Example of house photo (Source: Isabel)	99
Figure 5.14	Example of inside photo (Source: Steve)	100
Figure 5.15	Example of friend photo (Source: Gemma)	100
Figure 6.1	Frequency of interview participants' transport modes	108
Figure 6.2	Photo of local supermarket within 10 minute walk of Susie's house, taken from passenger seat of car (Source: Susie)	113
Figure 6.3	Number of organised activities undertaken by interview participants	139
Figure 6.4	Youth Club in community centre in Community A (Source: Trudy)	140
Figure 6.5	Wordcloud showing informal activities mentioned by interview participants. The more common the activity, the larger the typeface.	143
Figure 6.6	Ruby's TV in her bedroom (Source: Ruby)	144

Figure 6.7	Trudy's bedroom (Source: Trudy)	144
Figure 6.8	Football pitch in Community B (source: Caitlin)	147
Figure 6.9	Number of 'Yes' responses by age to Question 22 of questionnaire 'I mostly like to go to the cinema'	148
Figure 6.10	Marital status of parent/guardian of interview participants	152
Figure 6.11	Number of friends' houses marked on maps during interviews (street interview participants were given the option of not providing this information)	155
Figure 6.12	Antisocial behaviour notice in chip shop in Community A (Source: Author)	163
Figure 7.1	Public spaces identified by research participants and whether they were places to be seen or places of retreat	168
Figure 7.2	The three criteria that defined public space for young people (after Laughlin and Johnson, 2011)	169
Figure 7.3	Factors contributing to young people avoiding public spaces	168
Figure 7.4	Leisure centre in Community B, with playground visible in foreground (Source: Gemma)	172
Figure 7.5	The youth shelter in Community A (Source: Author)	177
Figure 7.6	Doctors' surgery, shops and takeaways in Community A (Source: Author)	180
Figure 7.7	Supermarket in Community A (Source: Author)	180
Figure 7.8	Supermarket in Community B (Source: Steve)	184
Figure 7.9	Pub in Community B, which some participants went to with their families (Source: Gemma)	185
Figure 7.10	Very popular chip shop in Community A (Source: Neil)	187
Figure 7.11	Country Park in Community A (Source: Author)	188
Figure 7.12	Country park in Community B (Source: Steve)	188
Figure 7.13	The green outside Gemma's house. It was the focal point of her and her neighbours' social life (Source: Gemma)	191
Figure 7.14	Community B under construction (Source: Caitlin)	192
Figure 7.15	A field to the north of Community B where a planning application was submitted to build more houses. Young people mentioned enjoying the view over this field (Source: Author)	193
Figure 7.16	Start of nature trail in Community B (Source: Caitlin)	195
Figure 7.17	Typical view of private housing on a street in Community B (Source: Author)	197
Figure 7.18	Recreation ground in Community B (Source: Steve)	206
Figure 7.19	Playground by primary school in Community A where young people would hang out (Source: Author)	209

Figure 7.20	Playground in Community B by leisure centre (Source: Ruby)	210
Figure 7.21	Waterlogged skate park and ramp in Community B (Source: Author)	211
Figure 8.1	National and local planning policy in relation to successful new developments and engendering community	214
Figure 8.2	Definitions of community from interview participants	214
Figure 8.3	Questionnaire response to Question 17 'Do you think you live in a community?' by case study community	215
Figure 8.4	Depicting differences between responses of interviewees in Community A and Community B to question of whether they live in a community	216
Figure 8.5	Frequency of themes when defining mixed communities in the questionnaire	219
Figure 8.6	Length of residence of questionnaire participants by community	221
Figure 8.7	Skate park re-built by members of the community and town close to Community B	226
Figure 8.8	Street in Community B showing number of 'For Sale' or 'To Let' signs (Source: Author)	229
Figure 8.9	Social housing in Community B showing the simpler design and smaller size house (Source: Author)	242
Figure 8.10	Rear parking area of Susie's house (Source: Susie)	251

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis sets out research with young people on their use of space and feeling of belonging in two 'mixed communities' in Northamptonshire, United Kingdom. Research in Children's Geographies and into mixed communities has yet to explore what young people say, feel and experience from living in such neighbourhoods. The research rectifies this by exploring the chosen spaces and social interaction of young people aged 11-16 in two communities to identify what factors affect their use of space, with a particular focus on the impact of tenure, and the importance of these factors in creation of community. This chapter establishes the context for the research (Section 1.2), its aims (Section 1.3) and outlines the structure of the thesis (Section 1.4).

1.2 Context for research

Mixed communities (defined as having a range of housing ownership opportunities) have been a policy and a policy goal for successive social movements and governments within the UK in the last two hundred years, most explicitly the Labour government of 1997-2010 (Kearns and Mason, 2007). The basis for such policy is a belief that the blending of social (publicly owned) and private (owner occupied) housing tenure will create socio-economic balance and so avoid the problems of deprivation and stigmatisation associated with areas with a high concentration of social housing (Fordham and Cole, 2009; Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Such mix is provided through a proportion of housing in new developments being secured as 'affordable' through legal agreements attached to the planning permission or through large scale regeneration of social housing estates to include private sector housing (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010).

Research has been undertaken on assessing the effectiveness of such urban policy in achieving this (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Allen *et al.*, 2005; Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Rowlands *et al.*, 2006), yet none of these studies have specifically focused on what young people's experiences are of the mixed communities in which they live. This research addresses this gap so as to understand whether mixed communities are places of belonging, equality and opportunity for young people. There has been a growing body of research since early studies into children in urban spaces in the 1970s on trying to understand what places are of importance to children, why, and what role this plays in helping shape their identity (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Aitken, 2001). Within this academic research, less attention has been paid to teenagers' use of space (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Weller,

2007b) or to mixed communities. It is important to understand the significance of place in these communities, and the experience of young people within them, in order to better understand whether mixed communities work for young people as policy intends. The role of tenure is central to this given its proxy for socio-economic status (and the means to create balance) in mixed communities.

Northamptonshire has been chosen as the focal point of the research because of its location within the Sustainable Communities Milton Keynes/South Midlands growth area, as well as its previous history of expansion under the New Towns Act 1965. It was also the focus of early studies into children's use of the 'fourth environment' (those spaces beyond home, school and playground) by Hugh Matthews, Melanie Limb, Barry Percy-Smith and Mark Taylor (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a) and more recent research on young people and sustainable communities (Kraftl *et al.*, 2013; Horton *et al.*, 2014) so there is a rich seam of research in Children's Geographies from which to draw. Two case study areas (Community A and Community B) in Northamptonshire have been selected in which to undertake the research. They were selected based on their size, year of construction, mix of tenure and similar provision of community facilities.

1.3 Research aims

The research has three aims. These are to:

1. Understand the mobility, social relations and interests of young people to ascertain how they define themselves and what about these everyday experiences are unique to mixed communities.

2. Explore what young people's use of public space within two case study areas (one under construction and one recently completed) in Northamptonshire reveal about Children's Geographies in new mixed communities.

3. Clarify what the everyday experience and use of public space by young people reveal about the understanding and experience of community for young people in mixed communities.

The research explores these issues through asking questions on which spaces are used and for what purpose in the case study areas, feelings of community and belonging, identity definition and

creation, and examination of any differences found. In asking such questions the research addresses a gap in the body of academic work concerning young people in mixed communities.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of nine chapters as set out in Figure 1.1 below. This section reviews the content of these nine chapters in more detail.

Figure 1.1 Structure of thesis 'A part of community or apart from community? Young people's geographies in mixed community developments'

The thesis begins by outlining policy regarding mixed communities to see why such an agenda has been pursued in the UK since the nineteenth century. Particular attention is given to the implementation of mixed community policy by the Labour government of 1997-2010, as this is the period within which the case study communities were constructed and the policy was most explicitly pursued (Kearns and Mason, 2007). The main argument for pursuing such a policy is elaborated upon, namely the creation of socio-economic balance through provision of various housing ownership opportunities. It is hoped that socially heterogeneous neighbourhoods prevent problems associated with living in areas of deprivation, such as low economic activity and educational attainment (Cheshire, 2007; Fordham and Cole, 2009; Tunstall and Lupton, 2010).

The third chapter details the establishment of Children's Geographies as a subdiscipline. It considers early studies into children's perceptions and experiences of the built environment by Kevin Lynch (1977), Colin Ward (1977) and Roger Hart (1979) before moving onto the growth of the New Social Studies of Childhood (NSSC) movement. It explains how academics working within NSSC rejected the notion of a universal childhood and sought to understand the nuances of childhood, and saw children as social actors in their own right, not in the process of becoming (Ansell, 2009). It argues that Geographers have played a key role in the development of NSSC through demonstrating the importance of place in maintaining and reproducing identities (Massey, 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Barker, 2011). The chapter expands on places of importance studied by Children's Geographers, with particular emphasis on research conducted in the 'fourth environment': places beyond the home, school and playground (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a). By outlining the body of research in relation to young people and their environments, the chapter outlines the gaps surrounding academic discussion of teenagers' geographies.

Following on from the exploration of Children's Geographies, the fourth chapter is devoted to outlining the context of the research. It relates the characteristics of the county of Northamptonshire, as well as relevant planning policy at the time of the two developments. The two case study areas are then explored in more detail, including their location, the specific planning policies of the two developments, their population and housing market. The fifth chapter examines and justifies the selection of the case study areas and the mixed methods used in the project. These include extensive, quantitative methods (a questionnaire completed by 127 participants) and intensive, qualitative methods (in-depth interviews, focus groups, maps, photographs and participant-led walks). The intensive stage of the research was undertaken with participants who had completed the questionnaire and elected to assist with the research in more detail. The limitations of these methods are described, as are particular issues and constraints associated with research with children, including positionality and ethics (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Punch, 2002; Kirk, 2007).

The three chapters following this set out the findings of the research. Chapter Six relates discoveries concerning the everydayness of young people and mixed communities: where they went, who they spoke to, what activities they undertook, and what variations were observed and why. The chapter debates similarities in findings in relation to mixed communities and previous research with children in rural and urban settings, including stigmatisation of teenagers (Malone, 2002) and restricted spatial range due to walking as the main form of independent transport (Mackett *et al.*, 2007; Brown *et al.*, 2008). It particularly highlights the role that newness plays in these everyday geographies through parental perceptions of danger, young people's fear, the changing friendships of participants

as a result of some only having recently moved, and increasingly negative perceptions of teenagers as the area develops a history of antisocial behaviour by some of that age.

Chapter Seven sets out young people's use of public space in the mixed communities studied. It expands on how spaces found to be popular were similar to those identified by Matthews *et al.* (1998a): community facilities, semi-public spaces (supermarkets), natural (green) spaces, the street, recreation grounds and playgrounds. The chapter outlines how these were places to be seen and places of retreat (Lieberg, 1995; Chawla and Malone, 2003). It notes that spaces were not used uniformly, with various preferences and types of use, reflecting some differences identified in previous research in Children's Geographies (Christensen, 2003; Karsten, 2003; Tucker, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). The chapter discusses how the use of the street was more mobile than previously found, whilst geographies of consumption are increasingly important in Children's Geographies. It also debates the differences in use evident from changes in the spaces of the communities as they continue to undergo construction.

The final empirical chapter (Chapter Eight) examines findings in relation to young people's understanding and experience of living in mixed communities. It argues that participants' understanding of community was similar to that outlined in planning rhetoric: a sense of community, social and economic ties, provision of good services, mix and balance, and a high standard of urban design and access to public space. It expounds on the much stronger sense of community in Community A than Community B, which is thought to be mediated by maturity, provision of facilities and events, population stability and the level of social mix.

The conclusion in the ninth chapter summarises the aims of this exploration of young people's geographies in mixed communities and its key findings. These include particular findings related to the newness of the communities and tenure which were found to variously impact on mobility, activities, social interaction, use of public space, and experience of community. The chapter discusses the limitations of the study and suggests some directions for future research in connection with these. It concludes that there is a continuing need for greater emphasis on empowering the voice of young people in communities, particularly as many expressed pride and great attachment to their neighbourhood.

2. Mixed Communities

2.1 Introduction

Mixed communities have been a dominant feature of United Kingdom urban policy over the last decade (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). As a broad policy goal it has been described as:

> ...a general social good, reflecting an integrated and egalitarian society in which people of all social classes and incomes share the same space, services and facilities, creating conditions in which mutual understanding and/or shared norms can potentially develop.
>
> Tunstall and Lupton, 2010: 8

In effect, it seeks to create social mix and balance through the sharing of space. Whilst the earliest mention of planned social mix in development dates from Victorian times (Sarkissian, 1976), mixed communities as a policy and policy goal was a particular feature of the Labour Government of 1997-2010 (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Community remained an important component of UK policy following the election of the Coalition Government in May 2010 (Cameron, 2010).

This chapter is focused on outlining literature concerning communities that have been designed as mixed through the planned incorporation of different tenure housing, meaning housing with different ownership opportunities. It begins by outlining political, geographical, and sociological conceptions of community, neighbourhood and place through boundaries, size and social connections, as well as the use of such concepts in political discourse. It goes on to outline the history of the development of mixed communities policy (with a focus on tenure as the means of controlling such mix) from its inception in Victorian England, through to the Garden Cities Movement in the 1900s and the New Towns Act 1946 and, finally, its embracement by New Labour following their election in 1997. The reasons for pursuing such policy are examined; from altruism and social improvement, to development of community as a self-reliant social network that requires little intervention from the state. Research into mixed communities is then analysed to assess whether the perceived benefits of such urban policy is lived out in reality. By understanding the background and previous research surrounding mixed communities, the research will be framed by and contribute to conceptualisations of community and the success of mixed communities as an urban policy objective.

2.2 Understanding community

In order to understand what a 'mixed community' is, the concept (and conceptions) of community should first be explored. The concept of community has been described as rather nebulous and elusive in nature (Sarkissian, 1976; Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Levitas, 2005) with a potentially limitless variety of meanings, "determined principally by when and in what circumstances, by and for whom the term 'community' is used" (Ruming *et al.*, 2004: 237). Community is frequently interpreted by people (so is subjective, as well as subject to change), rather than physical limits (Freeman, 2010). Anderson goes so far as to state that "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (2006: 6).

Sociological discussion of the concept of community has been shaped by Tönnies' concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft,* published in his 1887 work of that name (Smith, 1996). *Gemeinschaft* relates to traditional village life, where networks were multiplex and social roles were ascribed, rather than achieved (Smith, 1996). *Gesellschaft*, on the other hand, refers to more modern, urban environments where people associate for mutual benefit, with different (frequently changing) networks for different purposes or interests (Smith, 1996). Bauman (2003) notes that globalisation and multiple and ever-changing social and cultural attachments have displaced a strong and lasting sense of community from its territorial ties.

Community may refer to (territorial) local, regional, national or supranational interactions or networks, as well as referring to non-geographical interest groups (Levitas, 2005). Anderson (2006) defines nation as the largest community, arguing that it is the most universally legitimate value in political life, although it remains difficult to define, let alone analyse. At the local level, a coincidence of interest and residence is presumed, but, with each level of remove from this, it is increasingly defined by a commonality of interest, though not necessarily one that includes a form of interaction (Levitas, 2005; Ruming *et al.*, 2004). Parker and Murray (2012) note that areas often have overlapping and conflicting communities of interest, adding credence to the statement by Robertson *et al.* (2008) that there are conflicting interpretations of community.

Community is traditionally divided into two aspects: place or neighbourhood, and relationships, which may go beyond a location (Smith, 1996). Community thus has social and spatial aspects. Pratchett *et al.* (2010), in a report on behalf of the Department for Communities and Local Government in March 2010, define community as "a group that recognise that they have something in common with each other, or who are recognised by others as such" (2010:8), perhaps on occasion making it inherently beyond the individual to identify themselves as belonging to a community.

Generally, despite its elusiveness, it is employed by academics, Government bodies and wider society as something positive, as an idealised common good (Ruming *et al.*, 2004).

Emphasising the social aspects of community, Robertson *et al.* (2008) believe that the core consideration of how notions of community develop fall into three broad categories: family, neighbours, and wider social networks. Silverman *et al.* (2005) looked at the key physical blocks upon which new communities are built and argues that these are local schools, estate-wide maintenance, community activities and on-site staff. Bringing together the social and spatial aspects of community, Camina and Wood (2009) set out the ladder of community interaction, developed by Thomas (1991). In this theory, the first rung of the ladder is mutual recognition, followed by casual contacts when (shopping or accessing the car) in the neighbourhood and then routine contacts, for example, while picking up children from school. According to this theory, the strength of community (ties) depends on the level of contact, so that routine contact through schools helps strengthen community. The importance of school in building community links has similarly been emphasised through research by Joseph and Feldman (2009), which found that schools have a unique role to play in creating and sustaining successful mixed-income communities. Given the school-age of the participants, such existing literature may be particularly pertinent to this study of young people's geographies in mixed communities.

Planners have attempted to create social cohesion and development of community through provision of public space and facilities, which are widely acknowledged as playing a key role in the social and economic life of communities (Kintrea *et al.*, 2008). Public spaces provide opportunities for development of community ties through the building of networks by social interaction, mixing and inclusion through everyday contacts (Worpole and Knox, 2007; Henning and Lieberg, 1996). Forrest and Kearns (1999) similarly note the physical environment (in maintenance and public space) is important for community morale and social interaction, demonstrating the intrinsic linkage of the social and spatial aspects of community. Amin (2006) sees this desire for face-to-face contact, abundances of social capital, and empowered neighbourhoods as a rediscovery of urban community. Social capital is defined as the society bonds that enable people to get by and get ahead (Putnam, 2000). Amin (2006) goes on to argue, however, that little is seen of these desired elements in contemporary cities, which are instead marked by introspective community, social attachments that do not cohere, and social belonging that may go beyond the city. This is a long-standing critique of contemporary community. Sennett (1970) wrote that land use planning (in the USA) has created purified, homogeneous communities comprised of people who view others in their community as like themselves, the introverted communities referred to by Amin (2006). This is because housing operates in the same sub-market (Vandell, 1995; Galster, 2001). Developers will build the same

housing units on a site due to economies of scale in construction, as well as building in close proximity to housing units that share common attributes. The buyer is complicit in this as they are often willing to pay for class homogeneity (Vandell, 1995; Galster, 2001). Bauman (2007) describes this as a 'community of similarity' or 'community of sameness' and believes it is a reaction to the polyvocality and cultural variegation of the urban environment in the era of globalisation. Given the intended heterogeneity of mixed communities, consideration will be given as to the segregation or otherwise of different social and economic groups within the two developments studied to further understanding of social capital, networks and community introversion. It will enable discussion on how a community mutually develops notions of belonging and identity.

The elusive nature of community, and its link with positive outcomes, makes it attractive to politicians (Cole and Goodchild, 2001), given the electorate have a positive understanding of the term and politicians can make general pronouncements in its favour, adapting these depending on circumstances or the political landscape. Imrie and Raco (2003) argue that the substance of urban policy has always been associated with a particular discourse of community. Variously, Imrie and Raco (2003) see community as either; an object of policy (a thing to be worked on), a policy instrument (the means by which policies become devised and activated), or a thing to be created (an end in itself). Smith (1996) notes that for the political Right, community is used to disguise welfare budget reductions as care in the 'community', such as by unpaid female kin, whilst the political Left use it to justify local political action and attempts to build utopian collectives.

The research will add to this body of work through asking young people in mixed communities to convey what community means to them. This will allow examination of the elusiveness of the concept, what contributes to conceptualising community and how academic and political definitions interplay in the everyday experience of those who feel, or do not feel, they live in a community. It will also open up discussion on the importance of community to young people, as will be discussed in Section 2.4 below.

2.3 Defining neighbourhoods

Levitas (2005) notes that community may refer to neighbourhoods. The terms are often seen as synonymous (Clark, 2011), but Meegan and Mitchell (2001) highlight definitions of neighbourhood that are more restricted in spatial dimensions than community, with neighbourhood referring to the space around residences where people interact. Research by Robertson *et al.* (2008) found a strong articulation of community as associated with relationships to neighbours. Readings of community

apparently more frequently focus on commonalities and social links as opposed to physical boundaries, whilst neighbourhoods are recognised as both a physical and social concept (Monk *et al.*, 2011; Freeman, 2010). Neighbourhoods are considered to be places of the everyday (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001), known place, but, as with communities, possessing no single, general interpretation (Ruming *et al.*, 2004). Neighbourhoods are often based on diverse attachments to place, and can be "open, culturally heterogeneous and socially variegated" (Imrie and Raco, 2003: 29). Parker and Murray (2012) write that there is an established recognition that neighbourhood areas are diverse in terms of age structure, ethnicity and incomes, as well as other factors such as community cohesiveness and stability. It is this diversity perhaps that makes neighbourhoods difficult to define spatially, socially or politically. Under neighbourhood planning in the Localism Act 2011, the Coalition Government define neighbourhood in relation to the local parish or town council with neighbourhood forums leading the way when there is no such governance structure (DCLG, 2012a). Areas which are predominantly commercial can be led by a business neighbourhood forum (DCLG, 2012a).

The spatial nature of neighbourhood is explored by Kearns and Parkinson (2001) who submit the concept of a multi-layered neighbourhood that exists at three spatial scales, fulfilling different functions at these different scales. The layers are; the home area (5-10 minute walk from home), locality (providing service functions) and urban district or region (providing social, employment and leisure facilities). Cheshire (2007) quotes a study by Bolster *et al.* (2007) concluding that a small unit, of only about 500 people, is the most appropriate measure of neighbourhood, moving the definition away from any geographic boundaries. Neighbourhood conceptualisation by Galster is a "bundle of spatially-based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses" (2001: 2111), once more emphasising the spatiality of neighbourhood.

As discussed, a vital component when defining the nature of neighbourhood, aside from the spatial, is the social dimension (Bridge, 2002). Reflecting the social character of neighbourhoods, Galster (2001) discusses how they are produced by the same actors that consume them: households, property owners, business people, and local government. Freeman (2010) summarises research showing neighbourhoods as important sources of social contact, as places of encounter, built from social networks and representing a place characterised by 'neighbourliness'. This reflects research by Henning and Lieberg (1996) showing the diminished, but nonetheless continuing, social importance of the neighbourhood. Forrest and Kearns (2001), however, note from their research that in affluent areas people may find it more important to buy into the physical environment of the neighbourhood, rather than social interaction in the form of neighbouring. This suggests weaker ties in affluent areas as access to jobs and cars means people are more likely to conduct their lives away from home

(Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). The importance of neighbourhood depends on the nature and frequency of social interaction and the socio-economic and life-cycle characteristics of the people involved (Kleinhans, 2004). Certain groups are more closely connected to the neighbourhood, such as the elderly, the disabled, or families with small children (Henning and Lieberg, 1996), with lower levels of economic activity also linked to higher reliance on the estate, or home area (Camina and Wood, 2009). The research project will add to this body of work by considering how conceptions of neighbourhood and community have influenced and enabled (meaningful) interaction between young participants and other residents of the two case study areas, particularly with regard to any differences related to the socio-economic background of residents.

2.4 The importance of community

Section 2.3 touched on the differing importance of neighbourhood networks depending on age, mobility and affluence. Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found in their research into mixed community estates in Scotland that the estate, rather than the world beyond, is a much more important realm for social renters than owners, and vice versa. Of their sample, 60 percent of renters' activities occurred within the estate, compared to less than 25 percent of owner occupier activities (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). Matthews and Tucker (2007) found a strong reliance by rural adults (particularly incomers) on constructs of the rural as belonging and community to authenticate their experience of the rustic. For many teenagers, however, this symbolic imagining had little meaning for them. Instead, strong feelings of frustration and anger at lack of accessibility, affordability and activity were found to be commonplace (Matthews and Tucker, 2007). This will be discussed further in Section 3.7.4. Kearns and Parkinson note, however, that "sharing space does not always bring about the proximity of residence that constitutes places" (2001: 2104) and "the current promotion of higher levels of associational activity...may be a long way from many people's preference for no more than casual acquaintance with their neighbours" (2001: 2105). Telecommunications and transport networks mean that people have fewer close linkages to their neighbourhood leading to distanciation and network-based connections extending across time and space (Graham and Healey, 1999). Given this research, the role of local networks in mixed communities will be examined to add to previous academic understandings of the differing importance of local networks. This is particularly important to study given that such networks are expected to build in mixed communities to bridge the tenure divide and create opportunity, as will be discussed in Section 2.6.4.1 below.

2.5 The making of place

The mobility of higher socio-economic families away from the neighbourhood has implications as to the making of place in communities. Seamon's (1980) idea of 'place-ballet' holds that it is only by movement through everyday activities that one can know a place and feel part of it. In short, "Out of these daily, taken-for-granted interpersonal dynamics, these spaces of activity evolve a sense of place that each person does his small part in creating and sustaining" (Seamon, 1980: 161) so that the environmental synergy of human and material unintentionally fosters a larger whole. If greater mobility is affordable to residents, there may be less opportunity for the development of place as body-ballets occur outside of the home environment, and the opportunity for interpersonal dynamics is less. For many middle class children, 'nomadic' identities are developed through high levels of mobility (Matthews and Tucker, 2007). Rural children from less affluent families may suffer accessibility issues (Matthews and Tucker, 2007) and counter-act this marginalisation through employing walking and a detailed knowledge of the physical landscape to "enhance their embodied sense of self as connected to rural place" (Leyshon, 2011: 304). Easy mobility can thus blur the distinction of place, whilst difficulty in accessing transportation may lead to greater feelings of connectivity through more detailed exploration on foot. The development of a sense of place is important as it has been argued to feed into the development of young people's identities. McLaughlin's (1993) concept of 'embedded identities' describes how young people use place(s) as a means to develop their own identities, including by maintaining group identities through such boundary-markers as 'style'. Mobility is thus a relevant factor in understanding identity, yet it has not been examined in relation to young people in mixed communities. This study will address this gap.

Whilst neighbourhood and community can be ascribed and interpreted by those outside of a(n imagined) neighbourhood and community, place perhaps requires an individual conceptualisation for it to exist. Cresswell (2004) examines numerous ways in which academics in geography have attempted to define and understand space. A sense of place is becoming increasingly important in creating local distinctiveness through planning and urban design (DoE, 1997; Urban Task Force, 1999). As mentioned by Cresswell (2004), Harvey (1989) feels a sense of place is deliberately and consciously evoked through an eclectic mix of styles, historical quotations, ornamentation and diverse surfaces so that identity can be reclaimed "even in the midst of commercialism, pop art, and all the accoutrements of modern life" (1989: 97). Davies and Herbert (1993) define communities in part through the conceptual identity of residents, with reference to the 'cognitive' and 'affective'. The cognitive refers to the way localities are perceived and defined through naming, territorial marking and mental maps. The latter relates to the meanings and attitudes, the social valuation people have of their neighbourhoods and place-communities. It is this affective conceptualisation

that is the 'sense of place'; the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place (Cresswell, 2004).

Place is a product of interrelations, with a "myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation" (Massey, 2005: 154), through which constituent identities are continually moulded. It is a rich or conflicting meeting point of social relations and identities that is in no way coterminous with community. Massey (2005) asserts that space and place are always under construction, continually in the process of becoming. As such, public space takes on new forms as different interests interact and struggle for influence (Valentine, 2004). As Anderson (2008) states, Massey is a consistent advocate of the mutual overlay of the spatial and the political. She does not see place as based on a single hegemonic 'we', but of dynamic, coexisting heterogeneity (Massey, 2005). It is important to understand all the social relations in place in order to have an understanding of it. With echoes of Jane Jacob's (1961) criticism that planners do not respect the spontaneous self-diversification of city populations, Graham and Healey (1999) argue that planning needs to account for the multiplicity of places and cities, and the changing nature of social networks and space as a result of advances in transportation and telecommunication. As Sennett (2008) highlights, however, planning for social cohesion does not alone induce people to act. The research will add to this body of work by exploring how social cohesion has been planned for in the mixed communities and what affect this has had on the myriad social relations that may be evident in the two communities studied. This will then allow debate about any subjective and emotional attachment that young people have developed for where they live.

Raco (2007a) states that "imaginations of places and spaces play a key role in shaping the contours of any spatial development programme" (2007a: 7). The difficulty is where the power relations lie in determining these imaginations and conceptualisations of place and space. Echoing Giddens (1984), Raco (2007a) understands that these conceptualisations also lead to the identification of a specific set of problems (e.g. social inequality) and solutions by institutions (e.g. mixed communities urban policy) based on these understandings. This is more specifically reflected on by Leyshon and DiGiovanna (2005) in relation to the impact of sustainable (rural) communities policy on young people. They state that "the "right kind" of youth to live and work in the countryside is highly contested" (2005: 269), with adult surveillance and regulation implying a particular vision of youth citizenship and behaviour. The negotiations and contestations conducted by, and through, the interactions of structure and agency ensure a fluidity of concept(s) of place and ever-changing problems (and so proposed solutions) to place. The research will contribute towards these understandings by exploring the contours of place and community from the point at which the case

study areas were conceived, in order to understand and evaluate the product of this interaction between structure and agency, between social relations, and between planned and actual.

The plurality and elusiveness of the conceptions and re-conceptions of community, neighbourhood and place have been demonstrated through definitions surrounding commonality, networks, mobility, relationships, different spatial scales and contested imaginations. The different articulations of the concepts encourage a critical review of how place, social relations, social equality and locality are at play in the two mixed communities in Northamptonshire in order to add to this body of academic work. The next section will explore the history of the development of mixed communities policy, including reasons for the focus on such policies.

2.6 Introduction to mixed communities policy

> A social problem has first to be identified and its features described. Once the problem has been defined, policy makers seek to explain why a particular solution is appropriate, generate arguments in support and then mobilise bias to legitimise the strategy adopted.
>
> Jacobs *et al.*, 2003: 308

The idea of social balance and social mix as an ideal for community is nothing new (Sarkissian, 1976; Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Raco, 2007b), though Raco (2007a) notes that presenting a policy as new is seen as a necessary prerequisite for it to be legitimate. This is because modernity is driving a need for constant improvement and betterment so that what "already exists must be overridden and superseded" (Raco, 2007a: 13). The theme of mixed community has recurred over the history of housing, planning and urban policy in Britain (and the wider Western World) due to a belief that social mix will create better social, cultural and economic opportunities for individuals (Musterd and Andersson, 2005). Musterd and Andersson (2005) believe that the use of planning and housing policy tools to create socially mixed environments is a result of there being few legal opportunities for politicians to create such environments directly.

Cole and Goodchild state that the promotion in British urban policy of more mixed neighbourhoods is not a seamless narrative, but is marked by "discontinuities and uncertainties" (2001: 352). They argue that "the meaning and potential application of the terms have been refashioned under different historical and social circumstances, while nonetheless eluding precise analysis and evaluation" (Cole and Goodchild, 2001: 352). Balance, they believe, is a term favoured by politicians due to it being linked to positive outcomes whilst also being difficult to define, much like the term

'community'. Raco believes that the concept has been defined and re-defined in various ways, as policy-makers tackle not only "what *types* of economic development and community-building should be promoted but also *where* and by *whom*" (author's emphasis, 2007a: 3).

Though the first mention of social balance appears in planning documents from the early to mid-part of the nineteenth century (Sarkissian, 1976), mixed communities as a broad policy goal, and a specific policy approach, has been central to UK urban regeneration policy only over the last decade (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Its centrality makes it an important concept to study, particularly as a change of Government in May 2010 led to a reform of urban policy. Tunstall and Lupton (2010) define mixed communities policy in their 2010 report as encapsulating three main meanings: as a general social good, reflecting an integrated and egalitarian society; as encouraging racial, ethnic or religious cohesion, or preventing increased segregation, and as 'workable' or 'sustainable' communities, with a combination of different land uses, building types and people. In terms of this research in Northamptonshire, mixed communities will reference the first and last definitions offered by Tunstall and Lupton (2010).

For Fordham and Cole (2009), sustainable mixed communities are about creating a mix of tenure and income, ensuring ethnic diversity, a sufficient range of different type and size dwellings and enabling a mix of uses in neighbourhoods, including amenities and employment. The main mechanism in Britain to bring about social mix has been tenure change (Livingston *et al.*, 2013). Mixing housing tenure means creating developments with a range of housing ownership opportunities; from open market, owner-occupied housing to social rented housing and properties sold at below market rates, the latter two known as 'affordable' housing. Livingston *et al.* (2013) posit that tenure has been utilised as it is relatively easy to control and will create mix because there are thought to be large differences in the social composition of tenants.

Owner occupation is the dominant tenure in Britain, the aspiration standard by which households are judged and judge themselves (King, 2001). By mixing housing tenure, successive governments could be seen to be tapping into this aspiration in order to advance the opportunities and outcomes of residents of such developments. Changing the tenure mix in the housing stock has been the main UK policy tool through which central and local government have sought to achieve more socially mixed communities (Livingston *et al.*, 2013). Tenure mix has been seen as a means by which to deliver income mix, social mix and social interaction and is sometimes used to describe any one, or all, of these concepts and categories (Rowlands *et al.*, 2006; see also Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). From their research, Fordham and Cole (2009) found that practitioners within the development profession tend to think of 'mixed communities' as synonymous with 'mixed tenure', whilst others thought that

tenure as a means to ensure mixed communities was misleading, particularly the use of tenure as a proxy for income.

Kearns and Mason (2007) note that there are three predominant policy means by which to secure mixed communities, with programmes sometimes using a combination of more than one to achieve their aims. These are dilution, diversity and dispersal. Dilution aims to reduce the significance of social rented housing within an existing neighbourhood. Diversity aims to ensure all new housing developments have a proportion of social rented homes included within them. Finally, dispersal is the relocation of residents from deprived areas to neighbourhoods less afflicted by poverty. The UK has focused on dilution and diversity as the predominant policy means to ensure mixed communities. Galster *et al.* (2010) elucidate on the differences between mixed communities policy in Europe, which has been pursued with the objective of social mix, and the USA, where it relates to income mix and deconcentration of poverty. Kearns (2002) highlights how the USA has focused on improving the life chances of individuals, whilst Britain and the rest of Europe has seen area-based, and latterly 'people-and-place' based, initiatives that seek to improve the life chances of areas. The growth of social mix policy, and the rationale behind such moves, will be explored in more detail below.

2.6.1 Early history

The idea of social mix was mentioned in British planning documents as long ago as 1845, when an architect proposed building a village near Ilford station with three classes of rented dwellings to allow the potential for social intercourse (Sarkissian, 1976). Ideas of planned social balance were implemented in Cadbury's Bournville near Birmingham (1879) and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement (1898). Sarkissian (1976) notes that George Cadbury chose the first residents of Bournville himself with a view to "gathering together as mixed a community as possible applied to character and interests as well as to income and social class" (Bournville Village Trust, 1956: 18).

Bennett (2005) argues that the idea of social balance at this time was focused solely on the issue of social class, in terms of income and status, and did not consider wider issues such as age, household types and ethnicity. Sarkissian (1976) believes that early mentions of social mix in Victorian England brought together two strands of thought at the time: firstly, anti-urbanisation, together with romantic conceptions of pre-Industrialisation England (with English villages holding a mix of classes); and, secondly, a utilitarian belief that mixed communities would overcome the growing segregation of the new industrial cities. This then moved on to a notion that "close association between individuals of different classes would elevate the poor" (Sarkissian, 1976: 236), a concept that Sarkissian (1976) holds as important to modern thinking on social mix. She argues, however, that

early pioneers of social mix and balance had no intention of creating a real residential mix; they wished to achieve only a close association between the different classes in order to elevate the poor. As an example, Sarkissian (1976) highlights the construction of public walks in poorer neighbourhoods to set a visual example by the middle and upper classes on the poor. She also details how Octavia Hill's housing in the late nineteenth century saw (non-residential) educated upper class assistants visiting the lower classes with the aim of setting an example to them that would facilitate lifting them out of poverty.

2.6.2 Early twentieth century

At the start of the twentieth century, the Garden City Movement rose to the fore. Advocates of this believed that residential segregation by class was essential on a small scale. An early textbook on garden city planning by AR Sennett said that a high degree of mix would mean "a dead level of equality and hence mediocrity" (Sennett, 1905: 564, quoted in Sarkissian, 1976: 236). Whilst Sarkissian believes Howard's Garden City Movement contributed tangibly to the growth of social mix, she points out that the garden city was "definitely segregated according to class and income on the micro-level, though taken as a whole it included...a cross-section of society' (1976:235).

The aftermath of World War II changed the political and regulatory climate for spatial planning policy decisions (Raco, 2007a). At the end of World War II, the New Towns initiative was launched in Britain by the 1945-51 Labour Governments, with ideas of social mix and balance systematically adopted and integrated into the programme (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). There was a universalist emphasis of welfarism, which social balance fitted with (Raco, 2007b). Cole and Goodchild (2001) detail how in the immediate post-war period Aneurin Bevan (Minister of Health and Local Government, with responsibility for housing, from 1945-51) was a particular advocate of social mix. Bevan wished to build on council estates "the living tapestry of a mixed community" (Foot, 1975: 75–76). He hoped that local authority housing would eventually be universal, with the state meeting the nation's housing needs in much the same way the National Health Service would meet the nation's medical needs (Cole and Goodchild, 2001).

The New Towns programme was developed in response to Professor Patrick Abercrombie's 1945 plan for the decentralisation of London through the creation of satellite towns (Bennett, 2005). The initiative had balanced communities at its very core. Part of the New Towns Committee's terms of reference was to examine how New Towns could be established "as self-contained and balanced communities for working and living" (New Towns Committee, 1946). Fourteen New Towns were

designated between 1946 and 1950 and a further thirteen were designated between 1961 and 1970, with Northampton designated as a(n expanded) New Town in 1965 (Bennett, 2005).

The New Towns initiative was underpinned by a strong vision from policy leads as to the types of new community to be created, with a presumption that if the middle classes could be attracted to the New Towns they would provide a kind of social and cultural example to the masses of lower class urban residents relocated with them (Bennett, 2005). The reality of the New Towns initiative was that the high cost of construction and limited employment opportunities led to a high proportion of skilled manual workers moving to New Towns (Bennett, 2005). Other issues, such as the difficulty of managing locational decisions of employers and employees (Raco, 2007a), together with economic pressures, a downturn in the housing market and persistent inequality, led to New Towns consisting predominantly of skilled working class and middle class households (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). This created different social class enclaves within neighbourhoods, "partly based on clustering of rented and owned properties" (Cole and Goodchild, 2001: 353). New Towns failed to create the desired living tapestry.

In the 1950s, private developers, building for owner occupiers, overtook local authorities as the main providers of new housing, with local authority stock seen as only for those in need (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). Over the last 50 years, in opposition to Bevan's wish, Ruming *et al.* believe that housing policy has been structured around the (politically initiated) ideology of "home ownership as normal and beneficial, and public housing as an inferior form of tenure" (2004: 235). Such perceptions have created stigmatism surrounding occupation of Council housing and Council housing estates (Kearns and Mason, 2007), with policy associating community with private ownership (Ruming *et al.*, 2004).

2.6.3 Social balance and the Conservatives

The promotion of social balance largely disappeared as a significant national policy initiative as the 1950s progressed and further slipped down the urban policy agenda from the 1960s onwards (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). The election in 1979 of a Conservative Government, under Margaret Thatcher, caused a shift in post-war spatial planning. Whilst mixed communities continued to be a low priority, the selection and liberation of those who could deliver a new, individualised economic policy of free labour and capital became of utmost importance (Raco, 2007b). Whilst not being the first Government to promote owner occupation, King (2001) argues that the 1979-1997 Conservative Governments' support was more manifest than previous governments.

Thatcherite regeneration policies, focusing on encouraging corporate capital to invest in cities, arguably intensified inequality and poverty in cities (Imrie and Raco, 2003). Introduced in 1980, the Right to Buy policy gave "secure tenants of local authorities and other public sector landlords a statutory right to buy their existing home with a discount" (Kearns, 2002: 147). The aim was to diversify tenure and reduce concentrations of social housing (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010), whilst also increasing opportunity for residents when they realised the value of the discount when selling the property on the open market in due course (Kearns, 2002). The repercussion of this policy was a pressing need for more (quality) affordable housing given the properties that remained within the (retreating) state's ownership were often the least desirable (Raco, 2007a). Interest in mixed tenure housing arose from recognition in the mid-1970s and onwards of the increasing segregation of social housing (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Housing policies, such as the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977, which saw a rise in the number of priority homeless being housed, as well as the introduction of Right to Buy in the Housing Act 1980, only exacerbated social exclusion (Allen *et al.*, 2005). This is because sales of homes under Right to Buy were highest in areas where home ownership was already high and new tenants (increasingly those outside the labour market) were housed in the oldest estates with the lowest demand (Allen *et al.*, 2005).

Jacobs *et al.* (2003) argue that the political discourse to gain support for Right to Buy presented Council tenants as an oppressed group in need of liberation from lack of choice, stigma of tenancy, and unpleasant residence. This imputed a negative image of remaining tenants leading to greater stigmatisation than previously seen (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). A heightened sense of social exclusion could be argued to have emerged for those who could not access the private property market and were not mobilised by the Conservative Government (Gullino, 2008).

A seam of social balance in land use policy continued on a small scale into the 1990s, including the publication of Planning Policy Guidance Note 1: General Policies and Principles, (PPG1) by the Conservative Government in February 1997 calling for planning authorities to aim "to provide a mixture and range of types of housing to meet the increasingly varied types of housing requirements, including the need for affordable housing" (DoE, 1997: 7). There were no policy programmes specifically promoting such mix, however, and mixed communities were achieved only through tenure diversification of existing council estates (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Community studies were not considered vogue by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative administration, due to the questioning of the whole notion of 'community', but this position began to shift with the New Labour Government's focus on neighbourhood renewal strategies leading to 'community' and 'neighbourhood' re-entering urban policy (Robertson *et al*, 2008).

2.6.4 New Labour

Social exclusion was increasingly discussed in political discourse during the run-up to the election of the Labour Government in 1997 (Morrison, 2003). Such discourses moved away from a pure economic definition of exclusion to focus on the wider causes and consequences of poverty, including social and cultural issues (Morrison, 2003). This drew from research since the 1960s showing the distinct problems of areas dominated by low income households (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Cole and Goodchild (2001) argue that council housing has been residualised since the 1960s, leading to the narrowing of the income and social profile of households in the social housing sector, and a growing proportion of residents being inactive in the labour market. This was reinforced over time by a lack of investment in maintenance of housing, poor design and unresponsive housing management (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). The social rented sector has been stigmatised as a result of these processes and this stigmatisation is considered to affect tenants by narrowing access to work and wider opportunities (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Consequently, areas of social housing are increasingly socially and economically excluded.

The association between life chances and neighbourhood is longstanding in the social sciences (Propper *et al.*, 2007), as can be seen in the historic moves to create social balance in neighbourhoods to lift residents out of poverty (Sarkissian, 1976). Research in the USA argues that there are additional impacts on poverty when the poor are concentrated in small areas (Propper *et al.*, 2007). Such effects include isolation from the labour market, limited wider networks for access to jobs, poor access to services and facilities, high costs per capita due to high demands for services (potentially leading to poorer quality of services), a tendency towards a cycle of decline, and a negative effect on property values and deterrence of inward investment in the area (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Other criticisms state that the concentration of economically inactive residents leads to a lack of community (Ruming *et al.*, 2004). The creation of mixed communities has been seen as a solution to such neighbourhood-based problems, particularly under New Labour.

When the Labour Government were elected in 1997, the exacerbation of social exclusion and the social housing shortfall led to a renewed focus on social balance through so called 'mixed communities' (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). Labour made social balance policy central to their agenda "to promote neighbourhood renewal and social inclusion" (Cole and Goodchild, 2001: 354), as well as to "meet housing need" and "put the needs of community first" (ODPM, 2003: 3). Mixed tenure housing policy is considered by Kearns and Mason (2007) to be just one example of the Labour's interest in, and reliance upon, social capital as a means to improve circumstances for deprived communities. Under New Labour, individual social mobility was emphasised and social balance and

mix in communities was designed to combat forces preventing such mobility (Cole and Goodchild, 2001).

Policies to create mixed communities were not unusual across Western Europe at the time of Labour's election, but Raco (2007b) asserts that Labour sought to take a lead. Starting with the Department for Transport, Regions and the Environment Planning Circular 06/1998 *Planning and Affordable Housing* (Cole and Goodchild, 2001) and continuing with the Urban Task Force report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* in 1999, mixing housing tenure to create mixed communities was incorporated into UK urban policy. This was through both greater policy emphasis on provision of affordable housing within all new housing developments and large-scale regeneration projects. Indeed, it was seen as a necessary part of any regeneration project (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Raco (2007b) draws a distinction from the early Labour focus on urban renaissance and social and economic regeneration (exemplified in the Urban Task Force report in 1999), to the greater emphasis on sustainability in the 2000s, with the dominant trend in spatial and urban planning becoming the creation of sustainable communities in the UK. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister launched the Labour Government's most significant spatial policy programme in 2003, *Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future* (Raco, 2007b).

The Sustainable Communities Plan announced that four growth areas in London and the South East, allocated to alleviate pressure on housing and services in the area and accommodate the economic success of London, would be sustainable communities. These sustainable communities, one of which was Milton Keynes/South Midlands (including parts of Northamptonshire), were an action plan for a step change in delivering housing to address the problems of affordability and create thriving and inclusive communities (ODPM, 2003). The policy document required that sustainable communities incorporate "a well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures, to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes" (ODPM, 2003: 5). By mixing tenure, such programmes hoped the perception of the area would alter for the better (Joseph and Chaskin, 2010). Following on from the £22 billion investment in the Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM, 2003), the UK Government launched the Mixed Communities Initiative in 2005. This had no investment of public funds, relying instead on the sale of public land to the private sector for development (Weaver, 2006). This strategy differed from previous regeneration programmes in that it had population mix as a central element and included a private sector cross-subsidy as the key financing mechanism (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010).

Mixed communities are often assumed to be sustainable communities, with ODPM suggesting social mix (meaning diversity of residents) as one definition of sustainability when it launched its

Sustainable Communities Plan. This sustainability is argued on the basis that a mixed community will be "able to attract and retain a wider range of household types and income groups" (Livingston *et al.*, 2013: 1057). Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development states that planning should ensure "that development supports existing communities and contributes to the creation of safe, sustainable, liveable and mixed communities with good access to jobs and key services for all members of the community" (DCLG, 2005: 2). It later encouraged planning authorities to develop strong, vibrant and sustainable communities, promoting community through meeting the diverse needs of all people in existing and future communities, including social cohesion. Meen *et al.* (2005), however, highlight the problematic nature of assuming that mixed communities are sustainable, given that there is no reason why mixed communities should be considered stable, and so sustainable.

Raco (2007b) notes that with recent interpretations of sustainable communities, the definitions of balance and mix (including what a 'sustainable citizen' is) reflect politically-constructed definitions of such, leading to a question of who should define what the correct balance is. As with early moves towards social balance (Sarkissian, 1976), the New Towns programme (Bennett, 2005) and later policies under Thatcher (Raco, 2007a), this balance had to be formulated from a specific (political) vision of what such balance constituted, with those not fitting the mould being rejected or impeded. This stylisation echoes the argument of Sibley who stated that the reshaping of cities in the nineteenth century was a process of "purification, designed to exclude groups (poor, racial minorities, working class) seen as polluting" (1995: 57). This can lead to tension and further exclusion (Amin, 2006).

2.6.4.1 Justification for mixed communities under Labour

One of the main arguments for sustainable communities put forward by the then Deputy Prime Minister was the harmful effects of living in areas where poverty was concentrated (Cheshire, 2007). Academics have highlighted the perceived link between policy to mix tenure and relieving concentrations of poverty in the UK (Fordham and Cole, 2009; Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Mixing housing tenure is considered to improve the housing market position of the area through the diversification of stock (Kleinhans, 2004). This then reduces the concentration and isolation of low-income housing from the more active, private housing markets (Gullino, 2008), consequently enabling areas to be more sustainable in terms of attracting and retaining a wider variety of household types and income groups (Livingston *et al.*, 2013). Diversification also begins to alter the perception of the area, reducing the potential for stigmatisation associated with deprived areas. This is considered to give residents greater pride in their area, with greater place attachment leading to

greater investment in the community by its residents (Kleinhans, 2004). For Monk *et al.* (2011), mixed communities are seen to generate greater place attachment through an enhanced sense of community (through network building) and increased social interaction in public space.

In terms of Labour's vision for community, Raco (2007b) believes the Labour Government favoured capacity-building within the community. They hoped the creation of 'sustainable' citizens would reduce the need for state involvement as well as increase competitiveness and economic performance; people in communities would help each other to help themselves. Cole and Goodchild (2001) further underline this position. They assert that a sustainable community is defined by its self-sufficiency (harking back to the assessment of New Towns by Raco, 2007a), its need for less public intervention, such as improvements to services. Whilst deprived areas can have poor public services (due to the high demand placed on them), the presence of middle class occupants in a mixed community area ensures that, through a mixture of social and cultural capital, resolutions to problems with, or improvements to, services can be made (Kearns and Mason, 2007). Existing provision is thus maximised. This reflects Bourdieu's argument that middle classes' cultural capital (seen in nuances of language and symbolic expressions of aesthetic preferences) enables them to "appear as 'insiders' in society's institutions rather than as outsiders" (Kearns and Mason, 2007: 667). As insiders, they are more knowledgeable and capable in optimising institutional services and provision.

Another perceived benefit of mixed communities in present times, which reflects Victorian ideas about elevation of the poor through close association with higher classes, is that middle class owner occupiers will provide the norms to which residents are expected to conform. This ensures a greater degree of informal social control and collective efficacy (Joseph and Chaskin, 2010). Deprived areas are linked with social marginalisation (Livingston *et al.*, 2013). Musterd and Andersson (2005) outline thinking that living in deprived neighbourhoods leads to negative socialisation, reducing residents' efforts to improve their skills and subsequently reducing their labour market opportunities. Neighbourhood networks are considered to be important in shaping opportunities for success, with homogeneously poor neighbourhoods potentially reducing opportunities for residents to bridge the gap to people with resources (Musterd and Andersson, 2005). Such an effect is known as bridging social capital, defined as the outward connections made between people to enable them to get ahead (Putnam, 2000). Traditionally, deprived communities are seen as rich in bonding social capital, where relationships and networks of trust and reciprocity reinforce ties within groups (Holland *et al.*, 2007b). Mixed communities are believed to shift reliance from mainly bonding social capital towards a greater utilisation of bridging (Kearns and Mason, 2007), with more effective 'bridging' relationships both within a neighbourhood (and the different incomes and types of people living

there) and links to the wider world (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). The basic assumption is that a more diverse mix will both deepen and widen social interaction in a positive way.

Many academics particularly highlight the value of bridging social capital and aspiration behaviour on young people. Musterd and Andersson (2005) note that young people may be subject to negative socialisation when living in deprived areas, through taking role models from within the deprived area, leading to situations of 'hypersegregation'. Monk *et al.* (2011) summarise one of the main benefits of mixed communities as the widening of networks (bridging social capital) to change behaviour and aspirations, leading to greater educational achievements by young people. Kintrea *et al.* (2010) note evidence from past research on living in poor areas that suggests that young people are more affected by where they live than other demographic groups, as opportunities blocked or foregone during the teenage or young adult years lead to life chances being potentially disadvantaged throughout their life course. The evidence for the effectiveness of mixed communities policy will be discussed in Section 2.7.

2.6.5 Northamptonshire planning policy on mixed communities

As well as being one of four Sustainable Communities growth areas, the national focus on mixed communities has been carried forward into local policy for Northamptonshire. Policy H3 of the Northamptonshire Structure Plan (adopted in March 2001) called for the "meeting of local needs that will help secure a mixed and balanced community" (Northamptonshire County Council, 2001: 20). Saved policies H7 and H8 of the Local Planning Authority A[1] Local Plan 1997 (Local Planning Authority A, 1997b) and saved policy 39 of the Local Planning Authority B[1] Local Plan 1995 relate to affordable housing (Local Planning Authority B, 1995). All policies call for provision of affordable housing within new private residential developments in the Boroughs and that such housing should continue to be affordable for local residents. Such policies are what Kearns and Mason (2007) term a strategy of diversity. These local policies carry forward national planning policy for mixed communities, and so Government ideals of what mixed communities are comprised.

2.6.6 Future of mixed communities policy from 2010

Initially, the formation of the Coalition Government in 2010 meant future policy regarding mixed communities was uncertain. Whilst reports were published on the success of the 2005 Mixed Communities Initiative, no explicit comments were made regarding the future direction of such policy. Criticism has been levied at the Government's commitment to mixed communities when

[1] Due to the need to maintain area anonymity, the two Local Authorities within which the developments are situated have been anonymised to Local Planning Authority A for Community A and Local Planning Authority B for Community B.

reform of housing welfare will likely price out low income households from areas, leading to a decline in genuinely mixed communities (Pennycock, 2011).

From their research, Tunstall and Lupton (2010) found that there is some disagreement as to the future of mixed communities. Some commentators, including the DCLG Select Committee, are pushing for DCLG to expand its approach. Others, including such academics as Cheshire (2007), think the Government should rethink its approach on mixed communities, given that "while there may be benefits from mixing communities, there are almost certainly costs too" (2007: 34). Mulliner and Maliene (2013) note, however, that mixed communities remains one of the primary housing objectives of the Government. This is stated in new national planning guidance. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), published in March 2012, where one of the Government's housing priorities is "creating sustainable, inclusive and mixed communities" (DCLG, 2012b: 13). This paragraph is the only mention of mixed communities in the sixty-five page document. There is, however, a focus on inclusive communities within the document, stating that developments should include "opportunities for meetings between members of the community who might not otherwise come into contact with each other, including through mixed-use developments" (DCLG, 2012a: 17). This indicates a continued commitment to building mixed communities despite other NPPF policies potentially weakening affordable housing delivery. In such a time of transition for urban policy, it is worth adding to the literature on whether planning policy can make a real difference to the engendering of place and community. The next section will review existing evidence of the real benefits and costs of mixed communities policy when compared to the perceived outcomes.

2.7 Evidence review

This section will examine evidence of the effects of diluting housing tenure in order to create mixed communities. Whilst mixed communities can refer to integration of different ethnicities and religions (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010), the research project will concentrate on housing tenure as this is the predominant means to create social mix in the UK (Monk *et al.*, 2011; Livingston *et al.*, 2013). The evidence for mixed tenure communities suggests that many of the perceived benefits outlined above (socialisation, better services, reducing area stigmatisation and improving the employment prospects of lower income residents) are not evinced through supporting research.

2.7.1 Building bridges across tenure

Tunstall and Lupton (2010) note that the growing number of UK studies of neighbourhoods where planning policy has been used to create social mix "have found very limited social interaction between tenure, employment and income groups" (2010: 20). Studies of areas after mixing have found that many people conduct much of their lives away from their home, particularly those with jobs and cars, with mixed communities not necessarily equating to more mixed social circles (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Camina and Wood (2009) specifically focused their study on inter-tenure socialisation. They found that owners and renters were polite to each other, rather than friendly, reflecting a desire for distance in neighbourhood relations. Friendships were founded based on shared interests, but this often meant such friendships were off the estate (Camina and Wood, 2009), demonstrating the plurality of (*Gesellschaft*) networks and associations (Smith, 1996).

Research by Allen *et al.* (2005) into three case studies of mature, mixed tenure housing developments found that, whilst the areas were seen as desirable places to live, there was limited mixing of residents, who tended to occupy different social worlds. An exploratory study by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found that renters in predominantly social housing estates were confined to relatively small areas and had limited contact outside of the estate, whilst owner occupiers had little involvement with social interaction on site, more often having social worlds off the estate. Camina and Wood (2009) found similarities between activities and interactions by social renters and owner occupiers and, in comparison to the study by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000), owner occupiers living in mature mixed communities had more activities on the estate. This reflects the differing importance of locality depending on socio-economic factors.

Wood (2002) states that much tenure diversification in the United Kingdom has resulted in street level segmentation and division of neighbourhoods, rather than tenure integration. Such segmentation, Wood (2002) argues, leads to residents of new houses being seen as outsiders (including owner occupiers moving into established, poor areas that are being regenerated). Ruming *et al.* (2004) argue that despite areas of social mix purporting to nurture community, they can actively promote stigmatisation, oppression and exclusion. From their study of a mixed tenure area in New South Wales, Ruming *et al.* (2004) examined whether or not residents identified a community in their area and how strongly they felt connected to that community. Of the 68 questionnaires returned (a response rate of 14.2 percent), they found that over two thirds of public housing tenants felt that there was a community in their area, but a third of tenants felt they were not connected to this community. Tenure was identified as an important feature of community formation, with many

public housing tenants believing themselves to be "members of a community based solely on public housing tenancy" (Ruming *et al.*, 2004: 242).

2.7.2 Tenure as the means to create mix

Tenure is the dimension of mix that is easiest to control in social policy, but the difficulty of mixing housing tenure to create successful mixed communities is that there is no agreement on what a suitable level of mix actually is (Livingston *et al.*, 2013). The ways in which such mix can be achieved have been outlined as dilution, diversification and dispersal (Kearns and Mason, 2007). Conscious of a potential street level division in neighbourhoods outlined by Wood (2002), Kleinhans (2004) highlights how academics have called for the introduction of 'pepper potting' of social housing into the design of new developments. This means mixing individual rental and owner occupied properties within a street and within building blocks. Kleinhans (2004) posits the benefit of such as reducing division of neighbourhood areas. It may not, however, necessarily reduce any tension. This is because research shows that whilst residents are generally ambivalent to mixing (Camina and Wood, 2009), owners often express stronger objections to "mixing and living next door to a neighbour of a different tenure" (Kleinhans, 2004: 379). Many residents were shown to become defensive if it was suggested that the level of social housing be increased (Kleinhans, 2004). This reflects the statement of Jacobs *et al.* (2003) regarding the imputed negative image of Council tenants as a result of Conservative discourse to gain support for Right to Buy.

Ruming *et al.* found within their study area that "owners were thought to provide better neighbours and thus to be the basis of a better community" (2004: 424). Public housing was seen to harbour all those things that owner occupiers saw as inferior or undesirable (Ruming *et al.*, 2004). Research by Silverman *et al.* (2005) found that the unified appearance of social housing and private housing in some mixed income new communities reduced the potential for segregation and increased feelings of safety. Where differences were more obvious, Silverman *et al.* found that "families in the private homes made distinctions, with comments such as 'I feel safe over here, but I wouldn't go 'over there'." (2005: 63). The case study communities will be examined to see how divisive the issue of tenure is to young people, both in terms of friendship and contact networks, and their mobility and safety within the development.

The evinced divisions within mixed communities lead Cole and Goodchild (2001) to argue that tenure diversification to create social mix could engender tension and conflict. Kleinhans (2004) states that conflict has arisen in mixed communities through the increased exposure to residents who do not share values and lifestyles. Kleinhans (2004) argues that different lifestyles and attitudes are an

expression of socio-economic differences, but "tenure becomes the 'culprit' that is held responsible for resentment between tenants and owners" (2004: 379). Musterd and Andersson (2005) found that despite a tenure mix policy in Sweden since the 1970s there is no strong correlation between tenure mix and social mix. In fact, their study showed that housing areas with variegated tenure and dwelling type were characterised by a homogeneous social profile, undermining the role of tenure in the creation of social mix (Musterd and Andersson, 2005).

Meen *et al.* (2005) conclude that it is not surprising that there is little evidence for social interaction in their research on mixed communities "since tenure is not the single cause of cross-tenure interaction" (2005: 22), with limited interaction occurring because of "diverging lifestyles and different socioeconomic characteristics" (2005: 22). Similarly, Rowlands *et al.* (2006) found that income mix and social mix on examined estates were the result of the housing type and size of dwellings and the position of the development within the local housing market. They conclude that, whilst tenure plays a part in shaping these conditions, it does not alone dictate the mix, particularly as it cannot be controlled once construction is finished (Rowlands *et al.*, 2006). Some estates then have much higher levels of rented accommodation than envisaged because of such investment by private landlords, with resultant problems in management and maintenance. Rowlands *et al.* (2006) note the negative impacts on estates that may result from private letting due to a potentially high number of empty properties or high turnover of residents due to the mobility of private tenants, and the risk of large scale sales in case of a housing market downturn.

In terms of socio-economic differences played out spatially, Cheshire concludes that social segregation in cities reflects (rather than causes) economic inequality, and forcing neighbourhoods to be mixed in social and economic terms is "mainly treating the symptoms of inequality, not the causes" (2007: 34). As such, merely creating mixed communities through mixing tenure will not reduce social exclusion or so-called neighbourhood effects on life chances unless it also succeeds in raising the income of social housing tenants.

2.7.3 The benefits of tenure homogeneity

Kearns and Mason argue that homogeneous areas of social rented housing can be beneficial in some respects, offering "satisfactory, quiet environments" (2007: 687). Their findings do show, however, that social renters have more to gain in neighbourhood environment terms from living in areas of high owner occupation, whilst owner occupiers have a lot to lose from living in areas of above-average proportion of social renters. This is because an increase in the presence of social renters in an area leads to certain neighbourhood problems increasing in prevalence and poorer services

(Kearns and Mason, 2007). Smith (1996) argues that there is a "growing segregation of the 'underclass' population from affluent neighbourhoods" (1996: 255), but with concentrated areas of economic decline and public housing estates, the poor are more likely to have strong networks of people due to coping strategies and collective responses to adversity (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). Cheshire (2007) highlights research suggesting that a person's welfare declines in relation to the increase in their neighbours' income, leading to the conclusion that areas with higher income owner occupiers reduces the welfare of social housing tenants, relative to living in homogeneous low income neighbourhoods. This suggests that neither higher income owner occupiers nor lower income social housing tenants may necessarily gain from living in mixed communities.

2.7.4 Impact on employment opportunities

Musterd and Andersson (2005) found little evidence in their examination of Swedish statistical data from 1991-1999 that social mix created social opportunity. They found a stronger correlation between employment outcomes and level of education and ethnicity than housing mix. Galster *et al.* (2010) found a weak relationship between neighbourhood and employment opportunities. In their research, higher income metropolitan Swedish males of any age, and males in full time employment, rarely experienced a gain in their labour income when lower and higher income neighbours were replaced by middle income neighbours. By contrast, however, lower income metropolitan Swedish males (particularly those not in full time employment) and females over 30 (particularly those in full time employment) were strongly positively affected by the aforementioned relationship. Galster *et al.* (2010) conclude that neighbourhood income mix does not substantially and similarly affect labour market outcomes for all residents. This raises the prospect that the "consequences from the often standardised, 'one size fits all' programmes for neighbourhood mixing underway today will vary significantly among target groups, with some perhaps being unforeseen and unwanted" (2010: 2936). Once again, an individualised approach that looks beyond neighbourhood (and so housing tenure) may be needed to solve issues of lack of participation in the labour market.

Research by Allen *et al.* (2005) found that whilst the mixed tenure areas they studied were not free of problems, they had escaped many of the patterns of deprivation seen in large concentrations of social housing, with demand for housing remaining high and employment rates remaining steady. Wood (2002), however, quotes studies that show reductions in joblessness in low income areas regenerated with a proportion of open market housing is associated with the 'dilution' effect of importing employed people (such as owner occupiers) onto estates, rather than through increased opportunities for unemployed tenants to access the job market. Similarly, research by Camina and Wood (2009) found no evidence of owners acting to link renters to labour market opportunities.

Thus, there is no concrete evidence that mixed communities lead to better job opportunities for lower income residents. As Tunstall and Lupton state, where inter-tenure socialisation does occur it is fairly superficial and there is "little sign of unemployed residents getting jobs or other concrete change in aspirations or behaviour" (2010: 20).

2.7.5 Evidence of service improvement

In terms of improvement to services, the study in Scotland by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found that commercial facilities were often criticised by owners and tenants alike as being of low quality (shops) or, in the case of pubs, possibly dangerous. Cheshire (2007) criticises mixed community initiatives for potentially creating services that cater for the more affluent owner occupiers, whilst pricing poor people out. He believes that low income tenants are deprived of "local services tailored to the needs of poorer people rather than the rich" (Cheshire, 2007: 34). Kearns and Mason (2007) found that housing tenure mixing was associated with an increase in identification of neighbourhood problems and a desire for improvements to local services and amenities, meaning that balancing tenure by no means led to a reduction in neighbourhood problems of antisocial behaviour and poor services. In contrast, Atkinson and Kintrea found that an increase in owner occupation in neighbourhoods was associated with "a reduction in anti-social behaviour and a better environment" (2000: 102). They also found that the neighbourhood was a more important source of shopping and services to the renters (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000), though Camina and Wood (2009) found that, in one of their (mature) case study areas, this was equally true for owners and social renters.

2.7.6 Changes to area appearance and reputation

Camina and Wood (2009) found evidence that the appearance of the area is improved by owner occupiers, as they tended to maintain their houses better than many social housing providers. They found evidence amongst renters in their case study areas of behaviour change in terms of cultural interest and care of the neighbourhood (Camina and Wood, 2009). Owners, in turn, showed more tolerance "of other lifestyles, being encouraged to be more openly friendly and to participate more in community and family activities" (Camina and Wood, 2009: 474). They caveat their findings, however, by acknowledging that the social mix of the areas was not extensive. Similarly, Joseph and Chaskin (2010) found that one immediate benefit of mixed community regeneration programmes in the USA was that of improved environment for relocated social housing tenants.

Kleinhans (2004) notes that poor management and maintenance can create neighbourhood problems and tensions between different tenures, as maintenance is often outside social tenant

responsibility, resting with Housing Associations instead. Research by Silverman *et al.* found that cross-tenure management in mixed income new communities resulted in "a standard of maintenance well above the norm for social housing estates," (2005: 63). In contrast, where the maintenance was split by tenure there was "noticeably more litter, graffiti and potholes near the social housing, underscoring the social divide and perhaps contributing to a lesser feeling of safety across the neighbourhood" (Silverman *et al.*, 2005: 64).

From his literature review, Kleinhans concludes that "residents themselves identify the influx of homeowners as a social improvement, but it remains difficult to dispel an area's poor reputation, especially if it is embedded in a wider area with a bad reputation" (2004: 376). Whilst research by Allen *et al.* (2005) shows that mature mixed communities are seen by residents as desirable places to live, Kleinhans (2004) highlights how, by definition, it is outsiders' opinions, not residents', that are influential in determining the external reputation of a neighbourhood.

2.7.7 Young people and mixed communities

Whilst there are no specific studies looking at young people's experience of mixed communities, there have been some findings related to children and young people in adult-centred projects. Allen *et al.* (2005) found that the varieties of tenure available in planned social mix estates meant that young people on low incomes could stay in the area, close to their parents. Similarly, in the case of relationship breakdown, parents were able to stay in the area and maintain contact with their children (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found that children were relatively immune from tenure divides, with children from social rented and owner occupied housing playing together, even if their parents did not mix. Camina and Wood (2009) mention that whilst adults from different tenures preferred to keep a distance, interviewees stated that children growing up in the study areas did a lot of cross-tenure socialising. The effects on socialisation and the role tenure plays in this, if any, will be explored in relation to the two mixed communities studied.

In contrast, however, a survey undertaken by Rowlands and Gurney (2001) which sought to understand young people's perceptions of housing tenure found that the definition of social status via housing is growing in importance. Prejudicial tenure labelling (against social housing) was borne out amongst their sample of 15-17 year olds (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001). They conclude that tenure prejudice seems deeply ingrained by the age of 16 years, raising questions about "the precise age at which prejudicial ideas about housing start to be mobilized" (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001: 127). Tenure prejudice amongst the young suggests the potential for community conflict through continued marginalisation and stigmatisation of social housing tenants. Taking account of the

research by Rowlands and Gurney (2001), however, Allen *et al.* (2005) sought to understand the role of schools in mature, mixed community areas. In contrast to the aforementioned research, they found evidence of strong social ties between children from across the different tenures (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Young people showed no signs of tenure prejudice, perhaps demonstrating the beneficial effect of social mix within schools, though they did express aspirations of future home ownership (Allen *et al.*, 2005).

To conclude this evidence review, Cheshire (2009) argues that mixed communities "is essentially a faith-based policy because there is scant real evidence that making communities more mixed makes the life chances of the poor any better" (2009: 343). This is echoed by Fordham and Cole (2009), whose research into ten case studies of mixed communities found that the potential impacts are based on hope, rather than evidence. This has led many academics to call for a broader approach to tackle social exclusion beyond housing policy through reform of education, welfare and the economy (Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Cheshire, 2009; Galster *et al.*, 2010).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the concepts of community, neighbourhood and place. Community has moved from the local networks and ties of *Gemeinschaft* to the more globalised, plural networks of *Gesellschaft* (Sennett, 1970; Smith, 1996; Amin, 2006). Conceptions of community have created tension (Amin, 2006), as well as being politically constructed to identify particular social problems and aid development of urban policy to provide solutions to these problems (Raco, 2007b). The research will contribute towards debates on what community is by understanding young people's conceptualisations of it and how important this is to their sense of identity, place and belonging, and how these might feed into notions of community. This will enable examination of whether young people's needs and desires have been incorporated into the creation of these new, mixed communities.

The chapter has also examined the history of social balance in urban policy, why such a policy has been pursued, and evidence for its efficacy. Early mentions of social mix in Ilford planning documents and philanthropic urban village ventures evolved into the 'living tapestry' sought for New Towns, to sustainable and mixed communities at the start of the twenty-first century (Sarkissian, 1976; Bennett, 2005). The Labour Government of 1997-2010 were the first to make explicit reference to mixed communities as a policy goal. Latterly, the Coalition Government have continued to pursue

such a policy, albeit on a smaller scale. The motives behind such policy have been examined, from the ameliorating effects of the higher classes on the lower, to economic growth, self-sufficiency, increased home ownership, and improvements to employment opportunities, service provision and area quality (Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Kearns and Mason, 2007; Livingston *et al.*, 2013).

The supporting evidence for such effects, however, is limited. Studies show that far from occupants of different tenure interacting, there is little more than superficial contact, with some studies suggesting that higher income and lower income groups are actually worse off in terms of employment, services and networks from mixing (Kearns and Mason, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009; Galster *et al.*, 2010; Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Children, however, have been shown to disregard tenure when building community networks, particularly where a school is part of the community (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Allen *et al.*, 2005). Tenure is seen as a poor indicator of, and proxy for, social mix (Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Kearns and Mason, 2007). Furthermore, social mix engendered by housing policy shows little evidence of improved outcomes for the socially marginalised. Instead, academics call for a wider social and economic approach (Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Cheshire, 2009; Galster *et al.*, 2010).

Given the doubt cast on mixed communities policy by previous studies, it will be useful to understand the extent to which young people mix across identified social divisions in new developments in the Northamptonshire growth area. Young people's experience of mixed communities has not previously been studied so this will make an important contribution to research surrounding the policy. The results of the study will enable discussion on the efficacy of mixed communities policy, with particular regard to young people. The following chapter will set out existing literature regarding children and young people's geographies.

3. Children's Geographies

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the history of mixed communities policy. This chapter will focus on the growth of Children's Geographies, with particular reference to studies concerning young people's use of public space. The study of children and young people's geographies has been growing as a geographical subdiscipline since the 1970s (Gough, 2008). Starting with a handful of observational studies, interest has grown in research with children on their use and perception of the built environment (Travlou, 2003; Kraftl *et al.*, 2007). Early studies were drawn from an increasing quantification and search for scientific theory in geography and focused on children and young people's perception of their environment (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Aitken, 2001). A cultural turn from the early 1990s has seen children's geographers (and the social sciences in general) moving away from a scientific epistemology to increasingly focus upon children as social actors in their own right (rather than as adults in the making) (Valentine, 2004; Mayall, 2013). This cultural turn embraces childhood as a social invention (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Valentine, 2004), with differing interpretations depending on circumstance (Ansell, 2009). This has led to "an attentiveness to social and cultural differences, diversities, identities and inter-relations" (Horton *et al.*, 2008: 339). Studies have expanded to examine young people and community cohesion (Kintrea *et al.*, 2010), negotiation and mapping of space (Béneker *et al.*, 2010), use of public space (Valentine, 2004 and Karsten, 2003), growing up (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005), crime and violence (Pain, 2006), and technology (Pain *et al.*, 2005; Valentine and Skelton, 2007).

The chapter will start by outlining how 'children' and 'childhood' has been conceptualised. It will examine the growth in studies of childhood, culminating in the children's rights agenda and the New Social Studies of Childhood, which sought to undertake research with young people to examine social and cultural differences in childhood. The growth of Children's Geographies is outlined and how such research on children's use and perception of the built environment has contributed to the evolving, variegated concept of childhood. The key spaces examined in the subfield will be highlighted, including public space, semi-public spaces, schools, homes and playgrounds. It will consider what previous research has revealed about spatial differences in relation to mobility, socio-economic classification, gender, and rural and urban environments, and how such ideologies and social markers have been shown to create variations in childhood. This will demonstrate how the research can contribute towards understanding young people's use of public space in new mixed communities, what variations exist in the use of such space, and why variations occur. The chapter will touch on young people and community and young people's participation in planning to frame the background of young people living in mixed communities and how changing policy agendas affect community

(particularly belonging) for young people. The literature will be analysed to inform the research questions, as well as outline debates within the subfield and future directions for research. It will conclude that the plurality of experience of young people's use and perception of the built environment means there must be careful consideration of what young people say influences their spatial and social lives in new mixed communities.

3.2 Defining children and young people

Attempting to define childhood is fraught with complexity and contradiction (Valentine, 2004). Moving through history, children have been defined with varying levels of competence and independence. In Medieval times, children were seen as small adults, as shown in contemporary paintings (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). From the Enlightenment onwards, the idea of children as separate to adults began to dominate; the Apollonian understanding of childhood emerged in the seventeenth century when academics argued that children possessed an innate goodness when they came into the world which was then corrupted by the social world they were raised in (Valentine, 2004). The Victorian emphasis on universal education meant that schooling became a fundamental marker of the transition to adulthood (Valentine, 2004). Universalist education services led, Mayall (2013) argues, to children becoming exposed to the adult gaze in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Children became of interest to society due to concern over the impact of industry and empire on their moral, physical and mental health (Mayall, 2013). This led to the early child-study movement, one of the precursors to the discipline of developmental psychology (Mayall, 2013). In terms of spatial behaviour, children became increasingly constrained to spaces set aside for their use, such as schools and playgrounds, and their access to the public sphere diminishing in parallel to this (Ansell, 2009). Such transitions created boundaries between childhood and adulthood. Stainton-Rogers (2004) argues that at the beginning of modernism boundaries between child, youth and adult did not exist, or were constituted differently to how such lines are drawn now. In the late modern period, however, the protection and specialness of children and childhood has been reinforced by strong demarcation of boundaries between childhood and adulthood (Jackson and Scott, 2000).

James and Prout believe that society has become increasingly child-centric so that the twentieth century has been characterised as the "century of the child" (1999: 1). The increasing demarcation and special protection of childhood has led to the emergence of a twentieth century conception of a coherent 'universal' childhood (Valentine, 2004), as well as the hope of the future (Kraftl, 2008). This perceives the child as separate from (and dependent upon) adults; of childhood as a carefree happy time, free of responsibilities, with children set apart from adults because of their age, and living in

innocence, incompetence, and vulnerable dependence (Valentine, 2004). The innocence of the child is complicated by adolescence, however, where a person is considered to no longer be a child, but not yet an adult; it is a between boundary (Sibley, 1995). The invention of the term 'teenager' in 1950s marked the emergence of a distinct youth culture, which has since led to concern regarding juvenile crime and gang violence (Valentine, 2004).

Alongside the societal construction, however, there is also the developmental or transitional definition of childhood, which draws on development psychology and biology (Mayall, 2013). Biological definitions of childhood centre on stages of bodily development (Aitken, 2001). Biological immaturity is a universal and natural feature of human groups (James and Prout, 1999), with height, shape, appearance, gender and performance informing such a definition (Aitken, 2001). Chronological age is a biologically-defined category that can determine childhood (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Gough (2008) argues that in contemporary minority world societies, age is commonly regarded as a fundamental aspect of identity and the most basic of categories through which to define a child. This is despite the fact that a person's chronological age might bear little relationship to the kinds of expectations and experiences people have (James and James, 2007). Wyn and White (1997) caution against using such categorisation to define youth as complications surround differing social and legal classification of the age of a child, whilst Valentine (2004) notes that the age of transition to adulthood has varied throughout the twentieth century as a result of educational or welfare reforms. Currently, The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) defines a child as under 18 years, the UK legal system considers those aged over 10 years responsible for their actions, sexual relations are legal from the age of 16 years, and the social care system takes responsibility for children up to the age of 18 years (James and James, 2007).

Outside of biological development, the linear model of transition from childhood to adulthood refers to experience and is commonly comprised of "leaving full-time education and entering the labour market; moving out of the parental home to establish an independent household; and marriage/co-habitation and parenthood" (Valentine and Skelton, 2007: 104). Wyn and White (1997) argue against the traditional linear progression of the developmental paradigm, stating that such transitions can occur at different times for men and women, for urban and rural residents, and for youth of differing economic means. This shows that such experiences may not be universal, with cultural and societal variations (James and Prout, 1999). Matthews *et al.* note that "childhood as a construct of social analysis can never be independent of other social dimensions such as class, ethnicity and gender" (1998b: 312). This leads Matthews and Limb to stress the "importance of 'multiple childhoods' and the sterility of the concept of the 'universal child'" (1999: 65).

The marking of boundaries between childhood and adulthood (including those based on age) is criticised as masking difference. Often, where difference is noted, it relates to the developmental paradigm that assumes a set of stages that all children go through before reaching adulthood (Jackson and Scott, 2000). The wide variety and complications in conceptualising and defining childhood led to more critical thought regarding its construct, challenging the concept of a universal childhood and drawing attention to variations (Mayall, 2013). The theoretically innovative, interdisciplinary New Social Studies of Childhood (NSSC) emerged in the 1980s in response to this, rejecting the notion of a universal childhood and seeking to explore the nature of childhood by examining children's own explanations of their lifeworlds (Valentine, 1997a). Valentine argues that childhood is a social construct, with the concept of child and childhood adapting according to the dominant thinking of the time so that the invention of childhood is "(re)constructed and (re)produced over both space and time" (Valentine, 1997a: 65). Children's geographers have attempted to draw out the role of place in the concept of childhood with particular regard to its role in identity construction and maintenance (James, 1990; Philo, 1992; Sibley, 1995; Valentine and Holloway, 2000; Leyshon, 2008; Barker, 2011). Research has attempted to understand the way in which experiences with, and within, space help to negotiate identity (Leyshon, 2008).

Place has been seen as particularly important in terms of the minority and majority world concept of childhood. The dominant popular conception is the minority world idea of developmental stages, innocence and resultant need for protection, and segregation from adults (Valentine, 1997a), as well as freedom from adult responsibilities, such as work (Valentine, 1996; Punch, 2003). The majority of the world's children, however, live in the economically poor regions of Latin America, Asia and Africa and many of these have to work (Punch, 2003). As such, the most common type of childhood is actually in the majority world and yet, despite this, the privileged play and school world of children in the minority, developed world is seen as the 'normal' childhood, whilst the working lives of majority world children are seen as 'abnormal' (Edwards, 1996). Other research (detailed in Section 3.7) has focused on mobility (Valentine, 1997a; Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009), rural and urban spaces (Leyshon, 2011), gender (Matthews, 1986; Karsten, 2003) and socio-economic status (Kintrea *et al.*, 2010). Despite this rejection of universality, and the growing number of studies into the different social and cultural concepts of youth, McCulloch *et al.* (2006) observe that research on young people tends to focus on one group and their experiences, with few studies taking a broader standpoint comparing several different groups of young people. To address this issue, the research into mixed communities will identify and explore different groups' use of public space and feelings of community within mixed communities.

As can be seen, attempting to define childhood is complex and contradictory (Valentine, 2004). Legal, biological, developmental and social constructs are all in evidence. This variation has led to a rejection of the concept of the universal child, with children's geographers attempting to draw out the differences in terms of the role of place (majority/minority world, rural/urban and mobilities). Drawing on previous research, this project will examine the construction of boundaries, based on age, tenure, gender and location within the case study communities, to identify young participants' identities and spatialities.

3.3 Conceptualising adult-youth relations

Wyn and White (1997) believe the concept of youth only has meaning when placed in relation to the concept of adulthood. Debate within research on children and young people has sought to conceptualise adult and youth relations, with a particular focus on the 'between' boundary of adolescence (Sibley, 1995). Valentine (1997a) notes that children are frequently depicted as not equal to, but less than, adults and are frequently seen as a threat to social order. Young people are seemingly either classified as angels or demons (Valentine, 2004). When classified as angels, children are innocent and in need of (adult) protection; when classified as demons, however, it is adults (and other children) that need protection from the young people (Valentine, 2004). In keeping with this concept, young people are frequently presented as either actively deviant or passively at risk (Griffin, 2004).

Further to this, Skelton (2000) outlines the child/adult binary and the ambiguous position that youth, as neither child nor adult, sits within this binary. She succinctly summarises age 14-16 as "an ambiguous age" (2000: 82), where participants are "at once children (in full-time compulsory education), teenagers (socially defined as difficult, moody, rebellious and trouble-making), and young people (celebrated as the future, full of energy and life)" (Skelton, 2000: 82). Sibley (1995) argues that adults are threatened by young people as they transgress the boundary between childhood and adulthood. Sibley (1995) believes that minority world societies are driven to make separations, between 'us' and 'them', 'clean' and 'dirty', and then expel the abject. The inability to classify adolescents leads to the 'othering' of youth, whereby they are drawn outside of boundaries and become a pollutant (Sibley, 1995). Such social anxiety then leads to fear (Amin, 2006), and this prompts Bartlett (2002) to state that young people have some of the qualities of a minority subculture.

Research variously criticises adults as the subordinator of children, gaoler and/or the agency through which the spatial and political rights of children are restricted or removed (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews, 2003). Matthews (2003) argues, however, that in his research on urban young people's use of public space, youth were not on the streets as a form of cultural resistance or to challenge adult values; it was simply that there was nowhere to go and nothing else to do. A similar finding is reflected in research by Skelton (2000) in rural Wales so it will be interesting to explore whether this is also the case in suburban mixed communities.

Whilst many studies have sought to categorise and challenge power relations surrounding adult and child negotiations over space, Vanderbeck criticises the study of Children's Geographies because, "the theoretical/empirical/political case for maintaining aspects of adult authority is rarely discussed" (2008: 397). Research within Children's Geographies all too often criticise adults for constraining children's movements, without theorising or analysing the need to maintain adult control in certain situations. Studies show that there may be good reason for parental restrictions, particularly when "many fears about public space are spatially congruent with experiences of risk" (Pain, 2006: 221). The role of adults in children's spatial experience may be more positive and nurturing than previously theorised (Leyshon, 2011; Benwell, 2013). In examining young people's use of space, the role of the parent/guardian (including social and cultural influences) must be taken into account without research losing its focus on young people as decision-makers in their own right. Accordingly, the role of parents in determining and shaping young people's use of space will be studied in this research.

3.4 The children's rights agenda

The children's rights agenda culminated with the UNCRC in 1989, ratified by the UK government in 1994. This set out the rights of children, with particular emphasis on the rights of children to be consulted and listened to (Matthews and Limb, 1999). These developments had a direct relevance for the geography of children since the UNCRC ensured that "children's access to space and place is presented as a legitimate political right, together with their inclusion in those decision-making processes which concern local environments" (Matthews and Limb, 1999: 63). Furthermore, concerned with the marginalisation of children (Vanderbeck, 2008), researchers of Children's Geographies shifted their interest towards more radical (and critical) studies questioning governmental policies and strategies which lead to the exclusion of young people from public space (Travlou, 2003). These studies addressed issues and concepts of both children and young people's rights and competence (Valentine, 1997a). The following section will detail the growth of Children's

Geographies from early studies of spatial competence to these more radical studies and those that examined the role of place in creating diverse childhoods.

3.5 The growth of Children's Geographies

The rise of Children's Geographies is well-documented (Travlou, 2003; Valentine, 2004; Mayall, 2013). Early studies were focused on children's perception of the built environment. Bill Bunge (1973) explored the spatial oppression of children in his studies of Detroit and Toronto. Kevin Lynch (1977), Colin Ward (1977) and Roger Hart (1979) focused on young people's experience of the city and neighbourhood. They looked at young people's perceptions and experiences of their local environment and their participatory role in the planning and decision-making of environmental projects (Travlou, 2003). These studies were heavily influenced by developmental psychology (Vanderbeck, 2008), with the child's world "constructed as a Cartesian space that opened up with increased knowledge and development" (Aitken, 2001: 27). Studies were largely focused on children's mapping abilities, considering that spatial competency increased as the child's horizons expanded (Aitken, 2001). For example, Matthews (1992) combined "mapping work by children with environmental psychology to explore young people's perceptions of their local neighbourhoods, and to understand the mapping abilities of even very young children" (Kraftl *et al.*, 2007). These early studies indicated the potential significance of Children's Geographies to academics and planners and paved the way for future studies (Kraftl *et al.*, 2007).

Increasingly, as early studies of childhood were absorbed, a critical strand of thought emerged from the more scientific methodology and focus of previous research. The rigid scientific-basis and top-down approach of research was increasingly criticised for not trying to understand 'childhood' from a child's perspective (Kirk, 2007). The 1980s saw the start of a 'cultural turn' in the study of childhood in sociology and geography. The concept of a universal child and the developmental stages of childhood were increasingly questioned (Valentine and Skelton, 2007), leading to childhood studies under NSSC rejecting the idea of a universal childhood and embracing children as social actors in their own right, not actors in the process of becoming adults (Ansell, 2009). Geographers played "a key role in the development of NSSC" (Barker, 2011: 413), setting out the role of place in determining differences in childhood (Holloway and Valentine, 2000).

Informed by "an impetus to work *with* children (rather than on their behalf)" (Kraftl *et al.*, 2007: 400, authors' emphasis), the 1990s saw a huge jump in the number of studies examining children's use and perception of the built environment from their perspective. These addressed different cultural

and other influences that might affect such use and perception (Ansell, 2009). Tucker (2003) feels that childhood research which 'looks up' from young people's perspectives can illuminate important issues and generate valuable data for studies of specific generations (2003: 111). Researchers within the NSSC framework at this time (such as Hugh Matthews, Melanie Limb, Caitlin Cahill and Barry Percy-Smith) worked with teenagers in their 'fourth environment' (a "geography of the outdoors" Matthews and Limb, 1999: 65); those public spaces beyond home, school and playgrounds and introduced new concepts (and methods) into the field of Children's Geographies (Vanderstede, 2011).

Children's Geographies has grown from early studies on young people that examined their spatial comprehension to research with young people on the spaces of importance to their lives. In so doing, it has attempted to empower young people, encouraging participation and self-determination in accordance with the level of competence demonstrated (Matthews and Limb, 1999). Mayall (2013) summarises three key contributions of Children's Geographies to the concept of varying childhoods. Firstly, in opposition to the image of children as carefree innocents in minority world societies, highlighting their role as workers, contributors and carers in majority world societies. Secondly, researchers in Children's Geographies have focused on the everyday spaces of childhood and how these regulate children's bodies and minds. Thirdly, studies have examined how ideologies of, amongst others, 'home' and 'rural' shape childhoods (Mayall, 2013). The following section will explore studies into children and young people's use of spaces, including public space and the street, semi-public space, school, home and playground.

3.6 The spatial lives of young people

The previous sections have outlined the growing body of research in the social sciences concerning the changing concept of childhood. Holloway and Valentine (2000) claim that one of the most important contributions geography can make to research into the social construction of childhood is to illustrate the importance of place. Research on place within Children's Geographies has been focused on three built forms most commonly used by children (home, school and playground) and the outdoor places beyond this ('the fourth environment'), including streets, pavements and alleyways (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Kraftl *et al.*, 2007; Mayall, 2013).

Research is generally focused on three categories surrounding young people's strategies for use of space. These are escaping, avoiding, and challenging adult surveillance, adult gaze, and adult hegemony (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Vanderstede, 2011). Reflecting this,

Matthews *et al.* (1998a) found four kinds of 'special place' consistently represented within the important microgeographies of young people: "places away from authority; places to be with friends; places for adventure; and places for solitude" (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a: 198). Jones (2000) stresses that children do have some opportunity to operate their own spatialisations without incurring adult opposition or hostility. He categorises such 'otherable' adult spaces as: monomorphic (those dominated by particular adult use which excludes possibility of other uses); polymorphic (accommodating both adult and child spatial configurations); and disordered spaces (places that adult geography has abandoned or disregarded so they have the potential to become children's spaces) (Jones, 2000). That young people do not always work within the confines of adult-controlled and designed space is reflected in the study by Travlou *et al.*, which found that:

> For young people, the planned orderliness and physical usage suggested in the design of a place did not appear to matter, it was rather the possibility of social and physical interaction that made it valuable to them. (2008: 316).

Assumptions are made about the kind of spaces that young people should inhabit, as well as what sort of activities they should undertake there (Skelton, 2000). Whilst adults can withdraw to different places connected with work, membership or residence, young people do not always have this opportunity, access or obvious right (Matthews *et al.*, 2000a). Valentine (2004) writes that often the neighbourhood or city street, particularly after dark, is the only autonomous space that teenagers have for themselves, making it an important social arena. Woolley (2006) notes that the presence of young people in public open space is often perceived as a threat to (adults') personal safety. Littering, graffiti, drug abuse, underage sex and general rowdiness are all used to justify adult authority and increasing control over adolescents (Woolley, 2006). Valentine (2004) notes that research suggests young people do not deliberately set out to intimidate or cause trouble, but it is sometimes a by-product of their natural flow of activities. Amin (2006) believes this conflict is the product of less local and more transnational connections and the unequal provision of resources. This leads to fear, hate and anxiety in society, including suspicion of youth (Amin, 2006). Complexities and anxieties are thus in evidence from young people's use of space.

Increasing controls over young people's use of space undermine them as responsible social actors and force many back to the home environment (Matthews *et al.*, 1999), though research has shown young people have agency even in the domestic sphere (Valentine, 1997a; Punch, 2003). Teenagers may also be less restricted to this space due to greater independence (Weller, 2006). Parents are argued to use a range of techniques to keep children off the street and under their surveillance, from adult-controlled institutional activities to greater use of electronic media inside the home environment (Valentine, 2004). Children are seen as increasingly constrained and restricted in an

adult-planned and orientated space (Elsey, 2004). Their activities are centred on what adults think children should be doing, as well as an increasingly negative concept by adults of the 'abuse' of public space by children and young people (Elsey, 2004).

The Sections 3.6.1 to 3.6.5 will detail research into children's use and perception of the the 'fourth environment' beyond traditionally researched spaces most commonly associated with them (school, home, and playground) (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Kraftl *et al.*, 2007).

3.6.1 Public space and the street

After early studies focusing on neighbourhood and city spaces, and developmental studies focusing on children in the home, school and playground, studies on Children's Geographies began to focus on what Matthews and Limb (1999) call the 'fourth environment'. This is outdoor public spaces outside of those traditionally researched. Holloway and Valentine (2000) note that much research on children's presence in public space has worked to address concerns regarding their safety or concerns regarding the flaunting of adult control by unruly behaviour. Matthews *et al.* (2000a) focused on the street to highlight the continued importance of these areas to young people. This is despite societal/media concern over their use of such spaces, fear for the safety of children within them, and the impression that outdoor play had been rejected in favour of the lure of the home environment with its televisions and games consoles (Matthews *et al.*, 2000a), internet (Holloway and Valentine, 2003), or changing spatial practice from mobile phone use (Pain *et al.*, 2005; Leyshon *et al.*, 2013). In their study, Matthews *et al.* use the term street as a metaphor for all public outdoor places where children can be found, such as "roads, cul-de-sacs, alleyways, walkways, shopping areas, car parks, vacant plots and derelict sites" (2000a: 63). Holloway and Valentine (2000) feel that urban street environments are special places to young people, not just appendages to the adult world. This is echoed by Chiu (2009) who found that skateboarding on the streets of New York produced a rich experience, creating a mental, social, and body space, despite social controls imposed on skateboarders.

Matthews (2003) sees the street as a space that remains flexible as to adult and child uses. He argues that one of the reasons young people use the street is that it is a place of socialisation outside of adult control and surveillance, particularly at night (Matthews, 2003). It is a fluid domain, or what Soja (1996) would term 'thirdspace', set between childhood and adulthood where the process of separation can be played out (Matthews, 2003). Matthews (2003) argues that the street is a place where young people are attempting to shed their childhood selves and forge a new public, adult identity. Previous research has focused on how young people, who are beginning to construct their

(independent) adult identities, seek places that are neglected by adults (Matthews *et al.*, 2000a; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005). Young people on the verge of adulthood are considered to need to socialise, try out different roles, observe a variety of adult roles and prepare for community decision-making (Chawla and Malone, 2003). In order to try out these different roles, they need to move between places of retreat (out of adult control/surveillance) and places of interaction (see and be seen) (Chawla and Malone, 2003). Young people can try out different identities in the street, claiming and colonising this space to develop their identities (Valentine, 2004; Holland *et al.*, 2007a; Ansell, 2009). The street becomes a lifestyle choice (Chiu, 2009).

The use of public space by young people for trying out various identities and roles has been claimed to lead to societal conflict. This is because of the claiming and subversion of public, 'adult' space for (private) socialisation and theatre (Valentine, 2004; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; van der Burgt, 2013). Nolan (2003) comments that the presence of a large group of youths in public space is considered out of place and may lead to illegal behaviour. Matthews and Limb note that a "group of teenagers in a public park will frequently be chased away and so made to vacate that very territory created by adults to contain young people" (1999: 69). Similar findings were reported by Tucker and Matthews (2001) and Leyshon and DiGiovanna (2005) in relation to rural spaces, as will be discussed at Section 3.7.4 below. Collision between adults and young people over use of space has led Aitken (2001) to identify a decline in available places for young people to try out their adult roles and identities.

Weszkalnys found in his research in Berlin that young people hanging out in public space was an "expression of their wish to partake in public life and give purpose and direction to their actions" (2008: 260), offering positive self-development. Young people may wish to engage in public life and, even if they do not use space as intended, they care about its appearance. Chawla and Malone (2003) found that young people noticed and were distressed by poor urban environments. These were defined by their participants as areas that were barren, littered, occupied by bullies, or separated from housing by dangerous roads (Chawla and Malone, 2003). Tucker and Matthews (2001), however, found evidence that littering is frequently used as a form of social 'scenting' so that young people may mark their territory, their favourite informal leisure spaces. This demonstrates the plurality of use of space by young people.

Skelton (2000) argues that the social and cultural adult/child boundary referred to in Section 3.3 above is given spatial significance in the public/private binary. Sennett (1970) outlines the etymology of 'public' and 'private', stating they are both creations of the modern period. 'Public' originally referred to a sense of commonly owned property and goods, whilst 'private' was first used to refer to

the privileges of ruling strata (Giddens, 1991). This meaning had shifted by the eighteenth century to acquire the modern usage. Staeheli and Mitchell (2007) believe that the meaning of the word 'public' has become increasingly contested as identity-based movements in politics and the academy raise questions of how 'the public' is constituted and who populates it. This makes it difficult to talk about an abstract, disembodied public, or something being for 'the public good', and has permeated geographical thought through increasing questions about what constitutes public space, what makes space public and who it is for (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). Public space reflects dominant power relations in society and politics (Sibley, 1995; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). As a result of the social and political elements of public space, Laughlin and Johnson (2011) believe that to understand public space, there needs to be a consideration of the broader socio-political context that shapes the physical environment. This facilitates understanding what relations are at play in producing public space and potentially excluding certain undesirable elements of society, such as young people.

Jackson (1995) argues that dominant social groups exercise power in a downwards direction, excluding less powerful groups from resources over which the dominant group have control. The exclusionary nature of public space often leads marginalised groups to search for alternate space to be seen and heard (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). This is reflected in public space used by children and young people; it is being produced as a 'naturally' adult space, designed to meet adult requirements, that excludes young people (Valentine, 1996; Woolley, 2006; Brown, 2013). Any use of public space by young people that falls outside of these designations is framed as deviance and controls (such as curfews and restrictions on activities) are consequently introduced (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Freeman *et al.*, 1999; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Woolley, 2006; Chiu, 2009). These controls marginalise young people, who are often seen as illegitimate occupiers of adults' space (Ansell, 2009; Kato, 2009; Woolley, 2006; Brown, 2013), and reinforces adults' dominance of public space to reassert their hegemony (Matthews *et al.*, 1999).

Cahill (2000) argues that young people sometimes act tough because "posing as a threat to society may afford a certain freedom for street negotiations" (2000: 266). This suggests young people do not intend to dominate, but use posturing as a form of self-defence. This is connected to their development of what Cahill (2000) terms 'street literacy': a social and experiential knowledge of their environment that helps them successfully negotiate it over time. One rule of the neighbourhood that Cahill (2000) highlights is 'minding your business' or invisibility. Young people employ this to keep out of trouble, but as Cahill (2000) argues, these rules are a form of social control, a disciplinary function that maintains and reproduces the dominant social structure they are trying to avoid, so young people remain subjugated by adults. Despite such behaviour attempting to avoid conflict, clashes

between young people and social forms of control do still occur, leading to pervasive 'moral panics' over youth cultures (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).

Furlong and Cartmel (1997) consider that the media generate such panics over youth due to the threat youth cultures are thought to pose to the symbolic order of society; an order which guarantees teenagers' subordination to adults. Blame for perceived unruliness is rooted by the media in the breakdown of authority sustained by law and religion, and increasing laxity of parental control (Valentine, 2004). Skelton (2000) argues that such moral panics have a continued and profound impact on the social relations surrounding children and young people. Sibley (1995) believes they are flashes of (adult) society trying to re-define (subverted) boundaries, as adults try to regain control of 'adult' spaces from discrepant teenagers. They are increasingly about instilling fear in the population to justify punitive action against what is viewed as a 'deviant' group (Valentine, 2004) and restricting young people's use of public space either because of 'stranger danger' or to reassert control over troublesome youth, such as through the imposition of curfews (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Malone, 2002; Pinkster and Fortuijn, 2009; Hodgkinson and Tilley, 2011; Brown, 2013). This perception of deviance is sometimes reproduced by young people in their own conception of other youth. Leyshon (2008) found in his research that young people in rural areas construct their (rural) identity as different and superior from urban youth who they characterise as deviant, as hanging out in gangs and taking drugs.

Controls on young people's use of public space do not attempt to understand the reasons for their behaviour, only regulate it (Woolley, 2006). Matthews *et al.* (1999) argue that curfews reinforce a sense of powerlessness and alienation for young people. Young people are seen as a polluting presence on the streets and (along the lines of Sibley, 1995) curfews are an attempt to purify public space from the troublesome 'other' of youth (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Brown, 2013). Curfews are only one way in which adults try and assert their control over young people and their use of space (Woolley, 2006). Prohibitive signs restricting ball games, skateboarding and/or cycling, and the giving over of street space to motorised vehicles, are further restrictions by adults on the freedom of the streets for young people (Freeman *et al.*, 1999). A media focus on youth disorder has also led to antisocial behaviour legislation being brought in leading to the criminalisation of youth for behaviour that was once seen as nothing more than incivility (Hodgkinson and Tilley, 2011). This is argued to stigmatise young people and make them more likely to act antisocially in defiance of this perception (Hodgkinson and Tilley, 2011).

Despite restrictions, literature shows the street remains an important place in the social and spatial world of children and young people (Chiu, 2009; Horton *et al.*, 2014). 'Doing nothing' on the street

becomes increasingly important in a culture where children are ferried from one activity to another (Valentine, 2004). Aitken (2001) notes that for children in the minority world in particular, the freedom to be unsupervised and do nothing is becoming less and less. Children, unlike adults, have little choice in where to live and, in this sense, live in 'forced habitation' (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005). The street is often the only autonomous space that young people can claim for themselves (Valentine, 2004). Travlou, echoing Katz (2001), writes that "unfortunately, young people's independent mobility and spatial autonomy appears to be decreasing alarmingly as adults' spatial control is becoming stronger" (2003: 8). Vanderbeck (2008), Sharpe and Tranter (2010) and Benwell (2013) are amongst those, however, who challenge this idea that children's use of outdoor space is necessarily 'adult versus child' and call for greater enquiry into how adult structures, or adult accompaniment, might actually be a positive experience for both adults and children when using outdoor space.

3.6.2 Semi-public space

As reflected upon previously, young people are increasingly constrained and controlled by adults' hegemony and surveillance of (public) space. This is being compounded by the increasing privatisation of public space (Valentine, 2004). Many public leisure activities (for example, shopping malls and purpose-built play areas as part of restaurants and service stations) are now privatised, thus blurring the boundaries of public and private space (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Kato, 2009; Vanderstede, 2011). This confuses the rights of those who can and cannot use such spaces and what is a legitimate activity within them (Jackson, 1995).

Casey *et al.* (2007) found through their research into mature mixed tenure (suburban) communities that children of both tenures were enthusiastic supporters of their local shops. Matthews *et al.* (2000b) found that shopping malls constitute an important cultural space for young people; a special kind of 'street'. In an adult-controlled world, use of semi-public spaces has the potential to further marginalise teenagers' use and experience of the built environment through further forms of control. In shopping malls, surveillance is provided by CCTV, whilst security guards control the space so that social groups are limited to those that are desirable or able to afford to consume goods (Amin, 2006; Kato, 2009). This drives out, and prices out, undesirable elements (Valentine, 2004; Kato, 2009). Sibley describes such spaces as constituting "a kind of ambiguous, seemingly public but actually private space" (1995: xi). Conversely, this panoptic surveillance offers a safeness that is seldom experienced by young people when in other outdoor spaces (Matthews *et al.*, 2000b).

Vanderstede (2011) explores how shopping malls, as a semi-private space, allow certain degrees of appropriation, with young people exploring their identities through acts of compliance and rebellion in a safe environment. Research by Kato (2009) into teenagers' activities in shopping malls showed that young people adopted browsing habits in order to give the appearance of adulthood. The shopping mall became a place where they could test and perform their adult identities as they shed the mantle of childhood (Kato, 2009). As well as coming into conflict with adults whilst using public space, Vanderstede (2011), drawing on Kato's (2009) research on browsing, notes that teenagers sometimes act like adults as a strategy to make themselves 'invisible' and avoid conflicts with adults in public or hybrid space (such as shopping malls). This reflects Cahill's (2000) findings regarding young people on the streets of Lower East Side Manhattan 'minding their business' to evade (perceived) threats. Thus, research regarding such semi-private places reflects wider research on children in public space; children are regulated and sometimes marginalised by adult controls, but continue to shape their identities and behaviour within and around them, including possibly maintaining and reproducing the dominant social structure or situation they are trying to avoid (Cahill, 2000).

3.6.3 School

Whilst the built form of schools has been found to reflect particular imaginings of childhood (Kraftl, 2006), of most relevance to this research is the move from Primary to Secondary School, which occurs at age 11 in the UK. Studies in Children's Geographies have repeatedly highlighted the importance of the age of 11 as marking a juncture in children's spatial lives (Weller, 2007a). Many make the transition from primary to secondary school, with some parents consequently seeing it as a time to practice being streetwise (Holland *et al.*, 2007b). Young people have been found to appropriate more space in their localities through independent exploration away from the home base, in preparation for the 'big' secondary school (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). Such a change leads to young people developing new and more autonomous relationships with their local environments, as they gain independence and map new routes to school (Holland *et al.*, 2007b). Giddings and Yarwood (2005) state that this period also sees new social relationships being created, leading to new spatial identities. Defining an age group to examine in this research project is important and the increase of independent movement and new social relationships suggests that the age of 11 is an appropriate age from which to begin the study. Framing the research from ages 11-16 years should enable study of the greater independent movement suggested at this age so lending the research more depth, whilst also satisfying Weller's (2006) criticism that teenagers are the neglected age group in research of Children's Geographies.

3.6.4 Home

Much research about the psychological development of children has focused upon the home environment (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Halldén (2003) reflects that the home is looked upon as a shelter for children, similarly reflected in Valentine's (2004) concerns that adults try to withdraw children into the private environment of the home to keep them under surveillance, to keep them safe and keep them out of trouble. Sibley (1995) reflects on the fact that domestic environments are spaces of conflict, with adults excluding their offspring from certain rooms or limiting their time for certain activities. Domestic space becomes both an enabling and a constraining mechanism (Sibley, 1995; Valentine, 2004). Children have little control of these spaces (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005) and, living with their parent or guardian, have "no obvious right to spaces of their own" (Lieberg, 1995: 720). Further research has focused on how children actually play an active role within these structures to (re)negotiate their parents' understandings of their ability and competence in managing their own (spatial) lives (Valentine, 1997a). Children may, therefore, be more active participants in negotiating domestic space than previously supposed. This study will add to this research by exploring what home represents for young people in mixed communities and how this compares to existing literature.

3.6.5 Playground

Within the geography of children's playgrounds, research has been focused on the quality of play equipment, child-centred design of equipment, and participation of children within the design process (Kraftl *et al.*, 2007). Karsten (2003) believes that "playgrounds are intended to compensate for the daily restrictions that children growing up in urban environments encounter" (2003: 457). Reflecting the child-centric nature of this space, decision-making on playgrounds is often an area where children's voices can be (legitimately) heard as they have an accepted role here (Ansell, 2009). There have also been explorations of the gendered world of the playground, with territorialism exhibited by young people in carving out places in evidence within the playground environment (Massey, 1998; Tucker, 2003; Newman *et al.*, 2006). Further work has explored the increasing commercialisation of leisure space for children (McKendrick *et al.*, 2000).

De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie (2008) note that informal playspaces (generated by children themselves) are often more appealing to children than designed and formal playgrounds. This complements findings by Travlou *et al.* (2008) surrounding the possibilities of spaces making them valuable to children and young people. Tucker (2003) relates that girls in her research often felt unwelcome in playgrounds, the very spaces set aside by adults for their use. Research by Karsten

(2003) contemplates the gendered world of the playground, noting that girls are marginalised and less visible than boys and that there are clear activities and roles that both sexes maintain and rarely experiment with. Newman *et al.* (2006) touch on the marginalisation of girls and some boys in school playing grounds as space is given over to the construction of masculine hegemony through the masculine physicality of football. In playgrounds, therefore, forms of control also relate to other users of the playground, rather than solely adults designating certain types of behaviour in these spaces. Subtle power relations and differences between young people's social groups shape their use of space (Matthews and Tucker, 2007; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). It will be interesting to add to this research by understanding who uses the playgrounds in the two mixed communities studied and what determines their use of such.

Research into the spaces of childhood demonstrates the complex determinants of children's use and perception of the built environment. Children live in adult controlled and designed spaces that offer them no autonomy (Valentine, 2004). They are variously theorised as being subject to the adult gaze, adult hegemony and adult surveillance of space (Vanderstede, 2011). The street is portrayed as a place of freedom from these controls (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Valentine, 2004; Brown, 2013), whilst the quasi-private space of shopping centres offers an ambiguous, constructed space (Sibley, 1995) that nevertheless provides a place of safety for young people (Matthews, 2003). Social control and constructs of childhood are played out spatially through the design and construction of schools (Sibley, 1995; Kraftl, 2006), whilst playgrounds are teeming with gender disparity and social group conflict between young people (Karsten, 2003; Tucker, 2003; Newman *et al.*, 2006). The spaces of childhood are crisscrossed with lines of difference and power relations enforcing social hegemony.

3.7 Critical reflections on the variable spatial lives of childhood

The previous section detailed the spaces examined through research in Children's Geographies. Following Mayall's (2013) summary of the contribution of Children's Geographies to the varying conception of children and childhood, this section will establish what role social or cultural labels and ideologies play in the spatial lives of children.

Aitken writes that "places are important for young people because these contexts play a large part in constructing and constraining dreams and practices" (2001: 20). It is the playing out of children and young people's lives in space that shapes their ideas and realities (Massey, 1998; Aitken, 2001). Spatial lives are important formers of social lives, and vice versa. One such form of identity is the

sociological concept of 'subculture'. Matthews and Tucker argue that subculture is an "inadequate descriptor and an (in)convenient sociological badge" (2007: 101). They reject it on the basis that, whilst there may be an appearance of sameness from the outside, young people who are labelled as coming from within the same group actually "distinguish themselves from others around them" (Matthews and Tucker, 2007: 101). Whilst young people may be seen as a homogeneous group, there are in reality multiple different groups. Matthews and Tucker propose the concept of 'moral terroir' from the French *terroir* (where the micro-conditions of the physical landscape combine to produce different quality wine) to respond to this issue and understand differences of this kind. This ensures understanding of the way in which:

> ...elements of social (age, sex, social class) and cultural (race/ethnicity, lifestyles, parenting) and environmental (neighbourhoods, street, sides of roads) properties come together in unique 'moral' topographies.
>
> Matthews and Tucker, 2007: 101

Matthews and Tucker (2007) argue that it is how young people work with and within these structures and power relations that gives rise to subtle yet profound variations in their identities and the spatial outcomes that ensue. This is mirrored in research by De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie (2008) who found that children's use of and presence in space is based on restrictions caused by (children from other) social groups' use and presence, with different groups developing different patterns of use across time and space. Matthews *et al.* (1998a) define the concept of a 'microculture' as a useful framework to make sense of groups of young people and their range of behaviour. They describe these as "created by combinations of personalities, the locations that they make their own and the events that they share" (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a: 196). Children's use and perception of space is, therefore, variegated, with Children's Geographers searching for a framework through which to distinguish these differences. This research will build on this work to understand societal, cultural and other markers that shape interaction and activity in mixed communities.

3.7.1 Mobility

Recent developments in neuropsychiatry indicate that parts of the brain responsible for the acquisition of spatial knowledge are still developing up to the age of 20, meaning that independent travel is important for environmental cognition (Weston, 2010). Matthews (1986) found that the different ways that boys and girls come into contact with their environment seems to "have important implications for their cognitive abilities" (1986: 301). Consequently, Weston argues that "in building and rebuilding cities, facilitation of independent mobility of young people should be the highest priority" (2010: 326). Adding to this argument is a continued concern regarding rising obesity

levels amongst young people, leading to calls to raise physical activity levels (Karsten, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Weston, 2010).

Matthews and Tucker (2007) and Carver *et al.* (2013) found through their research that many young people rely on parents for transport. Matthews and Tucker (2007) argue that middle-class children, who often are the ones with the funds and ability to travel, develop 'nomadic' identities through high levels of mobility. It will be particularly pertinent to explore the link between class and transport patterns through this examination of mixed communities. Many parents welcome the opportunity to provide transport because in this way "they were able to regulate their children's behaviour, influence where they went and who with, time they were able to return" (Matthews and Tucker, 2007: 102). Such spatial behaviour can, however, lead to many young people failing to develop an integrated view of their place of residence, seeing it as islands of connectivity as they are shuttled from place to place (Weston, 2010).

For most young people, walking is the most common form of transport (Mackett *et al.*, 2007; Brown *et al.*, 2008; Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009; Weston 2010). Horton *et al.* (2014) have also called for children's geographers to explore walking as an everyday practice, not just a form of transport. Leyshon (2011) found that walking gave rural young people a sense of control, allowing them detailed exploration of places and the power to claim a sense of self. Research by Casey *et al.* (2007) revealed that young people have smaller spatial networks than adults. Reliance on walking as an independent mode of transport has been found to limit children's geographies to the local environment, which takes on heightened importance and creates feelings of frustration towards or enthusiasm for it (Chawla and Malone, 2003; Weston, 2010; Leyshon, 2011).

The greater geographic mobility afforded by the greater resource availability of higher socio-economic families has implications as to the making of place in mixed communities due to Seamon's idea of 'place-ballet' (Seamon, 1980). Valentine (1997a) argues that young people actually have a good understanding, often better than their parents, of local 'place ballets' as they spend more time within their neighbourhood. Young people engage more fully with the incidents and rumours of the neighbourhood, unlike their parents who work away from home and predominantly move by cars (Valentine, 1997a). This research will explore whether this is also the case for young people in mixed communities.

Differences in mobility have been found with regards to gender, where boys are generally found to be more independently mobile than girls (Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009). Previous studies have found that parental anxiety over safety leads to a restriction on children's freedom of movement,

particularly girls (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). Gender differences in modes of transport have also been found, with boys were more likely to walk around their local area and girls more likely to travel further afield by public transport (Brown *et al.*, 2008). Brown *et al.* (2008) call for a more feminine model of independent transport that accounts for social networks, public transport and semi-privatised public spaces to reveal how girls' mobility may be different to boys, and by no means less restricted, when compared to previous research using masculine models.

Children's Geographies have also increasingly explored the (neglected) experiences of children and young people affected by disability (Pyer *et al.*, 2010). As Pyer *et al.* note "geographies of 'disabilities' pose much broader questions pertaining to younger people's lives which have implications for all research with children and young people" (2010: 2). Research by Valentine and Skelton (2007) challenges the developmental stage model of childhood to adulthood by reflecting on what D/deaf young people see as the most important transition in their lives: learning British Sign Language (BSL) and the independence this gave them. Transport, independent mobility and disability are thus important shapers of both spatial and social lives.

3.7.2 Socio-economic position

With place identified by academics as an important part of identity definition and creation (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Aitken, 2001; Weller, 2007b), the spatial play of leisure and consumer activities is increasingly important, particularly with the uncertain economic and social future of postmodern youth (McCulloch *et al.*, 2006). Kintrea *et al.* (2010) found that social class is still a strong shaper of young people's culture and identity, whilst McCulloch *et al.* (2006) argue that a young person's socio-economic position directly affects and limits their subculture 'choice'. Matthews (2003) notes that streets are a place of affordance for young people, whilst the attached cost of activities outside of hanging out on the street mean that many children are constrained to their neighbourhood (Freeman, 2010). Kintrea *et al.* (2008) note from their research into territoriality in disadvantaged areas in London and Glasgow that the highly pressured (and overcrowded) housing market, comprised mainly of small flats, led to an absence of personal space at home for many young people. As O'Brien *et al.* note "being home based by choice in a materially rich, spacious house is a world apart from enforced exclusion in an overcrowded inner-city flat." (2000: 274). Weller (2007b) neatly summarises the influence of economic resources on spatiality, stating that many teenagers are frustrated at the general lack of affordable facilities where they live and do not have the means to travel, so everyday places such as parks, village greens, benches and bus stops become highly significant in their teenage lives. Thus, spatial identities of children and young people are affected by

economic resources. It is important, therefore, that this exploration of young people in mixed communities explores the extent to which this is true for them.

The increasing commodification and privatisation of leisure has been highlighted by researchers as creating an important class division with respect to use of public space (Karsten, 2003). Karsten and Pel argue that hanging about by adolescents is seen as "mainly a lower-class phenomenon" (2000: 327), though skateboarding has a middle-class status. Research by De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, (2008) into public space as a co-educator of children found that some children from an upper-middle class neighbourhood were afraid of public space. Freeman (2010), however, found that use of the street as playspace by children was not class-dependent.

The increased regulation of children's activities is considered to be a result of parental concerns for their child's safety (Woolley, 2006; Freeman, 2010). The extent of parental control ensures children can be spatially 'segregated and chaperoned' to preserve familial religious integrity as well as cultural reproduction of middle-class, gendered lifestyles and identities (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). In a study of children's independent spatial mobility, O'Brien *et al.* (2000) give a particular example of one 11 year old girl in a 'safe' outer London suburb whose mother carefully planned activities for her that were bounded by principles about a proper and appropriate way of life for a girl of her social position. Even with this regimented approach to her leisure activities, the girl reported a full life with many friends and a full range of interests and passions (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). O'Brien *et al.* (2000: 270) felt that children's choices and actions in constructing their lives were bound by the opportunities and constraints of their family 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977) and, amongst others, their material resources. Habitus is a property of social agents that is "both structured by conditions of existence and generates practices, beliefs, perceptions, feelings and so forth in accordance with its own structure" (Maton, 2008: 51). In this respect, therefore, the values, disposition and expectations of their family will affect how young people embody and internalise social structure and social interactions (Cahill, 2000). Patterns of social contact can be explained by similarities in habitus (Crossley, 2008), though identity creation plays a role alongside this as adolescents are "actively looking for an identity apart from their families and exploring identities and activities with their friends" (Weston, 2010: 327).This research project will examine to what extent use of space in mixed communities is segregated on the basis of class and subculture or other social markers.

3.7.3 Gender differences

Research in Children's Geographies challenging the idea of a universal childhood has explored the importance of gender to differing spatial relationships and maps of childhood. Karsten (2003)

highlights that whilst children of both genders are restricted spatially, girls in particular experience daily constraints on their freedom. As part of a research project studying the gendered world of eight playgrounds in Amsterdam, Karsten (2003) found that, in each playground, the number of boys was greater than girls, with Turkish and Moroccan girls aged over 10-12 years very rarely seen. Gender differences were observed in relation to equipment quality as run down or poorly equipped playgrounds were not attractive to girls. All playgrounds evinced gendered activities and seemed spatially divided along gender lines (Karsten, 2003). This reflects the image that the street is the place for boys (Valentine, 2004), despite evidence from research by Matthews *et al.* (2000a) that girls occupy such spaces too. Similarly, Valentine (1997a) notes that previous studies have suggested that girls' use of space is more restricted than boys', despite girls commonly being ascribed a greater competence in negotiating their own safety. The research will examine whether such gender differences can be observed in new, mixed communities.

Hugh Matthews' (1986) study of the environmental cognition of children aged 6-11 found that whilst boys may be able to recall a larger area, girls "recounted more detail despite their restricted information field" (1986: 297). Matthews (1986) speculates that this is a result of girls' extended involvement in fewer places, which he argues compensates for boys' greater spatial freedom. He concludes that the "influence of gender expectation on the part of parents and other agents of socialisation provides girls with a very different view of space from that acquired by boys" (1986: 301). Tucker (2003) found in her research into the geographies of teenage girls in rural south Northamptonshire that the way in which young people make sense of and respond to their particular social and environmental context varies according to interests, capacities and inclinations. This means that even within a cohort of girls, whose behaviour may be viewed as the same from the outside, their activities and actions within their (rural) environment may be very different.

Such research underlines the gendered development of children along cultural and ethnic boundaries. As a consequence, girls and boys have different desires and expectations from their environment, and it is these differences that need to be researched and understood in order that better spaces can be created for both.

3.7.4 Urban and rural

Whilst Matthews and Limb (1999) established an agenda for Children's Geographies, this neglected to mention rural youth (Leyshon, 2008). Publications on the geography of rural youths remain limited, with writing primarily urban in focus (Leyshon, 2008). Research in rural areas has focused on the popular imagining of the countryside as a safe, carefree place for children; the optimal setting for

the innocence of childhood (Valentine, 2004). This rural idyll is the rural childhood 'myth' (Tucker and Matthews, 2001). Tucker and Matthews (2001) explode this myth by detailing how many girls in rural areas feel unwelcome in the very spaces set aside by adults for their use. Such exclusionary practices work in both ways. Leyshon (2008) found that young people construct the rural idyll as a stable, exclusionary identity for themselves within it, through collective rejection of an imagined other. He notes that young people themselves draw on such "symbolic representations in their own accounts of rural living" (2008: 8). The key sites and siting of a village, its pub, cottages, shop and church against the backdrop of a green and fertile landscape, are revered by young people in their understanding of their own rural identity (Leyshon, 2008).

Matthews and Tucker detail the "'profound emptiness' of rural places for many teenagers and the falseness of the consolation of the myth of the idyll" (2007: 100). Tucker (2003) believes that one of the consequences of a lack of public space in rural areas, particularly play spaces such as recreation grounds, is that young people become highly visible and so more subject to adult scrutiny. This is also reflected by Leyshon and DiGiovanna who note that in rural areas "one of the consequences of the competition for space is that young people are subject to adult scrutiny and in many cases disapproval" (2005: 268). The suburbs, meanwhile, are felt by Valentine (2004) to particularly have a certain moral order based on "an overwhelmingly powerful and widely understood pattern of restraint and non-confrontation" (2004: 88). This pattern of behaviour frequently leads to conflict with teenagers who are perceived to threaten this order, disturbing the peace and tranquillity of adults (Valentine, 2004). Be they urban or rural spaces, it appears young people are subject to the control and scrutiny of adults. This leads to young people trying to become 'invisible' (Cahill, 2000) or 'keeping to themselves' (Leyshon, 2011), defensive measures to avoid conflict. Young people are at once visible and highly invisible in urban and rural space.

On urban housing estates, when children are asked what is of concern to them on their estate, their responses are remarkably similar to adults. Bad points include crime, arson, vandalism and boredom or lack of places to go, whilst good points are parks, open space, individual homes and school (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2000; Speak, 2000; and Percy-Smith, 2002). Similarly, rural places are described as having nowhere for young people to go (Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Weller, 2007b). Despite a poor, overcrowded environment on urban estates, Kintrea *et al.* (2010) found one advantage of living in such high density areas was that friends were plentiful in the area. Smith (2013), however, found that for young people in a new rural village, friendships were based on locality, often meaning that interests were not shared and much energy had to be expended to avoid conflict and maintain bonds. When young people made transitions outside of the village, such as to college or work, such

bonds broke down because young people were introduced to a wider network of people who were more likely to share their interests (Smith, 2013).

Rural studies confront the rural myth through revealing that the experience of space and resultant identity construction is neither universal nor idyllic (Leyshon, 2008). Leyshon (2011) argues that youth inherit parental perceptions of the countryside as an unproblematic, stable and civil community. In reality, however, the loosening of local ties as social networks become built on interests, rather than proximity, is leading to change and fragmentation even in remote rural areas (Leyshon, 2011). Camina and Wood, however, found in mixed tenure, suburban communities that "life on the estate and contact with other estate residents remain important to most people" (2009: 472), although, as discussed in Section 2.3, these local ties may be more important to some social groups than to others. Petrin *et al.* (2011) found that attachment to neighbourhood in rural youth depended on competence. Generally high competence youth (those who perform well academically and socially) appear to feel strong connections with their community, value the rural lifestyle and plan to stay or return to the rural area as adults. High risk rural youth (unengaged or with behavioural or academic issues), however, have a strong desire to leave without any intention to return (Petrin *et al.*, 2011).

The imaginings of community, particularly the rural idyll, reflect the argument of Valentine (1997b) that community is used to make sense of social meanings and arrangements that are idealised rather than materialised. These idealisations may also shift over time and space. Leyshon (2008) argues for a new framework from which to understand (rural) youth that takes account of identity as an unstable societal construction.

3.8 Young people and community

Research shows that children have a powerful desire for inclusion in the life of their communities (Bartlett, 2002). Research by Panelli *et al.* (2002) has shown, however, that frequently the "spaces and practices of 'community' were often not ones that welcomed youth or were established with them in mind" (2002: 115). This is damaging to young people's involvement in community, as Weller (2007b) highlights that regular socialising in the same spaces help participants shape their community, and Panelli *et al.* (2002) state that street spaces are used by young people to develop their own communities. These spaces and communities can, however, exclude young people on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class and age (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005).

Bill Bunge, in his 1970s studies of children at play in inner city neighbourhoods in Detroit and Toronto, considered the presence of children to be a measure of the wellness of society (Aitken, 2001). Percy-Smith makes the observation that:

> The extent to which young people are provided for within their neighbourhood can be seen as a reflection of the extent to which young people and their place needs are valued in the community. (2002: 76)

Similarly, Gill maintains that "the presence of children playing in the street can be seen as the litmus test of the level of community cohesiveness in a neighbourhood" (2007a: 7). Freeman (2010) believes that neighbourhoods that work for children can also be beneficial for others, indicating a "reciprocal relationship between the social connectivity of adults and children" (Freeman, 2010: 160). This is underlined by research showing the importance of schools, and networks built through them, for community (Clarke *et al.*, 2007; Joseph and Feldman, 2009; Vanderstede, 2011). Camina and Wood (2009) note that the ladder of community interaction developed by Thomas (1991) emphasised the importance that regular, informal contact through schools has on building community. This near-daily contact binds people to create places and communities. Clarke *et al.* (2007) note the particular link between school and community, with secondary schools increasing mobility and transitoriness as families move to get their children into the school of their choice. This mobility then weakens long-term social ties, whilst a lack of mobility is now associated with deprivation (Clarke *et al.*, 2007). It will be interesting to compare in the research how the length of residence within an area affects young people's concept of (and feeling of belonging to) a community.

In terms of the quality of community from children's perspectives, Chawla and Malone (2003) found that indicators of such were; social integration (children feel welcome and valued), cohesive community identity (clear geographic boundaries and a positive identity, expressed through activities such as art and festivals), peer gathering places that are safe and accessible places, and security of tenure (family members have legal rights over the properties they inhabit through either ownership or secure rental agreements). Negative indicators included the absence of these, along with social exclusion, stigma and political powerlessness (Chawla and Malone, 2003). Given young people do not have the power of the vote, Chawla and Malone (2003) state that young people's needs have to be embedded in the context of community needs to make Councils care about youth problems. The extent to which young people's needs are embedded in the needs of the case study communities will be explored. As with research concerning young people's use of public space, community remains a contested concept with various involvement with and consideration of young people.

3.9 Young people and participation in urban planning

Given the importance of place to young people, Matthews and Limb (1999) call for greater attention to how young people see and use the built environment to encourage the empowerment and participation of young people in decision-making on such. When research on Children's Geographies exploded in the late twentieth century, one important difference between earlier studies in the 1980s and those of the 1990s was the concentration on young people's participation in the urban planning process (Aitken, 2001). The competence of children to negotiate their spatial lives and take part in such decision-making relates to the ability of children to interpret and influence their life and environment (Valentine, 2004). Sinclair (2004), however, notes how important it is that when the views of children are sought, they must be considered and interpreted amongst other stakeholders.

The theory and practice of children and young people's participation is still developing (Sinclair, 2004). Schemes often try to provide for children (without consulting them), but also to contain them and control them as delinquents (Matthews, 2002). Involvement of children is often tokenistic (Elsey, 2004), with projects often done to children, rather than enabling them to do things for themselves (Freeman *et al.*, 1999), and may be determined by what adults feel are 'children's issues', giving them no real power in decision making that affects everybody (Wyness, 2008). As Lauwers and Vanderstede state, the participation of children and young people in spatial policy "requires more than consulting them on the type of slide to be put in a playground" (2005: 286). Freeman *et al.* believe that "children have knowledge and understanding of their lives and the communities in which they live that needs to be acknowledged and expressed" (1999: 23). Unfortunately, as their views are often not sought, children have to adapt to the environment, rather than the environment adapting to their physical and mental well-being (Freeman *et al.*, 1999). Mallan and Greenway (2011) believe that youth involvement with community planning is radiant with possibility, and argue that 'pie in the sky' ideas children are often criticised with bringing to discussions on community visioning have the potential to realise the possibilities of future planning. It will be interesting to reflect in this research what involvement young people feel they have in the planning process and their feelings concerning the design of the places that they live.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the growth of the subdiscipline of Children's Geographies from a handful of studies in the 1970s to the plethora of research on a wide variety of subjects in evidence today. Such research has moved from examining the development stages of childhood, both psychologically

and spatially, to unpicking the complex social, cultural, biological and economic forces that shape young people's geographies to challenge the notion of a universal childhood (Aitken, 2001). Studies have sought to incorporate the children's rights agenda through embracing the child as a social actor in their own right, as a human 'being' not human 'becoming' (Valentine, 2004).

The chapter explored adult/child relations and how these are played out in space. Ansell (2009) notes adults' confinement of children to special places set aside for them and a simultaneous withdrawal of access to public spaces. Research into young people's use of public space is generally separated into three categories centring on adult-youth relations, strategies to escape: adult surveillance; the adult gaze; and adult hegemony (Vanderstede, 2011). Adults are variously portrayed as the gaoler or subjugator of children's spatial lives (Matthews, 2003). Children's Geographies explores the conceptualisation of children in the public arena as angels and devils: simultaneously innocents in need of protection and deviants who should be excluded. As part of this perceived deviance, young people are thought to subvert the public/private binary of space, and so need purifying from it (Sibley, 1995) until they behave in a way that conforms to adult views on appropriate behaviour. Public space becomes eroded, as certain groups are excluded and marginalised from them (Valentine, 2004).

The chapter explored how Children's Geographies have moved on from early studies exploring neighbourhood and city spaces, to examine children within the home, school and playground environment and what Matthews and Limb (1999) term the 'fourth environment', public spaces beyond the domestic, institutional and spaces set aside for play. The street has been identified as an important place for young people to develop their identities (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a), but it is also a place of conflict between young people and adults (Valentine, 2004; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005) where young people have to develop 'street literacy' (Cahill, 2000) as a defence mechanism. Semi-public spaces represent a new kind of street that is relatively safe due to surveillance by CCTV and security guards (Matthews *et al.*, 2000b). This surveillance, however, also creates conflict as young people are driven from such spaces due to being characterised as undesirable (Kato, 2009; Vanderstede, 2011). Schools were important spaces due to their material embodiment of educational practices (Kraftl, 2006) and their importance to the development of children's independent mobility through greater freedom upon the move from primary to secondary school (Holland *et al.*, 2007b). Homes were explored as places where young people have little control (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005), as places of shelter (Halldén, 2003) and where young people play an active role in determining their geographies (Valentine, 1997a). Finally, playgrounds were explored in terms of gender differences (Karsten, 2003) and the differences between young people's use and

enjoyment of formal and informal playspace (De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008; Travlou *et al.*, 2008).

The chapter has also detailed the role that mobility (both in terms of means of transport and disability), socio-economic circumstance, gender, and urban and rural environments have on the spatial lives of young people. Transport is fundamental to gaining a sense of place, with movement in everyday activities helping people to understand place and feel part of it (Seamon, 1980). Furthermore, the ferrying of children from one institutional activity to another fails to allow them the space to explore their identities by 'doing nothing' in public space (Valentine, 2004) and causes them to see their environment as 'islands of connectivity' rather than developing a coherent sense of place (Weston, 2010). Valentine and Skelton (2007) explore how for young D/deaf adults the most significant moment in their lifecourse, that enables them to gain independence, is learning BSL. Such research demonstrates the plurality of experience of space.

With regards to socio-economic circumstance, Matthews (2003) notes that the street is a place of affordance for children from lower income families, whilst Kintrea *et al.* (2008) note the importance of the street to those children living in cramped accommodation that lacks personal space. Finally, the role of gender and the differences between urban and rural environments have been explored. Gender differences have been observed in use of the street, spatial freedom and the playground (Matthews, 2000; Karsten, 2003), but O'Brien *et al.* (2000) believe that certain differences can be attributed to use of a masculine model for understanding children's mobilities. Differences between rural and urban geographies were explored in terms of the paucity of welcoming facilities for youth in rural areas (Tucker, 2003), with the profound emptiness of rural spaces exploding the myth of the rural idyll (Tucker and Matthews, 2001), though Leyshon (2008) found the concept of rurality is important to rural youth's construction of their identities. Urban youth were found to be keen observers of their environment (Chawla and Malone, 2003). These factors only serve to underline the need to understand children's use of space from their perspective, rejecting any notion of a universal childhood to understand the differences that shape use of space and how this affects identity formation (and vice versa).

Moving onto the role of children within community, the chapter explored previous research which has found close ties between schools and communities, with the school providing a focal point for meeting and increasing transitoriness as families move within the catchment of their preferred secondary school (Clarke *et al.*, 2007). Children have also been found to have a powerful desire for inclusion within their communities (Bartlett, 2002). This is despite the often tokenism involvement of

children and young people in decision-making, particularly when it comes to planning the urban environment beyond the playground (Lauwers and Vanderstede, 2005).

Following on from the gaps in research highlighted by this review of existing literature, this study will rectify the neglect of teenagers within research (Weller, 2006), examine more than one group of teenagers to take a broader standpoint and compare groups (McCulloch *et al,* 2006), as well as critically engage in debate about children's agency and competence (Vanderbeck, 2008). The research will seek to understand what spaces young people use and the influences, agencies and structures affecting their use of such in new mixed communities in Northamptonshire. The following chapter will outline the context of the research areas.

4. The Case Study Communities

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters considered existing literature concerning mixed communities policy (Chapter Two) and Children's Geographies (Chapter Three). This chapter will set the background for the two case study communities. It will first discuss the county of Northamptonshire, where the research is located, and second explore the relevant planning policy at the time of the conceptualisation and development of the two case study communities. The particulars of the two areas in terms of population, housing type and tenure, and timescale of development are then discussed.

4.2 Northamptonshire

Northamptonshire is situated in the East Midlands region of England, landlocked by eight other counties (see Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2). It is 70 miles from the capital of England, London, and 55 miles from England's second most populous city, Birmingham. It was expanded significantly after being designated as a New Town in 1968 under The New Towns Act 1965. Northamptonshire's population at the last census in 2011 was 691,900, with noticeable proportional increases in the under 5 population (19% increase) and the over 85 population (33% increase) since the 2001 census (Northamptonshire County Council, 2012). It is strategically located with good transport links across the country. The M1 runs through the county and railway lines enable access to London, the East Midlands and Central and Northern England. Compared to England, Northamptonshire as a whole has a significant rural population, with more than a quarter of its population living in rural areas, though the majority live in urban or town and fringe areas (NCC and NT PCT, 2011). In terms of children and young people, the Office of National Statistics (ONS) 2009 Population Estimates suggest that they compose 25% (171,200) of Northamptonshire's population (NCC and NC PCT, 2011).

As outlined in Section 2.6.4, in February 2003 the UK Government published *Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future* (ODPM, 2003) announcing four growth areas for housing and economic development. Parts of Northamptonshire were included in one such growth area, Milton Keynes/South Midlands (MKSM), which also includes Aylesbury Vale District, Milton Keynes, and Bedfordshire (ODPM, 2003). The potential for Milton Keynes as a growth area was identified as early as 2000 in the publication of *Planning Policy Guidance Note 3: Housing* (PPG3) by the then Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR, 2000b). Northamptonshire was thus chosen as the location to focus research due to its inclusion in MKSM, its history of expansion under

the New Towns Act 1965 and development of areas of new housing under planning policy that called for mixed communities. Northamptonshire also has a rich history in terms of Children's Geographies, having been one of the study areas for the UNESCO-funded 'Growing Up in Cities' project. Research from this project contributed to early studies into children's use of the 'fourth environment' (those spaces beyond home, school and playground) (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a).

Figure 4.1 Location of Northamptonshire within England. © Crown Copyright/database right 2013. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

Figure 4.2 Location of Northamptonshire within English regions. © Crown Copyright/database right 2013. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

4.3 Relevant national and local planning policy

The tiers of planning policy, through which planning applications for development are determined, are outlined in Figure 4.3 below. Regional planning policy was revoked by the Coalition Government in 2010, though it remains of relevance in consideration of the two case study communities as it was still in place at the time of their planning and construction.

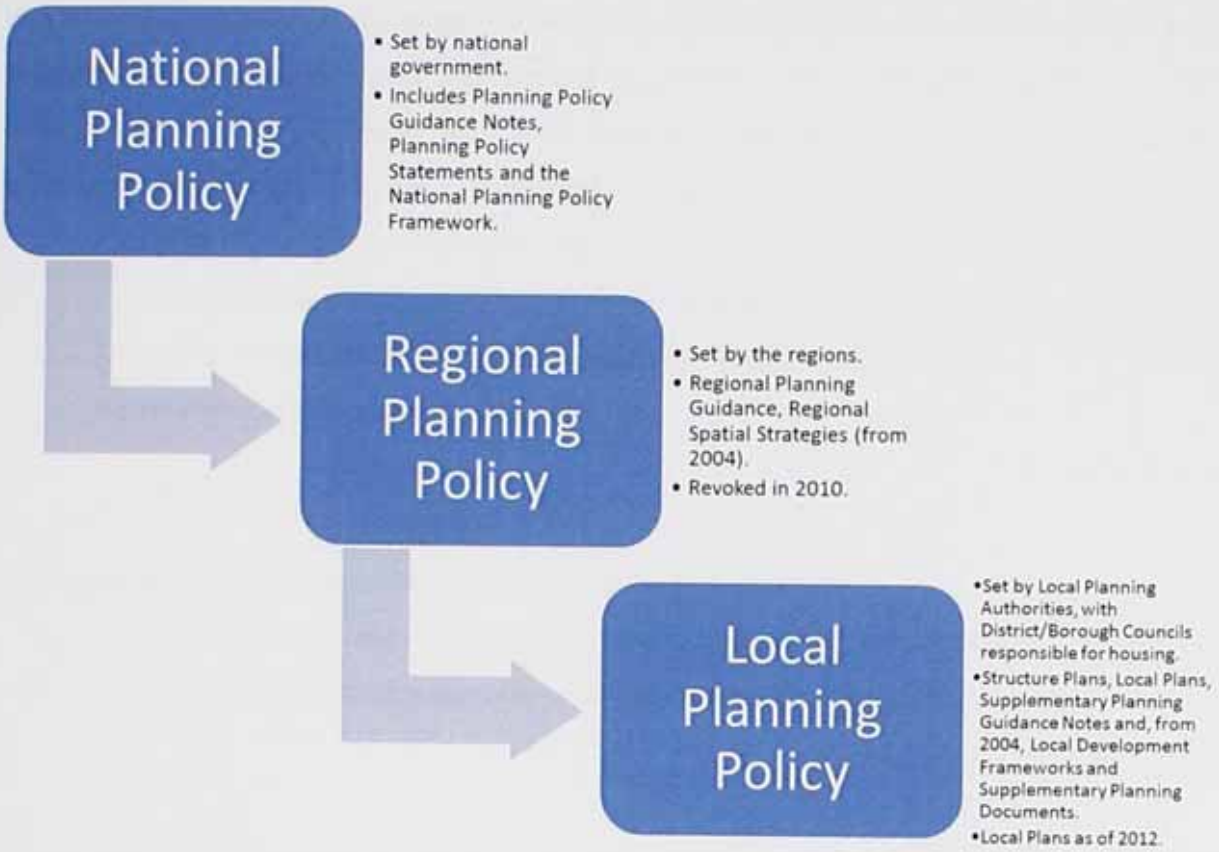

Figure 4.3 Planning policy levels under which applications for development should be determined

The national planning policy in place at the time of development of the two case study communities was *Planning Policy Guidance Note 1: General Policies and Principles* (PPG1) published in February 1997 (DoE, 1997). The primary focus of this document was the three themes underpinning the then UK Government's approach to the planning system: sustainable development, mixed use, and design (DoE, 1997). Sustainable development was concerned with balancing economic growth with protection of the environment, whilst urban design was concerned with the relationship between different buildings (DoE, 1997). For the purpose of this research, mixed use is considered the most pertinent policy to explore in detail. Mixed use developments were discussed in terms of the development of 'urban villages'. They were built on large sites in urban areas and characterised by "a mixture of uses and dwelling types, including affordable housing" (DoE, 1997: 4). They were intended to emblemise compactness and include employment, leisure and community facilities, high standards of urban design, appropriate infrastructure and services, ready access to public transport, and provide public and green spaces (DoE, 1997). The emphasis on mix of housing types and tenures

was explicit within PPG1 but preceded the development of the term 'mixed communities' and did not include specific policy programmes to secure such community mix, as discussed in Section 2.6.3.

The change of Government in 1997 led to a new approach in planning with explicit reference within policy and policy programmes to create mixed communities (see Section 2.6.4). The focus on mixed communities was first expressed in the Department for Transport, Regions and the Environment *Circular 06/1998 Planning and Affordable Housing*, which directed local planning authorities to determine applications to "encourage the development of mixed and balanced communities in order to avoid areas of social exclusion" (DETR, 1998: 2). Provision of housing was, however, the primary objective of the Circular, rather than social balance (Cole and Goodchild, 2001). Social mix in communities was further reflected in the 2000 *Green Paper on Housing*:

> Our vision for social housing in the 21st Century is of homes that support balanced, thriving communities and a high quality of life for all in urban and rural areas. We want homes that are better mixed with other tenures, with no marked differences in appearance or quality between social and private housing.
>
> DETR, 2000a: 17

It was reiterated in paragraph 2 of Planning Policy Guidance Note 3:

> ...provide wider housing opportunity and choice and a better mix in the size, type and location of housing than is currently available, and seek to create mixed communities.
>
> DETR, 2000b: 3

Mixed communities became a central tenet of planning policy under the three successive Labour governments from 1997-2010. The land-use planning system is the primary mechanism through which to provide affordable housing in England (Mulliner and Maliene, 2013). Mix of tenure is secured by way of planning obligations. Also known as 'Section 106 (S106) agreements' (of the Town and Country Planning Act 1990, as substituted by the Planning and Compensation Act 1991), these are agreements negotiated between planning authorities and developers to obligate the developer to undertake provision of infrastructure to support development where the development would otherwise be unacceptable in planning terms (Mulliner and Maliene, 2013). Under Labour and with a buoyant housing market, the number of such agreements grew, though Colenutt and Field (2013) argue that such a means to deliver affordable housing is extremely unreliable.

The national policies regarding mixed communities were reflected in the Planning/Development Briefs for the two case study sites. The Planning Brief for Community A (drafted by consultants for

the developers and adopted by the Council as Supplementary Planning Guidance) outlines the overall objectives for the development, which were built on the 'urban village' principles of PPG1:

> To provide a choice of homes, jobs, shopping facilities, recreational, community and social facilities and to encourage a sense of 'community' in a sustainable way.
>
> Local Planning Authority A, 1997a: 2

With respect to affordable housing, the Planning Brief stated that:

> Discussions are underway which will define any demonstrable lack of affordable housing in this location. If a need is established the mechanics by which it can be satisfied will be explored further.
>
> Local Planning Authority A, 1997a: 3

Local Planning Authority A sought to encourage a sense of community through a mix of homes (including tenure, subject to an identified need for affordable housing) and a mix of social, economic and environmental uses.

The Development Brief for Community B, which was prepared by consultants for the developers and adopted as a Supplementary Planning Document by the Local Planning Authority in 2002, stated:

> ...a mix of dwelling sizes and types should be incorporated throughout the development so as to create a mixed community and avoid repetition and monotony...
>
> Local Planning Authority B, 2002: 46

The Development Brief included a reference to a Local Plan policy requiring a mixed and balanced community be created through 15% of the dwellings within the development being provided as affordable housing. This was to meet the needs of households unable to secure suitable housing in the open market and in order to create a mixed and balanced community (Local Planning Authority B, 2002). The 15% affordable housing figure was determined by the Housing Needs Assessment of 2000, with 70% of these dwellings provided in the form of one or two bedroom units (Local Planning Authority B, 2002). The provision of so many affordable flats has implications for this research into young people in mixed communities, as such housing types are less likely to accommodate children. This later Development Brief makes more explicit reference to mixed communities than that for Community A, a reflection of its greater emphasis within national planning policy at the time it was drafted.

In relation to transport and community, the Planning Brief for Community A states one of the objectives for the development as being:

> To ensure that the opportunity is taken to encourage movement within and beyond [Community A] by public transport, bicycles and on foot.
>
> Local Planning Authority A, 1997a: 2

Community B had a similar transport policy, stating the aim to create a development:

> ...that is not dominated by car use, where the setting of buildings and pedestrian comfort and movement are given priority over the car.
>
> Local Planning Authority B, 2002: 4

Both developments emphasised use of transport methods other than the private car. This may reflect the influence that greater car use has on weakening local ties, as discussed in Section 2.3 (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). This emphasis is important with regards to young people given they often engage more in the local area due to their reliance on walking as a primary mode of independent transport (Valentine, 1997a; Brown *et al.*, 2008; Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009; Weston 2010).

With regards to facilities for children and young people, Community B wanted to create limited facilities for young people with no features to encourage older children:

> [Local Planning Authority B] does not wish to see the provision of a high number of lower tier 'Local Area for Play' across the development. Instead the [Local Planning Authority B] would wish to secure less formal smaller spaces, strategically sited along principal footpath routes some of which could contain limited facilities for the young but no features to encourage older children.
>
> Local Planning Authority B, 2002: 32

The outcome these policies have had on the two case study communities will be discussed in Sections 4.4 and 4.5, as well as in relation to results of the research in Chapters Six to Eight.

4.4 Community A

Community A lies 5 miles south of a large town in Northamptonshire. It was planned as a village-type development, created as an urban extension to the southern edge of this town (Local Planning Authority A, 2010). The site was initially considered for development in 1992 and evolved from several years of discussion and negotiation between the landowners, developers and the local planning authority. An outline application for development was submitted in 1997 and approved in

1998 with development commencing in 1999 and first occupation occurred in 2000. 460 dwellings had been completed by 2002, with a further 195 under construction. The housing mainly consists of townhouses, detached and semi-detached family homes. There are also some flats, and a retirement flat complex to the north of the area, alongside offices constructed as part of the development. It has a large country park, bowling green, sports pavilion, a multiple use games area, pub, restaurant, three equipped outdoor play areas, a parade of shops, doctor, dentist, primary school, nursery school and community groups (such as a football team, Scouts, and baby and toddler groups). There are a number of roads looping through the site and leading off the main arteries, prompting the Council to comment that the road layout is rather torturous (Local Planning Authority A, 2010). It lies close to a motorway junction and has good public transport links with regular buses to the town in the north and a large town in the south. Community A lies in one of the least deprived districts in England (NCC and NT PCT, 2011).

The site on which Community A was constructed consists of 230 hectares of land. It was allocated by the Local Planning Authority for approximately 1,000 dwellings and 30 hectares of mixed employment (industrial and commercial uses) (Local Planning Authority A, 1997a). There were two large-scale housebuilders. Prior to development, the area was predominantly agricultural with large areas of tree cover; the western part of the site was subject to mineral extraction and a waste disposal operation (Local Planning Authority A, 1997a). As discussed in Section 4.3, it was built on PPG1 principles of an 'urban village', which fed into the 1997 Planning Brief. The Planning Brief called for 50 social dwellings (40 shared ownership and 10 social rent) and 50 open market affordable dwellings.

In 1998, 1,000 dwellings were approved by outline planning permission. This included 90 homes provided for shared ownership and general needs, 10 fewer than originally set out in the Planning Brief. These low cost open market housing units were intentionally spread across the development. A number of the community facilities detailed were secured by the Section 106 agreement in 1998. The agreement secured affordable housing, a primary school, an outdoor sports facility, a multiple use games area, bowling green, greenways, a country park, sports pavilion and community hall. The community centre was completed in 2003.

The 2011 census ward data (which includes only Community A) showed the population of the area to be 4,404 with 392 people aged 11-16 years (9% of the total population). The majority (87%) were White British/Irish/Gypsy/Other (ONS, 2013). The housing market in the area remains healthy, as can be seen in Table 4.1 below, and the Office for National Statistics (ONS) state that only 28% (n=430) of households have one dimension or more of deprivation (ONS, 2013).

Table 4.1 House prices in Community A in April 2014 (Source: rightmove.co.uk)

House Type	Price (starting from)
1 bed	£110,000
2 bed	£113,000
3 bed	£180,000
4 bed	£250,000
5 bed	£335,000

Following completion of the development, Local Planning Authority A prepared a 'lessons' report for their Councillors so that they might learn from the development. This report commended the work of a community development worker to encourage and foster community spirit and cohesion with new residents, but noted the project should have received continued funding during later stages of construction. The report highlights successes of the development as open space and community facilities, as well as community activity and pride, but notes problems of movement via walking and cycling (Local Planning Authority A, 2010).

A typical street scene can be seen in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 Typical street view of Community A (Source: Author)

4.5 Community B

The site on which Community B now lies was initially allocated for development of no more than 450 dwellings in the 1995 Local Plan. This led to an outline application for development in 1999, which was called-in and subsequently approved by the Secretary of State in 2001, with reserved matters approval (containing the necessary details of the development prior to commencement of development) granted in 2003. Community B is an urban extension of a town situated immediately south. This town contains a small centre with shops and facilities and some employment opportunities. A larger town lies five miles to the north. A railway line, which used to have a station stop for the town, separates Community B from the small town attached to the south. Development commenced in 2004 with first occupation in 2005. The development was still under construction at the time of data collection in 2012. The site was developed by three large-scale housebuilders.

The site consists of apartments, townhouses, detached and semi-detached properties. It has two central roads with smaller streets and cul-de-sacs lying off these. It lies close to a main road and there is a regular public transport link to the nearest large town. Community facilities consist of a leisure centre, equipped outdoor play area, skate ramp and country park. There is little open, green space. No community groups were based in Community B at the time of the research. A pub and footbridge across the railway were planned for the development, but these have not yet been built and it is uncertain as to whether they will be (personal communication, 12 October 2011). A typical street view of Community B can be seen in Figure 4.5. Community B, through the Section 106 agreement, secured 132 affordable homes, as well as a leisure centre and local equipped area of play (an equipped playground). The population of the area is unclear as the Census ward within which it sits is larger than the development itself. The population of this area is recorded as 5,968 in the 2011 Census. From data available, around 7% of the population of the ward was aged 11-16 (n=444) with ethnicity being overwhelmingly White British/Irish/Gypsy/Other at 96% of the population (n=5,707) (ONS, 2013).

Prior to development, the 63 hectare site comprised open agricultural land, woodland and a nature reserve. A total of 20 hectares was allocated for residential development. Parts of the land, as with Community A, had been worked for minerals, but these had been extensively restored (GOEM, 2001). The informal intention at the time of the outline application was to construct 650 dwellings (GOEM, 2001), but the site was allocated by Local Planning Authority B for a maximum of 450 dwellings. This allocation subsequently conflicted with the publication of new national planning guidance (PPG3) in 2000, which set a higher density for development of between 30 and 50 dwellings per hectare (DETR, 2000b). This disagreement with PPG3 led to the application being called-in by the

Secretary of State, who determined that the maximum number of dwellings should be at least 700 (GOEM, 2001). The Inspector concluded that the proposal would, in some respects, "form a sustainable community, especially because of location and accessibility, and through some mix of uses and houses" (GOEM, 2001: 28). It was considered acceptable that the development did not contain shops, a school and non-leisure local facilities due to its proximity to the small town centre to the south; the Inspector also felt the development would enhance the sustainability of this town as a community (GOEM, 2001). This intervention by the Secretary of State delayed permission being granted (Local Planning Authority B, 2002). The Principal Policy Planner at Local Planning Authority B indicated that following reserved matters applications the number of dwellings accommodated by the site was closer to 900 (personal communication, 12 October 2011).

Figure 4.5 Typical street view of Community B (Source: Author)

It was the opinion of the Principal Policy Planner of Local Planning Authority B that there was a lot of turnover of population in Community B as people moved there for a bigger house, but found the lack of facilities an issue leading them to move out (personal communication, 12 October 2011). An interview with the Housing Strategy and Options Manager revealed that Community B had a high percentage of private rented properties, with many of those on the housing waiting list placed in these homes by the Council who underwrote the deposit (personal communication, 25 August 2011). Housing in Community B was not worth as much as Community A, as can be seen in Table 4.2, and the area is more deprived with 50% of households within the census ward (larger than Community B) having one or more dimension of deprivation (n=1220) (ONS, 2013).

Table 4.2 House prices in Community B in April 2014 (Source: rightmove.co.uk)

House Type	Price (starting from)
1 bed	None for sale
2 bed	£83,000
3 bed	£148,000
4 bed	£170,000
5 bed	£225,000

4.6 Conclusion

Following on from the development of mixed communities policy in Chapter Two and previous research in Children's Geographies in Chapter Three, this chapter has set out the background to the two case study areas. It has discussed the county in which they are situated and planning policy that governed their development. It outlined that the case study areas were chosen due to Northamptonshire's history of expansion under the New Towns Act, its location within MKSM growth area and previous research on Children's Geographies undertaken within the county.

Alongside Sections 2.6.3 and 2.6.4, the chapter outlined planning policy in place at the time of submission of the two planning applications for the communities. The national policies contained in PPG1 made specific reference to a mix of housing types and tenures. Planning policy changed, however, as the developments came forward. This led to a greater emphasis on mixed communities and issues over density slowing the granting of permission for Community B (DETR, 200b). This created a delay in the planning process resulting in a five year gap between first occupation of Community A and that of Community B.

The chapter established the differences in planning policy between the two case study areas. Community A was an urban village extension of the large urban area to the north, whilst Community B was an urban extension of the small town to the south. This had a consequential effect on the provision of community facilities, as Community A had more standalone services and facilities, whilst it was decided that Community B could make use of existing ones in the centre of the small town to the south. Economic differences can also be seen in the two communities, with Community A commanding higher house prices than Community B. The two communities remain distinct in their development, realisation of planning policy and provision of community facilities, as well as house value. This is considered to have had an impact on the development of community within the two areas, as will be discussed in Chapters Six to Eight. The following chapter will discuss the methods used to undertake this research into young people's social and spatial lives in mixed communities.

5. Methods

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have reviewed policy and debate surrounding mixed communities (Chapter Two), existing research within Children's Geographies (Chapter Three) and established the backgrounds of the research areas (Chapter Four). This chapter will set out the methods involved in the research project. It will discuss the rationale for selecting the study areas, the selection of participants, techniques involved in the project, the process of analysis, leaving the field, research ethics, and issues of positionality. In so doing, it will reflect on broader narratives regarding ethics and methodology within research in Children's Geographies, as well as the challenges and opportunities of research with young people in communities.

5.1.1 Selection of study area

Section 4.2 discussed how Northamptonshire was chosen as the location to focus research due to its historical accommodation of additional development and it containing some of the earliest and most extensive development in the MKSM growth area. Examination of development areas and field visits across Northamptonshire led to the selection of two case study areas. Table 5.1 sets out the particular characteristics of the chosen communities. The areas were selected based on the year of construction, number of dwellings and existence of similar community facilities across the two neighbourhoods.

The year of construction was considered important as this influenced affordable housing planning policy in place at the time of development. It was considered important that the case study areas had been constructed during the period that the Labour Government of 1997-2010 had been in power as this was when mixed communities policy was most prominent in UK Government urban policy (Kearns and Mason, 2007). Community A was developed under Conservative housing policies in the mid-90s, but granted planning permission in 1998 during the first term of the Labour Government elected in 1997. The second case study area was granted permission in 2003 under the (re-elected) Labour Government.

The size of development was considered important; Bolster *et al.* (2007) conclude that a small unit, of only about 500 people, is the most appropriate measure of neighbourhood. A threshold of 500 homes was thus thought appropriate to ensure that what was examined was a new community. The existence of community facilities was also considered an important factor as previous studies have

shown the importance of these for building a sense of community (Camina and Woods, 2009; Joseph and Feldman, 2009). The researcher saw similarities in terms of the provision, or intended provision, of community facilities and considered this would make an interesting point of comparison. The two case study areas were also interesting in their relation to the existing built-up area. Community A (see Figure 5.1) was located to the south of an existing village, albeit with the physical separation of road, fields and school, and built as an urban village extension of a town in the north despite a buffer to prevent coalescence of the two settlements. Community B (see Figure 5.2) was an extension to an existing town and separated from this by a railway track.

5.1.2 Sample size and selection

Due to the recent construction of the two case study areas, Census information was not available at the time the study commenced. The research was structured so as to gather data from an extensive survey drawing from a sample size of approximately 200 young people aged 11-16 years from the two case study areas. This sample size was chosen to ensure wide representation. Purposive sampling would then be used to select participants for in-depth research with the aim of interviewing 20-40 young people (10-20 from each case study area). The age range was selected as Weller (2006) feels teenagers are the neglected area of Children's Geographies, whilst age 11 is shown to be an important age in Children's Geographies (as considered in Section 3.6.3).

Table 5.1 Key information concerning case study areas

Case study area	Community A	Community B
Population	4,404 at time of 2011 Census (ONS, 2013).	5,968 at time of 2011 Census for super output area, including greater area than case study area (ONS, 2013).
Application description	Outline application: Development for residential (approx. 1000 houses) and employment (Class B1, B2 and B8) uses, (approximately 30 hectares), district centre (retail, social and community uses) recreation facilities, park and ride facility, open space and country parks with associated access, parking and landscaping.	Outline application: Proposed residential, leisure and 'country park' development.
Planning policy	Planning Brief, 1997 - included an illustrative development concept plan and extensive supporting material relating to design principles.	Development Brief, March 2002 states "Creation of a socially and physically cohesive community integrated with the rest of [town]" (Local Planning Authority B, 2002: 8).
Year permission granted	1998	2001
Year construction began	1999	2004
Year construction completed	2010	Ongoing at time of data collection.
Number of houses	1,000	900
Further housing proposed	2009 saw application for 450 new homes permitted – construction started with hotel completed. Housing construction yet to commence.	700 to north of existing development. Not constructed.
Community facilities	Community centre. Public open space. Church and coffee shop. Shops. Doctor's surgery, dental practice.	Leisure centre. Public open space. Doctor potentially proposed for local centre in Phase II.
Public space	Country Park. Non-equipped areas of play (NEAP) and local equipped areas of play (LEAP).	Country Park. Non-equipped areas of play (NEAP) and local equipped areas of

		play (LEAP).
Schools **Primary school –** **Secondary school –**	On site. One within 1 mile.	Off site. On site primary school proposed in Phase II. One within 2 miles.
Youth Club	Meets on Thursday. Also Scout Group. Football, cricket and cycling clubs for youth run by Parish Council.	None on site, but Youth Club and Scout Group in adjoining town.
Bus service	Yes – Hourly.	Yes – Hourly or better.

Figure 5.1 Community A (Source: Author)

Figure 5.2 Community B (Source: Author)

5.2 Research techniques

There are particular methodological considerations with respect to research with young people, as will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.5. These affected the study with respect to the perceived need for novel methods (Punch, 2002) and respecting the different cultures of childhood so that differences in gender and ethnicity are taken into account by the researcher (Kirk, 2007). A mixed method approach was thought to be the most appropriate. This enabled gathering of quantitative data on the age, gender, and tenure of residents of the case study areas, and qualitative data on the thoughts and experiences of young people living within these areas. A summary of the main stages of the research process can be seen in Figure 5.3 below. Gallagher (2009) notes that whilst quantitative methods provide large amounts of robust and reliable data, qualitative methods enable a depth of data to be gathered, ensuring a detailed understanding of young participants' lives. Qualitative and quantitative data thus enable both a depth and breadth of data to be gathered, ensuring a thorough understanding of young people in the case study communities examined.

Figure 5.3 Process of research methods

There is often a perceived need for novel methods when undertaking research with young people (Jones, 2001; Punch, 2002; Kirk, 2007). The use of traditional 'adult' research methods, such as participant observation and interviews, may mean "children can be treated in the same way as adults and display their competencies" (Punch, 2002: 330). Travlou *et al.* (2008) note that the majority of literature reviews on techniques for researching with children and young people focus on younger children, with methods for teenagers often the same as these, and any variance in methods not visible in existing literature. In practice, children are a highly differentiated group and methods suitable for younger children may not be suitable for teenagers (Hill, 1997). The wide difference between the age range examined meant a careful balance to ensure younger children understood what they were being asked to do and older teenagers were not patronised.

To ensure richness of data, multiple methods were used (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Barker and Weller, 2003; Weller, 2012). Having spoken, written and pictorial data forms would gather participants'

views on their area most thoroughly. This would enable participants, in the words of Bushin, "to access materials and resources that they can use to articulate and express their subjectivities" (2007: 329). The use of multiple methods ensured there were different ways for participants to communicate, some of which might prove better for some than others, giving them choice and control in how to express themselves (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). For verbal data, three semi-structured interviews were thought appropriate. The first would serve to build confidence and rapport, the second to talk of school term time use of space and the third to see if there was any difference in use of space during school holidays when participants had more free time (Punch, 2002; Bushin, 2007; Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). A map was used to visualise the discussion, with participants asked to affix stickers to the map to demonstrate which places they used, use pens to mark the routes, and use gold stars to mark their favourite areas. A camera was provided for participants to take photographs of places they liked and did not like in their area (Young and Barrett, 2001). The final part of the research stage was a tour of the neighbourhood led by the young person.

The case study sample was selected from a range of sources, including local schools, youth workers, youth clubs, Scout and Girl Guide groups, sports groups, alcohol outreach workers and the Northamptonshire Association of Youth Groups. Young people who socialised outside the supermarket in Community A were repeatedly approached and asked to participate in the study, but consistently declined the invitation. This shows the difficulties in trying to gain a representative sample accessing the views of all types of young people living within each community. It could be argued that all participants who voluntarily agree to give up their time and assist with research are representing a certain type of person who is willing to talk about their experiences, who may be considered more confident or of a certain type of personality that is more charitable or inclusive, given that participation will take up their free time.

Forward planning was a key aspect of the initial stage of the research project. A list of key contacts was developed and then a full plan of the research process drafted. This plan allocated a year to build up contacts and an 11 month period within which to undertake data collection. Sections 5.2.1-5.2.3 will review the stages of the research in more detail.

5.2.1 Entering the case study areas

5.2.1.1 Access

Bushin (2007) felt that accessing children was one of the most difficult stages of her research project. Concern for child protection means that there are specific procedures that must be followed to

undertake research with children (Hill *et al.*, 2004). 'Gatekeepers', that is certain individuals or institutions that provide access, must be contacted and agree to assist in order to gain access to young participants (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Existing literature has found that it is always easier to select participants from those who regularly attend particular organisations or use services, and careful consideration should be given to understanding how to access those who choose to stay away and not participate (Matthews and Tucker, 2000; Morris-Roberts, 2001). The researcher had problems accessing participants through schools and Scout leaders, either being denied permission to speak to the relevant authority figure to gain consent to carry out the research, or establishing contact but then later having this contact broken. Access was most easily gained where the researcher worked as a voluntary youth worker in Community A. This did, however, mean that the intensive research participants undertaking semi-structured interviews from Community A were recruited exclusively from the youth club. A full risk assessment was completed for all parts of the data collection prior to their being undertaken and is available at Appendix A.

5.2.1.2 Making contacts

The initial phase of the research involved making contact with 'gatekeepers', including local secondary school headteachers, youth workers, youth club leaders, Scout group leaders, coaches of sport groups, church youth clubs and the Northamptonshire Association of Youth Groups. A copy of the letter sent to initiate contact is available at Appendix B. Care was taken to build rapport, manage expectations of the project and keep gatekeepers informed (Punch, 2002), as well as making offers of summary reports and dissemination of results to assist in the work of the organisations in question (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). All such authorities were fully informed of the nature of the research and requirements of participants.

The researcher met with the Housing Strategy Manager for the Local Authority under which Community B was situated in August 2011, who provided contacts for the Senior Planning Policy Officer for the development in question and the Community Cohesion Officer. The researcher met with these contacts in October and November 2011 respectively. Email interviews were held with the Strategic Housing Officer in the area of Community A and the researcher also reviewed the planning application file at the planning office. These background interviews helped the researcher better understand the case study areas and provided contacts with professionals who might enable access. It also provided useful information on authorities' ideas of the community and particular planning issues.

Kitchin and Tate (2000) observe that access is of particular importance and care must be taken to forward plan through careful scheduling and construction of a research timetable. The initial stage of gaining access began in August 2011. Following an announcement on the Parish Council website, which was followed up by phone calls and emails to the organisers, the researcher attended a community litter pick and barbecue for young people in Community A, speaking with youth workers employed in the area, as well as Police Community Support Officers. Following this introduction, the researcher began to regularly attend the local youth club in September 2011.

In November 2011, the researcher wrote to all schools whose catchments fell within the case study areas (two in Community A, five in Community B). Following this letter, contact was established with one of the local schools in Community A. The researcher met with the Head of Geography in December 2011 to discuss administration of the questionnaire during geography lessons. It was initially difficult to gain access to the main school whose catchment included Community B. The letter was not successful, but a personal contact of the researcher led to a meeting with the Vice-Principal in January 2012. The Vice-Principal stated that the school would be happy to assist in administering the questionnaire.

The researcher also tried to access young people directly in Community B through leafleting of houses in the area. A copy of this leaflet is available at Appendix C. This invited young people to contact the researcher or complete the questionnaire online. Approximately 250 homes in Community B received a leaflet, but only one person completed the online questionnaire. This person (Susie) also volunteered participation in the research through the school. A leaflet was not thought necessary in Community A due to the access provided by the youth club.

5.2.1.3 Observation of case study areas

Observations of use of public space within the case study areas were undertaken during the day (11.30am-5pm) and evening (7-9pm) in all seasons from August 2011 to September 2012. Observations involved walking around the case study areas and looking for evidence of young people using the streets and public space within the developments. As with Kato, the "focus was to understand which public places adolescent groups...use, for what types of activities, when, and by what types of teenagers" (2009: 55). A semi-structured approach was used, with maps and notes taken of observations (Karsten and Pel, 2000; Van Deusen Jr, 2002).

Further observations in autumn 2011 involved the researcher undertaking detached youth work on a Friday night in Community A, and attending night time visits of a community youth bus. The bus

stayed in the supermarket car park on Friday nights to entertain young people with music decks, computer games and a graffiti wall. The researcher did not engage with young people during these observations, save to advertise the availability of youth services and discuss that they were doing a research project on youth in the area (Karsten and Pel, 2000).

The researcher attended the local youth clubs for both case study areas, becoming a volunteer youth worker in Community A from August 2011 to January 2013 as this club provided a dedicated service for that area. The club for Community B served a larger area and had one attendee under the age of 11 from Community B at time of attendance. As a result, the researcher saw little value in attending the club to access participants for the study. Regular contact with the youth club maintained that this was the case throughout the research. Interviews with participants in Community B revealed that many did not know of the existence of this service.

At first, the researcher felt very much an outsider at the youth club in Community A having not worked with children and finding it difficult to build a relationship with the other youth workers due to differences in lifestyles. For example, other volunteers were born and bred in the area of the case study and had families of their own, whereas the researcher did not have a family and has lived in different areas of the UK (Skelton, 2001; Morris-Roberts, 2001; Weller, 2010). This did, however, allow the researcher to occupy an ambiguous space (Morris-Roberts, 2001) and, through looking and listening, become accepted by the young people (Christensen, 2004).

5.2.2 Extensive data collection

Extensive data collection involved questionnaires and maps drawn as part of the questionnaire. The responses gained are summarised in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Extensive research methods used and amount of data as a result

Research method	Number
Questionnaire	127
Maps	42

The questionnaire was piloted with 10 pupils aged 11 years old from a local secondary school in Northampton. This ensured ease of use and practicality so that the youngest of the cohort could understand what was required (Punch, 2002). After the piloting of the questionnaire, some questions were simplified (such as replacing male/female with boy/girl and stipulating that numbers living in a house did not include pets) (Hill, 1997; Punch, 2002). The questionnaire contained a mix of closed

and open questions to elicit both quantitative and quantitative data. Space was included for contact details at the end of the questionnaires to ensure that any respondents who wished to take part in the intensive research stage could be contacted by the researcher. A copy of the questionnaire is available at Appendix D. An online questionnaire was also issued, but this was not successful due to the preference of the schools for a paper questionnaire and lack of participation from the leaflets discussed in Section 5.2.1.2. Table 5.3 below shows the response rate from the final questionnaire when it was administered in 2012.

Table 5.3 Characteristics of questionnaire respondents

Theme	Subtheme	Total (n/%)
Community	Community A	81 (63.7%)
	Community B	46 (36.3%)
Age	11 years old	12 (9.4%)
	12 years old	18 (14.2%)
	13 years old	16 (12.6%)
	14 years old	16 (12.6%)
	15 years old	25 (19.7%)
	16 years old	40 (31.5%)
Gender	Female	58 (53.5%)
	Male	68 (45.7%)
Tenure	Owned by parent/guardian	91 (71.7%)
	Social housing	7 (5.5%)
	Private rented	8 (6.3%)
	Don't know	19 (15%)
Ethnicity	White (British)	97 (76.4%)
	White (Other)	18 (14.2%)
	Indian	4 (3.1%)
	Other mixed background	2 (1.6%)
	Chinese	1 (0.8%)
	Pakistani	1 (0.8%)
	Other Asian background	1 (0.8%)
	Black African	1 (0.8%)
	White and Asian	1 (0.8%)
	Prefer not to say	1 (0.8%)
Total		127 (100%)

In both communities, the questionnaire was administered by the contact schools. The school nearest Community A wished to use the questionnaire as part of its curriculum so the researcher did not oversee administration. Instead it was done by teachers during geography classes. With regards to the secondary school serving Community B, data and child protection issues meant the researcher was not allowed to be present during administration, which was overseen by A-Level Sociology students. This meant the researcher could not introduce the questionnaire at the schools, nor monitor whether students voluntarily undertook completion of the questionnaire, to ensure confidentiality of completion and ethical participation (Barker and Weller, 2003). It also meant there was no opportunity to discuss the need for volunteers for the intensive research stage.

The questionnaire was also administered with willing participants at the youth club in Community A. The researcher was present during completion of these and could answer questions regarding issues of concern. Notably, concerns were raised regarding what ethnicity meant, what a social group meant and difficulty in recalling places they did not like or places they liked to be alone. This was useful to understand when it came to analysis. A total of 10 questionnaires were completed by youth club attendees, and a further four were completed by street interview participants (Barker and Weller, 2003, Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). Together with the questionnaires completed as part of planned lessons at the school, this brought the total to 81 from Community A.

In Community B, following the technique used by Bushin (2007) and Bromley and Stacey (2011), a letter was sent home to parents via the secondary school to secure their consent for their child to take part in the questionnaire. The school had 75 pupils in attendance from the case study area, 38 consent forms were returned and 38 questionnaires completed. The questionnaires were administered by A-Level students studying Sociology. A further two were completed by research participants recruited through snowball techniques and an additional six from street interview participants, bringing the total of completed questionnaires in Community B to 46. Street questionnaires were completed on the street of both case study areas during August 2012 and were completed wherever the young people had been approached by the researcher (Leyshon, 2008).

5.2.3 Intensive data collection

Intensive methods explored young people's experiences of new mixed communities in much greater detail through semi-structured interviews, participant-taken photos, neighbourhood tours led by the participant, diaries to act as a reminder during interviews, and street interviews. Table 5.4 summarises the data collected using these methods.

Table 5.4 Summary of intensive research methods

Research Method	Community A		Community B	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Semi-structured interview 1	6	3	8	5
Semi-structured interview 2	5	3	7	3
Semi-structured interview 3	1	0	5	2
Street interview	3	3	4	1
Neighbourhood tour	1	0	3	0
Diaries	6	3	15	6
Returned cameras	1	3	6	1

The project used a purposive sampling process, with results from the questionnaire used to identify different social characteristics and groupings to create a sampling framework from which to select participants and ensure a representative sample from across the groups identified (Rice, 2010). This proved difficult, however, as no respondent who filled in the questionnaire at the school near Community A volunteered to participate in further stages of the research and only 13 volunteered from Community B. Initially then, participants were selected based on their desire to take part, with snowballing and purposive sampling then used to select further participants. It is good practice not to inadvertently exclude or discriminate against certain groups (Matthews and Tucker, 2000), but due to the requisite of participants being located in a certain geographical area, it was necessary to discriminate against some young people taking part. This was more problematic in Community A, where participants for the intensive, semi-structured stage of the research were selected from a youth club also attended by young people from outside the geographic area. Many young people from a neighbouring area were keen to take part and had to be denied the opportunity. This raised concerns regarding positionality as one of the youth workers questioned why the study was being undertaken in a relatively affluent area of the county, with fairly well-funded youth service, rather than in other areas where there was less money and no youth service provision (personal communication, 25 August 2011). The researcher at times felt like focusing on young people from this community only enhanced their position of socio-economic privilege (Morris-Roberts, 2001; Horton, 2008).

A further issue that affected participant selection was tenure, as the research centred on the experience of mixed communities by young people living in different tenures of housing. Age was also an important criterion for selection as this was a study of young people, specifically focusing on the experience of those aged 11-16. Gender was also considered significant to have a balanced view of both male and female opinions. A breakdown of the participant sample for the intensive stage of

the research can be seen in Table 5.5. Initially, in Community A, all volunteers were female, so a deliberate attempt was made to recruit more male participants. At the end of the data collection period, two thirds of semi-structured interview participants across both areas were female and one third male.

Table 5.5 Summary of participant characteristics at intensive research stage

Case study area	Community A	Community B
Number of participants	9	13
Gender	6 female 3 male	8 female 5 male
Tenure	6 private 2 social 1 rented	11 private 1 social 1 rented
Age	4 x 12 year olds 3 x 14 year olds 1 x 15 year old 1 x 16 year old	2 x 11 year olds 3 x 12 year olds 1 x 13 year old 2 x 14 year olds 3 x 15 year olds 2 x 16 year olds
Ethnicity	8 White British 1 Other mixed background	13 White British

5.2.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Participants for the semi-structured interviews were selected, in Community A, by approaching them at the youth club to ask if they would be willing to volunteer and, in Community B, by contacting them following an offer of assistance made in completed questionnaires. The researcher was initially hesitant in approaching young people in Community A due to a lack of experience of working with young people and because they were at the youth club to have fun (Skelton, 2001).

Three semi-structured interviews were considered appropriate due to the need to build rapport and then a desire to discuss a term time and an out of term time diary to consider if this made a difference to young people's use of their free time (Punch, 2002; Bushin, 2007; Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). Semi-structured interviews were chosen in the hope that it would allow a comparison of perspectives from across interviewees, whilst also allowing participants to build up their own narrative (Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). Building a relationship with participants was regarded as important

because, as Pattman and Kehily write "becoming accepted by children and young people to the point where they are willing to share their experiences with you involves time, active listening and mutual respect" (2004: 134). As such, the researcher decided that an introductory interview to establish basic information about the young person, build their confidence and form a bond was essential. It also allowed participants to get used to the format of the interview and types of questions being asked.

Following phone calls and face-to-face discussions, dates, times and places for interviews were agreed with participants. Prior to attending interviews, the researcher sent a parent/guardian consent form to the participant for completion before the interview (see Appendix E). The researcher also informed the supervisory team of the location of the research, start and finish time, name of any participant and a mobile phone number for emergency use. As part of the participant's introduction to the research, the interviewer talked through the purpose of the research, gave them an information sheet and asked them to sign a consent form (these are available at Appendices F and G). The information sheet was reduced to one page after early participants complained of the length (Appendix H). All interviews were digitally recorded, with the permission of the participant (Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). A list of contacts that could provide guidance on sensitive issues was developed with gatekeepers to give to participants if such issues were raised, but this was not required (Appendix I).

Participants were repeatedly informed at all stages of the interview process that they could withdraw from the study at any point (Alderson, 1995; Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Kirk, 2007). They were informed that if they wished to withdraw entirely from the study, including having all information they provided removed from the research project, there was a time limit of up to a month after data collection was completed. This ensured that the researcher was not in a position where enough data had been gathered for analysis to commence only to have some of the data made void by the withdrawal of participant consent. A copy of the questions asked is available at Appendix J.

Interviews were undertaken at various times of the day depending on whether the participants were at school, just home from school or attending youth club, so whilst, as Gollop (2000) states, evening may be the worse time to interview children, it was a matter of being flexible and fitting in with participants' schedules.

A key consideration for interviews is where the research takes place (Jones, 2008); the setting for the research may affect the subject matter of the data generated (Punch, 2007). Punch (2007) found that if an interview was undertaken in the participant's home, all examples may come from this arena, so the researcher had to specifically ask questions with regards to areas outside of the home

environment. Similarly, power-relations may also be implicit in the choice of research location, particularly in the case of schools where the adult-child power balance is particularly acute (Barker and Weller, 2003; Robinson and Kellett, 2004).

The location of interviews was problematic in terms of Community A where all semi-structured interviews were undertaken with attendees at a local youth club. Skelton (2001), who also undertook research at a youth club, used an office for her group interviews. Participants in that study felt important as they used a space not often accessible to them and performed the adult role of attending a meeting (Skelton, 2001). In the case of this study, however, the interviews occurred in a storage/changing room off the main hall where the youth club took place. Whilst this was not a space the young people were permitted to enter, it was not found that doing so or taking part in the research conferred any special status on participants. Furthermore, the interview tapes are punctuated by the noise of other members of the club in the main hall and, if the interview overran, by youth workers and volunteers accessing the storage cupboard to pack away items at the end of the session. This potentially had issues with regards to confidentiality and disclosure, and subsequently the participants' ease, as well as reminding them what they were missing on the other side of the door (Barker and Weller, 2003; Bushin, 2007; Travlou *et al.*, 2008).

In Community B, research took place either in a spare meeting room at the school, after the final lesson, or in the participants' homes, in an area chosen by them. This tended to be the dining room given the size of the map used during interviews. Participants were always asked whether they wished to have another person present during the interview, which led to an elder sister being present in Susie's (13, Community B) interviews and a step-mum in Roger's (14, Community B) interview (Barker and Weller, 2003; Bushin, 2007; Punch, 2007). These interview spaces worked well.

As the research progressed it became apparent that participants found the number of interviews rather gruelling, with a gap of between two and five weeks between interviews. The longest data collection period with one participant was between May 2012 and September 2012. There was also a risk of data saturation as out of term time activities were similar to weekends. Following reflection, it was decided that later participants would have a maximum of two interviews to ensure they remained engaged and enjoyed themselves (Skelton, 2001; Punch, 2002). It was also difficult to maintain the rapport initially built because, as Weller states, although "researchers might experience a project as a continuous and connected process, periodic consultations can feel disjointed to participant" (2012: 122). Three participants did not respond to voicemail and text messages after an initial interview so follow up interviews were not possible.

5.2.3.2 Diaries

Following the first, introductory interview, the participants were asked to keep diaries asking where they had been and who they had talked to that week. A copy of the front cover and first page of the diary is available at Appendix K. The diaries were used so that participants could keep a record of their activities to prompt their memory in future interviews. It was also hoped it might prove a useful data set in its own right, though participants were not encouraged to add more than the bare minimum of information to the diaries. As with Leyshon (2002), diaries proved difficult with many participants as they saw it as homework. It was apparent that some were filling them in immediately prior to the interview, which may have undermined their accuracy.

5.2.3.3 Participant-taken photographs

Photographic methods are increasingly used in human geography research projects (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Newman *et al.*, 2006). Newman *et al.* (2006) believe that you cannot use photographs without engaging in the theoretical debate about how they capture or construct reality. A realist perspective involves seeing photographs as a form of indisputable document, whilst from a constructivist viewpoint, the reality of photographs is rejected and context becomes essential to interpretation. This makes it necessary to interrogate the power relations involved (Newman *et al.*, 2006). Power relations are of particular importance in research with children and young people given the positionality of the researcher (see Section 5.5.2). It was hoped that issues of positionality would be lessened by allowing participants to take the photos independently, though some did report their parents telling them what they should and should not take photos of, undermining the personal narrative of the participant (Barker and Weller, 2003).

It was considered that photography would engage participants more (Schäfer, 2012) and allow them to express themselves in a non-verbal way (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Weller, 2012). As with Panelli *et al.* (2002), it was hoped varied data collection techniques would allow young people to develop and express their own ideas and experiences of life in a new mixed community, enabling them to choose the most appropriate method for them.

Participants were given a camera at the first interview and were asked to take photos of the places that they went to in the week of the diary or places that were of importance to them. As part of the consent form, participants were asked to pass copyright, including permission to publish photographs taken by them, to the researcher for the purpose of the research. Some participants did

not know what to take photos of and the neighbourhood tours proved a good chance to take pictures of places visited with any unused film.

5.2.3.4 Participant-led neighbourhood tours

Neighbourhood tours were undertaken with participants who wished to complete this final stage of the research process. It was hoped this would be a fun way to engage the participant (Tucker, 2003; Laughlin and Johnson, 2011), as well as ensuring a spatial approach to methods (Holland *et al.*, 2011) and facilitating discussion with participants that might not be elicited during interviews in their home, school or youth club (Tucker, 2003). Neighbourhood tours were arranged with participants over the phone, or at their last interview, at a time that was convenient for them. Tours were done with individuals in the day time and lasted for about 40 minutes. There were issues of positionality at this stage as the researcher was keen for the participant to decide the route, but the participant was often keen for the researcher to direct them as to what they wanted to see. It was found after initial neighbourhood tours that data saturation had been reached as the data collected repeated that gathered during the interview process.

5.2.3.5 Street interviews

Street interviews were undertaken with young people of the target age in both study communities during the summer months. Street interviews were undertaken because recruitment via the devised methods was not progressing any further. It was also considered that those interviewed on the street would reflect the types of young people out using the spaces in the case study communities. It was hoped that these methods would also lead to greater representation from those living in social housing, but this did not prove the case. The final sample, however, was still reflective of the level of affordable housing in each development. A copy of the questions asked is available at Appendix L. The characteristics of participants can be seen in Table 5.6.

The interviews were undertaken during the school holidays on sunny afternoons to maximise the number of young people 'hanging out' on the street. The researcher approached young people in or near the case study areas (which, as with Vanderstede (2011), required some courage) and explained the research with the aid of information on the consent form, available at Appendix M. If young people were willing to take part, the researcher asked them to send a text message to their parents on their mobile phone to obtain permission to be interviewed. Once this permission had been granted, the researcher asked the young people to sign the consent form. One copy was given to the participant and one retained for the researcher's records. Interviews were conducted in the open air,

wherever the young people gathered, such as outside participants' houses, on benches and in the park (Leyshon, 2008). As such, the researcher and participant were aware they could not guarantee confidentiality (Mauthner, 1997; Barker and Weller, 2003). The interviews were recorded and lasted for approximately 10 minutes.

Table 5.6 Characteristics of street interview participants

Case study area	Community A	Community B
Gender	3 female 3 male	2 female (also 3 female and 1 male who denied permission to record the interview)
Age	3 x 11 year olds 2 x 13 year olds 1 x 15 year old	1 x 15 year old 1 x 16 year old (3 x 12 year olds and 1 x 13 year old)
Tenure	4 in private 2 in rented	2 in private (2 in private, 1 in rented and 1 unknown)
Ethnicity	6 White British	2 White other (3 White British)

During street interviews, the researcher at all times carried a mobile phone, copy of her Criminal Records Bureau check, University ID card, other forms of identification and supervisory team contact details. Similar to Kato (2009) and Vanderstede (2011), young people were generally happy to participate in the research, as individuals or groups (of up to three young people). Vanderstede (2011) found that the chances for a successful approach were highest when young people were sitting or hanging around or waiting for something to happen, which was also the case in this research into mixed communities. All but one group of participants agreed to have the interviews recorded.

Given the age of the participant and the sporadic nature of the interviews, there were some issues with regard to consent. The researcher had to be careful not to appear domineering, pressurising young people to participate in the study. Due to the target age of participants, the researcher needed parental consent before proceeding. This meant relying on young people texting and speaking to their parents, with the option of the researcher speaking to the parent. Text messages

were seen by the researcher, but no written consent was received from parents. The researcher gave young people the option of taking a leaflet and letter home that contained details of the project and the researcher's contact details. This might have reassured some parents as to the authenticity of the research, but not all participants elected to take it. In addition, the questions for the street interview had to be modified slightly so as to avoid appearing overly intrusive. For example, the researcher did not ask the participants where their house was given that the participant might not feel comfortable sharing this information with someone they had just met.

5.3 Process of analysis

5.3.1 Extensive data collection

Questionnaires (n=127) were input into SPSS Statistics package (version 17.0). Following this, frequencies were examined to determine the type of respondent and the repetition of responses. Data were then cross-tabulated to determine the importance of selected variables. These variables were: age, gender, tenure, parental occupation, transport, length of residence, area of residence, whether they spent their free time outdoors, how often they spoke to their neighbours, social group, whether they had siblings and where their friends lived.

The questionnaire requested participants (if they had time) to draw a map of where they lived and the places they most liked to go or things they would most like to change. Analysis of the maps drawn in the questionnaire (n=42) was undertaken using the method developed by Matthews (1986). Maps were determined to be either pictorial, plan, pictorial-verbal, pictorial-plan, pictorial-plan-verbal or plan-verbal. Maps were also assessed as to the level of detail and accuracy, what was shown on the map (house, shop, friend's house, leisure area or outdoor area) and the area shown on the map (area of house, neighbourhood, nearest town or town at a greater distance). Examples of this categorisation are given in Figures 5.4 to 5.7. The map categories were then input into SPSS along with the questionnaire responses of those who had drawn a map and analysed using the same frequencies as described previously to determine if there were any patterns. The maps drawn were not discussed with the young people due to the methods used to administer the questionnaire.

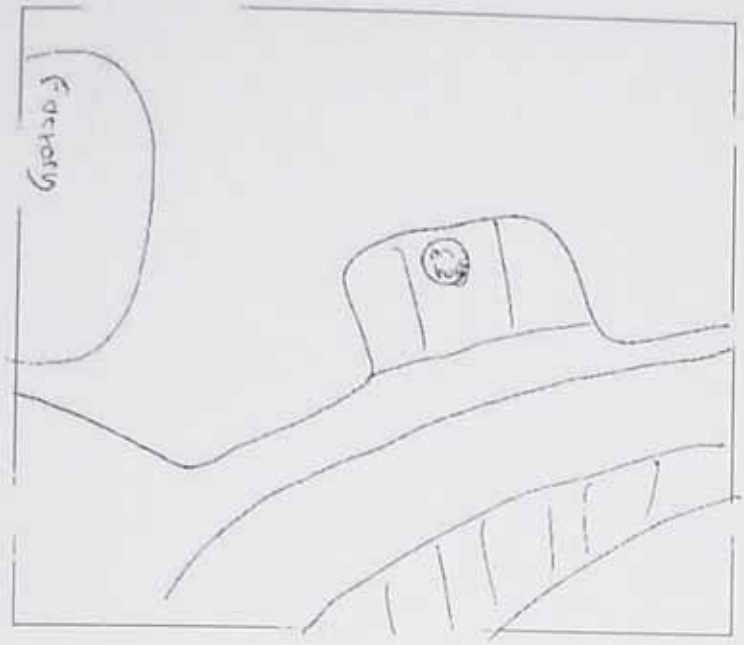

Figure 5.4 Example of a plan-verbal, low detail and low accuracy map showing neighbourhood

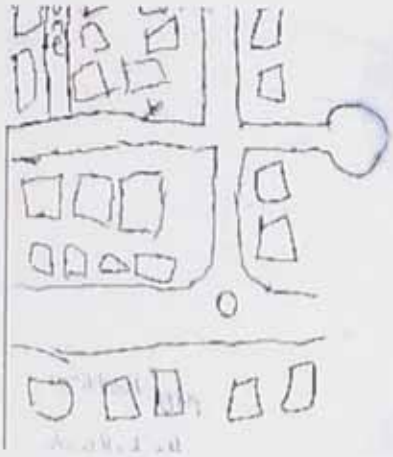

Figure 5.5 Example of a plan, low detail, high accuracy map, showing neighbourhood

Figure 5.6 Example of a pictorial-plan-verbal, high detail, low accuracy map showing neighbourhood

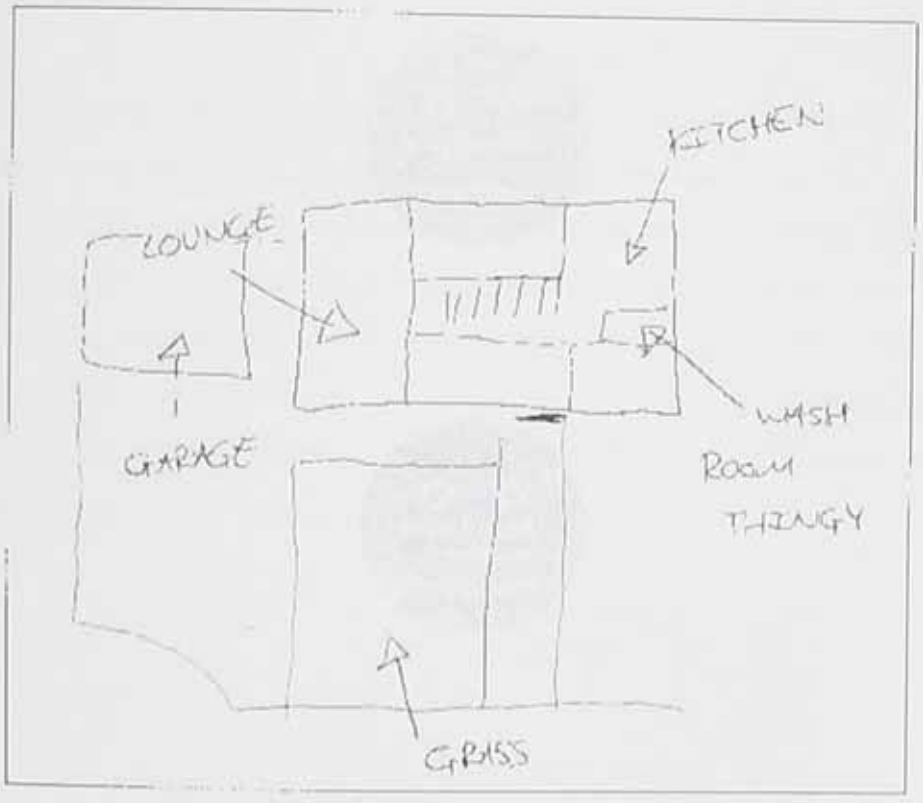

Figure 5.7 Example of a plan-verbal, low detail, low accuracy map showing just house

5.3.2 Intensive data collection

All recorded interviews, including individual, group and street interviews, were transcribed into Microsoft Word. As with Crang (2001), transcription proved a time-consuming but rewarding process, enabling the researcher to become closely acquainted with the data. This then assisted the researcher with the thematic analysis of the transcripts, with recurrent themes considered during the transcription process and then identified when reading the complete set of transcripts (Tucker, 2003; Kintrea *et al.*, 2010; Weller, 2012; Brooks, 2012). These codes centred on the three thematic chapters that follow:

- the everyday experiences of young people;
- young people's use of public space; and
- young people's experience of community.

Diaries were analysed using the same codes as identified in the interview transcripts analysis. In some cases, this provided additional quotes regarding young people's everyday lives, use of public space and experience of living in a mixed community. This was not always the case, however, as participants were told the diary need not be detailed, given it was to be used as a prompt in interviews.

The maps completed as part of the interviews were analysed for routes, areas of avoidance, friends' houses, family's houses, places (shop, leisure, outdoor area) and types of transport mentioned. This corroborated the interview data in revealing popular areas young people used or common areas avoided or not visited. The dispersal of places marked (including friends' and family's houses) were analysed using the method outlined by Brown *et al.* (2008) with categories based on whether they were clustered or scattered. The data on the maps also provided information on how far children would travel independently (Brown *et al.*, 2008). Examples of this analysis are shown in Figures 5.8 to 5.12 below.

Figure 5.8 Example of cluster with limited scatter in interview map

Figure 5.9 Example of limited scatter in interview map

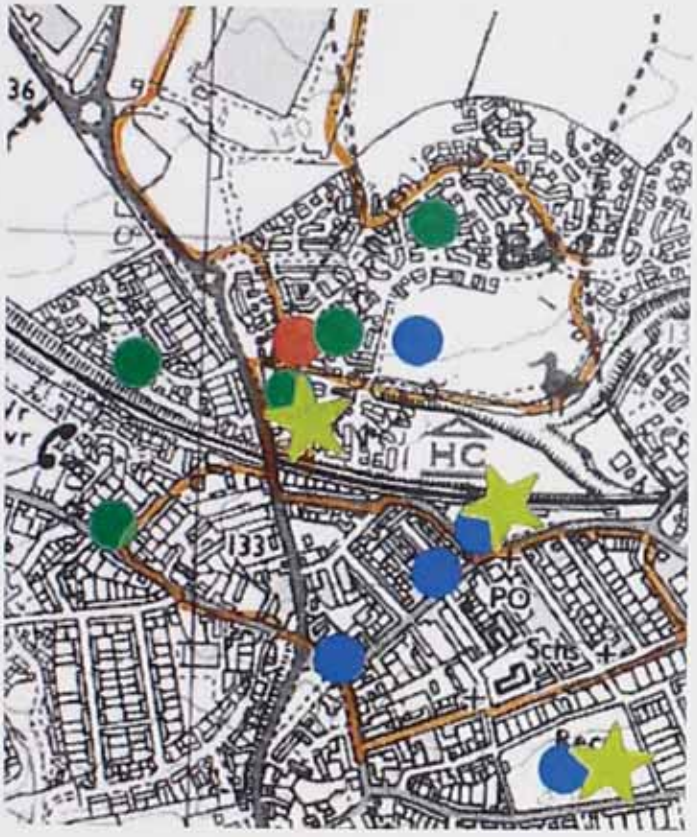

Figure 5.10 Example of cluster with wide scatter in interview map

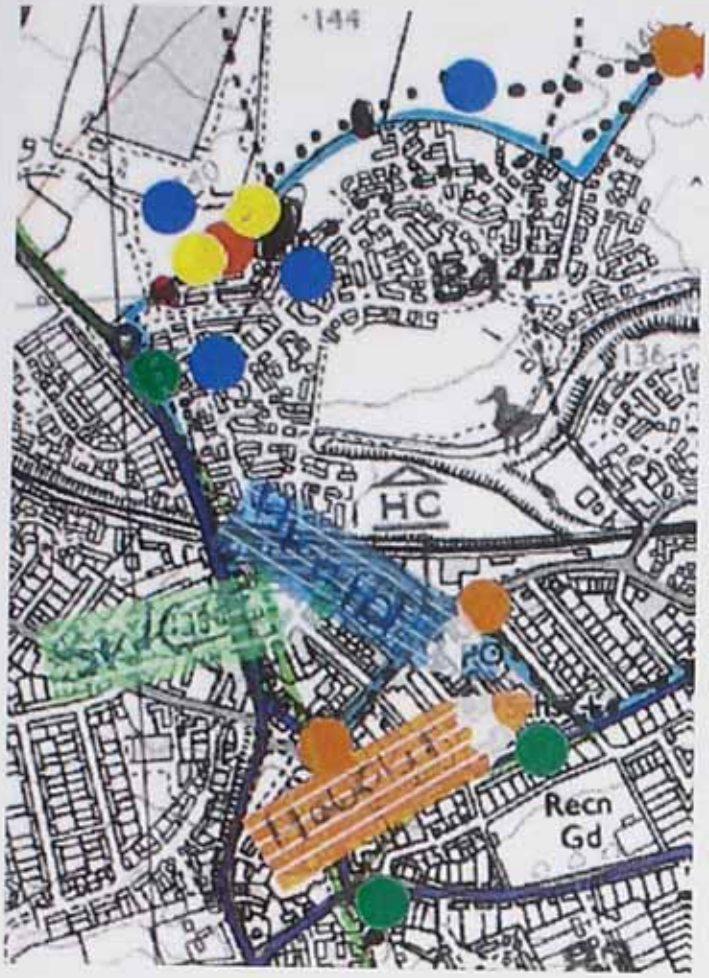

Figure 5.11 Example of double cluster in interview map

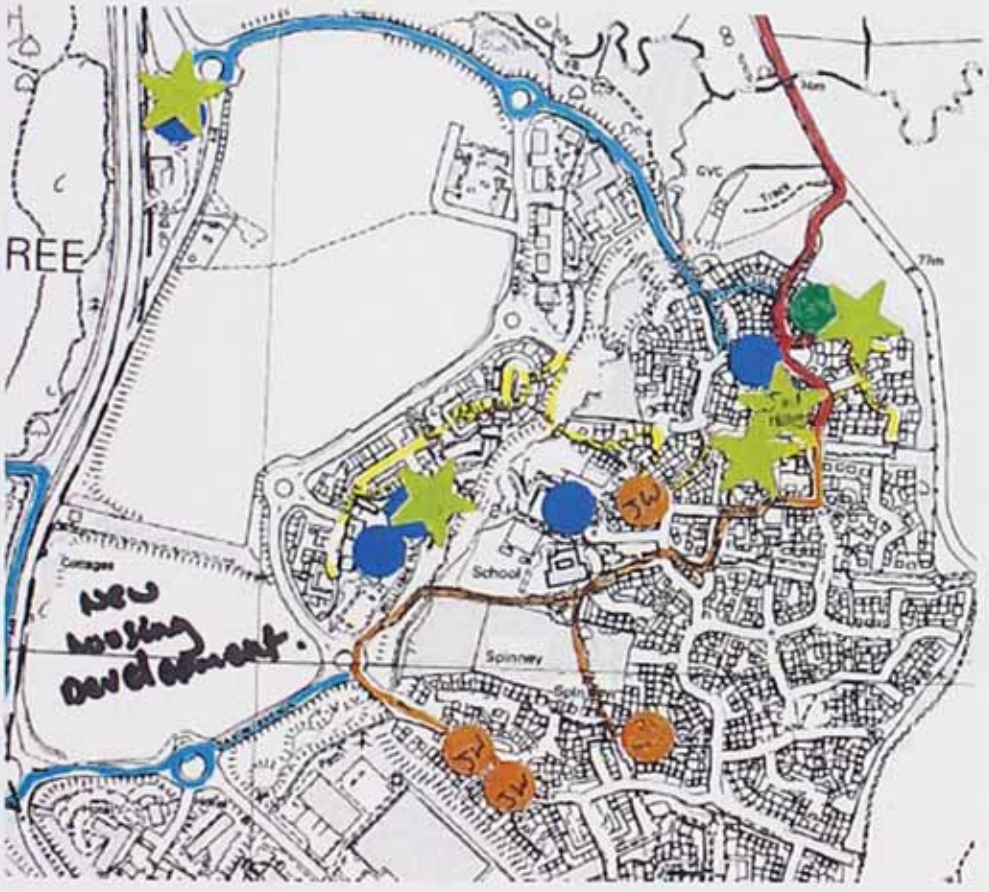

Figure 5.12 Example of wide scatter in interview map

With regard to photos, young people spoke about what they had taken pictures of during the interview process. Photos were then analysed by taking a holistic view of the dataset, which took account of what the photos were of and noting any impressions of this (Béneker *et al.*, 2010). This led to the establishment of themes: community facility, house, inside, friend, recreation ground, country park, street, shop, school, self, restaurant, street, playground, family, pub, and sport. A table was compiled to analyse the most popular themes and assess this alongside other aspects of the participants, such as length of residence, sociability and how they spent their leisure time. Examples are given at Figures 5.13 to 5.15.

Figure 5.13 Example of house photo (Source: Isabel)

Figure 5.14 Example of inside photo (Source: Steve)

Figure 5.15 Example of friend photo (Source: Gemma)

5.4 Leaving the field

Leaving the field can be a messy process, which is often not done in the "neat, idealistic ways in which research projects are presented and anticipated in many academic accounts" (Horton *et al.*, 2008: 340). Interviews with participants sometimes finished unexpectedly as they declined to proceed or stopped responding to contact. This meant that some of the questions intended for later interviews were not asked leading to a gap in understanding of, for example, some participants' thoughts on social housing and the design of their community. Neighbourhood tours were not pursued with all participants as the researcher found that the routes and discussion were very similar in the ones undertaken. The researcher also unexpectedly ended involvement with the youth club in Community A following loss of transport, though this was after it was clear sufficient data had been collected. All participants were contacted to discuss vouchers in appreciation of their assistance (Bushin, 2007), as will be discussed at Section 5.5.1.1. Only three participants and two Local Authority employees requested information on the results of the study.

5.5 Considerations for research with children and young people

Much has been written on the particular ethical constraints and methodological issues of involving children and young people in research (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Punch, 2002; Robinson and Kellett, 2004; Kirk, 2007). This section will review ethical issues, as well as methodological issues surrounding positionaility, age, gender, access and offering payment to young participants.

5.5.1 Ethics

Tisdall *et al.* (2009) ask whether the ethical standards for research and consultation with children and young people should be the same as for adults, particularly due to the focus in the last twenty plus years on children's rights provision and protection (Hill *et al.*, 2004). The particular ethical issues include access, gatekeeping, positionality, informed consent, payment, confidentiality and disclosure (Bushin, 2007; Kirk, 2007). Bushin (2007) notes that ethical research involves constant questioning of the decisions that researchers take, despite participants sometimes not understanding the need for such decisions, even after explanation.

Researching ethically means not coercing anyone to participate, fully informing participants of what is required of them, making it clear about their right to withdraw from the study at any time and protecting their data during all stages of the research process (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b). To this end, all information leaflets and letters were written in clear and concise language for the ease of

participants (Alderson, 2004), participants were informed that data collected would be securely stored in a locked cabinet, with electronic documents password-protected and all participants were anonymised at the analysis stage (Christensen and Prout, 2002).

The researcher did not force any of the participants to take part in or continue with the research (Alderson, 1995; Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Kirk, 2007). This did mean, however, that not all interviews and neighbourhood tours were completed. It also led to some awkward exchanges where some young people did not wish to continue but would not explicitly say so.

The researcher gained ethical approval from the University of Northampton's Ethics Committee in December 2011 and ensured a full Criminal Records Bureau check had been completed to ease access to young people through gatekeepers. The table in Appendix N explores the particular constraints in relation to ethics in Children's Geographies and how the researcher attempted to overcome these.

5.5.1.1 Offering payment to participants

Bushin (2007) engages in an interesting discussion regarding the practical and ethical considerations of paying participants. She believes that it is related to how the particular researcher understands children and childhood, whether the same values are placed on children's time as on adults. Ethically, it is good practice to show appreciation to participants of studies (Matthews and Tucker, 2000). Alderson and Morrow (2004), however, believe that if children are informed of payment prior to participating, this may act as an incentive, which might be considered unethical. A voucher is considered a more ethical means of compensating children for their time and showing appreciation for their assistance (Bushin, 2007).

In the case of this study, voucher payments were deemed the most appropriate. The researcher offered young people their own choice of voucher and contacted them if it was not available. All participants got the same sum of £5. This sum was felt small, but the research budget of the project limited it. Initially the researcher tried to recruit participants without offering a payment, but the lack of response to this and a belief that the participants should be rewarded for giving up their time for the project led to a change in approach. At a later stage of the research, when the researcher felt participants were fatigued with the repeated interviews, the researcher introduced chocolate as part of the interviews. Providing food was initially discounted as it was felt that some parents might not desire their children to eat such food and others might have allergies, but, after reflection, it was decided that the age of the participants meant they were competent in refusing food they were

allergic to (Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). This had difficulties in terms of allowing free speech whilst eating, however, and the researcher found some participants shy to take the chocolate offered.

5.5.2 Positionality

A key question with regards to any research is the relationship that the researcher has with the participant (Skelton, 2001; Horton, 2008). This is of significant importance with regards to research with children and young people due to the power relations between the adult researcher and the youthful participant, not to mention whether the socio-economic background of the researcher affects the relationship with participants. Weller (2006) notes that whilst much debate has been focused on challenging the unequal power relations between adult researchers and young participants, little attention has been paid towards utilising their own constructions of themselves. This leads Pattman and Kehily to write that "understanding the world from the perspective of children and young people involves researchers recognising that it is their respondents who are the 'experts'" (2004: 134). Attempts have been made to overcome this through not speaking for the participants and careful collection and preservation of data (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Panelli *et al.*, 2002).

The researcher is a middle-class female with a previous career in town planning. The lack of experience in youth work was a concern when collecting the data, but was overcome to some extent through volunteering as a reading helper at a local school. Frequent attendance at the youth club in Community A also led to further experience, though this created further issues of positionality with regards to whether the researcher was a youth worker, volunteer, authority figure or an attendee (Morris-Roberts, 2001). Gender was also a concern as the researcher had to be careful not to get involved with the politics of girls' groups in the youth club by remaining impartial when divisions were discussed in interviews and through inviting all girls to participate (Morris-Roberts, 2001; Skelton, 2001). There were also issues of distancing herself from the boys through not participating in weekly football sessions (Pattman and Kehily, 2004).

Cultural references were also an issue. The researcher does not generally watch television nor listen to Radio One and chart music. This meant a lot of discussions that the young people had during youth club were beyond understanding and led to frequent disbelief that the researcher had not heard of a singer or a band or had not watched the latest episode of a reality tv show (Weller, 2010). As Morris-Roberts (2001) has found, however, appearing youthful and understanding cultural references does not necessarily mean you are accepted as part of young people's friendship group, but it still led to some awkward interaction in the course of the research and may have stifled a good

rapport. The age, postgraduate level of education and lack of experience of working with young people also meant that the researcher's speech contained words that were beyond the understanding of the young people, causing her to reflect on her choice of vocabulary and modify her speech, so perhaps appearing unnatural.

Pattman and Kehily (2004) discuss how gender stereotypes may be reproduced in the process of doing qualitative research. Feminist geographers have reported issues accessing all girl groups that are not seen when male researchers attempt to access groups of boys of the same age (Pattman and Kehily, 2004). The researcher did not find all girl groups hard to access, but instead had the opposite problem that male groups were hard to access despite presentations to Scout Groups and particularly targeting males when going into a local school to seek participants for the more intensive research stage.

The research project had issues of positionality as a result of adult/child relations, gender and in what way the participants were recruited (Mauthner, 1997; Weller, 2010). In Community A, for example, the researcher recruited all participants for the in-depth, semi-structured interviews from a youth club where she worked as a volunteer youth worker. Some of the participants may have felt obliged to participate in the research as the researcher held a position of power (Alderson, 1995; Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Kirk, 2007). Issues of positionality may impact upon the flow of discussion, but it is hoped these were overcome through careful presentation to participants on the purpose of the research and relating to participants in different contexts (Robinson and Kellett, 2004). The researcher certainly did not force participants to continue with the research, although at times it was hard to determine whether participants wished to continue. Hannah (16, Community A) repeatedly told the researcher she would like to continue helping, but would not fix a date for an interview and twice claimed to have lost the camera provided for the photographic data. Two participants (Beatrice, 16 and Roger, 14) from Community B simply did not return phone calls or texts.

Any researcher working with children must face the asymmetric power relations between childhood and adulthood (Robinson and Kellett, 2004). Many children lack experience of communicating directly with unfamiliar adults in a one-to-one situation, which means that more innovative approaches (such as task-based methods) may have to be used to enable children to feel more comfortable with an adult researcher (Punch, 2002). Researchers must adopt an ambiguous position, one that is the 'least adult' role (Kirk, 2007). Throughout the research, the researcher tried to give voice to the young people involved (Matthews *et al.*, 1999) and employed mixed methods to allow all young people to express themselves in different ways.

Group interviews also have issues of positionality, as they are likely to be affected by the perceived power or status of different members of the group, whether that is derived from age, gender, class, education or any other social variable (Punch, 2007). The researcher offered participants the opportunity to work as part of a group, but the majority chose to work as individuals. This was partly the way participants in Community B were recruited through the school, meaning that most were not friends. Group interviews were more common in Community A where young people from the youth club undertook interviews. A group interview was undertaken with a friendship group of four, 12 year old girls (who turned 13 as the research progressed), as well as one 14 and one 15 year old boy. The interviews with the girls were hard to control as they were very excited about lots of aspects of the project, from signing their name to affixing stickers on the map and being given a camera to take photos of their area. They often talked over each other and the interviewer did not wish to appear a domineering adult figure by telling them to be quiet. This had implications for the relevance of much of the interview and also for later transcription. The researcher gave thorough consideration to positionality and designed the project so as to overcome any such issues as far as possible.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the methods utilised in this study. It reviewed the mixed methods approach chosen, both verbal and visual methods, and how these were selected to ensure participants could choose and control how they expressed themselves. This ensured a full picture of the participants' lives was discussed in their own words. The chapter set out the stages of the research process. This involved developing a plan, initiating contact with gatekeepers, an extensive research stage (using a questionnaire) and an intensive research stage (involving semi-structured interviews, street interviews, diaries, maps, neighbourhood tours and participant-taken photos). A total of 127 questionnaires were returned, 22 participants undertook semi-structured interviews and eight participants completed street interviews. The chapter explained how full account was taken of ethics and positionality in the research, including informed consent, consideration of research space and selection of methods. Analysis of the data sets led to the development of three dominant themes, which will be discussed in detail in the next three chapters. Chapter Six will discuss the everyday experiences of young people growing up in the new mixed communities. Chapter Seven details young people's use of public space in these areas and Chapter Eight explores young people's understanding and experience of community within them.

6. 'Out and About': The Everydayness of Mixed Communities

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have set out policy on mixed communities, key findings of research into Children's Geographies, the context of the research areas, and methods used during the study. This chapter will discuss results concerning young people 'out and about' in the two mixed communities studied. Meegan and Mitchell (2001) state that neighbourhoods are places of the everyday (as discussed in Section 2.3), whilst Cahill notes that "the relationship between social context and cognitive development is theorised in the research of everyday contexts" (2000: 254). By understanding the everyday actions and interactions of the participants, from transport and leisure patterns to communication and conflict, the neighbourhood will be shown through young people's eyes and reveal something of their microgeographies (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a). De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie (2008) describe how research should not just attempt to highlight 'good' or 'bad' neighbourhoods for children, but should instead seek to focus on the actual story of a particular neighbourhood:

> ...the ways in which people (including children) move through their neighbourhood; how they use it, express themselves and develop social and cultural opportunities through their neighbourhood; and the ways in which the neighbourhood creates boundaries between or excludes individuals or particular social and cultural groups.
>
> De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008: 609-610

This chapter tells the story of the everyday experiences of the young people living in the two case study areas examined: how they move through their community, their activities inside and outside of their neighbourhoods and who they speak to or avoid. Ansell (2009) discusses how Children's Geographies have turned to an understanding of the importance of the everyday in the embodied geographies of young people and how these embodiments are both biophysical and social so have implications for the social, physical and physiological development of the child. Everyday lives matter "conceptually, ethically and politically" (Horton *et al.*, 2008: 341) and it is only through understanding the "fleshy, messy and indeterminate stuff of everyday life" that social reproduction can be understood (Katz, 2001: 711). Human geography increasingly seeks to discover everydayness in order to explain our diverging relationships to space and place and this research adds to this body of work (Horton *et al.*, 2008). Understanding the stories of the everyday locates the participants and gives a sense of who they are and the world they inhabit (Somers, 1994; Leyshon, 2008). Thus, illuminating the everydayness of young people resident in mixed communities allows full exploration of the social

and cultural opportunities of their neighbourhood in comparison to existing literature on established communities.

The chapter starts by exploring the mobility of young people: walking, cycling, parental lifts and public transport, and the limitations of these. It discusses the activities of young participants, both organised (such as youth clubs and football clubs) and informal activities (including going to the local supermarket and walking around their neighbourhood), and the effects on their participation. Everyday communication of young people in the research is examined to identify who is important to young people and what barriers there might be to establishing relationships. Finally, negative stereotyping of teenagers and its effect on the lives of young people in mixed communities are deliberated. The chapter reveals the rich geographies and worlds of difference visible in the lives of young people in mixed communities and the particular effect that living in a new community has on this. A summary of the participants, from whom quotes are taken throughout the next three chapters, is available at Appendix O.

6.2 Mobility

This section will explore young people's movement within the case study areas and any limitations with regard to this. The main form of independent travel for young people was walking, but the majority of participants preferred lifts in parents' cars. The definition of young people's independent transport is that of Brown *et al.* "it takes place without the presence of an adult (someone aged 18 or over)" (2008: 386). Limitations on mobility were identified as parental control, fear, lack of friends in the area, conflict, health, schoolwork and affordability.

6.2.1 Transport choices

Figure 6.1 details the main transport modes identified by young participants in interviews. Tables 6.1 to 6.4 summarise the data by community, gender, tenure and age. In the tables, social is taken to mean housing owned and managed by Councils, Regional Social Landlords and Housing Associations. It has been gathered under the one description due to the low number of participants living in these three types of ownership (10% of interview participants were in social housing, three people in total). The data reflects all transport modes mentioned by participants during interviews, not just the primary mode. Figure 6.1 shows that regardless of social characteristics, walking was the most popular form of independent transport. The differences across the forms of transport will be discussed in more detail in Sections 6.2.1.1 to 6.2.1.4.

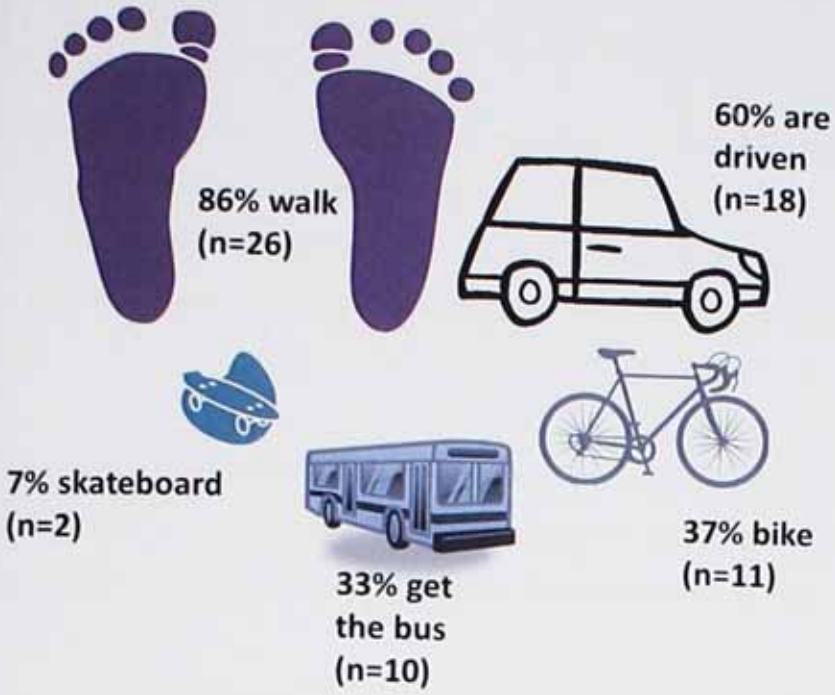

Figure 6.1 Frequency of interview participants' transport modes

Table 6.1 Transport modes of interview participants by case study community

Community	Walk	Driven	Bike	Public bus	Skate
A (n=15)	14 (93%)	8 (53%)	5 (33%)	5 (33%)	1 (7%)
B (n=15)	12 (80%)	10 (66%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	1 (7%)

Table 6.2 Transport modes of interview participants by gender

Gender	Walk	Driven	Bike	Public bus	Skate
Boy (n=11)	10 (91%)	9 (82%)	8 (73%)	2 (18%)	2 (18%)
Girl (n=19)	16 (84%)	9 (47%)	3 (16%)	8 (50%)	0 (0%)

Table 6.3 Transport modes of interview participants by tenure

Tenure	Walk	Driven	Bike	Public bus	Skate
Private (n=23)	19 (83%)	14 (61%)	8 (35%)	7 (30%)	1 (4%)
Rented (n=4)	4 (100%)	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	0 (0%)
Social (n=3)	3 (100%)	2 (66%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)

Table 6.4 Transport modes of interview participants by age

Age	Walk	Driven	Bike	Public bus	Skate
11 (n=5)	5 (100%)	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
12 (n=7)	7 (100%)	3 (43%)	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	1 (14%)
13 (n=3)	2 (66%)	2 (66%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)
14 (n=5)	5 (100%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	0 (0%)
15 (n=6)	5 (83%)	5 (83%)	2 (66%)	2 (66%)	0 (0%)
16 (n=4)	2 (50%)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	2 (50%)	0 (0%)

Key

Percentage/ Colour
0-24%
25-49%
50-74%
75-100%

6.2.1.1 Walking

Overwhelmingly, and in keeping with previous studies examining children's independent mobility, walking was the most prevalent independent mode of transport (78%, n=99) (Brown *et al.*, 2008; Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009; Weston 2010). Walking was an activity, as will be discussed in Section 6.3.2, as well as a means to reach a destination, such as a friend's house, the supermarket or a place to play.

The reliance on walking as an independent mode of transport was highlighted by young people interviewed, all of whom mapped local routes they walked during interviews. Participants stated that often it was only young people who walked the streets in the area:

> Sometimes a few people walking dogs walk past and then like children that are playing out, then that's it really.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

Alice's quote reveals that adults were only out on the street of Community B when walking their dog. Research by Chaskin *et al.* (2013) into mixed communities in Chicago, USA has found that quotidian activities, such as dog walking, provide an opening for causal interaction between neighbours. In the case of dog walkers, children are attracted by the pet and engage the owner in conversation (Chaskin *et al.*, 2013), with Allen *et al.* (2005) similarly finding that inter-house co-operation on established, mixed tenure housing estates centred around caring for pets. Greater street presence would potentially lead to greater social interaction as there would be more possibility for residents to "bump into each other" (Dempsey *et al.*, 2012: 128). Research has shown that, after living next door to one another, the most common way for people to get to know their neighbours is bumping into them on the street (Jupp, 1999). This suggests that greater street presence by adults can only increase neighbourhood relations. In the course of the observation stage of the research, the case study areas were quiet. The lack of street presence reflects research into young people's geographies in existing communities where young people have been described as 'invisible' in public space (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Matthews and Tucker, 2007; Vanderstede, 2011). The lack of adults walking the streets conversely makes young people more visible to the scrutiny of adults when they are walking around (Leyshon, 2011), whilst the low level of street presence creates fewer opportunities for interaction.

Respondents from Community A reported they were more likely to walk as a form of independent transport (81.5%, n=66) when compared to Community B (71.7%, n=33). This difference between the

communities is also reflected in the interviews (see Table 6.1). This dissimilarity may be attributed in part to the greater number of local facilities in Community A. Previous research has found that residents of inner city neighbourhoods walk to their main food shop more than outer neighbourhoods (50% walk, decreasing to 10% in outer neighbourhoods) with a converse increase in car use when comparing inner and outer city: the greater the distance to a facility the more likely participants were to use a car or the bus (Dempsey *et al.*, 2012). The research in mixed communities shows that, as with existing communities, greater proximity to facilities leads to an increase in walking. Furthermore, location of schools has been found to have an impact on young people's walking. Fyhri and Hjorthol (2009) found from their research in Norway that the degree of independent mobility falls with increasing distance to school. The secondary school for Community A was closer than in Community B; a walk of 20 minutes, partly along a wooded footpath, compared to approximately 40 minutes along a busy road. The connection between location of services and facilities in mixed communities and prevalence of walking is in keeping with extant research.

Walking as the main form of independent transport meant young people in the study had a limited spatial range, so the local area was highly significant to them (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Matthews and Tucker, 2006; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2008). Routes mapped out during the interviews showed a range of distances being covered, with some participants only walking from their home to one nearby friend's house within the study area and back (a distance of only 250 metres), and others walking to the neighbouring village (approximately two miles) to visit friends. The maps show that distances travelled did not exceed two miles, though this was generally much smaller for the younger of the cohort who travelled distances of less than a mile.

This reliance on walking led some to feeling trapped in their local area, creating a sense of geographic isolation (Chawla and Malone, 2003). This was a reflection of their feelings that there was little to do in the area. Steve, who had recently moved to Community B from London, reflected on how much there was in his previous neighbourhood:

> ...where I used to live there was a park, a field, a leisure centre, a street gym, a pub, um, a skatepark and a bunch of shops...So it was a very nice area over there.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

Steve felt there was more variety and choice in the urban area where he used to live. The number and availability of facilities was echoed and elaborated upon by young people from both communities:

... walking distance, you get two pubs.

Anna, 15, Community B

...it would be quite nice to be able to have some freedom, not having to go that far to get anything.

Neil, 14, Community A

...it's probably that the pub is all the way in town and there's nothing here really...there's not really a big park or anywhere to go with your friends, you have to go all the way to [town] and places like that...[Community B] could do with a [supermarket] so then you wouldn't have to walk far.

Alice, 15, Community B

Young people in suburban areas have more in common with those from rural locations; their reliance on walking and limited local facilities results in boredom and frustration (Skelton, 2000; Matthews and Tucker, 2006; Weller, 2007b; Weston, 2010). This finding reinforces the importance of the local environment to young people as pedestrians and how frustrated this can make them (Valentine, 1997a; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2011). New communities need to consider local provision of facilities and emphasise pedestrian movement to meet the needs of young people and create sustainable communities that cater for all ages (Weston, 2010).

One participant, Gemma, reported that her walking had increased following their move to the new community due to the larger number of friends she had:

At my old house I didn't walk a lot, but now I live [here], and have friends all over the place, I walk a lot.

Gemma, 14, Community B

Her move to the area led to an increase in independent mobility and spatial range. Friends in the local area, therefore, increased the amount of walking. This may be why research by Fyhri and Hjorthol (2009) found that distance to school has such a strong effect on children's independent mobility; the further school is from home the further the potential distance to friends made at school, to a point where it is too far to walk.

Gender differences in independent mobility of children have been identified through previous studies, where it was found boys were more likely to walk about their local area than girls, whilst girls were more likely to travel further afield by public transport than boys (Brown *et al.*, 2008). As detailed in Table 6.2, this study found that more girls walk as an independent form of transport (87.9% of girls, n=51) when compared to boys (69.1% of boys, n=47), though this difference can be accounted for when considering that boys are more likely to cycle, as will be discussed in Section 6.2.1.3. The greater likelihood of girls walking (and walking distances of up to two miles) challenges previous research suggesting that boys are more independently mobile than girls (Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009).

The findings regarding walking reflect research in existing communities that the primary mode of independent transport for young people is walking (Brown *et al.*, 2008; Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009; Weston 2010). As a result of their walking, young people were more visible than adults in the new mixed communities. This dependence on walking and local facilities led to frustration and feelings of being trapped in their area. In this way, the communities resembled rural areas studied in previous research (Skelton, 2000; Matthews and Tucker, 2006; Weller, 2007b). More facilities within easy walking distance appeared to increase the amount of walking by young people as well as visible street life, as shown by the questionnaires and observation of Community A where walking was more prevalent. The newness of the communities and the resultant perception of safety also appeared to mean greater spatial freedom for girls when compared to previous findings (Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009).

6.2.1.2 Parental lifts

Carver *et al.* (2013) found that many young people relied on parents for transport, with research by Giddings and Yarwood (2005) finding that this was a means of maintaining adult control of where young people went. Whilst young people in the case study areas relied on parents for transport (see Figure 6.1), as with Brown *et al.* (2008), this appeared to be a matter of choice rather than a form of parental control. Indeed, research by Barker (2009) has shown that children are active social agents within cars.

The role that distance played in access to facilities was reflected in discussions young people had on driving:

> It's not a city, you have to drive to everything.
>
> Emily, 12, Community A

...you're really confined, all you've got is [local supermarket] and the rest of the places you have to drive to...It's almost like being cut off, kind of...You have to drive to every one of them, and like we, if we want to go and do something we have to drive, we can't walk to it because it's too far away...

Katie, 12, Community A

The dominance of the car was also shown through photos participants took on their cameras, with Susie including a photo of the local supermarket taken from the passenger seat of a car (see Figure 6.2). This reliance on cars comes in spite of both development briefs stating that emphasis would be given to transport on foot and by bicycle and reflect the wider dominance of the car children and young people's transport (Barker, 2011). The greater dependence on cars, which enables increased distances to be covered in less time, means that local amenities are reducing (Beunderman *et al.*, 2007). Given their inability to drive, young people suffer from this lack of local provision and rely on parents for lifts.

Figure 6.2 Photo of local supermarket within 10 minute walk of Susie's house, taken from passenger seat of car (Source: Susie)

The convenience of getting a lift (Barker, 2009), as well as the lack of cost, were highlighted as a reason to prefer lifts to other forms of transport:

Just more convenient really, I guess, to get a lift.

Frank, 15, Community B

> My Mum would rather know that she's got me and my friends home safe, so than, than us be stuck in [large town] without, 'cos she knows what I'm like, I'd spend all my money without realising and I'd have no money for a taxi and then I'd be stuck aaaall night waiting for her to get out of bed. I'd be [there] til 9 in the morning like.
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

Lifts were given to organised activities, friends' houses, shopping expeditions, the cinema and going out in town (as is the case with Caitlin). Use varied by gender (with boys more likely to be driven than girls), age (older young people being more likely to be in receipt of lifts, perhaps reflecting the greater distance they travel to activities) and community (with greater prevalence in Community B). Interviews showed that family activities used a car for transport. The reliance of young people on the car as a form of transport is demonstrated by David, who discussed his change in activities when the family car had to go to the garage:

> I just stayed at home 'cos, there was, well, all, my car had to be fixed and all I had to do was watch TV and relax.
>
> David, 12, Community B

Parents' travel behaviour has been shown to have an impact on their children's travel behaviour, with frequent car use reducing independent mobility (Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009; Freeman, 2010). If parents do not walk in the local area, then driving becomes normalised. Freeman (2010) found these effects were lessened somewhat if children attended a local school and walked to friends' houses and around the neighbourhood. This may explain why fewer young people interviewed from Community A reported using parental lifts than Community B, as most of these participants walked to school whilst those from Community B got the bus. Reliance of families on the car, parental concerns about safety, lack of facilities in the local area, and the low adult presence on the street mean young people prefer to rely on a car for transport (even though their control as non-drivers is limited) when compared to cycling and walking (Sibley, 1995; Barker, 2009; Barker, 2011; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012; Brown, 2013; Witten *et al.*, 2013). This is despite planning policies for the two communities (outlined in Section 4.3) seeking to create developments that emphasised movement on foot and pedestrian 'comfort'.

The dominance of the car has implications for the empowerment of young people within the case study areas due to both its controlling influence on the design of the development and preferred mode of transport. As non-drivers they cannot benefit directly from this, through previous research

has shown them to be active social agents in relation to car travel (Barker, 2009). It also adversely impacts on the development of their spatial and navigational skills, which could be gained from more independent transport modes such as walking (Rissotto and Tonucci, 2002).

The transport choices of young people in the two mixed communities appear to be similar to those revealed by research in existing communities, particularly rural areas. Given that reliance on the car has been shown to reduce social interaction in neighbourhoods (Prezza and Pacilli, 2007; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012), this has implications for the building of friendships and social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood. The nascent nature of the communities means that social interaction is of paramount importance to build ties and social capital, thereby achieving the espoused benefits of mixed communities. The reliance on parents for lifts, whilst mirroring parental dependence on cars, extends beyond a form of parental control to affect the social, cultural and physiological development of young people in mixed communities. Research has explored factors affecting parents chauffeuring their children around (Carver *et al.*, 2013), but given these findings of young people preferring parental lifts, it would be interesting to explore factors from young people's perspectives, particularly in relation to how much control they have over the giving of lifts.

6.2.1.3 Cycling, skateboards and scooters

Previous studies have shown that cycling is another important mode of independent transport for young people (Weston, 2010). This research found that only 17% (n=21) of young people used cycling as a mode of transport. Whilst no pattern was notable in connection of prevalence for cycling with regard to tenure, age or community, there was a big gender difference (see Table 6.2). The questionnaire found that 29.4% (n=20) of males, but only 1.7% (n=1) of females, used cycling as a form of independent transport meaning that 95% of those that cycled were male. Cycling is more prevalent among men than women across the UK (Department for Transport, 2012) and previous research in the UK has found that boys are more likely to get around by bicycle than girls (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). Mike, who often cycled to school, described the benefits to him of cycling over walking:

> It's a lot easier and uses a lot less effort than walking.
>
> Mike, 15, Community A

Other participants, however, saw cycling as more complicated than walking due to the issue of what to do with their bike at their destination:

...if I'm just maybe like going to knock for them, come out and then we're going to go back to a mate's house then I don't usually bother [with my bike] because it's just a bit of hassle sometimes.

Frank, 15, Community B

I usually just walk to the places without my bike....'cos, around here, I usually, on the park, if I put my bike down, I don't like people coming around it. I like stuff near me.

Susie, 13, Community B

Melinda, 11, discussed how distance determined whether she took her bicycle. The further the distance, the more likely she was to take her bike as then she could stay out longer:

Sometimes 'cos I have a BMX...I'll bring that if it's like I'm going further away so I have to get back, I can spend a longer time when I get back.

Melinda, 11, Community A

Thus, determining factors were ease, security and distance travelled. Cycling is marginalised as a means of transport (Urban Task Force, 1999), but more frequent bike use by teenagers has been observed where investment is made in cycling infrastructure (Vanderstede, 2011). The communities did not have specific cycle paths and no adult was observed cycling during the observation stage of the research (save recreationally in the country park of Community A). Parents' travel behaviour has been shown to have an impact on their children's travel behaviour (Fyhri and Hjorthol, 2009; Freeman, 2010) so the lack of cycling by adults may affect young people's transport choices. Whilst this lack of cycling is not a specific finding for new mixed communities (Dempsey *et al.*, 2012), it has implications for the development of social relations through contact on the street (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009).

Scooters were also mentioned by 13% of the questionnaire sample (n=16) as a form of independent mobility, with more of those from Community B using such a mode of transport (19.6%, n=9; compared to 8.6%, n=7). None of the interviewees mentioned using a scooter. No standardised questions were asked in the questionnaire regarding skateboarding as a form of transport. During interviews, only two participants (Bradford and Mark in Community A) made specific mention of skateboarding as an activity and means to get around. This suggests that there is a gender difference here as well. This is corroborated by the opening of a skatepark near Community B, which the researcher attended during the early stages of the research process. There were very few female

skateboarders in attendance at this event. Given that previous research has found that boys are more physically active than girls (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Woolley, 2006), this is not surprising. Established patterns identified from research into existing settlements appear to repeat themselves in new mixed communities.

6.2.1.4 Public transport

Public transport consisted of the bus service, there being no train station within five miles of any participant's home. A fifth of questionnaire respondents used the bus as an independent mode of transport (n=26). Of the participants interviewed, 10 of the 30 said they used the public bus to move around (see Figure 6.1) and believed access to a public bus service was an attraction of living in their neighbourhood:

> I can get the bus to town if I wanted to.
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

> And the best thing is, the public bus comes through here. It was heaven getting the bus home, I didn't have to walk from down the street.
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

An aversion to the public bus has been found in previous research of established communities (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005) and, in this study, the public bus was not favoured by all interviewees. It was viewed as 'scary' or 'expensive' and inconvenient when compared to a lift, whilst distance to facilities using public transport (particularly a skatepark in Community A) was mentioned as another prohibitive factor:

> Amelia: I'd be allowed to [go on the bus by myself], probably, but I don't really want to. I think it's scary.
>
> Katie: It's not scary, Amelia, everyone does it. On the bus, yeah, of course they do.
>
> Amelia: I don't mind going as long as someone else is going, but not on my own.
>
> Amelia and Katie, 12, Community A

> ... if you get a child dayrider ticket £1.95! [You have to be] 14...[but] it's just cheaper!
>
> Hannah, 16, Community A

RR: Do you ever get on the bus that's not the school bus to get anywhere?

Ruby: Too expensive.

Ruby, 11, Community B

I don't usually get the bus, it's usually walking or I get my mum to take me if I'm going [further away].

Frank, 15, Community B

Mark:...now they've built a skatepark, but it's still quite far away.

RR: Yeah, it's in town...Do you get the bus [there] much?

Mark: No, not really, but my parents give me a lift down there sometimes.

Mark, 15, Community A

The connection between distance to facilities by public transport and affordability shows a link to research in rural areas where local facilities are few and young people have to travel greater distances to reach them, on sometimes unreliable and expensive public transport (Skelton, 2000; Matthews and Tucker, 2006; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2011).

The questionnaire showed a strong correlation between tenure and regular use of the bus, with no respondent from rented or social housing saying they mostly travel by bus when they are out by themselves compared to a quarter of those from privately owned housing (25.3%, n=23). If tenure is taken as a proxy for affordance then there is some link here between affordability and use of the bus, but this was not so defined in the interviews where Ruby (from private housing) found the bus to be too expensive, but Katie and Hannah from social housing reported using the bus on occasion (though Hannah made this cheaper through buying a child's ticket when she was over age).

This lack of use could, again, in part be a reflection of adult behaviour. Car use dominated the two developments and participants reported taking the bus with their friends and siblings, but not with their parents. Young people may have been less afraid to catch the bus if they initially did so with an adult, though this is also a reflection of personal preference given that Amelia's friends Sarah and Emily reported no fear of using the bus by themselves. This research shows that not all young people need (or desire) independent transport by bus as many (regardless of tenure) can access lifts from parents, which are preferable.

Previous studies have found that girls have a greater spatial range of independent mobility as they tend to get the bus to friends' houses or to shopping malls (Brown *et al.*, 2008). Half of the girls

interviewed used the bus (n=8), compared to a fifth of boys. The questionnaire did not show such a disparity, however, with a fifth of male and female respondents saying they regularly used the bus. Use of public transport has been shown to increase spatial range and independence (Holland *et al.*, 2007b; Brown *et al.*, 2008) and this was true in this study, where interviewees who used public transport travelled distances of up to 10 miles (compared to two miles on foot).

Age also made a difference to public transport use, with use increasing with the age of participant interviewed. This was also borne out in the questionnaire, where bus use rose from 0% at the age of 11 to 35% at the age of 16, perhaps reflecting the greater freedom given to older young people by their parents, as well as a reduction in safety concerns of parents and young people as they age. In terms of community, those interviewed from Communities A and B were just as likely to use a bus as one another (33%, n=5), though the questionnaires showed that those from Community A were slightly more likely to get a bus than those from B (22.2% and 17.4% respectively). However, this may be a reflection of the comparatively greater age of most of the questionnaire respondents from Community A.

The results from the research into mixed communities reflect existing communities. Some young people found the bus service intimidating, expensive and unsuitable for their needs given the distances to facilities. Bus use increased with age, which is thought to show greater freedom and fewer concerns for safety as young people get older. The two developments also showed a reliance on the car, and this parental choice of transport is considered to then affect their offspring's choice of transport, particularly when a lift is preferable to the bus. Providing for accessible and affordable public transport services is thus only one part of boosting public transport use by children and expanding their independent spatial range. The next section will discuss limitations to mobility found as part of the research.

6.2.2 Limitations on mobility

Everyday limitations on mobility were identified as parental control, fear, conflict, health, schoolwork and affordability. Table 6.5 identifies the key limits of mobility, whilst Tables 6.6 to 6.9 consider how these limitations vary by community, gender, tenure and age. The following Sections 6.2.2.1 to 6.2.2.7 will discuss these issues in more detail.

Table 6.5 Limitations on mobility of interview participants

	Sociable[1]	Not sociable[2]	Parental control	Fear	Lack of friends in local area	Conflict	Health	School-work	Afford-ability
Percentage	83.3% (n=25)	16.7% (n=5)	26.7% (n=8)	26.7% (n=8)	23.3% (n=7)	20% (n=6)	13.3% (n=4)	10% (n=3)	6.7% (n=2)

[1] Those defined as 'Sociable' reported a wide circle of friends and marked more than three friends' houses on maps during interviews.

[2] Those defined as 'Not sociable' did not report a wide circle of friends, had fewer than three friends marked on the map and even described themselves as such.

Table 6.6 Limitations on mobility of interview participants by community

Community	Parental control	Fear	Lack of friends in local area	Conflict	Health	School-work	Afford-ability
A (n=15)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	2 (13%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (6%)
B (n=15)	2 (13%)	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)	1 (6%)

Table 6.7 Limitations on mobility of interview participants by gender

Gender	Parental control	Fear	Lack of friends in local area	Conflict	Health	School-work	Afford-ability
Boy (n=11)	2 (19%)	2 (19%)	4 (36%)	4 (36%)	3 (27%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)
Girl (n=19)	6 (32%)	5 (26%)	3 (16%)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	2 (11%)	2 (11%)

Table 6.8 Limitations on mobility of interview participants by tenure

Tenure	Parental control	Fear	Lack of friends in local area	Conflict	Health	School-work	Afford-ability
Private (n=23)	4 (17%)	4 (17%)	5 (22%)	4 (17%)	3 (13%)	3 (13%)	1 (4%)
Rented (n=4)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Social (n=3)	2 (67%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	1 (33%)

Table 6.9 Limitations on mobility of interview participants by age

Age	Parental control	Fear	Lack of friends in local area	Conflict	Health	School-work	Afford-ability
11 (n=5)	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)
12 (n=7)	4 (57%)	3(43%)	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
13 (n=3)	0 (0%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
14 (n=5)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
15 (n=6)	0 (0%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)	1 (17%)	2 (33%)	3 (50%)	0 (0%)
16 (n=4)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)

Key

Percentage/ Colour
0-24%
25-49%
50-74%
75-100%

6.2.2.1 Parental control

An extensive limitation on general movement mentioned during interviews was that of parental control (see Tables 6.5 to 6.9). O'Brien *et al.* argue that "familial practices are a crucial context for understanding children's geographies" (2000: 270). Matthews and Limb (1999) discuss how a complex negotiated geography is apparent through varying parental caretaking practices:

> ...for the parent, environmental and social dangers exert strong centripetal pulls; for the child, growing environmental competences, the lust of autonomy and the pull of rival environmental attractions provide irresistible centrifugal impulses.
>
> Matthews and Limb, 1999: 71

The effect of parental control in mixed communities varied across participants due to age, gender, environment, perceived safety, trust, level of competence, and participants' negotiation of any restrictions.

Parental perceptions of safety have been found to be a strong determining factor when defining an acceptable territorial range and mode of transport, with stranger danger and traffic frequently mentioned as a motivator for parents restricting their offspring in terms of walking, cycling and use of public space (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1999; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Woolley, 2006). Previous studies have also found age and perceived safety were key factors contributing to parental management strategies (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Yeung *et al.*, 2007; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013).

Younger participants (age 11) were more likely to report boundaries set by parents, often extending to the built edge of the neighbourhood. Interview results showed 60% (n=3) of 11 year olds reported parental controls as a limit on mobility compared to 0% of 15-16 year olds.Boundary extensions by parents happened incrementally with age (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Yeung *et al.*, 2007):

> I was surprised the other day 'cos I was like 'Mum, I'm going out' and it was like 9 o'clock at night and I was like 'What time do you want me to be in?', they're like 'Whenever' and I was like 'Huuuuh!'.
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

> It used to be, it used to be like I couldn't, at one point it was like always in the cul-de-sac, when I was younger, when we first moved here and then sort of just spreading to, like, I could go across [Community B], and then eventually when I got mates that spread out across

[local town] it was like, well I could just cycle out and walk about more.

Frank, 15, Community B

Valentine (1997a) found that parents assumed that the competence of their children to safely navigate areas outside the home increased with age. 11-year-old participants reflected in interviews on how their parents were teaching them to gain spatial competence and consequently extend their boundaries:

> I'm not allowed to go to the cinema on my own, but some of my friends, Eric and Lucy, are, but my Mum won't let me go on my own just yet, but um a couple of weeks ago a group of us and our friend Julie's parents came to the cinema...But her parents sat away from us so it was a bit like we were on our own. It's just like a learning experience, so we are learning.
>
> Melinda, 11, Community A

This is in keeping with findings from existing research, showing that the move from primary to secondary school creates new, autonomous spatial identities (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Holland *et al.*, 2007b).

The research also showed that there was some difference in the level of effect of parental control on independent spatial mobility by community, gender, and tenure. Previous research has identified gendered geographies of care, with girls more spatially restricted than boys due to greater concerns for their safety (Matthews, 1986; Valentine, 1997a; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Brown *et al.*, 2008). This was also reflected in interviews with girls in mixed communities, where 32% (compared to 19% of boys) cited parental control as a restricting factor on their independent mobility. Caitlin spoke of her dad's protectiveness of her because he saw her as 'his little girl' and many girls were only allowed beyond certain limits with a friend. This evidence of gender-based parenting reflects existing research.

Those living in Community A also reported greater control by parents on their movement (40%) than Community B (13%). This is perhaps a reflection of the more established nature of Community A. A poorer urban environment has been found to affect parental fears over their child's safety (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). The recent construction of the area and consequent better urban environment, as well as the perception of safety, may lead parents in new communities to allow their children greater spatial freedom. This will be debated further in Sections 6.2.2.2 and 8.3.2. Whilst tenure did appear to influence parental behaviour (two thirds of social housing tenants interviewed stating that their parents restricted their movement, compared to 50% of those living in private

rented accommodation and 17% of those in private), the reasons for control were bullying (David, discussed in Section 6.2.2.2) or a lack of desire to challenge parental limits (Katie, debated later in this section). It does not appear that mixed communities show significant differences in relation to the strength of parental control in terms of age, gender, community or tenure when compared to results from previous studies in Children's Geographies.

Young residents who had moved to the communities in the last year were allowed greater freedom as a result of parental perception of the increased safety of the area (Jones, 2000; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). Steve and Roger both said in interviews that their freedom had increased after moving to the neighbourhood from London:

> I'm allowed out until 10 'cos it's a lot more calm and relaxed down here than it was up there.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

> RR: So do you have to tell them where you're going or...?
>
> Steve: Um, no, I used to do that, where I used to live, but not here.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

This connection of new communities with safety evokes findings from studies into rural children's spatiality. Studies have shown that the rural idyll leads parents to feel that rural areas are safer for young people, idealising the rural as utopian environments for children to grow up in (Jones, 2000; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Vanderbeck and Morse Dunkley, 2003). Research by Chaskin *et al.* (2013) has shown that parents (notably social housing tenants) who have moved to mixed communities view the area as safer and better maintained, and consequently superior for their children's wellbeing. O'Brien *et al.* found that "parental anxiety is amplified in poor, distressed urban environments" (2000: 270). The improved environment and suburban nature of the new mixed communities studied led to a parental perception of greater safety (Nairn *et al.*, 2003). This reflects research into young people's rural geographies, particularly the role of the rural idyll in parental perceptions of safety.

All participants reported having a mobile phone and had to tell their parents before they left the house where they were going, who they were going with and what time they would be back, or had to ensure that they had their mobile with them so their parent could reach them later to ask such questions or call them home. The degree to which technology is changing parental practice is not yet fully understood (Pain *et al.*, 2005). In relation to this research, mobile phones allowed young people greater spatial freedom as they did not always have to agree with parents beforehand where they

were going or with whom, but they also enabled remote parental control as parents called young people to return to the family home (Horton *et al.*, 2014). Conversely, they enabled young people to arrange for a lift from parents (Leyshon *et al.*, 2013).

Parental controls on young people's geographies were found to be mitigated by greater trust, which was connected to a perception of greater competence, as well as who young people saw. This greater trust led to greater freedom, as was the case with Alice, Amelia and Sarah:

> My parents don't mind [where I go] really because they trust me anyway and they like my friends...they know that basically we're not going to go and cause trouble or anything.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

> I'm allowed most places because my Mum and Dad trust me mostly.
>
> Amelia, 12, Community A

> I was 10 though, but now he trusts me ... if it's somewhere I'm not allowed to go, I don't tell my parents I'm going there and then tell them when I get home, and they forgive me for being honest, and if it's somewhere they don't want me going out on my own I'm literally like 'I'm meeting up with somebody' and then probably don't meet up with that person and just go out.
>
> Sarah, 12, Community A

Despite her mendacity, Sarah appeared to have greater trust from her dad as she gained increased experience with age and challenged limits through pushing boundaries. This reflects existing research that parental concerns over the safety of children diminish as their perception of children's environmental competence increases, as well as children's agency in negotiating these boundaries (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Cahill, 2000). The role of trust in parental control becomes an interplay of age, social relationships, spatial competence, and environment.

The relationship between parental control and children's mobility was also affected by the extent to which young people contested these boundaries (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1999). Emily (Community A) had the widest independent mobility of her interviewed peer group, perhaps as a result of her pushing against parental boundaries (as did Frank and Sarah above):

...he grounded me so I was like 'Ah Dad, I'm going out to play in the back garden'. I didn't just go out to play in the back garden, I climbed over the fence.

Emily, 12, Community A

This was similar to Caitlin who discussed how her dad was not happy with her going out to clubs and bars when she was underage:

...my Dad is not very happy about [me going clubbing], but he can't stop me because I'd just do it anyway, whether he said no or not.

Caitlin, 16, Community B

Emily's friend Katie, however, did not contest the spatial limits set by her protective mum:

Um, I'm not allowed to go to [neighbouring village] because my Mum says I'm not old enough and I'm not old enough to go on my own anyway...I don't know my way round [neighbouring village]...I'd just get lost and not find my way back out...[My Mum] doesn't leave me to go like on my own to um, to no, well, to anywhere really ...If I go out and about, she'll go 'I need an exact place or I'm not letting you go out'.

Katie, 12, Community A

This protectiveness had a noticeable effect on the maturity and independence of Katie. She accepted her mum's restrictions because she felt unable to navigate the neighbouring village safely. Research has found that greater independent mobility leads to less intense fear of crime and a stronger sense of community (Prezza and Pacilli, 2007), as well as better spatial skills (Rissotto and Tonucci, 2002). Parental fears have been found to be reflected in the greater fear of their children (Timperio *et al.*, 2004). This also appeared the case in the two mixed communities studied. This finding regarding the different contestations and challenges to boundaries by young people in mixed communities reflects Valentine's statement that young people play "an active role in (re)negotiating their parents' understanding of their ability to manage their own lives" (1997a: 76). The degree to which young people pushed against these boundaries, however, varied by participant (for example, Emily and Katie), suggesting personality plays as much a part as parental control (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Tucker, 2003). Research by Matthews *et al.* (1999) in Northamptonshire in the 1990s found that in cases where spatial restrictions were placed on young people by their parents, young people showed considerable respect for these place bans, with only about one fifth declaring defiance and 'going anyway'. This demonstrates that mixed communities are subject to the same acceptance and defiance strategies by young people in response to their parents' concerns and restrictions.

Parental controls on spatial limits in mixed communities, therefore, are as complex and varied as in existing communities.

6.2.2.2 Fear and perception of safety

Fear was identified as a factor limiting young people's mobility in this study (see Tables 6.5 to 6.9). In this research, fears centred on walking alone, attack, bullying and stranger danger. These varied by gender, age and community. Much has been made in past research of how parental fear limits the spatial range of young people, and the extent to which these fears are reflected by young people in their choices about where to go and who to see (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Elsey, 2004; Timperio *et al.*, 2004; Pain, 2006; Barker, 2011; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). Parental discourses of risk have been found to be echoed by young people (Horton *et al.*, 2014), with the environment and discourses of fear that produce and reproduce it having serious implications for teenagers' geographies (Cahill, 2000). Studies have shown fears of young people largely centre on stranger danger and traffic (Valentine, 1997a; Freeman, 2010) and have been shown to have an urban/rural difference. Those living in urban areas are subject to concerns of stranger danger and traffic (Reay and Lucey, 2000; Bartlett, 2002) whilst those in rural areas are more likely to be fearful of the New Age Traveller community (Nairn *et al.*, 2003; Barker, 2011). Parental controls reflect these fears, with research by Pain (2006) finding that some of these fears are well founded when compared to incidences of victimisation. The link between fear and parental control was strong in this research into mixed communities with all but two participants who identified parental control as a limit on independent mobility in interviews also identifying fear as a limit.

Fear has been shown to affect spatial behaviour, with children becoming increasingly restricted by parents to domestic environments to keep them safe (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 2000c; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013) and children alter their behaviour in reflection of parental fears (Timperio *et al.*, 2004). Pain (2006) found that children often link their fears of particular groups of people to known events of encounters meaning many fears of children are not groundless or culturally constructed, as has been argued elsewhere in relation to parents letting go of fears for their children (Furedi, 2001; Gill, 2007b). This section will discuss the particular fears of young people and the effect on their mobility in more detail.

In terms of fear felt by the participants, it was common for girls in the study to report that they did not walk or get the bus by themselves, despite having the freedom to do so:

I never walk on my own.

Sarah, 12, Community A

I never really walk by myself 'cos I don't like walking by myself...especially at night, then it's scary.

Amelia, 12, Community A

This fear was not true for all participants though, and, for some, being with others was simply a means to avoid boredom. Young people generally reported feeling safe in their neighbourhood, with two participants specifically commenting that this was the best thing about living in their area:

Feeling safe so you can walk about in the evening.

Gemma, 14, Diary, Community B

It's safe to walk around.

Neil, 14, Diary, Community A

This again shows the difference that perception of safety has on mobility and how the research shows microgeographies of teenagers' mobilities in mixed communities.

To some extent, the results reflect a gendered geography of fear with girls slightly more likely (26%) to state fear as a limiting factor in their mobility than boys (19%) (Massey, 1994; Matthews and Limb, 1999; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Brown *et al.*, 2008). Previous research has found that girls are more commonly afraid of sexual attacks, whereas boys fear for their vulnerability from attacks or fights (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Matthews and Limb, 1999). The fears expressed by girls reflect this, as shown by the quote from Anna above and also an incident relayed by Amy:

My friend here she got, um, threatened by um, it was about 8 o'clock at night, a knife, he pulled out a knife and said get in the car and then there were some other ones here about a girl getting sexually assaulted.

Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

Only two boys mentioned fear as a limiting factor in their mobility. Valentine (1997a) found that boys were reluctant to acknowledge any safety fears. David was one of two boys who voiced fears of stranger danger and the only one to mention bullies as an effect on his mobility (though others reported it as an issue in relation to use of space). Whenever David was bullied, he had to be picked up in a car:

...[my parents] say I can, I can go there as long as I go down to my Nan, if it's near my Nan's, 'cos 'If it's near your Nan's, go to your Nan's to make sure you got there safely. And make sure if you get bullied, you go straight to her and she'll pick you up'.

David, 12, Community B

The bullying may have increased his awareness of his vulnerability due to the link between victimisation and fear argued by Pain (2006). This reflects research that young people are more at risk from other young people, or people they know (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Pain, 2006; Gill, 2007b). Mixed communities showed a similar gendered landscape of fear to existing research, with girls more likely to express fear, particularly centred on sexual assault, whilst boys were less likely to express fear, but when they did it concerned fear of attack (from bullies). The effect of bullies on use of space will be discussed in Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.4.

Older boys (13-16 years) did not raise fear as an issue, reflecting findings by Pain (2006). Age was found to affect fear as a limiting factor on mobility: 60% of 11 year olds discussing it as a limitation on their mobility compared to 0% of 16 year olds. This is also in keeping with Pain (2006). The effect fear has on mobility is thus influenced by gender and age in mixed and non-mixed communities.

Despite the link between teenage geographies in mixed communities and in rural areas, participants were still subject to the (urban) concern of stranger danger (Reay and Lucey, 2000; Nairn *et al.*, 2003):

RR: Are there any places that you went that your parents didn't like you going?
Steve: Um, no. Except for talking to strangers, which is the usual one.

Steve, 12, Community B

In this case, the only boundary that Steve's parents placed on him was not to talk to strangers due to their fear of resultant harm coming to him. This suggests that despite the communities being new, parents remain concerned about the same issues discussed in previous research (Valentine, 1997a; Valentine, 2004; Freeman, 2010; Barker, 2011) and similarly modified their parenting strategies in response to this fear. The communities studied were not plagued by problems with gangs and drug abuse as the inner-city Council estates were shown to be (Reay and Lucey, 2000). In this respect, the developments have more in common with rural areas and the perception of the rural idyll as a safe place in which to raise children (Jones, 2000; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Nairn *et al.*, 2003; Vanderbeck and Morse Morse Dunkley, 2003). It is, perhaps, more accurate to suggest that, despite the myth of the rural idyll (Matthews *et al.*, 2000c), parents' fear of stranger danger is present in any

community in which they live, but the degree of this will vary depending on reputation and reported incidents of strangers attacking children (Valentine, 1997a).

There were a number of reported rumours surrounding attacks and attempted abductions in both communities. As with Matthews *et al.* (1999) and Pain (2006), fear of being out and about was bound up with incidences of assault, as well as rumours and fears of abduction:

> ...me and my friend were walking and this woman just kind of stopped us and looked at us and started to follow us and so I said to my friend 'Run!' 'cos we was just by my house...
>
> Louise, 11, Community A

> ...because you never know, there might be um mean people and, er, they might even kidnap [you] and stuff, so you never know.
>
> David, 12, Community B

This led to Louise and David showing caution in navigating their local environment. This study also showed evidence of young people, and parents, modifying their transport mode in response to this fear:

> At night my mum will pick me up because she's very protective and because there was like a rapist around, she didn't like me walking.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

The parents of some of the young people interviewed would prefer to pick them up in their car rather than have them risk walking. This is in keeping with existing research (Valentine, 1997a; Timperio *et al.*, 2004).

It also appears that the newness of the community affected the prevalence of abduction fears and spread of rumours. None of the incidents, except that relayed by Louise, took place within the community in which the young person lived. This could be a reflection on the communities studied being new and so consequently less likely to have yet developed a history of such incidences or a problem reputation (van der Burgt, 2008; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). The theory is given credence by the fact it was only the older community (Community A) where a participant (Louise) reported an incident within its boundaries. This is also reflected in the actual crime statistics for the area for 2012 where Community A had an average of twice as many reported incidents (n=18) when compared to Community B (n=9) (Northamptonshire Police, 2014). Though the precise nature of these crimes is

not reported, it can be speculated that many were connected to antisocial behaviour (as will be debated in Section 6.5). The results also show that fear was more prevalent as a limitation in Community A (33%) than Community B (20%). Such incidents show how the geographies of danger (and so fear) are not static, but subject to change (Barker, 2011), particularly as a community ages. This is an interesting finding in relation to the effect of the newness of communities on young people's mobility.

Van der Burgt (2008) discusses how the place knowledge and meaning constructed by the media is used by the public to categorise places. This leads to certain places being deemed 'problem places' and so the inhabitants of these places as 'problems' themselves. Gossip, defined by Smith *et al.* as "non-specialised information-sharing" (2010: 1449) and the media play an important role in formulating rumours. One participant showed awareness that not all of the incidences of attempted abduction may be true:

> But there is quite a few of these stories going round.
>
> Melinda, 11, Community A

The role that media plays in geography is adultist in construct (van der Burgt, 2008), but the role of gossip and rumour, and how young people construct risk as a result, is very little understood in relation to Children's Geographies (Gustafson, 2011; van der Burgt, 2013). Valentine's (1997a) research has shown that parental management strategies are influenced by their knowledge of local incidents, but she believes that young people often have a better understanding of both incidents and rumours of danger, due to the frequency with which they are out in their neighbourhoods. Given differences between the two communities, it would be worth further exploring how much influence the recent construction of a community has on the development of rumours and associated fear, including how this intersects with variables (such as parenting style, gender, age, length of residency, crime rates, and victimisation) and the point at which a community becomes old enough to develop enough rumours and a reputation to affect mobility. The role of area reputation will be discussed further in Section 8.3.2.

Traffic has been identified as the biggest fear of young people in research by Matthews *et al.* (1999). This is a particular fear in urban areas (Reay and Lucey, 2000; Bartlett, 2002), but traffic was not identified as a fear factor in the mobility of young people living in mixed communities. This suggests that the suburban mixed communities have more in common with certain rural areas which are away from main roads (Leyshon, 2008). This distinction was highlighted by Anna discussing how different Community B, with its open fields, was to where she lived in Surrey on a 30 mph road. Considering

this, Community B in particular has more in common with rural areas than urban areas, though this did not extend to the rural fear of New Age Travellers identified by Nairn *et al.* (2003).

Young people living in mixed communities identified a number of fears that affected their mobility, which reflected concerns identified in research into existing communities (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Elsey, 2004; Timperio *et al.*, 2004; Pain, 2006). An understanding of local rumours of incidents and danger also affected young people's movement in the case study communities (Valentine, 1997a), which appeared to be connected to the newness of the community.

6.2.2.3 Lack of friends in local area

The development of friendships, particularly local friendships, is important in helping young people feel a part of community (Brown *et al.*, 2008), yet little is understood of the geographies of friendships (Bunnell *et al.*, 2012; Smith, 2013). The overwhelming majority of questionnaire respondents had friends within their neighbourhood (90.6%, n=115), but the neighbourhoods were not contained units with 94.5% (n=120) of respondents having friends outside their neighbourhood. As with Bunnell *et al.* (2012), school was found to be an important place of socialisation. Most young people made friends from school (as will be discussed in Sections 6.4.2 and 8.7.3), but due to the wide catchment areas this sometimes meant friends did not live in the same community as the participant, as was the case with Trudy:

> Trudy: So all of [my friends], the majority of them, most of them live in [neighbouring village].
> RR: Yeah
> Trudy: If not all, huh...if we meet up, we go to town. I've got one friend who lives in [Community A], but she doesn't go to my school.
>
> Trudy, 14, Community A

This had a significant effect on Trudy's mobility as she did not engage much with the local area, having fewer friends to meet up and visit within it.

Lack of friends in the area was not found to be determined by age, but there was a difference in terms of gender (see Tables 6.7 and 6.9). Boys (36% of interviewees) were more likely to lack friends in the area than girls (16%). Brown *et al.* (2008) argued that girls in their study were more sociable than boys: boys expressed less interest and ability in organising their social lives (Brown *et al.*, 2008).

No difference was found in relation to tenure and lack of friends in the area, with percentages of those interviewed who expressed this as a limiting factor in their mobility being between 22-33% for all tenures.

A clear difference was identified concerning lack of friends (as an impact on mobility) and community. Of those interviewed, 13% of Community A identified this as a problem compared to 33% of Community B. This is thought to be a reflection of the more recent construction of Community B, which led to a greater likelihood of participants having moved into their house only within the last year, often from outside the local area. This led to some young people having difficulty in making friends, leading to more limited mobility. Steve discussed how his behaviour had changed since he had moved because he did not know as many people, whilst Anna discussed the delicacy of building and navigating friendships:

> Steve: I am an indoor person, I am never an outdoor person. I used to be, that was when I lived in London.
>
> ...
>
> RR: Why do you think you're more of an indoor person now?
> Steve: Because I don't really know many people around here. I'm not really used to the new place. I don't like change.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

> Um, at the start I met people, different people and I didn't know fully what they were about because my old friends I'd known for seven years so I know what they're about, but moving to a new place I didn't and some people have turned from what I expected...I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings because I'm new...
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

Frank, who had lived in the area for seven years, discussed a similar experience on first moving into the area, but how this had now changed:

> It was strange at first, like new place, new people to meet and to get to know but I started to, yeah, get used to it and everything, made new friends, still try and keep in touch with some of the people from down there but...sort of just drift away a bit I guess over time.
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON
LIBRARY

This is a particular issue for young people moving to new communities: building meaningful relationships that will enable them to play and participate in the community, to belong. Some young people who had lived there for less than a year were unsettled and their lack of friends in the area led them to alter their identity and spatialities, through avoiding issues that would 'hurt anyone's feelings' or becoming a more domestic person. They withdrew into themselves (Leyshon, 2011).

Steve expressed nostalgia for where he used to live and the friends he had there, whilst Frank noted the effect of place and transition on the 'drift' of friendships. These findings echo those of Smith (2013) whose research in a new village in Northamptonshire found that nostalgia and transition were common themes in discussion of friendships, whilst participants also discussed difficulty in making friends in the village due to the lack of things to do and the consequential effort required to maintain friendships outside the village (Smith, 2013). Furthermore, whilst parents have been found to make a sustained effort to build social capital upon moving to an area (Weller and Bruegel, 2009), young people, who have little choice in the move and may dislike change, might find it harder to build friendships.

There is a lack of literature on young people's experience of moving to a new community, though some research has been done on young people moving to existing communities (Bushin and White, 2010). There appears to be a particular link between the newness of a community, the friendships within it and the mobility of young people. Spatial lives are important formers of social lives, and vice versa (Massey, 1998; Aitken, 2001). The issues that these young people had in establishing social lives led to changes in their movement within space and maintenance of their identities.

Issues with building friendships upon moving were not, however, universal. Not all participants struggled to settle in to their new homes in Community B. Some had moved from nearby, whilst Roger, who had moved from London six months previously, was very quick to identify friends' houses and places on the map despite his recent move. His step-mum noted this with pride:

> Roger's only lived here since November, he didn't know anyone...he's settled in really good.
>
> Roger's step-mum, Community B

Chaskin *et al.* (2013) found that the "dynamics of forming relationships is influenced in part by particular aspects of young people's new neighbourhood and parental responses to them" (2013: 3). Physical characteristics can limit or facilitate social interaction, whilst concerns with safety may lead to some parents imposing greater limits or controls. This may explain to some extent why young people in mixed communities had varying success in forming friendships, but does not account for

other factors such as health (as will be discussed in Section 6.2.2.5), bullying or personality type. Anna had issues with her health and had a protective mother. Roger was very confident and seemed very street-wise, perhaps as a result of living in London before moving to the neighbourhood, whilst Steve, who had also moved from London, reported problems with bullies which limited his geography (as will be discussed in Section 7.3.1) and is likely to have isolated him socially. This shows the variety and variation that inevitably exists amongst young people, even when they live in the same area (Matthews and Tucker, 2007).

Even where young people were not recent movers (had lived there for less than a year), the number of friends they had was determined to some extent by personality. Some participants admitted that they were not very sociable, such as Beatrice, 16, Community B and Rob, 12, Community B:

> Yeah. I'm not very social, that's really it. I always go home, astro[turf].
>
> Rob, 12, Community B

The choice to be sociable or otherwise was dependent on the individual. This reflects Tucker's (2003) research that the way in which young people make sense of and respond to their particular social and environmental context varies according to interests, capacities and inclinations.

Young people identified lack of friends in an area as a limiting factor on their mobility. Fewer friends led to less movement around their community. The prevalence of lack of friends as a factor was connected to gender and community. Lack of friends was connected to the size of the catchment area of the school, how long the participant had been living in the area, and the personality of the young person. New communities, therefore, have particular issues surrounding reduced mobility due to lack of friends.

6.2.2.4 Conflict

Another limiting factor for young people's independent movement in public space was conflict with other people (see Tables 6.5 to 6.9). Young people are more likely to be involved in conflict with other young people (Karsten and Pel, 2000; Tucker and Matthews, 2001), so it is not surprising that participants reported issues with bullies or other groups of young people that led to a fear of further conflict (discussed in Section 6.2.2.2), changing mobility and changing use of spaces (as will be discussed in Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.4). Such conflict, however, was not limited to bullies of a similar age to participants. Conflict with adult neighbours was also reported:

And now the police want us to have CCTV on our house so they can actually film, whatever, what we're saying to [our neighbour] and he's saying to us... He takes pictures of us when we're walking out towards the bus.

Ruby, 11, Community B

The intimidating behaviour of Ruby's neighbour affected her ease of movement in the area surrounding her house, both walking down the street to the bus stop and playing on her back drive. There was a suggestion that Ruby modified her behaviour to avoid conflict, such as by making her presence 'invisible' and 'keeping to herself' (Cahill, 2000; Leyshon, 2011; Vanderstede, 2011). She frequently complained about him in interviews and in relation to what she would change in her neighbourhood, demonstrating that it impacted upon her enjoyment of her neighbourhood. Such conflict was not universally noted, however, demonstrating that young people's mobility was affected by different factors. No differences in conflict were observed in terms of age, tenure or community. Boys were more likely (36%) to raise conflict as an issue when compared to girls (11%). This reflects research by Pain (2006) who found that boys experience higher levels of victimisation than girls, despite expressing lower levels of fear in places. This demonstrates no difference between existing and new mixed communities when discussing young people and conflict.

6.2.2.5 Health

Four of the participants discussed poor health as a limitation on their movements (see Tables 6.5 to 6.9); it prevented them from walking as much as they would like, sometimes even leaving their house. This challenges the developmental model of childhood as young people find their adolescence constrained by their health, with transition periods defined by their illness (Valentine and Skelton, 2007). Anna, for example, was active in her old neighbourhood, playing sport and socialising with her friends, until falling ill with Myalgic Encephalopathy (ME). This then affected her mobility and friendships in her new neighbourhood. David, Frank and Steve all discussed various health issues (with Frank and Steve's reoccurring) that affected their mobility during the study:

David: And I just laid in bed and rested...I've been nowhere.

RR: Because you were still ill.

David, 12, Community B

Frank: I use it then because like it takes the pressure off my leg because like I've got a bad leg so it's like...

RR: OK, yeah.

Frank: So rather than walking around, I use the bike.

Frank, 15, Community B

No, I just don't like to eat that much. I did go to the doctors on, I think it was last month, because earlier this month, about two weeks ago, I went to the hospital because I felt really ill because the week before I fainted and my knee locked...

Steve, 12, Community B

This demonstrates how poor health can affect mobility in mixed communities. Some differences were noted in relation to community (with those living in Community B more likely to mention it as a limiting factor), gender (boys mentioned health issues more than girls) and tenure (more prevalent in social housing though, again, the numbers are low). It is difficult, however, drawing conclusions with regard to the connection these social markers had with health issues as each health problem discussed was unique to the participant. Geographies of health have been discussed in relation to residents of areas undergoing regeneration (Bond, 2011) and children with (dis)abilities (Pyer *et al.*, 2010), but no literature exists in respect of new or mixed communities. This research has found that whilst mixed communities are intended to provide a healthier built environment (Chaskin *et al*, 2013), health still remains an issue affecting young people's mobility.

6.2.2.6 Schoolwork

Exam revision was another reported reason for participants' reduced mobility during the interviews:

...the majority of the diary is me staying home or, like, um, I started revising 'cos I had like 11 exams so it wasn't really filled with going out.

Anna, 15, Community B

All those who reported schoolwork as limiting their mobility were 15 years old and studying for their GCSEs, showing a link between age and school as a limit to freedom of movement (see Table 6.9). This is connected with the time the interviews took place (summer 2012). Children's use of public space for play has been described as "wedged between homework and suppertime" (Moore, 1986: 18) and previous studies have also touched on the influence of homework on play time due to consequent temporal constraints (Veitch *et al.*, 2007). The effect school has on mobility is the same for mixed communities as for existing communities.

6.2.2.7 Affordability

Affordability as an effect on mobility was only mentioned by two participants (see Table 6.5). There was no clear link between affordability and age, community or gender (even though both participants who mentioned this as an issue in interviews were girls, the number is low). One participant lived in private housing (Ruby) and the other lived in social (Hannah); because the number of interviewees from social housing is low this results in a strong link between tenure and the likelihood of affordability being an issue (33% when compared to 4% for private and 0% for rented). In both cases, the issue of affordability related to the price of buses. The link between affordability and tenure was stronger in the questionnaire, however, where only those living in privately owned homes travelled by bus. Social housing occupants appeared to lack mobility as their questionnaires did not mention they liked the local town or other town.

Ruby's situation shows that affordability may not solely be connected to tenure. Ruby's mum and step-dad both held administrative jobs, which may have affected how much pocket money Ruby received. That is not to say there was not a clear link between housing tenure and parental jobs. Table 6.10 shows that the majority of those whose parents had managerial jobs lived in owner occupied housing (84.4%, n=27), though it was more likely that those in owner occupied housing had parents in administrative jobs (53% of those who lived in owner occupied housing, n=78). All those who lived in social or rented housing had parents in routine or administrative jobs. Classifications for jobs were taken from The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (ONS, undated). The link between lower paid employment (administrative and routine) and housing tenure is not surprising given the role that social housing and private renting plays in the market, providing homes to those who cannot afford to own their own house. Affordability and tenure, however, are not always so clearly linked.

Table 6.10 Parental job compared to housing ownership for questionnaire participants

	Housing ownership				
Parent Job	No answer	Private	Rented	Social	Don't know
No answer	1 (8.3%)	9 (75.0%)	1 (8.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (8.3%)
Don't know	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)
Managerial	0 (0%)	27 (84.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (15.6%)
Administrative	1 (1.5%)	48 (78.7%)	2 (3.3%)	2 (3.3%)	8 (13.1%)
Routine	0 (0%)	6 (30.0%)	5 (25.0%)	5 (25.0%)	4 (20.0%)

Key

Percentage	Colour Indicator
0-24%	
25-49%	
50-74%	
75-100%	

6.3 Activities

This section will consider the everyday activities of the young people in the study, both organised and informal. Organised activities are taken to mean participation in a club or group run by an organisation or person. Roberts and Parsell (1994) define these as 'adult led' activities. Informal activities were those that participants undertook independently or with friends on a casual basis. It will begin by focusing on organised activities. Some differences were identified in relation to participation rates in terms of gender and location.

6.3.1 Organised activities

Much has been made of the increasing institutionalisation of children to protect them (Valentine, 1997a; Jackson and Scott, 2000; Rasmussen and Smidt, 2003). The two mixed communities did not, however, exhibit signs of the segregation and chaperoning of children away from harm. The questionnaire showed organised activities were not common, with less than a fifth (18%, n=23) saying they spent most of their free time in this way. It was, however, common for interview participants to be involved in organised activities, with two thirds of the sample involved in one or more activity, as shown in Figure 6.3. The difference between questionnaire and interview data is perhaps a reflection of the methods of recruiting participants for the intensive stage of the research, where all but four participants from Community A were found through the researcher's work in the youth club.

Organised activities included youth club, Scouts, football, dance and drama groups. As stated, all but four of the fifteen interview participants from Community A attended the local youth club (see Figure 6.4). No interviewees from Community B attended a youth club; there was not one in the community, only in the town to which they were attached. The questionnaire results reveal that Community A had greater participation in organised activities than Community B; nearly a quarter of respondents from Community A were involved in an organised activity compared to a tenth from Community B. This is thought to be due to personal preference, access to facilities, parental management practices and material resources.

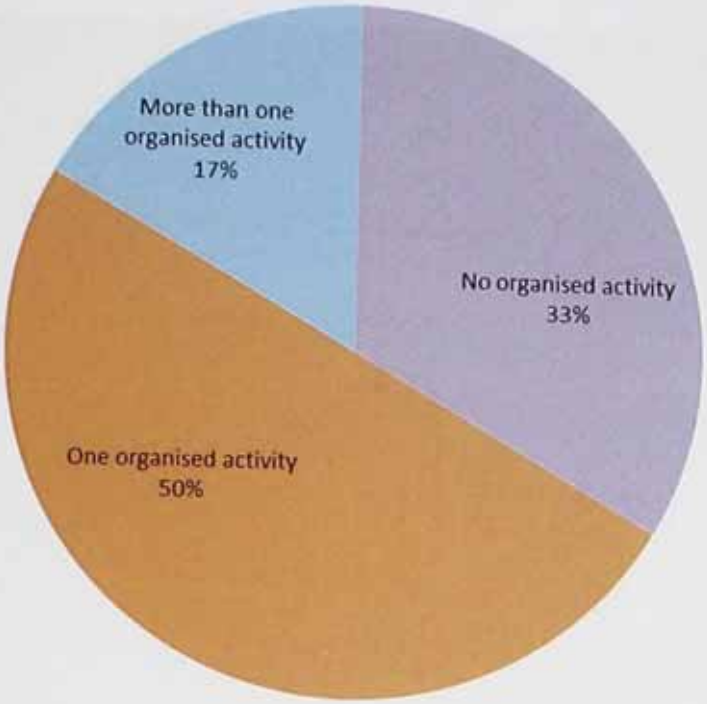

Figure 6.3 Number of organised activities undertaken by interview participants

Community A had more facilities for organised activities, such as the community centre for the youth club, football pitches for a youth team, and a sports pavilion for Scouts. The only facility in Community B was a leisure centre, which had only just opened at the time of the research. Previous studies have found that it is more common for young people growing up in suburbs to be encouraged by their parents to undertake organised activities (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001), but the lack of youth-focused activities and participation shows a greater similarity to research in rural communities (Tucker, 2003; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Matthews and Tucker, 2007; Weller, 2007b).

Material resources have been found to play a part in participation of organised activities (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Brown, 2013). Middle class children have been found to lead more structured lives with much greater participation in enrichment activities (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Weller and Bruegel, 2009; Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014). The questionnaire showed that the higher skilled the job of the parent (and so the greater the income), the more likely the participant was to be involved in an organised activity. The greater involvement of young people in Community A in organised activities is thought to be connected to the higher number of respondents in this community whose parents held a managerial position (nearly a third, compared to under a sixth for Community B). Reflecting existing research, material resources thus appeared to influence participation in organised activities when living in a mixed community.

Figure 6.4 Youth Club in community centre in Community A (Source: Trudy)

There was, however, no link between housing tenure and involvement in organised activities. The questionnaire and interview analysis show that those living in owner occupied housing were just as likely to be involved in an organised activity as someone living in social housing. Given existing literature surrounding greater participation of middle class children in structured activities (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Weller and Bruegel, 2009; Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014), this furthers the argument that tenure is a weak proxy for income and class (Fordham and Cole, 2009; Livingston *et al.*, 2013). The connection between parental job and affordability discussed in Section 6.2.2.7 suggests that parental job is a better indicator of class and income than tenure.

In terms of gender, girls were slightly more likely than boys to be involved in organised activities (20.7%, n=12, compared to 14.7%, n=10). In interviews this difference was starker: over three quarters of girls and under half of boys were involved in organised activities. Given that parents have been shown to express greater fear for girls' safety than that of boys (Matthews, 1986; Valentine, 1997a; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Brown *et al.*, 2008), it is not surprising that girls were more likely to report involvement in an organised activity as a means to provide protection. O'Brien *et al.* (2000) found that the segregation and chaperoning of children ensures a cultural reproduction of middle class, gendered lifestyles and identities. Ruby mentioned the highest level of involvement with organised activities, which was clearly linked to her mother's volunteering activities with the Scouts and Cubs. As with O'Brien *et al.* (2000), Ruby's life and activities perhaps reflected what she

considered to be a proper and appropriate way of life for her child, particularly as she reported disliking certain activities with the younger Cubs.

Roberts and Parsell (1994) found that an increase in age led to a shift away from adult-led to more peer-centred leisure activities. Neither the questionnaire nor the interview data showed a link between age and involvement in an organised activity; the younger and older of the cohort were just as likely to be involved in adult-led activities.

The difference between the participation results from the intensive and extensive research stage, and lack of pattern in the data connected to age and tenure, show how complicated the relationship between identified variables and participation is. This is thought to be connected to the role of personal preference of the young person to get involved in an activity (Brown *et al.*, 2008). The research clearly showed that many participants enjoyed spending their free time at home and there was evidence that parents planned out informal activities for them (as will be discussed in Section 6.3.2). O'Brien *et al.* (2000) have argued that "cocooned movement through the city, alongside high levels of attachment to home, is but one range of adaptations particular parents and children make to getting by in a more insecure social world" (2000: 271). They contend that children's choices and actions are constrained by their 'family habitus' and material resources (Bourdieu, 1990; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). It could be that the material resources and 'family habitus' of participants in mixed communities meant that the home environment was a more suitable means to provide protection (and entertainment) when compared to organised activities. Participation in organised activities was not connected to the newness or the mixed nature of the communities. The findings reflect existing data that personal preference, a lack of facilities, material resources and parental practices affect participation.

6.3.2 Informal activities

Questionnaires, diaries and interviews revealed a huge range of interests pursued by participants outside of organised activities. Figure 6.5 lists the informal activities mentioned in interviews. It shows that visiting supermarkets was the most popular activity, followed by walking, technology (computer games, mobile phones, and use of laptops and tablets) and use of parks. Other interests listed by questionnaire respondents included photography, gardening, cooking, work and playing with pets. The most popular free time activity revealed in the questionnaires was watching TV, closely followed by listening to music. Nearly two thirds of respondents undertook these activities. None of these activities are unique to new or mixed communities (Karsten and Pel, 2000; Karsten, 2003; Leyshon, 2008). In terms of interviews, there was no pattern with regard to the number of

activities participants undertook and their age, gender, location or tenure. Some differences were observed in relation to types of activities undertaken and these factors, however, as will be discussed below.

Many of the participants chose to spend free time with their family or in their family home, as evinced by interviews, cameras and diaries. There was no difference in terms of age, gender, location or tenure in this regard. Nearly two thirds (64%, n=81) of questionnaire respondents said they spent most of their free time at home, with the most popular free time activity being watching TV (65%, n=83). Other domestic activities that were popular included using the Internet (57%, n=72) and playing computer games (47%, n=60). The most popular place to be alone was at home (70%, n=88).. Young people interviewed reflected on how much they enjoyed home:

> I feel comfortable in my own home. I feel like I can just stay at home...
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

> I mean, I am at home, I don't really go outside really...
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

This appreciation of home is reflected in the returned cameras, where two thirds included photos of inside the participant's home (see Figure 6.6 and Figure 6.7).

Whilst Sibley (1995) has suggested that domestic environments are spaces of conflict, this was certainly not true for most participants. Instead, what Matthews *et al.* (2000a) refer to as the "lure of the home environment" (2000a: 64) is present in mixed communities. As with Halldén (2003), home was, for some, a place of safety and retreat. The popularity of technology, including mobile phones, tablets, laptops and games consoles, reflects the centrality of technology to modern society (Valentine *et al.*, 2002) and demonstrates how the material wealth of many of the participants enriched the home and shaped it as a space of comfort, not entrapment (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000).

Figure 6.5 Wordcloud showing informal activities mentioned by interview participants. The more common the activity, the larger the typeface.

Figure 6.6 Ruby's TV in her bedroom (Source: Ruby)

Figure 6.7 Trudy's bedroom (Source: Trudy)

The most popular, weekly, if not daily, reported informal activity from the interviews was going to the local supermarket. It was a regular activity that young people did with their friends and often included 'hanging out' the front:

> RR: So you go to [the supermarket] then?
>
> Roger: Yeah.
>
> Step-mum: All the time.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

> We went out to [supermarket] and we bought some stuff and hanged out there.

Steve, 12, Community B

This demonstrates the important function the local supermarket had as a place to meet and be with friends. Unlike Community A, young people from Community B reported no issues with their socialising at the supermarket. As with young people in rural and urban environments, young people in the mixed communities complained there were few facilities specifically for young people (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Tucker, 2003), but young people showed themselves to be inventive users of space and saw opportunity for activities in public space that adults did not (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Leyshon, 2008; Travlou *et al.*, 2008).

Young people frequently complained about there being 'nothing to do' as will become apparent in discussions within the subsections of Section 7.3. The lack of things to do was also reflected in the popularity of walking around the area as an activity:

> ...most of the time we just walk around a bit because there's not very much places to go.
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

> If I'm going outside in [local town] we just walk around, go down [country park], see the horses and then maybe this time go leisure centre, there's not really a lot to do...They're really like the main places.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

The importance of walking to young people is not a unique finding with regard to new or mixed communities (Brown *et al.*, 2008; Leyshon, 2011), though Horton *et al.* note "that this kind of everyday, circuitous walking activity has largely been overlooked in studies of children's independent mobility" (2014: 17). Leyshon (2011) found in his rural study that young people used walking as a form of identity creation and empowerment, subverting adult control. Young people in this study did not make reference to identity creation, but it appears that, like in the work of Skelton (2000) and Matthews (2003), they undertook such an activity because there was 'nothing to do' and nowhere to go. It was a more active form of hanging out, a way of seeing friends in the absence of private space of their own (Childress, 2004; Dines *et al.*, 2006). As with Horton *et al.* (2014), the absence of spaces to play or hang out meant they were walking for walking's sake, as a form of entertainment. Smith (2013) found in her research into a new community in Northamptonshire that the lack of facilities for young people meant her participants (and her as a researcher) had to be out and about to meet other young people. New communities, therefore, appear to lack facilities that cater for young people leading them to seek out their own fun, much as some rural young people in Leyshon's (2011) study walked for pleasure. This type of 'walking as an activity' has not been reported in urban areas,

perhaps as a result of the greater safety fears concerning stranger danger (Reay and Lucey, 2000; Nairn *et al.*, 2003). It may be worth pursuing research in walking as a practice by young people in urban areas.

When discussing the practice of walking in interviews, a gender difference was revealed: over half of the girls reported it as an activity compared to less than a fifth of the boys. This is thought to be linked to the different ways in which girls and boys socialise, as Brown *et al.* found with regard to differences in girls' and boys' independent mobility, it is "the outcome of different interests and modes of behaviour, and a reflection of different ways of conducting a social life" (2008: 392). Existing research has found that boys are more physically active than girls (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Woolley, 2006). Boys showed more active participation with friends in recreational sport and games in the questionnaire and interviews, which some girls, particularly as they got older, did not. Boys were more likely to do sport (57%, n=39 when compared to 31%, n=18 for girls), and cycle (as discussed), and more likely to mention regularly going to outdoor places (53%, n=36 as compared to 43%, n=25 for girls). Informal activities for girls were centred on less energetic activities such as shopping and seeing friends in their houses. Girls were more likely to spend their free time in friends' houses (59%, n=34 compared to 34%, n=23 for boys) and with family (47%, n=27, 31%, n=21 for boys). Greater walking by girls may be an extension of this preference for less energetic socialisation, whilst providing a focus and variety when seeing friends. Whilst the more energetic leisure activities by young people in mixed communities generally reflect those of young people in existing communities, given the limited research on walking as an activity (Horton *et al.*, 2014), it may be worth pursuing gender differences in this practice in more detail.

Some differences in informal activity and location were uncovered. In Community B, questionnaire respondents reported much more interest in being active. They were more likely to spend their free time doing sport (60.9%, n=28; compared to 37%, n=30 for Community A) and outdoors (65.2%, n=30 compared to 51.9%, n= 42). This is likely a reflection of the sports facilities (see Figure 6.8) located within the community, as well as the greater distance to the cinema, bowling alley and local shopping centre when compared to Community A. The greater involvement of Community B in sport rather than organised activities reflects Lee and Abbott's (2009) research in rural areas showing more involvement in recreational physical activity rather than organised activity. A similar finding was discussed by Leyshon (2008) who found rural youths constructed the countryside as a place to pursue outdoor sports. This again shows that young people in the mixed communities studied have more in common with those from rural areas than those in urban areas.

Figure 6.8 Football pitch in Community B (source: Caitlin)

As with organised activities, there was a difference between the case study areas when it came to activities with an attached cost. More respondents in Community A lived in houses owned by their parent or guardian, and their parent or guardian was more likely to have a skilled job. As such, respondents were more likely to be involved in activities with an attached cost, such as the Internet, music, restaurants, bowling, the cinema and shopping. The difference in take up rates of the latter two activities may, in part, be connected to the shorter distance (by bus) from Community A to the cinema and shopping centre when compared to Community B, because distance has been shown to have an impact on young people's geographies in mixed communities. Interviewees from Community A were also more frequent visitors to the supermarket (nearly all the sample of Community A compared to just over half the sample of B). During the researcher's attendance at the youth club in Community A, every session involved at least one trip to the local supermarket, as field notes from November and December 2011 show:

> *Every club (despite tuckshop) includes a trip to the supermarket (wonder about disposable income of children because of this)*

Again, this demonstrates the socio-economic differences between the two communities and the role of affordance in determining activities (more of which will be discussed in Section 6.3.3.3).

Activities undertaken were also influenced to some extent by age. Cinema attendance was clearly connected to age, as shown in Figure 6.9. This is supported by Melinda's discussion in Section 6.2.2.1 of how her and her friends were starting the process of learning to go to the cinema independently. 'Playing out' and 'hanging out' were also strongly connected to age when mentioned in interviews. Of those who said they played out, around 80% were 11-12 year olds, whilst of those who said they hung out, 70% were 14-16 year olds. Playing out is seen as a childish activity (as will be discussed in Section 7.3.4) and is of less interest to young people as they age. The differences are likely a reflection of the adoption of more adult roles as young people age (Kato, 2009), as well as changing interests that happen over time (Smith, 2013).

Figure 6.9 Number of 'Yes' responses by age to Question 22 of questionnaire 'I mostly like to go to the cinema'

Giddings and Yarwood (2005) have explored how young people can be excluded from communities on the basis of age (amongst other things). This study found that age limits on community facilities restricted young people's use of them and privatised what could be regarded as public space away from their use (Jackson, 1995; Matthews *et al.*, 1999). The new leisure facility (discussed in Section 7.3.1), built as part of the development of Community B, was restricted to over 14 years only, unless accompanied by an adult. This demonstrates the lack of age-appropriate facilities for young people in the communities and how activity use by age is no different for new mixed communities when compared to existing literature.

Research has previously found that girls and boys have different desires and expectations from their environment (Matthews, 1986; Karsten, 2003; Brown *et al.*, 2008). Brown *et al.* (2008) found that girls would travel further to visit friends' houses or go to shops with friends. Gender differences were also observed in mixed communities. In the interviews, girls were more likely to mention shopping with friends as an activity and the questionnaire showed girls were also more likely to regularly go to the nearest town as a consequence (35%, n=20 compared to 12%, n=8 for boys). Boys mentioned shopping with family in interviews and expressed distaste for the activity:

> ...I don't really like shopping...shopping doesn't really interest me.
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

This was not true of all participants, however, as Neil in Community A reported enjoying going shopping alone. The lack of shops in both communities was raised as an issue by many girls (and also by Neil):

> ...bit boring as it didn't have any shops or anything.
>
> Isabel, 11, Community B

> ...but there aren't any shops or anything, which is quite a let-down.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

> I don't know, [I want] more activities to do, the shops here aren't very good.
>
> Susie, 13, Community B

Again, this demonstrates the lack of facilities (for young people) in the area and how mixed communities show similarities to existing research in rural areas and gender difference in shopping as an activity choice, though these are not universally true (as in the case of Neil).

The following section will discuss three factors repeatedly identified by some participants as determinants of their informal activities: parental control, family or friend activities and affordability.

6.3.3 Limitations on informal activities

6.3.3.1 Parental controls

As has been shown in existing research (and in relation to the discussion of mobility in Section 6.2.2.1), parenting strategies had a strong influence on informal activities. Katie could not leave the

house without giving her mum an exact destination (discussed in Section 6.2.2.1), whilst Anna reported that her mum would not allow her to walk around her local area unless she had a specific place to be:

> [My Mum] doesn't like the fact of me walking round with nothing to do, because it makes you look like you have nothing to do. She doesn't want me doing it unless I know what I'm doing and where I'm going.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

Thus parents' negative perception of young people walking the streets reinforces the argument based on Sibley (1995) that young people are a polluting presence on the street and that young people's conflict with adults over their use of public space for (private) social activities causes (unintentional) conflict (Valentine, 2004). It also reflects the findings of O'Brien *et al.* (2000) regarding parents culturally reproducing values through what they consider appropriate behaviour for their children and what they consequently allow them to do. Mixed communities thus reflect existing communities in terms of parental management strategies and cultural production of (class) values, despite the desire to create more mix (Neal and Vincent, 2013). More will be discussed on this issue in Section 7.3.4 concerning young people on the street.

6.3.3.2 Family activities versus activities with friends

In this research, there was evidence from diaries that some young people were very much involved in family activities and had their free time planned and determined by their parent or guardian and older siblings (Valentine 1997a; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). Young people from many privately owned homes were much more mobile with their families, discussing holidays, long-distance trips, and meals out at pubs and restaurants with greater frequency. This reflects existing research in relation to the greater mobility of owner occupiers and the middle class (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Matthews and Tucker, 2007). This was not reflective of all occupants of private housing, however, because parental income also determined participation in such activities. The most notable difference between activities with friends and those with families was distances travelled (with family activities taking place further away and accessed by car) and cost (most friend activities were low to no cost).

6.3.3.3 Affordability

A key issue was the affordability of activities. As Freeman (2010) has noted, there is an attached cost to all activities outside of hanging out. Rob, who was a member of a local football team, complained about the cost of the one facility in the area that interested him:

> ...there's a football pitch [at the leisure centre], but you have to pay to get on it.
>
> Rob, 12, Community B

This is in keeping with findings by Weller (2007b) that teenagers become frustrated with the lack of affordable facilities in the area. Whilst the cinema was not an overwhelmingly popular activity, with only 40% (n=51) of questionnaire respondents saying they used their free time to do this, not a single resident of social housing reported going to the cinema and only 10% (n=2) of those with parents in lower earning, routine jobs went to the cinema. Issues of affordability were also noticeable in relation to spending free time on the Internet: a third of respondents whose parents did routine jobs spent their free time on the Internet compared to about two thirds of those in administrative or managerial jobs.

The range of activities discussed, and the differences identified in these, shows that participants range from having fairly domestic lives to more active ones. Organised sport was more commonly mentioned in Community B, with the youth club popular with interviewees in Community A. No connection was made between organised activities and the new or mixed nature of the two communities, and the influencing factors identified were in keeping with research in existing communities. Informal activities were varied, with visiting the supermarket, walking and use of technology being popular pastimes. The results reflected existing research and no link was made to the mixed or new nature of the communities.

6.4 Everyday interactions

This section will consider the everyday interactions of young people, explored through interviews, diaries and, to a limited extent, questionnaire responses. Young people interviewed generally spoke to members of their family on a daily basis and school friends every working day during term time and more sporadically during the school holidays. Whilst most friendships were local, long distance friendships were reported by some participants, particularly recent movers. Relationships with neighbours were very diverse, with some participants going on trips with their neighbours and having

barbecues together, whilst others reported on-going tension or conflict. Online communication was also an important part of young people's building and maintenance of friendships. There was no pattern in relation to the data and participants' gender, tenure, age and location; variations in relationships simply reflected diversity of personality. In terms of the role of mix in the communities, some inter-tenure friendships were present, but this was not universal. There was also some link to the newness of the community and relations with family, friends and neighbours.

6.4.1 Family

It is not surprising, given the age of the participants and their living arrangements, their 'forced habitation' (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005), that the diaries showed participants spoke to their family on a daily basis. In the questionnaire, however, only 39% (n=49) said they spent the majority of their free time with their family.

Family arrangements were complex, reflecting modern society (Valentine, 1997a). No data was collected on marital status of parents in the questionnaire, but the majority of interview participants lived in two parent/guardian households (71%) as Figure 6.10 shows.

Figure 6.10 Marital status of parent/guardian of interview participants

Single parents were more likely to live in social or rented accommodation (75%, n=3), perhaps a reflection of a recent separation (though information was not collected on such issues given their

sensitive nature and the focus of the research project). This has been given as a benefit of the different ownership opportunities of mixed communities; the range in tenure allows families to stay together even after relationship breakdown (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Nonetheless, parental marital status did inevitably affect young people's geographies, with some participants including both their dad's and mum's houses on their maps during the interview stage. This had implications for everyday communication, as Ruby discussed when asked about whether she missed where she used to live, prior to moving to Community B:

> Ruby: Yeah, 'cos I used to see my Dad a lot. And he used to live down the road from us. But now it's like half an hour, forty-five minute drive to see him.
> RR: And how often do you see him?
> Ruby: Not much, because it's a long drive and he's, and I've also got projects and things.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

Isabel mentioned the difficulty of accessing her dad's house in relation to moving to a new home with her mum and her mum's partner:

> And my Dad's house. I wish that...his house was closer to our house because then that would be a lot easier to go down the road.
>
> Isabel, 11, Community B

Whilst divorce, separation and separate households are not unique situations to mixed communities (being part of what Stacey (1990: 269) terms the "postmodern family"), it demonstrates the importance of contact with both parents to young people following the breakdown of a relationship. It also highlights the problems surrounding access to both parents' houses when young people rely on walking and parents do not live close to each other. The tenure options of mixed communities have the potential to assist with keeping children close to both parents (Allen *et al.*, 2005), though the results of this research do not bear this out and show separated parents moving into rented accommodation in the communities even when it was not near the old family home.

Living with both parents did not, however, necessarily mean that participants spoke to their parents on a daily basis. Steve explained how his relationship with his parents worked:

> Well, some of the days I don't really speak to my Mum and Dad, but this day I did speak to my Mum and Dad.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

Steve had a room at the top of a three-storey house and liked to play on his games console in his room, coming at the expense of daily communication with his parents. Other participants did not appear to wish to speak to their family on a daily basis due to altercations.

Young people in mixed communities did not reveal universal relationships with their family. No differences were observed in terms of tenure, locality, gender or age, suggesting that alterations in communication were down to family practices and the personality of participants. The variety of relationships and everyday communication with family by young people in mixed communities reflects existing literature (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews and Limb, 1999; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Tucker, 2003) and shows the complexity of 21st century family life.

6.4.2 Friends

The development of friendships has been shown to be important for young people to feel part of the community (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). Information on communication with friends was not specifically collected in the questionnaire, beyond a question on whether the respondents spent most of their free time at friends' houses (nearly half, 46%, n=58, said they did). Diaries revealed differing numbers of friends and differing levels of communication. Often, in the school holidays, friends were not seen or spoken to on a daily basis. Some reported lots of different friends who they met or talked to regularly, while others reported one or two close friends. This was reflected in maps, where participants were asked to mark on the houses of their friends. One participant marked nine homes of friends whilst one marked none (see Figure 6.11). Whilst boys were generally more likely to mark fewer friends' houses in the local area, there were no differences in terms of number of homes marked and tenure, locality or age.

As discussed in Section 6.2.2.3, friends were generally made at school, showing the importance of school to community (Camina and Wood, 2009; Joseph and Feldman, 2009; Bunnell *et al.*, 2012). The importance of facilities to the development of community will be debated further in Section 8.7.3. There was evidence that if friends were not made at school, they were made through pursuit of activities in the local area. Bradford did not go to the local school and made his friends through skateboarding in the neighbourhood:

> Bradford: Anyway, yeah, I just met 'em once by skating really.
>
> RR: And do they go the same school as you or no?
>
> Bradford: No.
>
> Bradford, 13, Community A

This demonstrates the importance of activities and outdoor presence for forming friendships (Jupp, 1999). This has previously been found particularly important for boys who develop local networks through playing football (Brown *et al.*, 2008).

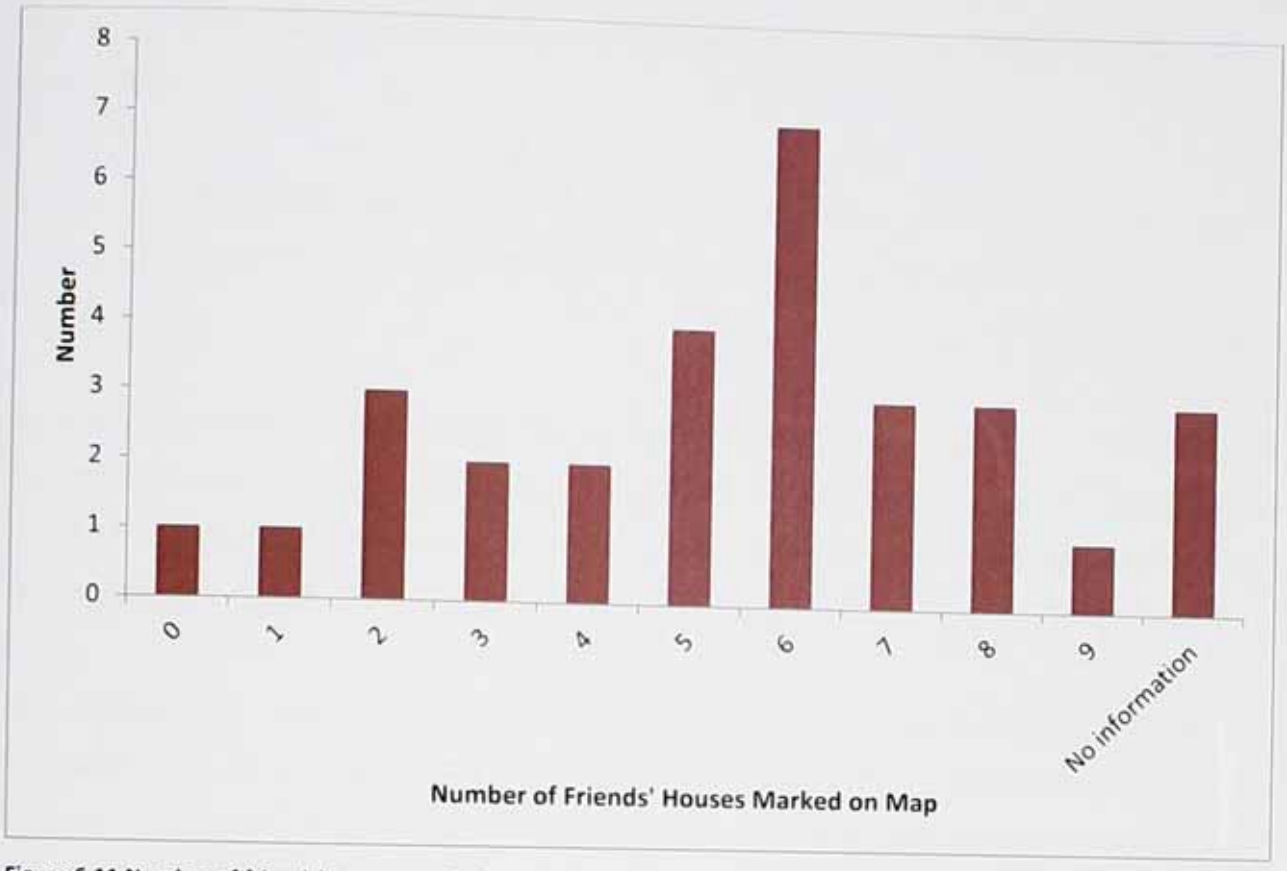

Figure 6.11 Number of friends' houses marked on maps during interviews (street interview participants were given the option of not providing this information)

The reliance of young people on walking meant that the friends they most regularly saw were the ones who lived closest to their house. This was raised frequently in interviews and reflected in the location of friends' houses on the maps:

> RR: And do you go round their houses?
>
> Mark: Yeah, sometimes. The one I go round is quite near, here.
>
> RR: And do you kind of go round there most because they're near?
>
> Mark: Yeah, I live closest to them.
>
> Mark, 15, Community A

> [I spend most of my free time with] Lucy, because she's the one who lives on [Community B].
>
> Isabel, 11, Community B

Once again, this demonstrates the importance of the local to young people, be they from new communities or existing communities (Valentine, 1997a; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2011). Unlike extant research, however, the local was also found to be important to girls (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Brown *et al.*, 2008).

Friends who did not live in the local area and did not go to the same school became difficult to stay in touch with:

> ...it's sort of hard to keep in contact with him for that, not just 'cos he lives really far, well 'cos he goes to a different school, but 'cos he lives really far away, it's harder to get to.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

As noted in existing literature (Raco, 2007b; Joseph and Feldman, 2009; Bunnell *et al.*, 2012), community facilities such as schools were important in bringing young people together and maintaining friendships, particularly as young people's dependence on walking made reaching friends who lived outside of a two mile radius difficult.

The questionnaire showed that 95% (n=120) of respondents had friends outside of their neighbourhood, demonstrating that friendships are no longer simply place-based, even if the majority are formed within material spaces such as schools (Smith, 1996; Camina and Wood, 2009; Bunnell *et al.*, 2012). Future research may wish to explore the role of place in the making, maintenance and dissolution of young people's friendships, particularly as local friendships were only part of the geography of friendship in mixed communities, as in existing communities (Bunnell *et al.*, 2012; Smith, 2013).

As discussed in Section 6.2.2.3, some young people reported few friends in the local area because friends they had made at school lived outside of the community (as was the case with Trudy) or because they had just moved, as with Anna and Steve. Others, as shown in Table 6.5, simply said they were not sociable. For Steve, local friendships were slow in forming and he spent more time talking to his old friends from London. Steve's experiences demonstrate how friendships and networks can be maintained at a distance, particularly through online social media and mobile phones (Ellison *et al.*, 2007; Ansell, 2009; Camina and Wood, 2009; Bunnell *et al.*, 2012; Leyshon *et al.*, 2013). It also shows how friends (even at a distance) may help with transitions in young people's lives (Weller, 2007a).

In the last decade or more, research has begun to explore young people's relationship with information communication technology and the role it plays in social inclusion/exclusion (Valentine *et al.*, 2002) and the real and virtual worlds and friendships of young people themselves (Valentine and Holloway, 2002; Holloway and Valentine, 2003; Ellison *et al.*, 2007). Online friendships were only discussed briefly in interviews. Steve, who had just moved to the area and was having problems adjusting, spoke of his Xbox 'clan' which seemed a source of comfort to him as he adjusted to his new home:

> I'm actually in a clan online, like a clan thing...my clan says it's got about 200 members in it; nooo, I've only seen about 20...I play with strangers and people I know.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

Other participants mentioned using Facebook to talk to existing friends online, or make new friendships with people they had seen in their area:

> Um, someone added me on Facebook, [boy's name] and I didn't, I haven't really seen him round, but he inboxed me on Facebook, sent me a request, so I accepted it and then he, the same day, he started talking to me and I was like ok.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

Online friendships appeared to provide a source of comfort to Steve who had just moved to the area, as well as a way of starting new friendships for Anna. It could be argued that technology as a means to build and maintain friendships is more important for some young residents of new communities when compared to existing communities as recent movers adjust to their new geographies and try to continue established links in their old neighbourhood.

With regard to the mixed nature of the communities and friendships, some friendships crossed the tenure boundary. David (social) and Steve (private) in Community B reported playing out with each other whilst Sarah and Amelia (both private) were friends with Emily (rented) and Katie (social) in Community A. All these friendships were formed through school. This is in contrast to findings by Sutton (2009) that British children in low income families are socially and spatially excluded at school and in their wider communities. Living within a mixed community may, therefore, be beneficial in developing friendships between socio-economic classes through their blending in the material spaces of the neighbourhood and local school (Wyn and White, 1997), though the discussion in Section 8.6.1 of young people's sometimes opposing views of social housing demonstrates that these inter-tenure friendships are not universal.

6.4.3 Neighbours

Relationships with neighbours were mixed in the case study areas. The questionnaire showed that the majority of respondents communicated with their next-door neighbours on a daily or weekly basis (66%, n=84), but a total of 12% (n=15) had never spoken to their next-door neighbours. Research has shown that the most common way for people to get to know their neighbours is living next-door to them (Jupp, 1999) and this was shown in the research with half of participants who undertook in-depth interviews stating they were close to their neighbours (n=11):

> Oh, I have a really good relationship with my neighbours...
>
> Emily, 12, Community A

> Yeah, we're very close, 'cos, er, we do a lot of things, for example, when my Dad was 50 we all went down the pub.
>
> Mike, 15, Community A

Gemma even reported that her relationship with her neighbours in Community B was better than it had been in her previous home:

> ...at my old house we didn't really know the neighbours that much, but where I live now we knew them all within a couple of weeks.
>
> Gemma, 14, Community B

Participants' diaries from both communities showed them meeting their neighbours outside of the area to picnic or play, whilst others shared birthday parties and barbecues.

The experience of good neighbours was not universal. Five participants reported very poor relations with neighbours (23%). Alongside Ruby's on-going (and seemingly unprovoked) conflict with her neighbour, discussed in Section 6.2.2.4, Sarah also reported a very negative relationship with some of her neighbours:

> Sarah: Am I the only one who has really bad neighbours?
>
> Emily: Yeah.
>
> Sarah: 'Cos mine called me a B-I-T-C-H.
>
> Sarah and Emily, 12, Community A

The root of negative relations with neighbours was discussed in some interviews; in all cases parents had fallen out with neighbours, with young people then entangled in the dispute. This was sometimes a direct result of an incident involving the neighbours and a young person:

> My Mum and Dad hate them because once they kept zooming down when we were crossing. They just zoomed down, heading for us so we had to run past the road.
>
> David, 12, Community B

> Umm, oh yeah, for my birthday, I, I was in one of those plastic, battery-powered, plastic car things and I was going down my road and my neighbour reversed out, didn't see me and crashed into me...my Dad's parents started having a go, before that we used to be quite close. Like, invite them round for my birthday or something.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

Relations had also soured for planning reasons:

> Well, they had an extension that we didn't like but then, and then they always have parties in there.
>
> Amelia, 12, Community A

Reflecting research showing young people's sense of exclusion in existing communities (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Nairn *et al.*, 2003), four (18%) in-depth interview participants specifically said they did not know their neighbours:

> There's people in [Community B] who don't really know anyone, like I don't really know my neighbours.
>
> Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

Amy discussed how she believed the design of the housing influenced the level of communication with neighbours, as will be deliberated in Section 8.7.2. All interviewees who reported non-existent relations with neighbours were from Community B, though this difference was not reflected in the questionnaire data. Non-existent relations with neighbours in Community B were not universally the case, however, as some participants, even those who had moved to their house only in the last year, reported very close relationships to neighbours. Certain streets in Community B did not appear keen to develop neighbourhood bonds, as mentioned by Beatrice:

> ...with the street party, nothing like that was round here, but at Caitlin's end there were quite a few street parties and all community, but our end, I dunno, it's just different sort of people I suppose, you get round here.
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

This demonstrates that, as with existing communities, personality will affect development of neighbourhood relations and local ties may be more important to some people than others (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Camina and Wood, 2009), as well as street level segregation not connected to tenure (Wood, 2002). This will be discussed further in Sections 8.4.1 and 8.6.1.

In terms of tenure, there was minimal link to relationship with neighbours. Whilst only a tenth (n=8) of those from parent/guardian owned (private) housing reported never having spoken to their neighbours, over a third (n=3) of those living in rented accommodation reported never having spoken to their neighbours (though the number in this sample is small). Numbers from those living in social housing homes were too low (n=1) to provide a useful comparison. Young people living in Housing Association social homes did appear to be well-connected to their neighbourhood, however, as they were the most likely to say they get on with some people in the neighbourhood (75%, n=3), though the sample is small. The varying levels of trust and communication with neighbours suggest there is no link between socio-economic status and neighbour relations. This finding is comparable to research by Holland *et al.* (2007b) where it was found that children living in more affluent suburban areas were just as likely not to trust their neighbours as those living in more disadvantaged inner-city areas.

In conclusion, the social webs formed, and forming, in the new communities were varying and complex. Young people in the two areas spent most of their time with family, unsurprising given their 'forced habitation' (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005).Friendships varied in number and level of communication, with factors shaping this including the length of residence, having friends in the neighbourhood, and use of technology. There was also evidence of inter-tenure friendships in mixed communities, which appears to be different to that found in established, heterogeneous communities, where young people from lower socio-economic classes have been found to be excluded (Sutton, 2009). Neighbour relations were varied, with the majority reporting good relations, even better than their previous place of residence, whilst others reported conflict that affected their quality of life. There was no connection between length of residence or age of the community and interaction with neighbours and little connection was made between tenure and relationship with neighbours.

6.5 Negative stereotypes of teenagers

A further side to some young people's everyday experiences within the communities was negative treatment as a result of their age. In a discussion on observation of young people's behaviour in local shops, four girls from Community A related how suspicions of shoplifting were placed on them, whilst younger children were perceived as being allowed to get away with stealing:

> Katie: ...but that man thought it was me who had stolen the chocolate bar. He was like grudging me [giving me a bad look], looking at me and going 'I'm sure it's her'.
> Sarah: Am I the only one that's seen in shops little kids, you know little kids, you know when um, you know when their parents put stuff in trolleys that they want? Am I the only one who sees them pick it up and eat it? And then if we do that we get told off but because they're cute little babies they're allowed to go round and steal and eat stuff that's not been paid for yet.
>
> Katie and Sarah, 12, Community A

Whilst this does not acknowledge the increasing responsibility of young people with age, it highlights a feeling of unequal treatment in everyday experiences such as shopping, and how, as with existing research, young people are often treated as actively deviant (Griffin, 2004).

In keeping with existing research, experiences of deleterious stereotyping were reported by other participants throughout the interviews (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Panelli *et al.*, 2002) and this fear of young people negatively affected them (Brown, 2013). Mike discussed how his attempts to assist a stranger in the street were met with suspicion:

> ...this kid fell off his scooter, I er was doing my er paper round and I said, 'Oh are you alright', he said 'I don't talk to strangers'. I'm not doing anything, but I think they are terrified of you know, sort, the mum saw me, I wasn't going to touch the child, but she saw me and obviously took offence to that.
>
> Mike, 15, Community A

In this instant, Mike was being a respectful and helpful member of the community, but this behaviour was not positively reinforced. This evidences existing research. Teenagers may sometimes act like adults (Kato, 2009), but the interviews show that any such displays of maturity and 'citizenship' have the potential to be met with hostility. Malone (2002) believes that negative stereotypes of youth often tell us more about the fears and anxieties of adults than about youth.

Such behaviour in an adult may not have been greeted in the same way and such differences lead to questions as to how young people are treated and what affect this will have on their future citizenship (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a).

Teenagers in Community A nearly all complained of negative stereotyping:

> Um, I think it depends on the people, because I think there's a big, big stereotype of teenagers, like, I think, lots of, some teenagers have started hanging around outside [the supermarket], our shop, and now they've suddenly started labelling all teenagers being troublemakers.
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

> 'Cos if someone does one thing wrong then you get blamed for everything.
>
> Bradford, 13, Community A

> I'd also like to see a change in the way that most of the residents see young people, because they look at the minority, definitely, I don't know whether that's to do with the press and that, they definitely see the minority.
>
> Mike, 15, Community A

As the interviewees themselves reflected, the negative stereotyping in Community A was a reaction to the behaviour of a minority of young people who hung around the front of the local supermarket shouting, swearing, and smoking, as well as vandalising playgrounds and other equipment. Smoking was associated with image management, a means of acting 'tough' (Tucker, 2003). Teenagers were dismayed that the actions of these individuals led to their being treated badly, whilst the younger participants were sorry to observe this poor treatment (whilst simultaneously reporting they were 'scared' of teenagers, showing that young people also stereotyped teenagers). As with Matthews *et al.* (1999), the majority suffered due to the actions of the minority. Such stereotyping and resultant treatment has implications for young people's sense of belonging, as adults increasingly monitor and regularise their use of space (Aitken, 2001; Leyshon and DiGiovanna, 2005; Brown, 2013). This negative stereotyping was the result of a number of years of behaviour perceived as antisocial by young people at the front of the local shop, where young people were subverting public space and using it in ways adults did not approve of (Sibley, 1995; Valentine, 2004; Brown, 2013). The negative stereotyping shows that social attitudes to teenagers are reproduced in mixed communities.

Participants felt the behaviour of a few only served to increase the poor image of teenagers in the eyes of residents (Matthews *et al.*, 1999):

> I'm walking around they're scared of you, me, just trying to stay away 'cos what other teenagers are doing is giving us a bad look.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

This led some participants to disassociate themselves from spaces ('staying away') to manage their own image, defining themselves in opposition to other social groups (Clarke *et al.*, 2007; Leyshon, 2008). This shows the importance of place in identity creation (Massey, 1998) and how, even though young people may be seen as a 'group' there are multiple differences within this (Wyn and White, 1997; Tucker, 2003; Holland *et al.*, 2007b).

The actions of these teenagers led to antisocial behaviour measures in the area, including a police notice in the local chip shop (see Figure 6.12 below). Such punitive measures reflect existing research concerning the control of young people in existing communities (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Woolley, 2006).

Figure 6.12 Antisocial behaviour notice in chip shop in Community A (Source: Author)

Newness did appear to make a difference. Participants from Community B did not raise any issues with regard to negative treatment as a result of their age (despite reports of antisocial behaviour by young people with the community). This could be because the most popular space for young people to hang out in the research area itself was the front of the leisure centre. This had opened just prior to the researcher undertaking the interviews in 2012, despite the first occupation of the area being in 2005. As with research by Panelli *et al.* (2002) in existing communities, no facilities were designed with teenagers in mind. The development brief particularly notes that the area would contain "no features to encourage older children" (Local Planning Authority B, 2002: 32). This highlights how young people continue to be marginalised in the development of the built environment (Matthews and Limb, 1999). It is possible that the nascent nature of this public space meant any perception of antisocial behaviour (and so negative stereotyping) had yet to emerge or it may reflect the different fears of adults in Community A when compared to Community B (Malone, 2002). It would be interesting to undertake follow up research to see whether any problems with antisocial behaviour by young people arose later in Community B.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has told the story of the young people living in the two neighbourhoods studied, examined their movements through it, and their exploration of their identities through social opportunities (Massey, 1998; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). The immediate local area was seen as highly important in the spatial lives of young people in the two mixed communities, as has been found in existing communities (Valentine, 1997a; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2011). The most common form of independent transport was walking, and interview maps showed that distance travelled on foot was rarely more than two miles. This demonstrates the importance of facilities within an easy walking distance from young people's homes. The most frequently used place (or activity) in both areas was going to the local supermarket for snacks. These shops were within a 10 minute walk of participants' homes. Parental lifts remain a preferred mode of transport for many young people due to the convenience and lack of cost when compared to public transport. Future research may wish to explore the negotiating power of, and influences upon, young people receiving parental lifts. Public transport was also seen as intimidating. Cycling was not a popular form of transport, with a huge gender difference in terms of only one female questionnaire respondent saying she moved about by bike, compared to 20 males. Limitations on mobility were shown to be parental management strategies, fear, lack of friends in the area, conflict with bullies and threatening adults, poor health, school work and the affordability of transport. Parental control was a stronger limitation in Community A. This is thought to be connected to being more established;

its urban fabric was more tired and it had developed a history of incidents affecting the safety of young people within its boundaries. Parental control also affected young people's own discourses of risk to limit their mobility. As such, the newness of the community played a part in affecting the mobility of participants.

Organised and informal activities were also examined. Organised activities (participation in an adult-led activity) were not popular uses of free time by the young people questioned. Almost all interviewees from Community A attended the local youth club due to the methods of participant recruitment, unlike Community B. Community B had a greater attendance in active clubs, such as football, dance and martial arts. Some differences were identified in relation to participation rates and gender and location in connection with location of facilities, parental practices and availability of material resources. Informal activities were more local and more likely to involve friends. Young people showed themselves to be inventive in creating activities, but were quick to highlight their frustration at the lack of things to do in their area, and many expressed a preference for staying at home. The most popular activities were going to the supermarket, walking, using technology and going to the park. This varied by gender, age, location and, to some extent, tenure, and was affected by different modes of socialisation, in addition to parental practices and material resources. Considering gender differences identified in mixed communities in relation to walking as an activity, it may be worth pursuing through the emerging topic of walking as an everyday practice (Horton *et al.*, 2014) why girls might be more likely to walk as such than boys.

The activities of individuals studied influenced the everyday interactions identified. Not surprisingly, given the age and living arrangements of those interviewed, the diaries revealed most participants talked to their family on a daily basis. Different parental management strategies and different personalities and behaviours contributed to different levels of involvement of young people with their family and their friends. As found by Halldén (2003), some viewed home as a shelter, a place of comfort and security, whilst others found it was a place of conflict and sought out friends to relieve this. The number and significance of friendships varied across all participants, regardless of tenure, age or locality. Boys were more likely to identify fewer friends' houses, whilst recent movers were likely to be sustaining friendships at great distances. Place, particularly the material space of school, was found to be important in building friendship, but technology enabled friendships to be continued outside of the neighbourhood or local area (Ellison *et al.*, 2007; Leyshon *et al.*, 2013). Future research may wish to further explore the role of place in the development and maintenance of friendships.

Relationships with neighbours also varied. Some reported arguments with their neighbours, whilst others reported an excellent relationship with their neighbours that involved joint activities. Other

interviewees said they did not really know their neighbours. Interestingly, communication with neighbours bore no relationship to length of residency, though interviewees from Community B were more likely to report non-existent communication with neighbours.

Participants from Community A were much more likely to encounter negative perceptions of young people. This subsequently had a detrimental effect on their interactions in the neighbourhood, both with other residents and businesses. This is perhaps the result of years of perceived antisocial behaviour by a small group of young people outside of the local shop. Community B did not have a similar public space for young people to congregate until seven years after the first residents moved in. Whilst there were reported incidents of antisocial behaviour by young people from outside the area within Community B, this did not appear to have affected the equitable treatment of young people in the area. It may be that the nascent nature of the community and public space within it meant that young people had not developed a reputation for antisocial behaviour (as they had in Community A), or it may be a reflection of the different attitudes and fears of residents of the two communities concerning young people.

As with existing research, the local area was found to have a heightened importance for young people (as well as being a source of frustration) due to walking being their primary mode of independent transport. This, to some extent, affected what activities they pursued and who they saw most regularly. Reoccurring limitations on young people's everyday experiences out and about in mixed communities were parental control, mobility, fear, conflict, and material resources. Young people in the two communities found themselves in the similar situation of having few facilities specifically provided for their age group (Panelli *et al.*, 2002). This was particularly true in Community B, the newer of the two, which was still under construction. Young people in this neighbourhood were more likely to have recently moved to the area and be encountering uncertainties in their social and spatial lives. The newness also meant that Community B had not, as yet, developed a history of incidents affecting young people's safety or for antisocial behaviour by teenagers. It would be useful for future research to explore how the changing perception of an area (and its residents) as it becomes more established affects the geographies of young people. In terms of mix, tenure appeared to make little difference to the everyday lives of young people in the two communities, with parental job a seemingly better indicator of affordability or socio-economic class. Inter-tenure friendships were visible in the two communities, suggesting that, for some, mixed communities were just that. The following chapter will analyse how young people living in the two mixed communities engaged with public space.

7. Young People's Use of Public Space in Mixed Communities

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined research participants' everyday experiences of living in new mixed communities in relation to mobility, activities and social interactions. It concluded that the immediate local area was highly important in the spatial lives of young people in the two mixed communities examined as a result of young people's main independent mode of transport being on foot. This chapter will elaborate on the importance of the local area to young people by exploring the public spaces that proved valuable to them. It will begin by setting out how public space is defined by young people. It will then explore the spaces of value to the young people who took part in the study, including community facilities, semi-public spaces, country parks, the street, recreation grounds and playgrounds. The chapter will debate how young people used them and what factors affected their use. It concludes that whilst some public spaces used by young people in mixed communities resemble those shown as important in existing communities, the way they are used has changed in some cases and been affected by continued building work in other instances. Consumption was also found to be increasingly important in the local landscape of Children's Geographies.

7.2 Defining public space

Chapter 3 discussed Children's Geographies in relation to places that have proved of most importance in past research, these being the street, semi-public spaces, schools, homes and playgrounds. Matthews *et al.* use the term 'street' as a metaphor for all public outdoor places where children can be found, such as "roads, cul-de-sacs, alleyways, walkways, shopping areas, car parks, vacant plots and derelict sites" (2000a: 63). A similar definition is used by Worpole and Knox (2007) who noted that the definition of public space changes all the time, but cited areas traditionally deemed as public open spaces in their research, such as high streets, street markets, parks, playgrounds and allotments, as well as those that are widely understood to be public, but may be privately owned, including shopping precincts and arts centres.

This chapter takes the definition of the street used by Matthews *et al.* (2000a) and of public spaces used by Worpole and Knox (2007) as the basis of its interpretation of public space. It identifies and unpicks public space to identify two places of importance to young people; 'places to be seen' and 'places of retreat' (Lieberg, 1995; Chawla and Malone, 2003). 'Places to be seen' were places of public interaction whilst 'places of retreat' were places to meet and be with friends or be alone that were outside of adult control or surveillance. Spaces were identified as: community facilities, semi-

public spaces (shops and supermarkets), country parks and green spaces, the street, recreation grounds, and playgrounds. These places and spaces are represented in Figure 7.1, which shows how the street and playgrounds were both 'places of retreat' and places of social interaction (to be 'seen').

Community facilities were defined as those provided as part of the planning application to support residents (and the wider community) and included a community centre and a leisure centre. Semi-public spaces are defined as those spaces that are in private ownership but open to the public, including shops and supermarkets. Country parks were also provided as part of the planning applications for the two developments and included a large grassed area and a small wooded area, whilst green spaces were much smaller grass-covered open spaces. The most popular spaces used were community facilities and supermarkets, public and semi-public spaces respectively. The following section will discuss what young people in this study into young people's geographies in new mixed communities in Northamptonshire said about such places.

Figure 7.1 Public spaces identified by research participants and whether they were places to be seen or places of retreat

Laughlin and Johnson (2011) found in their research that young people defined public space using three criteria; whether it was easily accessible, created a sense of belonging and, most importantly, where you could find and be with your friends. Young people in the mixed communities were not asked in the course of this research what defined public space for them, but, given the activities described and who the participants went with, the ability to hang out in public spaces and do what they and their friends wanted to do were clearly key tenets in the selection of areas. Thus the importance of accessibility, belonging and presence of friends to public space is important in new mixed communities too. The criteria for selecting public space are shown in Figure 7.2. The following

section will discuss these spaces and their importance to the young people interviewed. Attention will also be given to what factors affected their use, or caused participants to avoid them. These are set out in Figure 7.3 and were identified as belonging, conflict, quality, and fear.

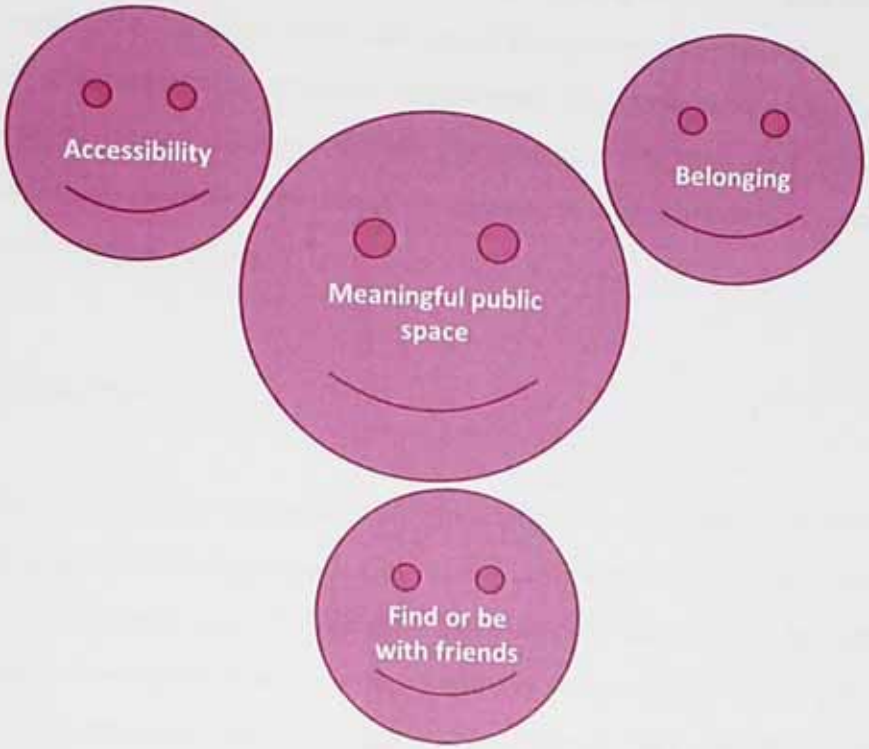

Figure 7.2 The three criteria that defined public space for young people (after Laughlin and Johnson, 2011)

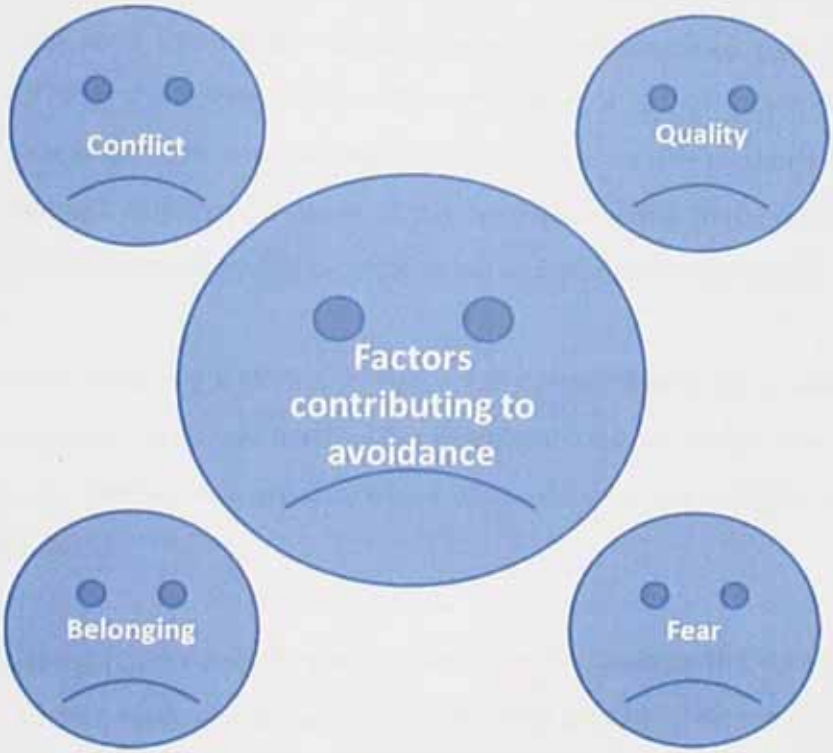

Figure 7.3 Factors contributing to young people avoiding public spaces

7.3 Public spaces in the mixed communities studied

Table 7.1 shows the places young people mentioned using in and around their communities. The data were taken from interview transcripts, maps created during interviews, and diaries. The spaces discussed were community facilities, semi-public space (shops and supermarkets), country parks and green spaces, the street, recreation grounds, and playgrounds. These were either 'places of retreat' or 'places to be seen'. Factors determining their use were whether they were places young people used for an activity (such as walking the streets or going to the supermarket) or went to with friends to talk or undertake physical activity.

7.3.1 Community facilities

Perhaps partly due to the recruitment methods, where all those who undertook intensive interviews in Community A attended the local youth club, community facilities were the most popular as a public place to hang out (see Table 7.1). The main community facilities visited by participants were a community centre in Community A and a leisure centre in Community B. These spaces were 'places to be seen', to find and be with friends and places of belonging. They were the most popular public space to take photos of, over two thirds of those who returned their camera included a photo of a community facility on them (8 out of 11 participants), and they were mentioned by three-quarters of the participants who were interviewed. Existing research has identified that young people feel specific facilities for them are lacking (Skelton, 2000; Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Tucker, 2003; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005) so it is perhaps unsurprising that, when facilities are provided, they prove to be popular. This section will discuss how much of the behaviour within these spaces reflects that of existing research, including stratified use by social group and avoidance strategies.

The leisure centre in Community B (shown in Figure 7.4) opened during the course of the research, meaning that some participants had lived in the neighbourhood for seven years with no specific community facility. Its opening was greeted with enthusiasm as it was the first community facility within the neighbourhood:

> Best thing about [Community B] was the leisure centre because there's a place for kids and teenagers to visit without getting bored, compared to when there wasn't one, there was nowhere to go.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

Table 7.1 Summary of public space use by interview participants in terms of social and geographic factors

Public Space	Community	Tenure	Gender	Age
Overall	50% Community A 50% Community B	77% private 10% social 13% rented	63% female 37% male	17% 11 year olds 23% 12 year olds 7% 13 year olds 20% 14 year olds 20% 15 year olds 13% 16 year olds
Community facilities (Used by 77% of all participants)	39% Community A 61% Community B	83% private 13% social 4% rented	70% female 30% male	8% 11 year olds 26% 12 year olds 4% 13 year olds 22% 14 year olds 22% 15 year olds 18% 16 year olds
Supermarket (77%)	61% Community A 39% Community B	78% private 13% social 9% rented	61% female 39% male	22% 11 year olds 26% 12 year olds 8% 13 year olds 22% 14 year olds 18% 15 year olds 4% 16 year olds
Country park (61%)	79% Community A 21% Community B	72% private 14% social 14% rented	71% female 29% male	14% 11 year olds 44% 12 year olds 7% 13 year olds 7% 14 year olds 14% 15 year olds 14% 16 year olds
Street (57%)	69% Community A 31% Community B	85% private 0% social 15% rented	46% female 54% male	23% 11 year olds 8% 12 year olds 8% 13 year olds 38% 14 year olds 23% 15 year olds 0% 16 year olds
Recreation ground (52%)	25% Community A 75% Community B	75% private 17% social 8% rented	58% female 42% male	8% 11 year olds 17% 12 year olds 8% 13 year olds 25% 14 year olds 25% 15 year olds 17% 16 year olds
Shop (44%)	30% Community A 70% Community B	70% private 10% social 20% rented	40% female 60% male	10% 11 year olds 40% 12 year olds 0% 13 year olds 20% 14 year olds 20% 15 year olds 10% 16 year olds
Playground (22%)	80% Community A 20% Community B	60% private 20% social 20% rented	80% female 20% male	0% 11 year olds 40% 12 year olds 20% 13 year olds 40% 14 year olds 0% 15 year olds 0% 16 year olds
Green space (22%)	40% Community A 60% Community B	60% private 20% social 20% rented	40% female 60% male	0% 11 year olds 40% 12 year olds 0% 13 year olds 40% 14 year olds 20% 15 year olds 0% 16 year olds

Notes
1. All those subject to intensive interviews from Community A attended the youth club so would use this community facility.
2. May only show a partial picture of street interview participants' public space use due to shortened format of the data collection process

Key

Percentage/ Colour
0-24%
25-49%
50-74%
75-100%

Alice's quote demonstrates, as has been found in existing literature, the importance of spaces that are large, and flexible, enough to accommodate a variety of groups and uses (Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Matthews and Tucker, 2007; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). It could be that the leisure centre was so popular with participants in Community B because it was only a recent development. It provided a variety of (free and priced) environments and activities, including a playground, skate ramp, small café, gym, basketball courts, and places to sit. Half of the respondents' diaries from Community B mentioned it as the best thing in the neighbourhood (even when they had yet to go there). The newness gave it an added attraction. It was also the first facility of the community's own:

> ...now we've got the leisure centre, I won't go into [town] anymore except for the shop...'cos all my friends are in here and they'll just come to me anyway.
>
> Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

Figure 7.4 Leisure centre in Community B, with playground visible in foreground (Source: Gemma)

The leisure centre brought young people in the new community together; two of the interview participants mentioned meeting each other here. As this was the first public facility and public space (beyond small greens in front of a few houses), the leisure centre could be important for forming ideas of community, who and what is in the public domain (Holland *et al.*, 2007a). The newness of Community B, its continuing state of construction and the delay in delivering facilities to support the new community are particular issues surrounding new developments and the experience of residents living within them (Kraftl *et al.*, 2013).

Young people were found sitting down and talking outside the entrance and also using the skate ramp and playground by the entrance. The different spaces catered for different ages, as has been found in relation to other types of social groups (Karsten, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). Young people from Community B did not discuss any issues with adults over the use of the space outside the leisure centre as a public hangout. In keeping with Jones (2000), such space was polymorphic, accommodating both adult and child spatial configurations.

As with mobility, parental control formed an important factor in shaping and defining how young people used public space. It is unclear how important this factor was in relation to other participants. Young people in Community B did not report that they were told to stay away from certain public spaces. Previous research in existing communities has found that display and a sense of theatre are important for young people in public places (Matthews *et al.*, 2000), but the findings here show that the behaviour of young people in public space, and the desire to be on such a public stage, is not universal and depends upon the personal preference of the person in question (Matthews and Tucker, 2007).

There was no link between tenure or gender and use of community facilities, although Gemma did write in her diary (as something she would like to change) that '*The leisure centre can bring some quite chavvy people to [Community B]*'. Existing communities have identified an issue with inclusion of lower social classes (Sutton, 2009). Given the derogatory nature of this comment on class, some young people appear to reproduce such social constructs in mixed communities, just as research has found with adults in mixed communities (Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Silverman *et al.*, 2005). The issue of social housing and equality will be debated further in Section 8.6.1.

Age was found to be a more important factor in determining whether young people used community facilities. Two of the street interview participants, who were interviewed outside the leisure centre, discussed how age made a difference as to whether you were found here:

> Different kinds of people hang out in the different places; you will get the younger children hanging out here [at the leisure centre].
>
> Laura, 16, Community B

This was reflected in an interview with Alice who stated that she avoided the leisure centre on occasion because of the number of younger children:

> ...we just walked around and, but [Community B] is a bit boring, it needs more things to do. 'Cos there's only the leisure centre and loads of little kids go there, and it gets kind of annoying...
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

Young people used the space in front of the leisure centre, the ramp and skatepark, and the playground. You had to be over 14 to use the leisure centre, which Ruby found frustrating as she felt there was only one thing for people her age to do in the area:

> A bit bored, 'cos there's only one thing for the older ones...There's only one ramp and then you get like 16 of you trying to go down the ramp and you can't like really do anything else as it's more for the babies...and then you can't go into the leisure centre until you are 14, which is [school] Year 9.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

She was unaware of the reason for this age barrier. This competition between other place users, with different ages and different needs, leads to conflict or strategies of avoidance (Percy-Smith, 2002; Tucker, 2003). The problem with Ruby and Alice's strategy of avoidance was that the leisure centre was the only facility for the community within the development. This behaviour reflects those identified by Tucker (2003), where girls were more likely to adopt a strategy of avoidance if they lived in larger villages and had alternative spaces to use, whereas they would compromise in smaller villages where there were fewer options.

There was a spatial separation of ages across the neighbourhood and wider town:

> Older people hang in [town], younger in [Community B]. I'd say like all the ten year olds and that because my sister and her friends always hang around [Community B] bit and then sometimes there's a few Year 8s and 9s, and then in [town] it's more my age group.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

This reflects research by Christensen (2003) who found that generational relationships and conflicts are played out in part through the differentiation of places according to their use by different generations. This distancing from younger groups of children could be a reaction to the differences in interests and abilities, but it could also be part of identity creation of young people and the adoption of more adult roles (Malone, 2002; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Valentine, 2004; Kato, 2009; Vanderstede, 2011). Once again, the findings from this study into young people's geographies in

mixed communities show that their behaviour is similar to that found in existing communities and is not differentiated by the tenure of housing they occupy.

The leisure centre in Community B was also avoided by some due to bullies. Part of the self-exclusion by young people from rural spaces in Tucker's (2003) research related to fear of bullies. The dominance of bullies in public space reflects Ryan's (2005) argument that public spaces are not open to all, but are highly regulated and hierarchical. Dominant groups may seek to exclude others, which will manifest as bullying (Tucker, 2003). Much the same as with younger age groups, participants adopted a strategy of avoidance when spaces were occupied by bullies:

> ...bullies hang out at the leisure centre... if they actually put a bigger skate park in the rec that would be much easier because it would mix up small groups. People would be more excited and more courageable [sic] to come out.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

Steve's quote highlights the dominance of certain groups (bullies) over others and how the public space in the community cannot accommodate all young people. As with Ryan (2005), the bullies are at the top of the hierarchy when considering young people and public space. This causes others to modify their spatial behaviour through choosing particular routes or avoiding spaces. Percy-Smith and Matthews argue that bullying could be seen as part of growing up, as "children learn, form identity and develop social capacity by testing the boundaries of self and others" (2001: 50). They go on to argue that out of these power performances arise "a complex turf politics of interpersonal and intergroup relationships, an expression of differences in power and identity between group and individuals and the creation of hegemonic spaces and tyrannical regimes" (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001: 52). This finding is borne out in the mixed communities examined as part of this research. The paucity of public space in the communities examined means that there was more likelihood of bullying due to the closer propinquity of different groups of young people, and this then had a subsequent effect on young people's access to public space and quality of life (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001). As with the rural areas studied by Matthews and Tucker (2007), there was little choice in where to go, so the ability for different groups to use the available areas in different ways was limited, leading to greater potential for conflict.

The leisure centre was very important to Community B as it was the first community facility provided as part of the development. Community A had more leisure facilities, being a more mature development constructed at a time of economic prosperity. These facilities included a community centre, multiple use games area, boules court and sports pavilion. The community centre was used

by all semi-structured interview participants because it was where the youth club was held and participants were recruited from the youth club. It was attended by between 10-30 young people every week. Young people could attend from the age of 12 upwards and most of those who attended were 12-15 years old, with a mix of the sexes. It was attended by young people from the neighbouring village, as well as Community A. Reflecting the tenure of Community A, most of those who attended were from owner occupied housing. The youth club was popular with some of the attendees, but this was because they felt there was so little to do:

> [On Community A] it's fun when they've got activities on, like Youth Club...
>
> Trudy, 14, Community A

> ...apart from youth club...there's nothing to do.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

This suggests young people felt they lacked choice in the local area and only attended the youth club as it was one of the few things for them to do in the area. The scarcity of facilities for young people reflects existing research on urban and (particularly) rural youths (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Matthews, 2003; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Matthews and Tucker, 2007). The mix of ages, genders and tenures, as well as attendance by young people from the neighbouring village, demonstrates the cohesive nature of community facilities as discussed by Camina and Wood (2009). Such facilities are good for cementing new relationships (Jupp, 1999), whilst a dearth of provision (along with a range of social factors) has been shown to increase the likelihood of young people offending (Brown, 2013). It is important, therefore, that young people are properly catered for in new communities. Certainly, Community A reported sufficient antisocial behaviour issues (as mentioned in Section 6.5) to justify the statement that the neighbourhood lacked facilities to cater for young people. Given that none of the participants reported being involved in antisocial behaviour, however, a gap in provision cannot be the only reason for miscreant happenings.

This section has discussed young people and community facilities. Community facilities were well-used by young people. The leisure centre in Community B proved a popular addition to the neighbourhood, largely because it was the first such facility. In Community A, the youth club at the community centre was well attended, partly because it was one of the few specific services for young people in the neighbourhood. Use of such community facilities were influenced by age of the participants and other users, personal preference and the presence of bullies. Not all community facilities provided were successful, however, as the following section discusses in relation to the youth shelter built in Community A.

7.3.1.1 Youth shelter in Community A

The youth shelter was constructed in Community A in about 2011 as a response to antisocial behaviour from young people in the area (see Figure 7.5). The Parish Council tried constructing a youth shelter to move young people in Community A from outside of the supermarket to a more remote location. This caused consternation amongst young people as they felt they had not been consulted.

A later meeting with the local Vicar, who sat on the Parish Council, revealed that young people had been consulted on the shelter, but the time between the consultation and the construction of the shelter was such that the young people who had been consulted were now over the target age (personal communication, 9 August 2012).

Mike and Neil mentioned the shelter, with Mike discussing what a disappointment it had been:

> Um I remember when there was a lot of excitement about the shelter, but um sort of an anti-climax.
>
> Mike, 15 Community A

Figure 7.5 The youth shelter in Community A (Source: Author)

The Vicar and youth workers mentioned that some of the antisocial behaviour issues surrounding the development were connected to the large amount of young families who had moved into the development after its construction (personal communication, 9 August 2012). The young children in these families then became teenagers at about the same time and a gap in provision emerged (as appears to be the case in Community B when considering Ruby's comments that there is "only one

thing for the older ones"). This led to bored teenagers using the supermarket, woods by the country park, and benches in a manner that was regarded by some residents as antisocial (Brown, 2013). Newness appeared to play a part in the lack of provision for teenagers in Community A as its construction led to a large influx of young families. This mass in-movement would not occur in established communities where the population is more stable (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). Due to a perception of need, some parents volunteered to set up a youth club to provide for young people, given that one was not established by the Parish Council, which was then taken over by youth workers from a neighbouring Parish Council. It is interesting to reflect on the difference between Community A and Community B with regard to youth provision and civic mindedness; young people from both areas complained of dearth of activities and facilities (as discussed in Section 6.3.2), yet it was only in Community A that parents had established a youth club. This could, however, also be a reflection of the growing issue with antisocial behaviour by young people in Community A.

This discussion highlights a particular issue surrounding provision for a growing teenage population in new developments, be they mixed or not. The rapid growth of population in a new development leads to particular issues surrounding provision of appropriate facilities that cater for this population as it ages. As with existing research, young people in mixed communities have different desires from their environment and as a consequence need to be consulted in the environmental planning process (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a). This research shows that if their needs are overlooked during the design and development it can lead to boredom and antisocial behaviour (Brown, 2013). This demonstrates the importance of including young people in consultation on developments (Weston, 2010).

7.3.2 Semi-public spaces: shops and supermarkets

The popularity of semi-public spaces with participants can be seen in Table 7.1. Semi-public spaces are understood as those spaces in private ownership but open to the public, such as shops and supermarkets. Such spaces have not been highlighted as important in extant literature, with similarities to work done in relation to shopping malls (Matthews *et al.*, 2000b; Kato, 2009; Vanderstede, 2011). Research has discussed the increasing privatisation of public space and the effect this has on the purification of space through removal of undesirable elements, such as young people (Jackson, 1995; Sibley, 1995; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews *et al.*, 2000b; Valentine, 2004; Weszkalnys, 2008). In relation to shopping malls, Vanderstede states that a semi-public space is "...a hybrid space neither entirely public nor private. Its public character allows for a certain degree of appropriation. Nevertheless, it is subject to strong supervision" (2011: 168). Vanderstede's (2011) description is appropriate in terms of the semi-public spaces used by young people in this study. Young people claimed supermarkets and shops as one of a few places to go in their community, yet,

in Community A in particular, their use was mediated by the presence of other social groups and measures designed to deter young people.

The main semi-public spaces used within the mixed communities studied in this research were supermarkets. Whilst shopping malls were visited by young people (predominantly females), there were no shopping malls within either community due to the size of the developments. Community B had no shops within the development. Shops were chosen based on convenience and stock; some of the participants travelled all over the town to visit the different shops. None of the participants in Community B reported discrimination from the shop owners, though Community A did report some negative treatment from one shop owner.

Community A had its own supermarket and a small parade of shops and services (including takeaways, a medical centre, dental surgery and nursery). These can be seen in Figure 7.6 and Figure 7.7. The supermarket was the focus of much reported antisocial behaviour, as these field notes from 8 September 2011 detail:

> *The police get called to [supermarket] because the young people hang out there (so said 14? 15? year old Julie) so the young people disperse and come back when police have gone. When the [supermarket] first opened, kids from [neighbouring village] would come down and hang around there, so [supermarket] put up the classical music speaker.*

As alluded to in the field notes, the supermarket owners employed a number of tactics to prevent young people from hanging out at the supermarket. They installed speakers to play classical music in the entrance porch, an alarm was placed in the entrance that emitted a high pitch noise only teenagers would be able to hear, calls were made to the police if young people gathered and the police undertook car patrols. As with research by Matthews *et al.* (2000b) in shopping malls, such strategies did not stop young people continuing to use the area as a space to meet.

Neil discussed why such spaces were chosen by some teenagers:

> Anywhere that has shops, or anywhere like that is, or anywhere that's really deserted or really busy is where they are, it's not normally around the houses because there's nothing to do there.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

Figure 7.6 Doctors' surgery, shops and takeaways in Community A (Source: Author)

Figure 7.7 Supermarket in Community A (Source: Author)

Neil's comment encapsulates the findings of Chawla and Malone (2003) that young people need to move between places of retreat and places of interaction, a concept first examined by Lieberg (1995). In this sense, the newness of the mixed communities makes little difference to the spatial behaviour of young people from existing communities previously studied, even though the spaces that encapsulate these behaviours may be changing. The supermarket was a place of interaction, a place to be 'seen': it was the busiest public space in the area, whilst the entrance porch provided shelter from rain. Much like the shopping malls studied by Matthews *et al.* (2000b), the comfort of the supermarkets appealed to young people.

Interestingly, all participants distanced themselves from the actions of the teenagers outside the supermarket as part of their identity creation (Malone, 2002; Clarke *et al.*, 2007; Leyshon, 2008). The distancing of participants from those who hung out at the supermarket took different forms. The younger of the cohort sympathised with the shop owners:

> ...[the teenagers] shouldn't hang outside shops, it doesn't do, it's not very good for their publicity, the shops, because when people come to the shops they see these kids sat outside playing music.
>
> Katie, 12, Community A

Though Sarah and Amelia, who were interviewed at the same time, admitted they did use the supermarket as a place to hang out, they highlighted how their behaviour and occupation of the space was different to that of the teenagers mentioned by Katie, thereby 'othering' these teenagers (Sibley, 1995) and highlighting how use of space differs by social group (Tucker, 2003):

> Amelia: Sometimes [the teenagers are] not doing anything wrong though, because I've sat outside eating crisps before.
> Sarah: Yeah we sit outside the trolley bit and sit and eat.
> Amelia: Yeah, the trolley bit.
> RR: Do you get told off for that though?
> Sarah: No, because we sit right at the end where like where nobody comes down and the teenagers sit right in front of the entrance.
>
> Amelia and Sarah, 12, Community A

This quote highlights how Amelia and Sarah purposely used a different space ('right at the end') to avoid association with the teenagers who sat outside the supermarket entrance (De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). They deliberately chose a space that was more removed (almost a place of retreat) to avoid attracting attention and conflict with adults, and to distance themselves from other social groups (Massey, 1998; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Kato, 2009). Rather than seating themselves in the front of the entrance, they make themselves less visible by using space farther from the entrance, whilst remaining in a place to see and be seen (Cahill, 2000). Previous research in existing communities has found that display and a sense of theatre are important for young people in public places (Matthews *et al.*, 2000b), but the findings here show that the behaviour of young people in public space, and the desire to be on such a public stage, is not universal and depends upon the personal preference of the person in question (Matthews and Tucker, 2007). In this case, the participants deliberately chose a less public part of the supermarket.

The older teenagers, whilst distancing themselves from troublemakers, explained the issue with adults' perception of the antisocial behaviour by young people outside of the supermarket:

> I think the reason why they play opera now outside [the supermarket] and try to get rid of us is because local residents have said, you know, 'We don't want them here, they're causing a nuisance, they, you know, going round on bikes we don't like it', but the plain fact is there's not much else to do.
>
> Mike, 15, Community A

Not only does this show that Mike understood that (adult) residents saw young people as misusing public space, it also reflects findings by Skelton (2000) and Matthews (2003) that young people were not on the streets as a sign of resistance, but because there was nowhere to go and nothing to do. Extant literature has explored the link between boredom and antisocial behaviour (Burney, 2005; Squires and Stephen, 2005). Spaces beyond the home are important to adolescents (Chawla and Malone, 2003). Travlou (2003) notes that teenagers want to be independent of their parents, but have no real private space of their own to do so, meaning they often use public or semi-public spaces. Such loitering is nothing new, with Jacobs (1961) saying that teenagers can hardly grow up without it, but it does frequently result in conflict with adults (Rasmussen and Smidt, 2003; Weller, 2007b). In keeping with existing research (semi-)public space in mixed communities was, by its very nature, contentious space, being used by everyone in different ways, with different meanings attached to different spaces (Van Deusen Jr., 2002; Holland *et al.*, 2007a).

As with the community facilities, the behaviour of certain groups of young people outside the supermarket in Community A, led to a modification of behaviour in others. Some of those interviewed reported being wary and threatened by those outside of the supermarket:

> Hannah: Well, I don't know really, some of the groups are...Not nice, they lurk around shops like [supermarket] and just lurk about in the dark... I have had incidents on [Community A] where they've said stuff or been nasty or called me names...sometimes I do get scared to go down [to the supermarket] if I have to go down there at night for any reason.
>
> Hannah, 16, Community A

This demonstrates that it was not just adult residents who felt threatened by teenagers hanging out in front of the supermarket and how threatening behaviour by some teenagers led to a modification in the spatial behaviour of others, echoing Neil's 'staying away' (discussed in Section 6.5). Space

avoidance was employed by some as a form of identity creation and by others as a strategy to avoid conflict (Massey, 1998; Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Tucker, 2003).

The supermarket in Community B, shown in Steve's photo in Figure 7.8, was also a popular place to go with friends. Some, however, avoided the area:

> ...so round by the big [supermarket] I don't like. I don't mind during the day, but people I know from school, I know they do drugs, I know they've done stuff that is proper not nice, and if I see them I just really get worried so round by big [supermarket].
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

> Susie: [Gangs, chavs] hang on the streets, like just near benches and outside pubs and shops, like the [supermarket], there's, where the trolley park is they just sit on the bench there. It's not very nice.
>
> RR: You find them quite threatening then?
>
> Susie: Yeah, I wouldn't go near them. I don't know anyone that is one.
>
> Susie, 13, Community B

In keeping with the idea of public space as a place for identity formation and affirmation, where young people chose to hang out helps to define what social and cultural group they chose to place themselves in (Massey, 1998; Matthews *et al.*, 2000a; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Matthews, 2003; Valentine, 2004; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Vanderstede, 2011). As with Community A, Anna and Susie chose to distance themselves from drug-users and 'chavs' (a pejorative term for lower socio-economic classes) by avoiding hanging out at the supermarket. Susie defined chavs as people whose "trousers are like halfway down their waist and they've got swag and they're just spitting, and not what you'd find a normal person to be like, like a nice person". By choosing not to place themselves in certain spaces or undertaking certain actions, they are defining themselves in opposition to this narrative (Leyshon, 2008). In this way, space within mixed communities is territorial and imbued with meaning (Clarke *et al.*, 2007; Holland *et al.*, 2007a; Kintrea *et al.*, 2010). The identification of chavs as 'not nice' demonstrates the social boundaries that prevent some young residents mixing with people who are not in their socio-economic group. People may be classified as such as a result of parental opinions; Horton *et al.* (2014) found that young people readily incorporate parents' discourses of risk when talking of community. This will be discussed further in Section 8.6.1.

Figure 7.8 Supermarket in Community B (Source: Steve)

As with Community A, young people complained that visiting the supermarket was the only thing for them to do:

> Like, me and my friend, if we go down [supermarket] again today, it would have been the second time this week so that gets a bit boring.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

> RR: And, um, what kind of things do you like to do in your neighbourhood?...
> Roger: Play football.
> RR: Play football, yep, and go to the [supermarket].
> Roger: Yep, there's nothing much else to do.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

The desire for a variety of spaces is a reflection of research in existing communities (Jones, 2000; Chawla and Malone, 2003). Young people adopted roles of consumers as a way of providing a leisure activity, one that generally caused minimal conflict (Kato, 2009). This reflects arguments by Mackintosh and Mooney (2000) that consumption may be more significant than class as a source of identity. The maps used as part of the interview process show that two thirds of participants went to the supermarket as an informal leisure activity, with over a fifth of participants marking it as one of their favourite places. There was a difference by locality here, as a quarter of participants from Community A (n=3) listed it as their favourite place compared to half from Community B (n=4). The greater popularity in Community B may be a result of fewer community facilities in the area. There

was no relationship between visits to the supermarket and age, tenure or gender. It appeared to be an activity undertaken by all.

Reflecting that there was little to do, young people sometimes felt neglected in their community, with facilities for adults, but not for families:

> All we've got else really is a few pubs, takeaways, hairdressers and that's it, there's nowhere really that interests like me and my friends anyway...But then the problem is, in [Community B] they've not got any shops or anything yet.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

The 'yet' of Alice indicates how young participants saw Community B as still under construction. Whilst many of the young people interviewed went to the local pub with their family (see Figure 7.9), they did complain that it was not the safest establishment.

Figure 7.9 Pub in Community B, which some participants went to with their families (Source: Gemma)

The attached town to the south of Community B had a large number of local shops used by participants. Their use meant young people had a detailed knowledge of their local area; a lack of facilities and mobility meant these everyday spaces were highly significant in teenagers' lives (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Weller, 2007b). In one case, it was revealed that the participant knew more of the geography of the local area than the step-mum, despite the step-mum having lived in the area longer:

Roger: [when asked to list places he went in the area] AM to PM [shop]

Step-Mum: I never even knew that was there!!

Roger, 14, Community B

This echoes the argument by Valentine (1997a) that young people often have a better understanding of local 'place ballets' (Seamon, 1980) due to their greater engagement in the local area. There was a real hierarchical geography of shops in Community B, with different shops used depending on the time and need. Existing research has shown that different spaces are favoured by groups of young people due to different interests (Tucker, 2003). This also appears the case in relation to mixed communities and illustrates the desire for choice in young people's geographies of consumption.

The chip shop in Community A (Figure 7.10) was particularly popular with participants. It formed an important part of the routine of the youth club, along with visiting the supermarket. Community B had a chip shop in the town to the south, but only Caitlin mentioned using it. The chip shop in Community A was raised by most interviewees and warmly described by them:

Katie: Oh the chippy! He's so nice!

Sarah: Oh the guy in the chippy gives me extra chips...

Katie: He passes me a chip like while I'm waiting.

Amelia: Yeah. I've been there since I was about 4 and he's like 'hello'.

Katie, Sarah and Amelia, 12, Community A

The chip shop was seen as friendly and affordable; a space that welcomed young people. As a mark of how popular it was with young people, an antisocial behaviour notice targeted at young people (Figure 6.12) was placed there. Amelia's comment also underlines how important development of a history with a place is to ownership and belonging, further underlining the effect that newness has on development of place and community. Studies have shown that fast-food restaurants are often concentrated within a short walking distance of schools (Austin *et al.*, 2005; We Are What We Do, 2013) and are popular places to go with groups of friends for long periods of time (Kato, 2009). This popularity reflects the increasing role that consumption plays in construction of leisure spaces, partly as a result of changes to service structures resulting in lower public provision, as Matthews and Tucker (2006) discuss in relation to rural areas. It would be interesting to study the geography of takeaways and the role that they play in young people's lives.

Figure 7.10 Very popular chip shop in Community A (Source: Neil)

The semi-public spaces used by young people in mixed communities consisted of a local supermarket (both communities), corner shops (Community B) and a chip shop (Community A). They highlight the increasing role that consumption plays in both identity creation and leisure provision (Mackintosh and Mooney, 2000; Kato, 2009). These places proved popular regardless of tenure, age and gender. This discussion has shown that spaces for young people in new communities appear to be led by consumption, reflecting wider arguments concerning the increased privatisation of public space (Jackson, 1995; Sibley, 1995; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews *et al.*, 2000b; Van Deusen Jr., 2002; Valentine, 2004; Weszkalnys, 2008). Given that supermarkets often form a key part of new housing developments (Wrigley *et al.*, 2002) it would be interesting to understand more concerning the geographies of consumption for young people in new and existing communities.

7.3.3 Country parks and green spaces

The third most popular public space mentioned by participants was country parks (see Table 7.1). Separate green spaces were also mentioned by some participants and have been included in this section, though they were not as popular as country parks. Both communities studied had a country park as part of the development. The country park was more popular in Community A (79% of the 14 participants who went to country parks were from Community A), but green spaces were more popular in Community B (two thirds of those who liked green spaces were from Community B). The country park in Community A can be seen in Figure 7.11 and the one in Community B can be seen in Figure 7.12.

Figure 7.11 Country Park in Community A (Source: Author)

Figure 7.12 Country park in Community B (Source: Steve)

As found by Weller (2007b), everyday places such as parks, greens and benches were highly significant in teenage lives. Apart from their affordability, they were favoured places 'retreat'; places of relative seclusion to be with friends and undertake unprogrammed activities (Lieberg, 1995; Chawla and Malone, 2003). The easy accessibility of green spaces was also important, as has been found in rural studies (Giddings and Yarwood, 2005). In the intensive research stage, green spaces proved more popular with boys. This is most likely because they used them to play sports, such as football and cricket, reflecting previous research that boys have a more direct relationship to their environment than girls, as a physical location allows them to undertake particular activities (Brown *et al.*, 2008). The continued importance of outdoor space to young people has been discussed in relation to the research into sustainable communities by Horton *et al.* (2014). New mixed communities also appear to show this continued importance. In terms of tenure, the questionnaire data showed neighbourhood outdoor places were twice more popular with social housing occupants than private, but it is difficult to draw wider conclusions from this as the number of respondents from social housing was low. The universal popularity of such spaces shows their potential to bring residents together and create the networks desired in mixed communities (Kintrea *et al.*, 2008).

Green spaces were popular with those participants who took photos, with just under half of returned cameras including photos of them. Participants valued the peace and quiet they offered, as well as the chance for shortcuts:

> Steve: Um, the nature reserve has a, a bit that goes along here, has like a little sneaky path that goes along here and then there's the bridge here and then there's a tiny path that goes onto the bridge.
>
> RR: Ah ok.
>
> Steve: So, that's pretty much another like sneak route that people like to take. And there's like a fence along here.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

The green spaces offered places to play, exercise, socialise or be alone:

> Mike: ...we just stay on the green or something like that yeah.
>
> Neil: Yeah, or we used to play football, just opposite his house. He's got a little field outside his house, so we'd just play football there...
>
> Mike, 15 and Neil, 14, Community A

I really like the location of our house because we're right in front of the big country park so I can go running or just go for a walk if I wanted.

Patti, 13, Community A

Young people seemed to be extolling the virtues of green spaces in terms of the rural idyll, the optimal setting for an idealised childhood, a place to explore and be free in safety (Tucker and Matthews, 2001). The country park provided space for running, whilst the green spaces provided pockets for playing and football. They provided variety in their geography of leisure, one of several places on their map to add difference to their daily lives in the neighbourhood (Chawla and Malone, 2003). Outdoor spaces continue to have an important role to play in children's play and socialising, despite research showing that parents feel such spatial freedom has declined since they were children (Valentine, 1997a; Witten *et al.*, 2013).

In Community B, green spaces formed the focal social point of some participants' lives, as demonstrated by Gemma:

RR: ...where do you think you spent the most time?...

Gemma: On the green outside my house probably.

...

RR: And where did you have the water fight then? Was that on the green?

G: Yeah, just on the green and down the alley and stuff.

RR: Ah cool, cool. And did anybody you didn't know join in with that?

G: No, it was only people near me and down the road and stuff.

RR: Ah cool. And er were your neighbours happy with you doing that?

G: Yeah, because everyone knows each other so.

Gemma, 14, Community B

Gemma mentioned this green space frequently in her interviews and the bunting from a street party (a gathering of neighbours in the space outside their houses) for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in June 2012 can be seen in her photo at Figure 7.13. As with existing communities, this demonstrates the importance of public space for gathering and cemented relationships (Jupp, 1999), which could be considered particularly important for new communities, so as to encourage community bonds to develop (Raco, 2007b; Camina and Wood, 2009).

Figure 7.13 The green outside Gemma's house. It was the focal point of her and her neighbours' social life (Source: Gemma)

Frank, who lives in one of the first houses occupied in Community B, discussed how much he enjoyed the amount of green space in the development before more houses were built:

> Frank: Yeah, that used to be all green space across there though when we moved here and then they started building all the houses again...Probably would have been better if they'd just left that bit really...
>
> RR: Yeah?
>
> Frank: Sort of green place to run around and stuff.
>
> RR: Yeah, yeah, must have been a nice view before.
>
> Frank: It was.
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

This was a common theme in the interviews in Community B. The unfinished nature of the development, living in a community under construction (see Figure 7.14 and Figure 7.15), provided opportunities for play, as well as presenting changing material and social rhythms for young people to adapt to (Kraftl *et al.*, 2013). David and Susie also conveyed how much they valued green space and wished for more, particularly with the on-going building work taking away previously valued spaces:

I put what I wanted to change, the houses just built need to go back to the field. That means it was more peaceful and I had more room to play in the field, only just right next to the factory.

David, 12, Community B

Figure 7.14 Community B under construction (Source: Caitlin)

Amy: You've got [nature reserve] and you've got the leisure centre now and there's a bit of green area there as well, which is good, because it was all a bit urban, it was just...

Susie: It was all blocked off wasn't it? [Talking over]

Amy: ...brick, pavement. It needed more grass, basically.

Susie: Yeah, it was all blocked off before, the leisure centre, so you couldn't get on to it, so people who wanted to play football couldn't go into it...

Amy: Yeah there was nowhere to go for that.

Susie: ...but now you can.

Susie, 13 and her sister Amy, 17, Community B

This changing landscape affected young people's use of space. As with work completed by Kraftl *et al.* (2013) in new sustainable communities, it was unclear whether green spaces were for public use or to be used as housing. If the green spaces were built on, this affected the material practices of young people in the community who had colonised them for play. The changing landscape of new communities, particularly the loss of spaces to construction, is considered a particular issue in relation to new communities.

Figure 7.15 A field to the north of Community B where a planning application was submitted to build more houses. Young people mentioned enjoying the view over this field (Source: Author)

These findings regarding use of green spaces reflect those of De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie (2008), where the presence of young people on the street was dependent on the physical design of the neighbourhood, through formal and informal play spaces, and it was often the informal play spaces that appealed to children more than designed and formal playgrounds. In the case of the communities studied here, green spaces and country parks were popular as informal play space that catered for a variety of uses and groups (Jones, 2000; Holland *et al.*, 2007b). The flexibility of their use, for football (Neil and Mike), general playing (Katie and Amelia), running (Patti), cricket (Rob), Frisbee (Gemma) and fake gun battles (David), demonstrate a reason for their popularity. Adults were also unlikely to use greens. No adults were observed using them and they did not contain street furniture for sitting. This meant they were places young people could use with relatively little conflict of ownership over space, as well as being safe to play on, away from the dangers of cars on the road (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Mullan, 2003; Casey *et al.*, 2007).

Green spaces, however, were also a place of danger and avoidance. Their very seclusion meant that they were used for activities that some young people did not want adults to see (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews, 2003). The youth workers described the woods by the country park as a common place for young people from the community and the neighbouring village to come to drink, smoke, and take drugs (personal communication, 26 August 2011).Different groups of young people

colonised different green spaces (Holland *et al.*, 2007b; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). The behaviour of some groups of young people in these spaces led others to classify them as places of danger (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001). This caused some young people to avoid the area:

> Mike: Obviously you don't know what the hell goes on in the woods [by the country park], it's an anywhere.
>
> RR: Yeah.
>
> Neil: The woods is probably I think the most dangerous yet, not really mentioned because you don't see anyone go in there, but someone goes in there, you automatically think there's trouble coming.
>
> Mike, 15 and Neil, 14, Community A

Or were told to stay away by their parents, despite their using the woods for different activities, such as den-making:

> Emily: My Dad didn't use to let me go into the country park den.
>
> RR: Oh, why's that?
>
> ...
>
> Sarah: Oh it's awful.
>
> Emily: Where the star is. The den's here. And my Dad like, somebody, some teenagers caused a fire there before and I told my Dad about it. 'Oh Dad yeah and we were up at the den again today and when we left I was talking to my friend and she was telling me what all the teenagers did so' 'oh what did they do?' 'caused a fire' he was like, 'right, I don't want you going up there again in case anything like that happens again near there'.
>
> Emily, Sarah and Amelie, 12, Community A

A similar story emerged in Community B:

> Orla: We've been there before, that's that little wooded bit, Laura.
>
> Laura: Yeah, but we don't like that.
>
> RR: Why don't you like it there?
>
> Laura: 'Cos loads of.
>
> Orla: I like it there!
>
> Laura: Yeah, but loads of druggies go there, Orla.
>
> Orla: Yeah, but not now, not during the day, they go during night.
>
> Laura, 16 and Orla, 15, Community B

Antisocial behaviour and safety issues were also reported in relation to the nature trail (the start of which can be seen in Figure 7.16 below), which many young people used as a shortcut:

> Amy: [nature trail] isn't a good place anymore.
> RR: Why do you avoid [nature trail], did you say? Is it just because it's muddy?
> Susie: There are some gangs that go down there, that drink and smoke and, like, like smash bottles and things like that.
>
> Susie, 13 and her sister Amy, 17, Community B

It is interesting to note how Amy describes the nature trail as not good 'anymore'. This suggests that at one point it was a good place. The newness of the communities means that places are still being constructed; the reputation and territorial propriety of the new spaces are still being created. As with existing communities, this demonstrates the conflicts that can arise between groups of young people trying to use the same space for different activities and the strategies adopted by young people to avoid such conflict (Matthews and Tucker, 2007; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). Just as adults conflict with or avoid groups of young people on the street, or call the police to report antisocial behaviour, other young people also suffer from different uses of public space and see them as places of danger (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001). Young people in mixed communities exclude themselves from dangerous spaces to avoid association with groups using them and to define their identity in opposition to them (Clarke *et al.*, 2007; Leyshon, 2008).

Figure 7.16 Start of nature trail in Community B (Source: Caitlin)

The results discussed in this section have highlighted that outdoor public space remains important to young people in mixed communities as a place of play, exercise, socialisation and to be alone. The newness of the communities also meant that the making of (green) place was still under

construction, meaning some places that used to be enjoyable were now built over or had become places of avoidance.

7.3.4 The street

Previous studies have shown that the street remains an important place to children and young people, for socialisation, public theatre and identity formation and affirmation (Massey, 1998; Matthews *et al.*, 2000b; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Matthews, 2003; Valentine, 2004; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Vanderstede, 2011). Young people proved to use the street to a varying degree within the study (see Table 7.1). Over a third of all those interviewed said they used the street for leisure activities. The street was used for playing, skateboarding, cycling and walking. This reflects a much more mobile geography of the street than noted in previous research, particularly with regard to the emerging field in Children's Geographies of walking as a practice (Horton *et al.*, 2014).

Observations of the case study areas showed that use of the street as a play area was not widespread; the communities were quiet places with few people using the streets (see Section 6.2.1.1). A typical street scene, showing how quiet the area was, can be seen in Figure 7.17. Where there was street use, this was mobile, not static. Those who were walking around were often young people or young mothers with their children. As discussed above, of the 13 participants who mentioned hanging out on the street, only five of these mentioned playing out on the streets with the remainder using it for walking, skateboarding and cycling. It appears that the geography of street use is changing with the growth of walking as a practice and less static activity surrounding 'hanging out' (Horton *et al.*, 2014). Circuitous walking in the countryside and new communities has been found to be important to add variety to participants' social lives and strengthen friendships (Leyshon, 2011; Horton *et al.*, 2014). Further research may wish to explore the factors driving the increased use of the street for mobile, not static, geographies.

Tucker (2003) believes that one of the consequences of a lack of public space in rural areas is that young people become highly visible and so more subject to adult scrutiny. In this respect, the new communities reflect rural areas, with young people being highly visible on greens and other areas (though this is perhaps more due to the conspicuous absence of adults). The suburbs, meanwhile, are felt by Valentine (2004) to particularly have a certain moral order based on "an overwhelmingly powerful and widely understood pattern of restraint and non-confrontation" (2004: 88). Young people were not highly visible on the streets of either community. This reflects existing research by Matthews *et al.* (1998a), Cahill (2000) and Vanderstede (2011) who have contended that young people are 'invisible' on the street. Cahill (2000) and Vanderstede (2011) have both argued this is a

strategy adopted to avoid conflict with adults. The low visibility of young people in the case study communities could perhaps be due to a pattern of 'restraint and non-confrontation' (Valentine, 2004) or it could be because of perceived dangers, such as vehicular traffic or other adults (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Mullan, 2003; Casey *et al.*, 2007).

Figure 7.17 Typical view of private housing on a street in Community B (Source: Author)

The main difference in street use appeared to be age, with participants above a certain age (12 years old) no longer playing on the street:

> Yeah, well, I'm not the oldest on the street, my brothers and sisters are, but they don't really play out, so I'm the oldest person that plays out on the street and I get on really well with all of them.
>
> Melinda, 11, Community A

This is reflected in the quote from Neil:

> I've lived here for ten years and since then, well, I didn't really care that much when I was in Primary, I didn't think there was nothing to do because like when you're young you're always running about, you don't care if there is stuff to do, but Secondary, you don't, you're sort of grown up and you don't really want to run about with water pistols and so on, you want something else to do.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

In the UK, young people move from Primary to Secondary school at the age of 11. Young people move from being the oldest in their school to being the youngest. They develop new spatial identities and social relationships through the greater freedom age offers, and adopt and try out new (adult) roles leading to the abandonment of 'playing out' as a childish activity (Aitken, 2001; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Kato, 2009). This is reflected in Neil's experience. As with existing communities, use of space in mixed communities is generational with space use differentiated by age (Christensen, 2003), even though there may be differences within these generations as to how they use space (Tucker, 2003). Neil demonstrates how young people's response to communities and what they offer is not fixed, but is evolving as they age; as their identity changes, their spatial behaviour changes (Massey, 1998; Weller, 2007b). This is in keeping with Leyshon's argument that identity is not "plural or unitary, static or in flux, fragmented or stable, it is fluid between these binary opposites" (2008: 22). Young people's identities are fluid and their changing use of space (including whether selecting a place of retreat or a place to be seen) reflects this.

Whilst there was an age difference, it was found that, as with Matthews *et al.* (1999), there was no gender difference in street use. No difference was found in the tenure of participants and those using the street, despite previous studies suggesting class differences, with middle-class, suburban young people less likely to spend their leisure time on the street (Valentine, 1997a; Karsten and Pel, 2000; Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001). This suggests that the street is a place of affordance for all, as young people generally do not have an income of their own (only three interviewees talked of part-time jobs). The diaries showed that whilst participants from families with more disposable income reported a higher level of other (priced) activities, they still played out and walked around the streets. The lack of facilities and need for variety means the street takes on a greater importance in teenagers' geographies and they can claim space in their neighbourhood through its use (Jones, 2000; Holland *et al.*, 2007a; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2011).

Matthews *et al.* (1999) found that the social importance of the street is heightened for many young people because the home does not provide a suitable or appropriate venue to meet and talk with friends. This appeared to be the case for some young people, particularly where large groups were concerned:

> Yeah, we just hang out and play out in small groups, sometimes it's just two of us and sometimes it's 12.
>
> Melinda, 11, Community A

Previous research has suggested young people lack private space in their control (Childress, 2004; Dines *et al.*, 2006). Parent/guardian permission may be required to use the family home, but the availability, flexibility and affordability of the street makes it ideal for young people's use, particularly when some prefer to meet in groups (Matthews, 2003; Karsten, 2003; Brown *et al.*, 2008). Playing on the street does, however, cause problems to some members of the community, as discussed by Alice:

> Alice: We had some neighbours that we knew quite well, but some of them moved into [the town centre]
>
> RR: Yeah.
>
> Alice: 'Cos they like preferred it. 'Cos where we live there's loads of kids that go outside the houses and play really loud and noisy and it got on their nerves.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

Playing on the street also causes specific issues with neighbours, touched on in relation to limitations of mobility in Section 6.2.2.4:

> ...'cos we're always having the police round by us and we can't even use the back drive 'cos we have someone next door to us who comes out, well, not next door to us, but one door down, who keeps shouting at us whenever we go down, comes out and says 'Get off my property' and we're like 'It's not even your property'.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

This is in contrast with Gemma's use of the green (discussed in Section 7.3.3), which created strong social bonds between her neighbours. The simple act of some participants' use of the street as a place of play met with conflict from adults who felt it disturbed the tranquillity of the street and infringed on their space (Rasmussen and Smidt, 2003). It is such conflicts that provide clues about power relations (Sibley, 1995). In the case of Alice, the neighbours had chosen to move away to an area they identified with (quiet), whilst with Ruby, her neighbour continued to try to dominate the space around his house, even claiming ownership where there was none. These findings regarding use of the street and conflict reflect that of existing research (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Matthews, 2003; Chiu, 2009; Brown, 2013), though the mediating role that provision of green space can deliver in generating greater social bonds in new communities is considered a unique finding.

Valentine (2004) notes that research suggests young people do not deliberately set out to intimidate or cause trouble, but this is sometimes a by-product of their natural flows of activities. There

appeared to be issues with large groups of teenagers walking the street in groups leading to uneasiness in adults:

> RR: Do you ever get in trouble when there's a group about 20 of you walking about?
> Roger: No, just get funny looks.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

This had also led to Roger getting in trouble with the police:

> I think there was four of us and we were down the rec and we were meant to be in at half seven and we was running and they stopped us. They stopped us just by where the main road is...They were like 'Why you running?'. They think we cause trouble.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

This reflects findings that groups of young people in existing communities are deemed as threatening (Malone, 2002; Nolan, 2003; Pain, 2006; Freeman, 2010; Brown, 2013). Boys have been found to prefer to socialise in groups (Karsten, 2003; Brown *et al.*, 2008), whilst hanging out in groups may also be a means to act tough and avoid conflict (Cahill, 2000). Roger appeared to be targeted by the police because he was in a group of teenage boys and he was running.

Parental control did affect street use. Anna was not allowed to walk around with nothing to do because her mum did not like it, but this had ramifications for Anna's understanding of her neighbourhood. She reported getting lost and finding the area very similar:

> ...when I slept over my friend's house and we were walking back, I got confused where we were 'cos it all looks the same so like she had to come direct me a little bit...
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

As with extant literature, this shows the importance of independent mobility in developing a local geography and environmental competence (Matthews, 1986; Freeman, 2010).

The participants who skateboarded also discussed issues over conflict with adults in the areas in which they chose to skate:

> And if you skate at [supermarket] and that they just say to you like they moan at you every time you skate.
>
> Bradford, 13, Community A

No, not really, we just get to a place and [skate] there, but erm, yeah there's not really much to do, not many places to do it...there used to be offices here, there used to be just down there but then they started getting the security guard to chuck us out and stuff so erm, yeah we stopped going there and now they've built a skatepark, but it's still quite far away.

Mark, 15, Community A

Conflict between skateboarders and security services has been widely discussed in previous research (Karsten and Pel, 2001; Travlou, 2003; Chiu, 2009), as has distance to facilities as a barrier to young people's use (Malone, 2002). Research into skateboarding has portrayed it as a youth counterculture which seeks to challenge power relations by questioning the privatisation of public space (Travlou, 2003). Research by Woolley and Johns (2001) have found that the enjoyment of skateboarding comes from watching and learning from others and, in order to do this, a large space is needed. The office car park in Community A provided a large, generally quiet space where skateboarders could pursue the activity. Young people, who were happy to share the car park, were excluded as a result of being perceived as a nuisance. The skatepark mentioned by Mark was in the nearest town, but this was difficult to access given problems of transport. The justification of preventing young people from skateboarding in available space in their neighbourhood in favour of the more controlled skatepark not only undermines the control young people have over how they undertake skateboarding, but it also assumes that young people can afford to travel outside of their neighbourhood (Borden, 1998; Weller, 2007b).

As well as conflict with adults and the police, there was also conflict between different groups of young people (Tucker, 2003). Frank reported that there were frictions between his friends and some others in the area. They adopted avoidance strategies to prevent any conflict:

I wouldn't say they're the best of friends but it's not really like, it's like sort of an attitude I guess like, you stay out of our way, we stay out of your way.

Frank, 15, Community B

As well as different groups avoiding each other, Ruby avoided a certain street in Community B because a bully lived on it:

RR: Any people that you kind of avoid?

Ruby: Yep...they live in [Community B] unfortunately... she bullies my mate.

Ruby, 11, Community B

The experience of young people growing up in mixed communities is much the same as in existing settlements, with conflicts and sensitivities surrounding identity construction amongst young people themselves (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001). These avoidance strategies are the same as those employed by other young people in different spaces in the communities studied, as well as in existing research (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Tucker, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). Rumours and 'stranger danger' (discussed in Section 6.2.2.2) also drove young people in Community A off the street and into the domestic sphere:

> ...you know when there was the whole thing about the van going round and stuff like that...we go to people's houses 'cos, stuff like that, we'd probably be targeted.
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

This altered spatiality in the face of perceived danger is in keeping with existing research in established communities (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Elsey, 2004; Pain, 2006; Barker, 2011; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). It was not found in Community B, however, which was less established and had not (yet) developed a history of such incidents within its boundaries. This shows the role that newness plays in the production and reproduction of discourses of risk (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013).

In spite of these conflicts and incidents, however, young people from Community A maintained their neighbourhood was 'nice':

> ...it's such a nice, kind of like, safe environment...
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

Mike and Neil, who also described Community A as 'nice', blamed some of the antisocial behaviour in the area on young people from the neighbouring village. Neil described this area as "dangerous". By presenting their neighbourhood as 'nice' and 'safe' they defined themselves in opposition to this area, thereby maintaining a distance from any such trouble (Leyshon, 2008). Young people in Community A constructed and maintained particular identities of the place in which they lived and used these to engender feelings of belonging. This indicates the strength of influence of some residents' attitudes and behaviour in reputation management (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

Young people from Community B similarly frequently brought up the safety and peace of the streets in their communities as a big positive for the area, even if they had discussed issues with bullies:

> I like, umm, it's quiet, not like the other roads down where I used to live 'cos mostly cars went down there...And, I like it 'cos it's got, umm, a nearby park and leisure centre.
>
> David, 12, Community B

Beatrice even stated this was the reason her family had moved to the area:

> ...if we hadn't got a house here, we wouldn't have moved to [town]. Which is bit strange, but I think it was because it's a new house and, I dunno, where we live, we was only young, we could play out on the cycle route, it was quiet, no cars, safe, so I think that's why as well.
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

The peace, safety and freedom that young people found they had in both communities reflected the myth of the rural idyll (Tucker and Matthews, 2001) and led to laxer parental controls, as discussed in Section 6.2.2.1. Whilst the perceived safety led to greater freedom, the innocence of childhood exemplified, the conflict, danger and boredom young people experienced shows how both communities were far from idyllic (Sibley, 1995; Valentine, 1997a; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Matthews and Tucker, 2007).

Whilst young people reported using the streets as an accessible place to meet friends, their presence was limited during the observation stage, particularly in Community B. There was no gender or tenure difference, but use did change with age as spatial practices changed with identities. Young people reported conflict with adults, the police and other young people when using the street. This led to them adopting avoidance strategies, employing more caution, or moving to the domestic sphere. Despite these conflicts and dangers, young people constructed and maintained their streets as 'safe' environments.

7.3.5 Recreation grounds

Recreation grounds ('recs') were mentioned regularly in interviews (see Table 7.1 above). Research in rural areas by Tucker (2003) and Giddings and Yarwood (2005) has asserted their importance to Children's Geographies and this research found that a community being new or mixed made no difference to this importance. The recreation ground near Community B was very popular because it was more accessible (a walk of under 10 minutes) and one of the few places in the area that had facilities dedicated to young people (such as skate ramp, playground and BMX track). Participants from Community A also mentioned using the recreation ground of the nearest village, which was a popular place for young people in the area. The pull of these facilities was partly a result of the

absence of such a space in the communities studied, and partly their use by friends of the participants who lived outside of their communities.

The rec closest to Community A lay in the neighbouring village and was a large space to meet people, to see and be seen (Chawla and Malone, 2003). When the researcher for this project undertook detached youth work around the area of Community A (as part of the observation stage of the research) it centred on this recreation ground. Young people aged from about 14 to 21 years would gather on the grass, by the youth shelter and around a bench, with many drinking alcohol and taking drugs. Young people from Community A often had many friends in this village as they all attended the same secondary school. The rec provided space for large groups of young people to meet, given they had little control over private spaces to do so (Lieberg, 1995; Travlou, 2003; Childress, 2004; Dines *et al.*, 2006). They were places to be 'seen'; an accessible place where some of the young people felt they belonged and could find their friends:

> Patti: But, um, we normally go, down do you know the rec ground?
> RR: In [neighbouring village], yeah yeah.
> Patti: We usually go there.
> RR: Quite a lot of people go there as well, don't they?
> Patti: Yeah...Say we were going to meet a lot of people, we'd go there, to like see people.
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

The size of the public space meant that it could be used flexibly by young people and was large enough to accommodate different friendship groups and groups undertaking different activities, the importance of which was discussed in Section 7.3.1 (Tucker, 2003; Holland *et al.*, 2007a; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008).

Perhaps reflecting the importance of the recreation grounds for young people as a place of socialisation, as well as a relatively safe place in parents' eyes, is this quote from Sarah:

> See the only, the only place I'm allowed in [neighbouring village] is the rec and like people whose houses I know.
>
> Sarah, 12, Community A

Sarah was allowed to walk the two miles to the neighbouring village by herself, perhaps because the walk was similar to her walk to school, and her destination was popular with young people in the area creating safety in numbers.

The rec in Community B (see Figure 7.18) served different purposes according to gender. For boys, it appeared to be a place to be active through skateboarding, cycling, playing sport or free running:

> I don't usually go down [to the rec] much 'cos there's not much ramps to do, there's hardly anything to do there, all you do is just skate and jump down the stairs.
>
> David, 12, Community B

> Well there's like another park, a small park there, so we use that and you can play football and basketball and sometimes, if I go on the bike, just like sort of ride around on bikes and stuff...
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

> Um, just pretty much do free running around it 'cos there's a BMX track around there so we do free running around it.
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

There was a distinct gender difference in how young people used the recreation grounds. Whilst the boys used it for biking, skateboarding and free running, girls in Community B talked about using it as a place to sit and talk:

> I meet up with my friends [at the rec] and we walk around, there's a swing and we go on that swing...Um, at [nature trail] there aren't any swings or anything, like, to be with, it's all muddy and like not a good place to go. The rec is more friendly and lots of people there.
>
> Susie, 13, Community B

> Like if it's a nice day me and my friend would go down and catch-up [on the rec]...
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

> RR: What kind of stuff do you do at the rec?
>
> Gemma: Sit on the swings and stuff.
>
> Gemma, 14, Community B

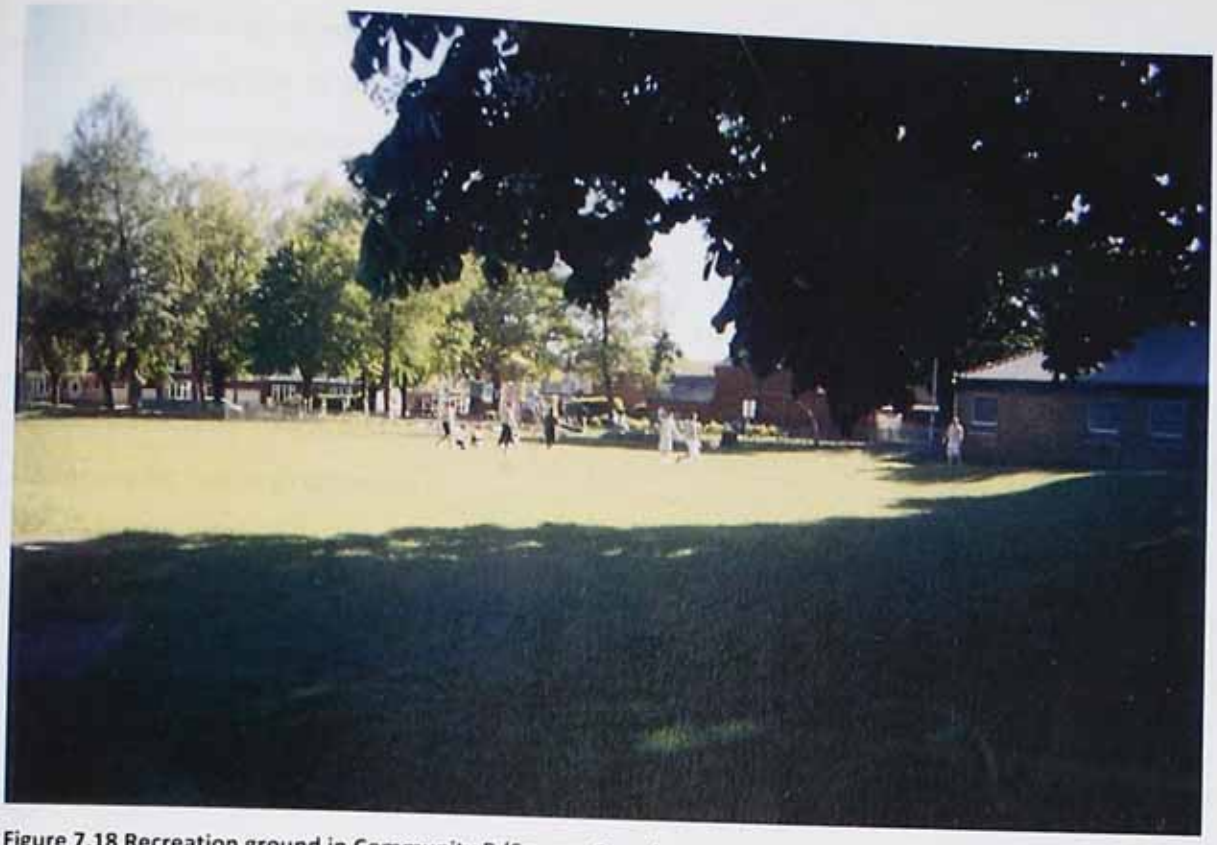

Figure 7.18 Recreation ground in Community B (Source: Steve)

These findings reflect previous research suggesting that boys are more likely to engage in group and physical activities (Karsten, 2003; Brown *et al.*, 2008). Susie's comment also reflects how the rec was an important place of interaction, for gathering groups of friends (Chawla and Malone, 2003). The size and flexibility of the space meant it could be used for all these activities by different groups of young people (De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008).

The rec was not favoured by some participants because it was too far away, and the personal preference of the participant was not to travel too far:

> I don't go to the other one, don't go to the other rec. I'm too lazy.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

Ruby's comment highlights the role that interest and inclination plays in spatial behaviour (Tucker, 2003; Leyshon, 2011).

As with community facilities and the street, use changed with age. Three participants interviewed on the street said that they were only hanging out in Community B because the recreation ground was full of young children. Teenagers reported using it when they were younger but avoided it as they got older:

> I used to go down the rec and down the little [supermarket]...I used to like go down there everyday just to see everyone and that, but now I'm older it's a bit weird me going down there everyday sort of thing.
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

This reflects existing research concerning teenagers' construction of independent identities and the adoption of more adult roles (Malone, 2002; Chawla and Malone, 2003; Valentine, 2004; Kato, 2009; Vanderstede, 2011).Age differences in the use of the rec were also dictated by time of use, as evidenced by Caitlin's comment:

> You get like the Year 9s and 10s round [Community B], like you've got the new skatepark, like my brother goes from like 5 til about 7, and then after that you've got all the older lot on their bikes and just chilling out I suppose.
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

This further demonstrates the generational relationship with space, with ownership of public space (where public space was limited) by different social groups being differentiated by age and time (Christensen, 2003; Tucker, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). Age was one marker of belonging for young people, whereby if they felt spaces were occupied by people who were younger they were much less inclined to favour that space.

The rec in Community B was not uniformly popular (Laura, 16 and Orla, 15 described it as 'horrible'). This was partly due to other groups of young people who were perceived as 'troublemakers':

> Just go anywhere and everywhere really and talk. I would go to the rec but a lot of like the old people hang down there and like drink and everything so none of us really want to go down there.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

As with the supermarket entrance, the troublemakers and their antisocial behaviour caused Alice to stay away in order to avoid conflict and association with them (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Tucker, 2003; Holland *et al.*, 2007a; Kintrea *et al.*, 2010). This again demonstrates the importance of spatiality in social identity construction (Massey, 1998). Conventional sociological signifiers, such as age and gender, play as much of a role as shared behaviours and interests in the microgeographies of mixed communities, though it is interesting that class does not seem to be an issue given no observed difference between tenures (Freeman, 2010).

The recreation grounds were popular places for young people, particularly in Community B. For some, they were accessible places of belonging to meet large groups of friends and undertake different activities. Despite this popularity, some avoided the area as it was associated with antisocial behaviour. This demonstrates once more the way spatial behaviour defines social identity (Massey, 1998). The use of these spaces, and the way in which they were used (or avoided), was not unique to new mixed communities, but shows their continued importance to young people's geographies.

7.3.6 Playgrounds

Playgrounds were not very popular amongst the participants interviewed, with only a sixth of those interviewed saying they used them, as shown in Table 7.1 above. Mostly they were used for hanging out and playing on the equipment whilst socialising with friends (Tucker, 2003); as such they were 'places of retreat' and 'places to be seen'. Broken equipment, lack of suitability for age, and gender all affected their use (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Karsten, 2003; Tucker, 2003). Their use reflected existing research but Community B had a particular issue in relation to the recent (poor) construction of its play facilities.

Karsten (2003) found a gendered world of the playground in her research which was echoed in Community A and B. Girls liked to sit on the swings and talk to friends, whilst few male participants mentioned using the playgrounds. The only male participant who the researcher knows used a playground was Bradford, who was interviewed at the playground in Figure 7.19, when he was playing with his friends. His friends were mostly males about 13 and 14, all boisterously using the equipment, and some much quieter girls. Their loud and enthusiastic use of the equipment showed how it was a place of theatre for them.

The number and accessibility of parks in Community A meant they were valued by teenagers as a place to hang out as well as to play when they were younger:

> ...say we were out and it was about 9 o'clock at night, there wouldn't be little children in the park so we're fine just to sit there...when you're little there are so many parks and places to go...
>
> Patti, 13, Community A

Figure 7.19 Playground by primary school in Community A where young people would hang out (Source: Author)

Patti's comment reveals how use of the playground by different groups varied by time, as was found with recreation grounds (De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). The sharing of spaces inevitably led to some conflict, particularly when older users vandalised equipment:

> Emily: Inside of parks, like things that won't get broken, it's like [inaudible] teenagers always break them.
>
> Sarah: And then we get locked out and there's nothing for us to do so...
>
> RR: Is it the older kids that are doing that?
>
> Sarah: Yep.
>
> Emily and Sarah, 12, Community A

The breaking of equipment was a widely reported problem. Field notes from 9 August 2012 record how friends of Bradford mentioned it during his interview, as did a mother who was also present:

> *Also commented on the fact that the equipment in the park was all broken and one of the mothers there asked me if I was in charge of the equipment so that she could report some of it broken.*

These issues are not limited to mixed communities. The comments on broken equipment and subsequent locking of the playgrounds were similar to the finding by Tucker (2003), where girls disliked the physical degradation of playgrounds, avoided vandalised areas, and effectively felt unwelcome in the very spaces set aside for them. In the case of Community A, however, it was not that young people avoided the area, it was that they were 'locked out' or could no longer use the equipment as it was broken.

The issue of age-appropriate facilities also left some young people feeling they fell in a provision gap, as Ruby discussed in Section 7.3.1. The play equipment mentioned by Ruby can be seen in her photo below (Figure 7.20). This reflects research by Panelli *et al.* (2002).

Figure 7.20 Playground in Community B by leisure centre (Source: Ruby)

Rather than issues with vandalism and maintenance of equipment as in Community A, the recent construction of the playground and skateboard/scooter area in Community B had created issues:

> Ah this park, as you can see, it gets bogging and that is like that deep in water so when it's been raining the kids can't come down here and play because they put it in the dip, they didn't make them put it on top of the dip, they put it in it.
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

The playground outside the leisure centre in Community B had been dug so that it sat below the original ground level. As a consequence it did not drain properly and even after a period of good

weather it remained waterlogged, as can be seen from Figure 7.21. This poor design meant that the space could not be used as intended. This shows particular issues surrounding the new construction of an area where facilities are poorly implemented.

Figure 7.21 Waterlogged skate park and ramp in Community B (Source: Author)

Playground use varied in terms of gender and age. Few participants used them, perhaps because the target age range was lower than the age of the sample (11-16 years). Playgrounds also suffered from vandalism and poor design, which made them inaccessible and unattractive to participants. Whilst the issue of vandalism is not unique to mixed communities, it is considered that the issue of poor design is connected to the newness of the developments, which are still in a process of construction.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the public spaces used by participants of this study into new mixed communities. The spaces (shown in Figure 7.1) were defined as 'places of retreat' and 'places to be seen', and included community facilities, semi-public spaces (namely the local supermarkets), country parks and green spaces, the street, recreation grounds and playgrounds. The results show that public spaces remain important in the lives of teenagers, despite research in Children's Geographies discussing parental perception of a decline in outdoor play (Valentine, 1997a, Witten *et al.*, 2013). Accessibility, belonging and being with friends were of key importance to the success of public space in mixed communities. Having a variety of spaces, to use as places of interaction and

retreat (Lieberg, 1995; Chawla and Malone, 2003), and to accommodate different groups and uses (Tucker, 2003; Karsten, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008), as well as to prevent boredom, remains important.

The data showed that spaces were not uniformly used by all young people, nor used in the same way (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Tucker, 2003). Use of public spaces varied according to age, gender and social groupings, as well as presence of conflict, perception of danger and quality of provision. Generational relationships and conflicts were played out through the differentiation of places according to their use by different ages (Christensen, 2003). Age was a very important measure of belonging that defined whether and how participants used a public space. As with Karsten (2003), boys were more likely to engage in physical activities in public spaces than girls, who liked to interact with their friends whilst using play equipment (Tucker, 2003). Conflict with adults and the police whilst using public spaces was common for some, whilst certain spaces were avoided due to bullies (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001) or participants wishing to disassociate from such users (Leyshon, 2008). Space thus remains important in shaping and controlling identity (Massey, 1998). Issues with antisocial behaviour also led to parents banning children from visiting certain areas. Poor quality environments (vandalised or broken equipment) were mentioned as a frustration by young people using playgrounds. Just as Cahill (2000) has discussed in relation to the street, the use of public space within mixed communities is a complex interplay of physical, social and cultural effects.

Particular findings in relation to new mixed communities were connected to the impact that a rapid growth in population has on the ability of facilities to cater for demands, particularly as that population moves from childhood to adolescence at the same time. The role of consumption was also found increasingly important in the local environment and selection of semi-public spaces, such as supermarkets and corner shops. The streets were also found to have a much more mobile geography, from meandering walks, than the static use revealed by previous research. Finally, the role that construction plays in the shaping of places was considered important; from continued building work on green spaces that young people once valued as places of play, to the poor construction of facilities meaning they are unusable.

It can be concluded from this chapter that there are some small differences in the way that public space is used in new mixed communities though these relate to its nascent nature, rather than the social mix. As revealed from existing literature, however, care needs to be taken to provide flexible, informal space for young people that can accommodate different groups and uses (Tucker and Matthews, 2001; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). The following chapter will explore how young people conceive of community in mixed communities.

8. 'Getting Together': Young People's Experience of Mixed Communities

8.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters have set out young people's everyday experiences and use of public space within mixed communities. This chapter will discuss young people's experience of mixed communities; how they view community and what they think creates a community, with particular reference to social mix. It is the first study to explore how young people in mixed communities understand and experience the community in which they live. As discussed in Section 2.6.1, the idea of social mix became a central tenet of New Labour urban planning policy from 1997 to 2010. Mixed communities policy was built on the basic assumption that a diverse mix will both deepen and widen social interaction in a positive way, as well as reducing the negative effects of living in a concentrated area of deprivation (Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Musterd and Anderson, 2005).

The chapter will begin by discussing definitions of community and mixed communities by research participants and the themes that emerged from definitions of community. The themes from the definitions will then be considered in more detail. Firstly, planning to encourage a sense of community has been broken down into participant themes surrounding the newness of the community, reputation, community events, population churn and what participants think about the future. Secondly, social and economic issues, in terms of communication and employment, are outlined. Thirdly, the provision of good services (namely transport and safety) is then detailed, followed by the aim to create mixed and balanced communities through inclusion of social housing, equality and the avoidance of segregation. Finally, the aim of government planning policy to provide good urban design with accessible public space is debated. The chapter concludes by discussing the differences identified between the two communities and the important factors determining a strong community. It concludes that the similarity of constructs of community suggests that young people are reproducing dominant discourses despite living in a mixed community.

8.2 Definitions of community

Section 2.2 reviewed the definitions of community given in the academic and political context. These are described as rather elusive and nebulous in nature, with a potentially limitless variety of meanings (Sarkissian, 1976; Cole and Goodchild, 2001; Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Levitas, 2005). Community is traditionally divided into two aspects: that of place or neighbourhood, and that of relationships, which may go beyond a location (Smith, 1996).

Section 4.3 established the national planning policy in place at the time of the two study communities, with these national policies reflected in the Planning/Development Briefs for the two sites. The planning rhetoric in relation to community from these policies has been broken down in Figure 8.1. These themes of community, social and economic aspects of community, services, mix and balance, urban design and public space emerged in interviews with some participants on the meaning of community and their thoughts on where they lived. In some cases this was because the participant desired their community to provide this, and it failed to do so. The similarities of participant themes to the planning themes can be seen in Figure 8.2.

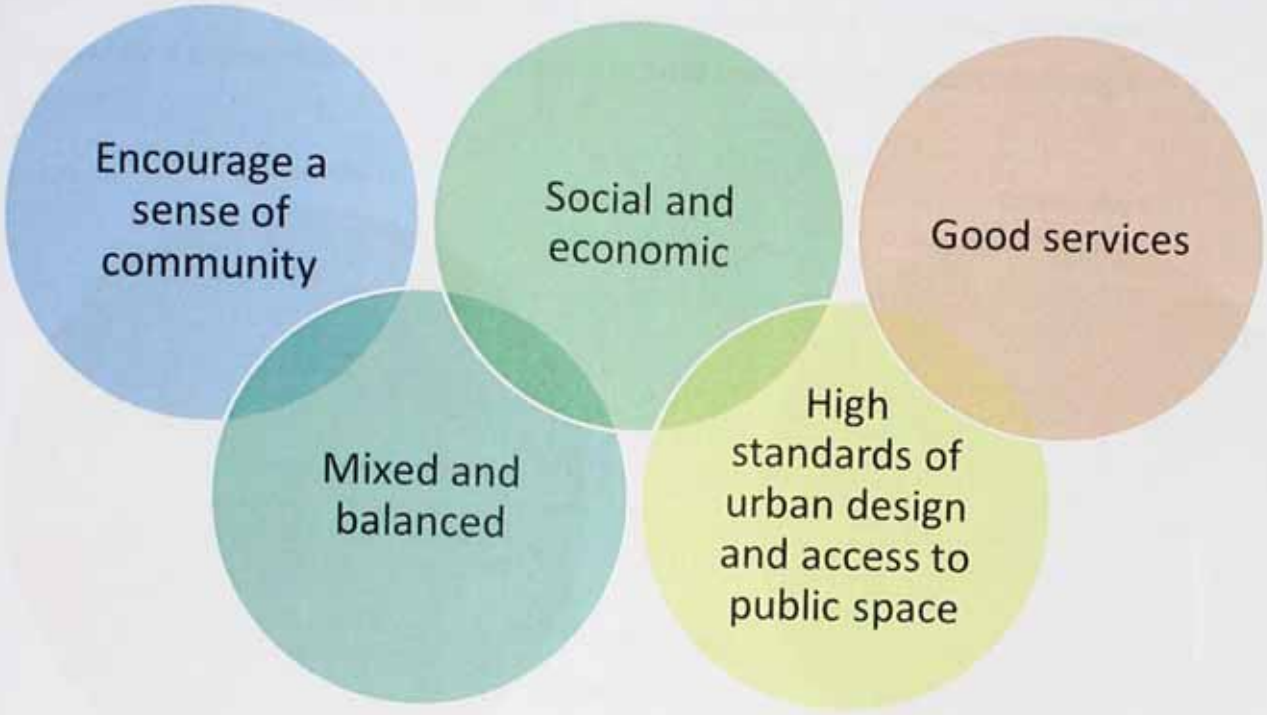

Figure 8.1 National and local planning policy in relation to successful new developments and engendering community

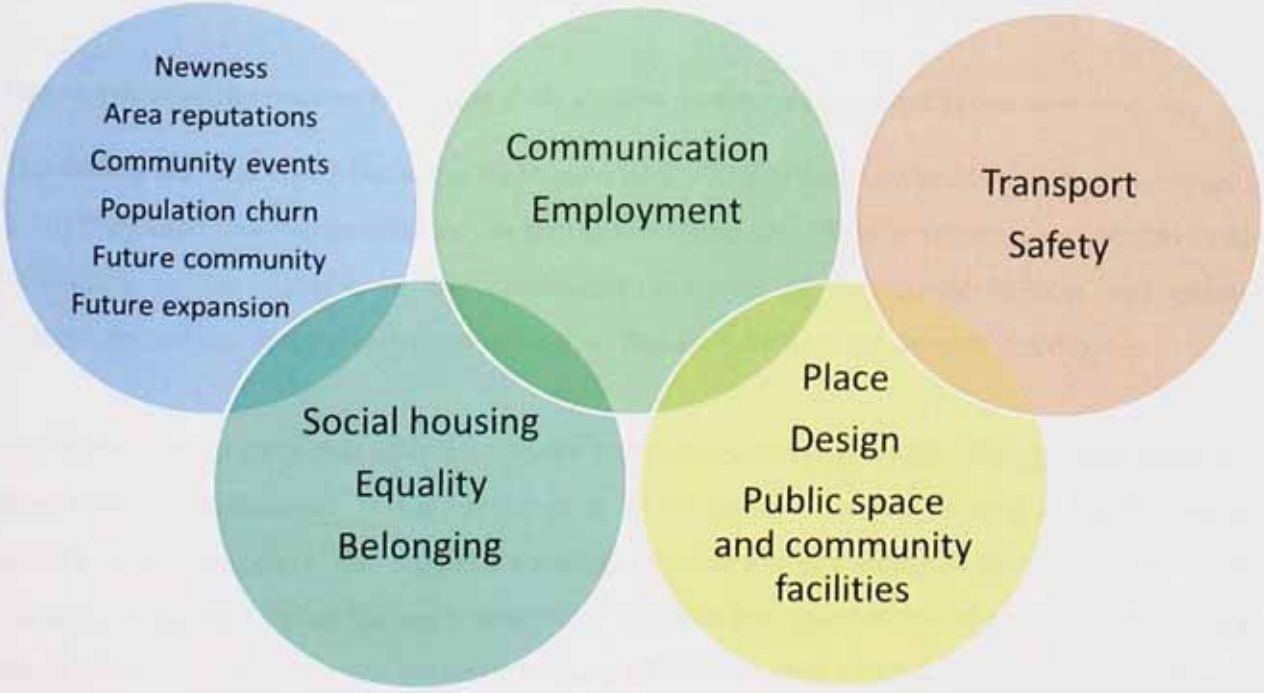

Figure 8.2 Definitions of community from interview participants

8.2.1 Exploring the concept of community

Participants were asked in both the questionnaires and the in-depth interviews what they thought community was, as well as whether they felt they lived in a community. In general, there were few identified differences in terms of age, gender or tenure, but there was a clear distinction between the two localities. Two thirds of participants in the questionnaire felt they lived in a community (n=84). There was a difference in response when comparing the two communities, however, with 71.6% (n=58) of the more established Community A stating they lived in a community compared to 56.5% (n=26) of Community B. These results can be seen in Figure 8.3 below. Participants living in Community A appeared to have a greater sense of living in a community than Community B.

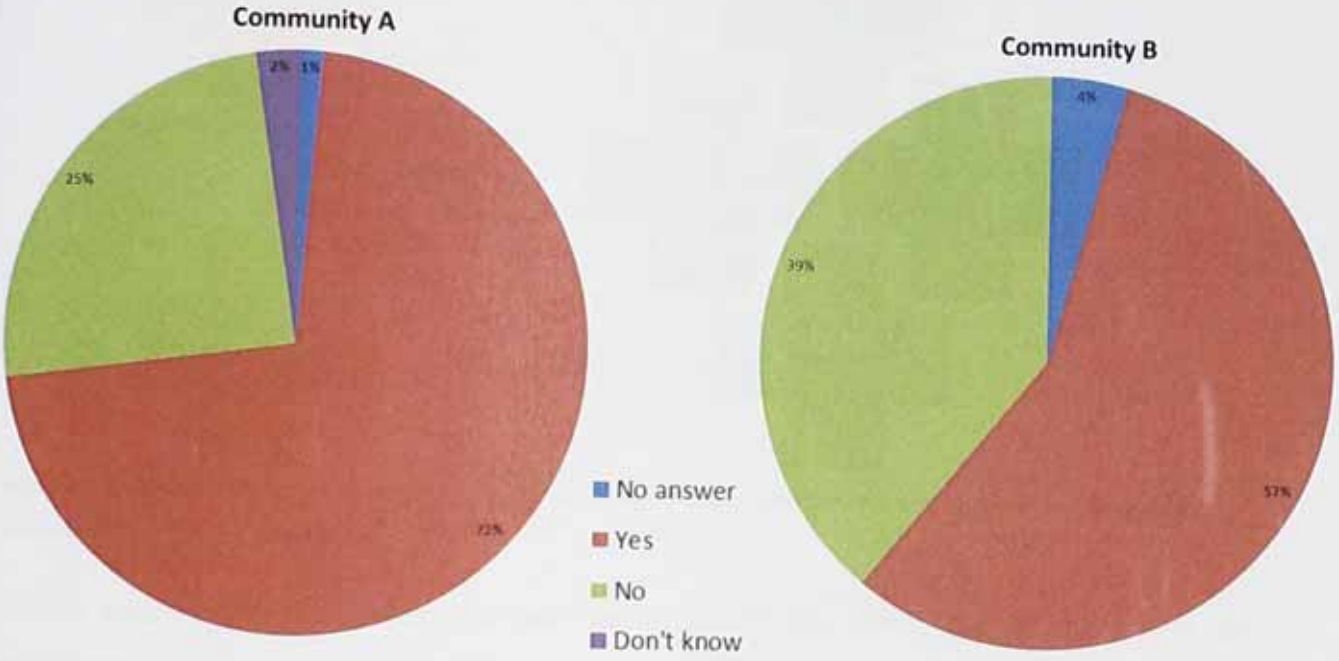

Figure 8.3 Questionnaire response to Question 17 'Do you think you live in a community?' by case study community

This finding was also borne out in the interviews, where 73% of Community A and 60% of Community B felt they lived in a community, as can be seen in Figure 8.4. These differences are thought to be connected to the maturity of the community, presence of community facilities and events, population stability and the degree of social mix. These will be debated through this chapter.

It is interesting to note that all questionnaire respondents living in social housing (100%, n=7) felt they lived in a community. This is compared to 70.3% (n=64) of private housing and 50% (n=4) of private rented occupiers. This suggests a stronger connection to community for residents of social housing, reflecting existing literature which has indicated that lower levels of economic activity are linked to higher reliance on the estate or home area (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Camina and Wood, 2009). Forrest and Kearns (2001) also discuss how community ties are a socio-economic issue, with

the wealthier, more mobile middle classes seeing the local arena as only one such area within which they operate, whilst the poor and the elderly spend a significantly greater portion of their time in the local area. The discussion at Section 6.3.3.2 on family activities shows that some occupants of private housing were very mobile with their families, so this argument would appear to hold in this instance. As with existing literature, therefore, this research found that a 'sense of community' was stronger for some, particularly lower income groups, than for others (Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Camina and Wood, 2009). The weaker feelings of community in relation to private rented occupants will be deliberated in terms of population churn at Section 8.3.4.

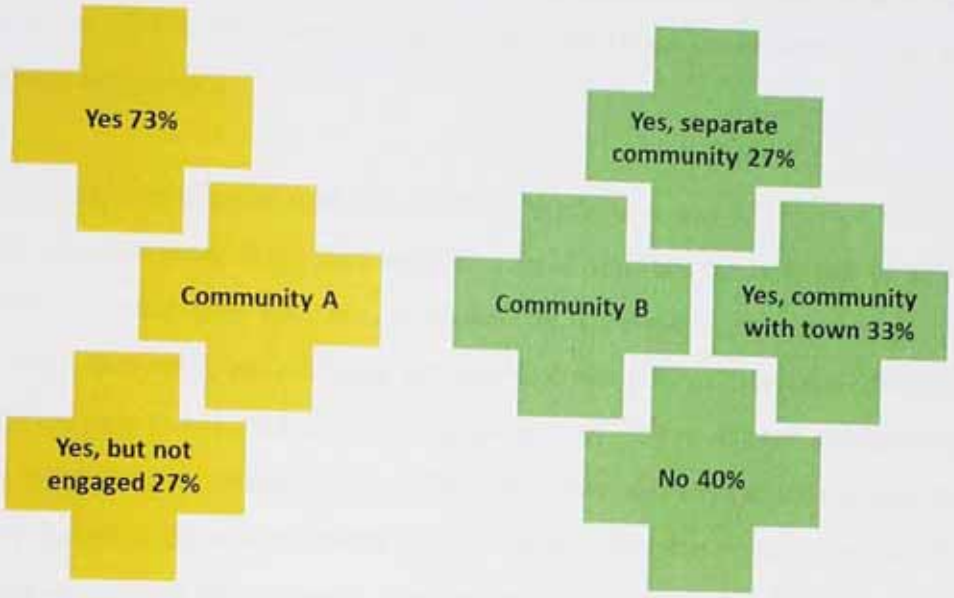

Figure 8.4 Depicting differences between responses of interviewees in Community A and Community B to question of whether they live in a community

Not all questionnaire respondents defined community (77.9%, n=99), but, of those who did, definitions largely related to people and place, meaning the most pertinent academic definition previously discussed is the place and relationships definition of Smith (1996). Young people in this study into mixed communities were more likely to define relationships in community as neighbours, so tying them to location. The definitions of community given in the questionnaire were broken down into six categories: people, place, residence, communication, positive adjectives and negative adjectives. Examples of these categories, copied as they were written on questionnaires, include:

> People who help other eg helping people across the street etc.
>
> Community definition includes reference to people and positive adjective.

> Group of residents you commonly speak to and be a part of.
>
> Community definition includes reference to people, residence and communication.

Very stuck up and snobby.

Community definition includes reference to negative adjectives.

Reflecting findings by Freeman (2010) that community is frequently interpreted as people, rather than physical limits, the most common definition centred around people (59.8%, n=76). All other categories identified were used in a fifth of all definitions. Only 2.4% (n=3) defined communities in negative terms. The more in-depth discussion of community in interviews similarly divided definitions along the lines of people, place and safety and will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. The focus on people, residence and neighbourhood agrees with the arguments of Robertson *et al.* (2008) that there is a strong articulation of community as associated with relationships to neighbours.

The questionnaire also showed that the newer a respondent was to the area (living there for less than a year) then the more likely they were to pursue activities outside, talk to neighbours and to think the area in which they lived was a community. Generally the longer respondents had lived there, the more likely they were to stay at home and not play out with friends. This suggests that those who were new to the area were still exploring it, or may have been granted more freedom to explore (as mentioned in Section 6.2.2.1). Steve, however, did not reflect the quantitative data: he had recently moved to Community B and had encountered trouble making friends. There was no link between age and length of residency, but the latter was connected to locality. A total of 69.7% (n=55) of those who had been living in their community for five or more years were from Community A, compared to 26.1% (n=12) from Community B. These different engagements with the geography of community may explain the variety of (often conflicting) interpretations of community (Robertson *et al.*, 2008).

The last quote taken from the questionnaires above ('Very stuck up and snobby') also shows how some respondents defined their particular community, rather than community in general. This formed the basis of a more in-depth discussion in the interviews, where participants were first of all asked to reiterate their definition of community and then asked whether they thought they lived in a community and why. Figure 8.4 shows responses to the question of whether interviewees felt they lived in a community. There was a clear difference between Community A, where all respondents said they lived in a community (though they differed on whether they thought the community was friendly, or they were engaged in it) and Community B, where 60% said they lived in a community, but, of this, nearly half felt that they lived in a separate, stand-alone community, as opposed to belonging to the attached town in the south. As discussed in Section 6.4.3, community was also separated out into smaller units centred on blocks of housing, as was the case with Roger:

We've got a little community going on [neighbours], but I wouldn't think [Community B] has a community 'cos they don't really have a community meeting or whatever you want to call it.

Roger, 14, Community B

These differing sizes of community reflect the fact that readings of community are often focused more on commonalities and social links than physical boundaries (Freeman, 2010; Monk *et al.*, 2011), though physical boundaries are important too (as will be discussed in Section 8.7.1). There was a slight gender difference in the questionnaire over whether the respondents felt they lived in a community, 69.0% of girls (n=40) compared to 63.2% of boys (n=43) thought they lived in a community. Those aged over 16 years were also more likely to say they did not live in a community (45.0%, n=18, compared to an average of 23% for all other ages). This is particularly interesting as 85% (n=34) of those aged 16 or more years lived in Community A where there was the strongest sense of community. This is likely to reflect the negative stereotyping of teenagers here, as well as problems in relation to provision of youth facilities (see Sections 7.3.1 and 8.6.2). In terms of parental job, those whose parents undertook a routine job were the most likely to think they lived in a community (70.0%, n=14), followed by administrative (68.9%, n=42) and then managerial (59.4%, n=19) roles. Again, this demonstrates the plurality of experience of community by social groups.

It is interesting to reflect that definitions of community given by those living in mixed communities did not differ from those contained in academic texts. As the purpose of mixed communities is to bring together people of different socio-economic backgrounds it might be considered that those residing in such areas would focus their definitions accordingly, but this was not the case. Instead, young people appear to be reproducing dominant discourses of community such as espoused in planning policy.

8.2.2 Understandings of mixed communities

Most questionnaire respondents had never heard of a mixed community (57.5%, n=73). Of the 52 respondents who had, definitions covered religion, place, people, race and cultures. The frequency of these themes in definitions can be seen in Figure 8.5.

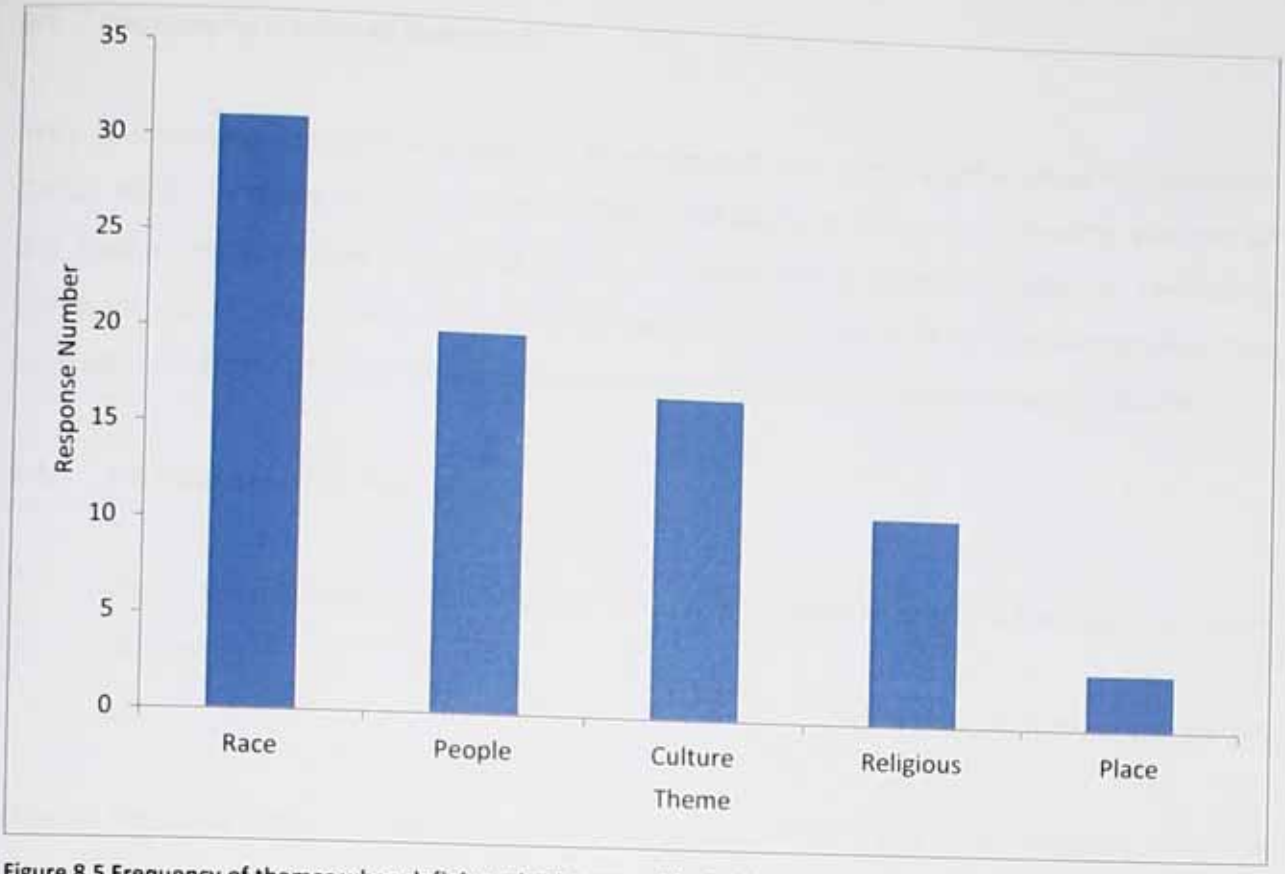

Figure 8.5 Frequency of themes when defining mixed communities in the questionnaire

As can be seen in Figure 8.5, the most common theme that emerged was race, particularly different races living together. An example of such definitions include:

- Coloured and non coloured people living together.
- A community that has a mix of races within it.

The focus on race is interesting given this is not what mixed tenure communities are concerned with and the overwhelming majority of residents of the case study areas were white (as mentioned in Sections 4.4, 4.5, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3). Young people did not identify themselves as living in a mixed community and had some interesting perspectives on equality, as will be debated in Section 8.6.2.

The second most common theme was a mix of people ('That there are different kind of people in a community.'), the third religions ('Different religions.') and the fourth most common theme was related to cultures ('A community with different cultures.'). 'Place' was included because it was rare for definitions to include reference to races and people living together in anything other than a community (as opposed to a space). Some definitions mentioned 'living in one place' and 'live in the same area', so were more specific in connecting mixed communities to an area of residence.

Mixed communities were not discussed in explicit detail during the interviews, which asked more direct questions on social housing and equality. Future research could explore where young people had heard of the term mixed community and what had influenced any definition they gave.

8.3 Encouraging a sense of community

PPS1 directed local authorities to plan for developments that encouraged a sense of community (DCLG, 2005). In terms of what the participants said about a sense of community, this can be discussed in relation to the newness of the area in which they lived, area reputations, community events (or lack of), population churn, whether they wished to remain in the community when they were older, and their thoughts on the expansion of their community through proposed housing.

8.3.1 Newness of community

> One of the main issues involved in the creation of an urban extension is the initial impression of 'newness'.
>
> Local Planning Authority B, 2002: 5

Despite the quote above demonstrating the concern that planners and urban designers have with urban areas being new, this was generally mentioned as favourable by participants, as will be debated in this section.

Community A was the more established of the two communities, with first occupation in 2000 compared to 2005 for Community B. This maturity is reflected in the length of residence, as shown in Figure 8.6. A greater proportion of questionnaire respondents who had lived in their house for less than a year came from Community B, whilst those who had lived in their house for five or more years were much more likely to be living in Community A.

In general, the youthful participants of the study acquainted 'new' and 'modern' with 'desirability' and 'cleanliness', as explained by Neil when discussing how rundown the local town centre was:

> We were just saying a few minutes ago that, er, [next town] is like a sort of modern version of [our town]...in [our] town, you've got a lot of, I don't know anyone who's friends with them or anything, but sort of homeless people...it's quite dirty and all that, but, do you know what I mean. [Next town] is, it looks a lot nicer, it's more modern.
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

Figure 8.6 Length of residence of questionnaire participants by community

This connection with area appearance was also found in the questionnaires where one respondent defined community as 'A very well kept housing estate'. Cleanliness and freshness gave respectability and were connected with pride in the local area:

> We're quite a reliable community as we respect people so, yeah, that's what I think. And a community as in we don't litter a lot and I think that's one of the things that annoys my Mum as well, she goes round and picks it up and also we were one of the first people to live here, I think she really loves it here and doesn't like it when people disrespect it.
>
> Melinda, 11, Community A

The changes in Community A as it aged were reflected on by Neil and Mike in terms of what they would improve about where they live:

> Neil: ...make it look nice, I mean it looks nice, but make it look more brighter, cleaner and that...
>
> Mike: Over the years, as it's got older, it's got dirtier.
>
> Mike, 15, Community A

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON
LIBRARY

This reflects the role of maturation on the perceived desirability of an area and demonstrates that even when a community is established then it is subject to change (Robertson *et al.*, 2008).

The new appearance of Community B was connected to money. This, in turn, was connected to class, with the poor exterior of an area, generally an area with a concentration of social housing, leading to it being categorised as 'rough':

> Not in [Community B]. I know it sounds ridiculous, but I just think it's so safe...Like there's no rough or silly people, but round here, the bottom end, and round...Yeah, all round the [social housing area] bit, it's not like the prettiest side if that makes sense and down here they have like their cookers in the garden, their sofas in the garden d'ya know what I mean?
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

> ...some people with Council houses don't look after their houses so much, umm, not very nice gardens at the front and it doesn't make it look very nice around and maybe if you're looking after your house really well and someone else isn't, it wouldn't be very nice.
>
> Susie, 13, Community B

Forrest and Kearns (2001) note that, in affluent areas, people may find it more important to buy into the physical environment of the neighbourhood. The issue of appearance of the area was a notable issue raised during interviews. It was connected with the reputations of social housing and also what young people liked about living in their community. This reflects research (outlined in Section 2.7.7) by Silverman *et al.* (2005) who found one of the key physical blocks upon which new communities are built includes estate-wide maintenance. If a neighbourhood has a unified appearance then social difference will not be identified (Kleinhans, 2004; Silverman *et al.*, 2005). In the mixed tenure estates examined by Silverman *et al.* (2005), where differences in appearance were obvious then families from private housing made distinctions and alluded to a lack of safety in social housing areas. An area's (new) appearance, and the subsequent maintenance of this appearance, are important for the young residents and build the area's reputation. This echoes research by O'Brien *et al.* (2000) and Chaskin *et al.* (2013) that a poor urban environment affects parental discourses of fear.

The nascent nature of Community B meant that its population had grown only recently:

> Like when I first moved there was hardly anyone, it was just me and Caitlin repping [representing] the ends of [Community B]! And then so many people have moved up here now, like my Aunty come up and I know, I know people everywhere now so it's quite nice.
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

A rapid growth in population is a particular characteristic of new communities. The two locations studied had hundreds of homes built on previously undeveloped land. Forrest and Kearns (2001) found that community spirit is rated more highly in mature and wealthy home-owning areas. The maturity of a development is thought to have an impact due to the time needed for the population to grow to a sufficient level to enable networks to be built, as well as to develop a history of contact from interaction on the street (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009) and through community facilities (Raco, 2007b; Joseph and Feldman, 2009).

The recent construction of Community B and the changes that this brought to the attached town to the south led to some tension with residents of the existing town. Youthful residents sometimes felt there was a difference, as explained by Alice and Gemma:

> [Community B] is people that have moved here and then in [town], there's people in [town] that have lived here all their lives so it's like different lifestyles really.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

> Cos people that live in [Community B] are more like, more likely to be closer to each other than people in the rest of [town].
>
> Laura, 16, Community B

These perceived differences led to some interviewees setting themselves apart from the town to the south, much as Leyshon's (2008) rural youth defined themselves in opposition (and superior) to their perception of urban youth. It also underlines the importance of maturity to the development of community, as reflected by Neil's feeling of belonging in Community A:

> Just been here for a long time, nearly 11 years now, so most of my life. It's where I know...
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

This demonstrates the issues of constructing large developments in established towns and trying to integrate a large amount of new housing into mature communities. The town was established and the change wrought by the construction of Community B had not yet settled leading to a cleft

between the two. This reflects findings by Wood (2002) that residents of new houses are seen as outsiders. Time is needed for a community to mature and to engender feelings of belonging. This discussion also shows the impact of newness and appearance on community development.

8.3.2 Building area reputations

Reputation, particularly incidents and rumours, had an impact on mobility in connection to both parental control and young people's fears (see Section 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2). Young people also produced and maintained a discourse of safety in relation to their communities, despite any incidents or rumours affecting this (see Section 7.3.4). This section will discuss the role of reputation in community. Robertson *et al.* note that the reputations of housing estates are "often established at a very early part of its history" with neighbourhood identities "underpinned by social class and social status" (2008: vii).

The recent construction of the two areas reveals something of how reputation is established at the early stages. In the case of this study, young people identified newness, existence of social housing and area appearance as indicators of reputation, reflecting the view of Robertson *et al.* (2008) that neighbourhood identity is underpinned by social class, and the role that urban fabric has in perceptions of areas (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013).

Community A had a reputation with some of the interview participants as being 'posh', though this was seen negatively as a form of superior remoteness. Those who were seen as posh were less likely to communicate or engender a sense of community:

> I don't think there's much to do at [Community A], I think it gets a bit boring, and I think that people can be nice sometimes but mostly they're a bit like posh...my Mum's many of times said, 'Oh I want to live in Oxford' because like it's like a better community...
>
> Katie, 12, Community A

Katie's comment also reflects the role that reputation plays in determining the desirability (or otherwise) of other areas to non-residents, in this case Oxford. The comment by a youth worker about the affluence of the area, relayed in Section 5.2.3, gives some indication of the reputation of Community A by non-residents. This shows the connection of reputation to the material resources of social classes, as recognised in existing research (Robertson *et al.*, 2008).

The newness of Community B appeared to have led to it establishing a reputation as 'posh'. This had seemingly developed due to the recent construction of the area and the connection this had with money, as explained by Caitlin:

> It can be, because some people label it as 'the people that have money', that's the people that have money, we're the people who don't. But it's not like that at all, like nobody I know up here is actually stuck up like...just because they're new and people know new houses cost money...And I just think people think, 'Well there is quite nice houses up there so it must be posh'...
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

Caitlin's comments show how newness, and its association with higher income, caused a separation between the existing town and Community B. This reflects existing research that area reputation affects social inclusion, though this is often framed as to the exclusion of areas of poor reputation rather than the lack of acceptance of an area because it is deemed too 'posh' (Arthurson, 2013).

It is interesting that, despite this label of 'posh', young residents interviewed did not associate with it. Being posh was synonymous with remote and superior. This reflects the argument by Kleinhans (2004) that, by definition, it is the opinions of outsiders not residents that are influential in determining the reputation of a neighbourhood. Forrest and Kearns (2001) argue from their research, however, that the external perceptions of areas have an impact on the behaviour and attitudes of residents, perhaps reinforcing cohesive grouping and further consolidating reputations. This means that residents perpetuate a reputation by their attitude and behaviour. The rejection of the 'posh' reputation by interviewees shows that, unlike Forrest and Kearns (2001), the external perception of an area does not necessarily have an impact on the behaviour and attitudes of all residents. The quote from Susie in Section 8.3.1 does, however, show how she drew on the new, neat appearance of the area (which marked it as posh) to set it apart from (and superior to) other areas of the town to the south (McGhee, 2003). This shows that some residents do draw on and consolidate the developing reputation of an area in their construction of community.

8.3.3 Importance of community events

A strong theme that emerged in relation to the people aspect of community was that of 'getting together' or, as Hannah called it 'getting about'. This involved talking to (wider) neighbours at community events, such as street parties, carnivals, firework celebrations and events at Christmas.

Caitlin gave the example of the old skate park in the nearby town as an example of community, where people came together to take collective action:

> I think a community is where people can get together and get on for a start, because if you don't get on there's no point meeting up and just do things to help the community...Because it's like the old leisure centre, they've just revamped all the skate park but it was children and adults volunteering to do it so they, like the people that used it wanted it to be better, so they got together and helped to do it.
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

A photo of the skate park mentioned by Caitlin can be seen in Figure 8.7.

Figure 8.7 Skate park re-built by members of the community and town close to Community B

The power of events to connect people was also used by Frank to define community and, interestingly, extends beyond the residential environment to include businesses, schools and sport groups, whilst Trudy highlighted how it improved the community for her:

> Frank: Things like the carnival and stuff...everybody working together and like making costumes and stuff like that.... because it's like a community thing and everybody goes out and does things like that...
>
> RR: Who puts together the floats?
>
> Frank: It's like, well, businesses and schools...football clubs and things like that really.
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

> It's fun when they've got activities on, like Youth Club and school fêtes...
>
> Trudy, 14, Community A

Frank's comments on who creates the floats is interesting in respect of how definitions of community did not touch on businesses, schools or community organisations but more presumed a coincidence of residence of people. Young people did, however, complain of the lack of facilities in their community (as mentioned in Sections 6.3.2 and 7.3.1 and will be debated in Section 8.7.3), which shows the importance of community providing more than just a place of residence (as is the intention with planning policy as outlined in Figure 8.1). Furthermore, it reflects two of Silverman *et al.*'s (2005) key physical building blocks of community: local schools and community activities.

This idea of 'getting together' remained strong in other definitions of community, but what became interesting was the diversity in responses as to whether young people felt the street in which they lived was a community. As mentioned in Sections 6.4.3 and 8.2.1, there was a perception of pockets of community and non-community within the same neighbourhood. For example, Amy felt community was about people coming together, but did not feel she did this with her neighbours:

> Um, I think that's like where they all get together. There's people in [Community B] who don't know, really know anyone, like I don't really know my neighbours, but I think a community is where everyone knows each other and they'll look out for each and they do things together.
>
> Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

The generally positive reaction of all to community events demonstrates that they are important positives to bring the community together on a mass scale and connect it with businesses, schools and clubs (such as with the carnival). This reflects research by Panelli *et al.* (2002) in existing communities where festivals were important to young people's construct of community.

8.3.4 Relevance of population churn to development of community

Something that was noticeable during the observation stage and the street interviews was how many houses in Community B were for sale or rent (see Figure 8.8 Street in Community B showing number of 'For Sale' or 'To Let' signs (Source: Author)Figure 8.8). Discussions with the Housing Strategy and Options Manager in Community B revealed that the houses were bought at the height of the property market and, when the recession started to bite, many people found these homes unaffordable (personal communication, 25 August 2011). This resulted in a lot of houses being put up for rent and many going back on the market (personal communication, 25 August 2011). In keeping with this, a higher number of questionnaire respondents in Community B lived in private rented accommodation (10.9%, n=5 in Community B compared to 3.7%, n=3 in Community A). This concurs

with the argument of Rowlands *et al.* (2006) that mix is not determined by tenure alone, but also by the position of the development within the local housing market. The growth of private rented accommodation is not controlled in new communities, and can lead to problems in management and maintenance which negatively affect the community (Rowlands *et al.*, 2006; Livingston *et al.*, 2008). The more established Community A had fewer recent movers and more participants had lived there for over a decade (as mentioned by Neil in Section 8.3.1).

The questionnaire showed that tenure had a part to play in the population churn in the development. Although the numbers are small, the questionnaire showed that if respondents were renting then they had lived in the area for less time. This may indicate the population churn in association with some types of housing, or it may be the product of the recession only recently causing some owners to rent their house out privately. Whilst the length of residence did not have any relationship to whether young people felt they lived in a community, those who lived in privately rented accommodation were more likely to say they did not feel they lived in a community (50%, n=4 compared to 29.9%, n=38 overall). Previous research by Livingston *et al.* (2008) found that population churn is characteristic of poor places and undermines attachment. The population churn from private rented occupants may thus affect attachment to place and so development of community.

Some of the participants commented on the movement in the population from house sales, or their own family being trapped in negative equity:

> ...we had like someone that moved near us and then like in a few months they'd moved out already and quite a few people seem to do that. It's weird.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

> But my Mum, my Mum is on about when there's good rates on the house we might move back to [village] to be nearer our family, because that's where our family is. We're like the only ones up here.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

Ruby's comment demonstrates how the housing market had a significant effect on the ability of participants and their families to move. The housing market, therefore, had a part to play in establishing community, with high house prices and negative equity forcing people to remain within or leave Community B (Rowlands *et al.*, 2006). This demonstrates the role of stability and housing

market position in community development and undermines tenure as a stable, sustainable means to control social mix.

Figure 8.8 Street in Community B showing number of 'For Sale' or 'To Let' signs (Source: Author)

8.3.5 Future community for participants

As stated in Section 3.7, places are important for young people because they construct and constrain dreams and practices (Aitken, 2001). It would have been interesting to be able to do a more longitudinal study to understand what choices the young participants made for their future and whether this was, in any way, influenced by the community in which they grew up. Most interview participants were asked whether they would stay in the community when they were older and answers varied depending on personality, personal taste for urban or country living, and where they were born or had moved from. Amelia, Sarah and Emily all said they never wanted to live outside of Community A:

> Amelia: I love living in [Community A]. I never want to move.
>
> Sarah: Me neither.
>
> Emily: I never want to move...I do want to stay in [Community A].

Amelia, Sarah and Emily, 12, Community A

Amelia, Sarah and Emily had all lived in Community A since they were babies and all expressed extreme loyalty to where they lived, despite Emily having most of her family in a city 40 miles to the north. Neil, who was born in the next town to the south of Community A, thought that the only place he might live other than Community A would be there, particularly as he visited it regularly to see family:

> It would take a lot to get me to move away from here, but I would like to live in [next town] 'cos it's where I was born, it's where I go all the time...
>
> Neil, 14, Community A

Similarly, Louise, who had been born in another town wished to move back there:

> I might live in like [next town], because that's my home town where I was born and maybe in [neighbouring village] because it's really nice. It's big, they have big houses there.
>
> Louise, 11, Community A

Not only does this show the strong attachment to place in the mature Community A, it also demonstrates the diversity of attachment to place. Despite living in a development that intends to foster a sense of community and engender a consequential attachment to place, some young people in the study exhibited multiple attachments to place due to family ties or their own housing history. Place is the product of quotidian interrelations of negotiation and contestation through which identities are continually moulded (Massey, 2005). Young people develop their identities through these places (Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Weller, 2007b). To some extent, this demonstrates the modern *Gesellschaft* conception of community based on different (frequently changing) networks connected to different purposes or interests (Smith, 1996). These identities then go onto influence their choice of future place.

In terms of personal preference, Susie expressed a desire for the rural idyll, such as the village to the north of Community B which she frequently visited to see family friends:

> RR: Yeah, um, and do you think you want to live around here when you're older?
> Susie: Er, no...There's not that many nice people around here. The area isn't the best...I would probably want my children, if I had any, to explore the countryside more and stuff...Like, [village] is nice, because it's got lots of fields and it's just a small village...Yeah,

being in a village, I'd like to have friends which, whatever happens, like they'll be there to help out and if, like, something comes up, they'll try and help to stop it, or make it come. Like, have it, like a shop, maybe they'll want one. Like, a community would be good, maybe not such a big one.

Susie, 13, Community B

Susie desired a view of community as *Gemeinschaft,* traditional village life, with multiplex networks and ascribed roles (Smith, 1996). Susie appeared to have a harmonious view of village life and wished to avoid the social mix that led to people who are not 'nice' living in her neighbourhood (discussed in Section 8.3.2 and 8.6.1). Susie felt the quality of life in rural areas was better. This is reflected by Leyshon and DiGiovanna (2005) who note that young people from urban areas may seek a rural residence for such quality of life, meaning those who choose a rural life as adults may not necessarily be those who grew up there.

In contrast to Susie, Anna, who had moved from London, found Community B to be too rural for her:

I wouldn't stay around here when I'm older!...it's probably not for me, I'm not really the type of country person. I'm more someone in the town.

Anna, 15, Community B

Susie had lived in Community B for over five years and had family in the adjoining town and did not class the neighbourhood as rural, as opposed to Anna. Anna had only moved in the last year and had grown up in a more urban environment. She found Community B to be like the countryside, complete with the issues identified by young people growing up in the countryside of poor services and facilities, social marginalisation, and lack of activities (Matthews *et al.*, 2000c; Skelton, 2000; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Leyshon and DiGiovanna, 2005; Weller, 2007b). Susie, in reaction to the heterogeneity of the place where she lived, was aligning herself to a rural-based identity that she saw as more harmonious, whereas Anna looked for a busier environment because of her urban background. Anna did, however, profess to enjoy the peace, tranquillity, and safety of where she lived, reflecting research by Vanderbeck and Morse Dunkley (2003) which found that young people who lived in the country enjoyed the peace and quiet they experienced there, but most ultimately identified themselves clearly as urban people. This demonstrates the role that a recent move may have on perception of an area, as well as reflecting Tucker's (2003) research that reaction to the same environment by young people is mediated by interests, capacities and inclinations.

8.3.6 Future expansion of communities examined

A striking difference between the two communities was the views of participants on future development. Young people in the more mature Community A were against the idea of further development when they raised it during interviews, whilst participants in Community B were generally keener on the idea.

Neil and Mike expressed their concern about future development:

> Neil: ...I think they should do something for the rest of the estate instead of building more houses and wasting more space [because] there's nothing else to do, it's not really fair to anyone because apart from youth club which is just Thursdays, there's nothing to do...
> Mike: I was just thinking they've got a hell of a lot of room here and I don't think it would be great putting more houses on there because it's just going to stretch resources and services on [Community A]...
> Neil: Yeah. It's very, I don't think it's very good. It would ruin the view.
> Mike: It overpopulates.
> RR: Yeah?
> Mike: They need to be building more resources as this place grows.
>
> Neil, 14 and Mike, 15, Community A

The community bonds were well-established in Community A. Community had been so firmly established that the 'other' has been made abject (Sibley, 1995). This, alongside perceptions of problems with the community (such as there being little to do), led to participants objecting to further development. Nearly all interview participants from Community B, however, felt further development would be a good idea because it would make the neighbourhood bigger, which might bring a shop or other facilities, as well as create more opportunity, variety, and potential friendships:

> Just 'cos it expands on [town] again like and it might make people think that [Community B] isn't just for posh people if a lot of people live up here 'cos eventually I think [next town] and [town] will end up joining and then they'd have to change the name of the place and then it might open up more opportunities for people.
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

> Yeah, so I think it's a good thing that 'cos also it means that I have the opportunity to know more people, make more friends and get to know more people...But I think they need to build more shops and stuff for the houses because really everything is just here, there's nothing up here except for the factories and that's not anything to do with us.
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

> Probably be a good thing 'cos then new people would come and make friends and that might make them build more things, like shops and that.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

> Well, 'cos then you meet new people, 'cos I know most of the people here from school, it's really boring. You just meet up with the same people so it's really boring.
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

As can be seen, these responses did not differ by gender or age. It would appear that the inchoate nature of Community B, its lack of facilities and, to some extent, it not yet being absorbed by the community of the existing town led the young people in the study to feel that further development would only bring benefits. This is mediated, however, by the loss David and Frank felt at housing development on green spaces they used to enjoy, as relayed in Section 7.3.3 (Kraftl *et al.*, 2013). This shows that community facilities and maturity have an impact on attachment to place, community, and changes to these.

8.4 Social and economic aspects of community

The social and economic aspects of community in planning policy concern creating a 'sense of place', a sustainable development where people can live, work and play. These social and economic aspects were reflected in questionnaires and interviews, through a focus on people when defining community, the importance of communication, and consideration of employment opportunities.

Definitions of community in the questionnaires mentioned people in nearly two-thirds of responses. Similarly, the interviewees often focused on their immediate neighbours, or how many people they knew in the area, when discussing community. Ruby thought a good place to live was defined by nice neighbours, whilst for Gemma, the idea of community was also tied up in the traditional idea of neighbours:

Like, they come in our house and stuff and we give them a cup of sugar or something.

Gemma, 14, Community B

Such narratives surrounding traditional concepts of neighbourliness were passed onto young people in both areas and helped them define community as an inherently social grouping (Robertson *et al.*, 2008). Hannah gave a specific example of neighbourliness:

RR: What do you think makes it a community?

Hannah: A lot of the people round here helping us out and us helping them out and getting about together really.

RR: Yeah, yeah, and what kind of things do you do to help each other?

Hannah: Well, there was a power cut a little while ago so we were giving them light, like candles and stuff, and ladders to go up and fix things.

Hannah, 16, Community A

This inheritance of traditional conceptions of neighbourliness is similar to Leyshon's (2008) findings in regard to the uncritical acceptance by young people of the mythologised rural idyll. The notion of collective force working for the common good, of social bonds formed through mutual assistance, evokes the essence of community. These social ties are high up the ladder of community interaction developed by Thomas (1991). These communal, social aspects bind people to make them feel part of something and create a connection to place. These social and economic aspects will be pursued further in the following sections on communication and employment.

8.4.1 Value of communication

A central facet of the social aspect of community identified by participants was communication. Roger connected community to the more formal public meetings as described in Section 8.2.1, as well as to the extent he talked to other residents. Participants discussed talking as a key determinant of community:

So yeah, like everybody like all coming out...and talking and everything, that's [community].

Frank, 15, Community B

The role of maturity to communication was also reflected on by Caitlin:

> And I think [Community B] is not so much of a community...Cos in my Nan's street [outside of Community B], everybody knows everybody...it's one of them streets where the majority of people have lived there 30 odd years so everybody knows each other...
>
> Caitlin, 16, Community B

This underlines the value of casual contact over time to the development of community and how strong community bonds need a history to develop (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012). In Community A, communication was described more holistically by participants, perhaps reflecting its more established nature:

> Neil: ...it's a very close...
>
> Mike: ...knit community.
>
> Neil: Yeah. Like a community where it's not massive, like [neighbouring village]...but it's small, it's big enough so that everyone knows everyone, well, a lot of people know everyone.
>
> Neil, 14 and Mike, 15, Community A

Sarah and her friends in Community A similarly felt that there was a community, but this was not necessarily strong because casual communication was not good:

> ...round here you say 'Hi' to people and they give you weird looks, like 'What you looking at?' 'Why you saying hi to me?'.
>
> Sarah, 12, Community A

This lack of friendliness was reflected by Katie who said Community A was 'posh' (see Section 8.3.2). Katie reported good relationships with her neighbours, but found the wider community unfriendly (though she did believe she lived in a community). This reflects extant literature suggesting that whilst neighbour relations may be good, this does not necessarily mean neighbourhoods themselves are seen as friendly (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). This was also seen in Community B:

> ...I don't really see anyone so, I only see the neighbours around here, Smithy and Caitlin and that's pretty much it. That's the only people I know, so I wouldn't really of thought of that as a community.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

Conversely, it appears that even if relations with neighbours are bad, this did not mean the community as a whole was seen as unfriendly, as was the case with Neil in Community A. The link between communication with neighbours and wider communication/familiarity is thus very complex.

There was no difference in the value of communication to community between tenures, ages or genders, but there was a distinct difference between the case study communities. Whilst both Community A and Community B had varied relationships with neighbours (see Section 6.4.3), participants from Community A still saw their area as a whole. Participants from Community B were more likely to discuss pockets of communication and community, as described in Sections 6.4.3 and 8.4.3. This led many participants to reflect that Community B was not a community, demonstrating the importance of collective association to community. Referring back to the definition of community used by Pratchett *et al.* (2010) for a DCLG report, a community must be a group that recognise that they have something in common with each other. Public familiarity is promoted by social homogeneity and stability (Smith *et al.*, 2010). Community B was newer, had a higher proportion of affordable housing, fewer community facilities, and a greater level of population churn, all of which affected public familiarity. The arguments in Sections 6.4.2, 6.4.3 and 8.6.1 also show how different issues were important to different people when building networks in their community, showing that social mix cannot be defined simply in terms of tenure. More residents reported non-existent relations with neighbours, suggesting that some people moving into the area were more interested in networks outside of it (Smith, 1996; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Casey *et al.*, 2007).

Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' is also relevant here (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Habitus can be defined as a set of "unconscious schemes that structure our situation-specific ways of thinking, perceiving and acting" (De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008: 473). According to Blondeel (2005), this means the way we 'read' and 'write' the city is through (class and cultural) specific ways of thinking, speaking and behaving. Some people will choose not to communicate with those who they do not view as similar to them (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Neal and Vincent, 2013). If people do not identify (and communicate) with different others, then community becomes only a coincidence of residence; a commonality of interest cannot be presumed (Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Levitas, 2005). As with existing literature, communication has thus been shown to be an important factor in community in mixed communities. The strength of this communication was mediated by both maturity and a perceived commonality, showing that both newness and social mix (not simply defined by tenure) affect communication and subsequent development of bonds in community.

8.4.2 Role of employment

Young people in Community B, regardless of tenure, age or gender, raised the issue of employment with some regularity in the interviews, despite there being no questions on this topic. Only four

respondents (3%) of questionnaires stated that they spent the majority of their spare time at work. Two interview respondents from Community B and one from Community A reported having jobs, though this is likely a reflection of the age of the sample (only three of the interviewees were 16), but it might also reflect the availability of regular employment for young people in their area and the competition surrounding available jobs.

Anna used employment in her definition of community:

> Erm, it has, it's where a decent job is and it's a nice area, decent weather.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

In Community B, the mention of employment was also connected to a perceived lack of facilities and things to do in the area, as discussed by Rob and Laura and Orla:

> And there's loads of room there, they could put shops and stuff like that. And more shops would make less unemployment...
>
> Rob, 12, Community B

> They were going to build a [supermarket], but they haven't done it and I think they should...cos it would provide more jobs in our area as well, because if people don't have jobs they go out and mess around so if we had a massive [supermarket] it would be better 'cos it's close for us to do our shopping and stuff.
>
> Laura, 16 and Orla, 15, Community B

It is interesting to see young people reflecting on the value of employment to community, echoing planning rhetoric. The young people in the study perceived of the need for employment in creating opportunity, in reducing social strain created by antisocial behaviour, and in providing needed services for the community. Participants from Community A, however, did not mention the need for employment in interviews (aside from Hannah who was starting a vocational course at college), which perhaps reflects the greater comfort of their socio-economic status. When discussing future jobs, Neil said he would 'like to be rich' whilst Mike had aspirations to be a politician, reflecting the high ambitions upper socio-economic backgrounds aspire to and the social capital that mixed community policy wishes to harness (Camina and Wood, 2009).

8.5 Availability of good services

Planning policy continually recognises the importance of good access to services, facilities and public transport to create liveable communities that provide for the needs of residents. The importance of this reverberated through the interviews. Good services that support the population of a new community, from shops, doctors and schools to businesses taking part in street carnivals, are a vital part to its perceived success. Transport and civic safety were also mentioned by participants as crucial components of good services and will be discussed in more detail below.

8.5.1 Accessing transport

Access to public transport and encouraging walkable communities is a key aspect of planning policy, particularly planning for mixed communities. As laid out in Section 4.3, the Planning Brief for Community A stated that movement by public transport, bicycles and foot would be encouraged (Local Planning Authority A, 1997a). The Development Brief for Community B expanded on this, stating that priority would be given to the pedestrian, cyclist and public transport user whilst taking necessary account of the inevitable demands of the private car (Local Planning Authority B, 2002).

Research into mixed communities by Tunstall and Lupton (2010) found that many people conducted much of their lives away from their home, particularly those with jobs and cars, with Forrest and Kearns (2001) finding that people tend to have more strong ties outside of their neighbourhood. This has ramifications for the development of social mix in mixed communities (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Comments in Section 6.2.1.2 regarding the need to drive to get anywhere because it is too far to walk reflect the importance of the car in transportation. The reliance of young people on walking as their main mode of transport (discussed in Section 6.2.1.1) means that planning policy aimed at encouraging modes of movement outside of the car is pertinent to their situation.

The issue of walkability was raised in both communities, regardless of age, gender or tenure, though in Community B it was more related to how the train line intersecting Community B and the adjoining town meant that walking to the supermarket took a circuitous (and consequently longer) route:

> Nah, I have to walk all the way round there, but [supermarket] is just there, so I would build a bridge.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

> ...easier and quicker to have pedestrian footbridge...

A pedestrian footbridge was intended to be included as part of the development of Community B and, according to the Principal Policy Planner of the Planning Authority, was still going to happen in the future as part of the infrastructure contributions agreed with the developer (personal communication, 12 October 2011). It had not occurred yet, however, and the frustration of the young participants demonstrates the importance of making certain that all supporting infrastructure is in place before the development is occupied. This reflects a particular issue that communities still under construction may face in the development of a satisfactory environment for young people. This is shown in the case study communities researched by Horton *et al.* (2014) where the economic slowdown meant playgrounds, community centres, hangouts and multi-use gaming areas did not materialise on time, as planned, or at all.

8.5.2 Feeling safe

The safety of the area was a further aspect of good services that was used to describe a positive attribute of where young people lived, as mentioned in relation to the streets of the communities in Section 7.3.4. Fear, danger and conflict were issues raised with regard to both mobility (Section 6.2.2.2) and use of public space (Section 7.3), with these feelings connected to security and safety. Safety formed a vital aspect of participants' descriptions of, or desires for, community:

> What makes a good place to live is the peacefulness, not much mean boys and um....mm...not much people walking around and getting scared of these strangers. Not much of these walk about, it's mostly children that walk about.
>
> David, 12, Community B

> ...it's like really good community, everyone pitches in and gets stuff done and, umm, feeling safe when you go out and stuff.
>
> Frank, 15, Community B

Safety and neighbourhood belonging have been found to be valid measures of aspects of the social environment for older women (Young *et al.*, 2004) and this finding appears to be echoed for young people. This feeling of safety was not geographically homogeneous, with pockets that were less safe or 'rough' (Watt and Stenson, 1998), which, in Community B, were outside of the development boundary:

Orla: ...[Community B] is safe, the rest of [town], no.

Laura: Wait, where's [area]?

RR: [Area]'s this bit, I think.

Laura: Yeah, 'cos [area]'s not very safe.

Orla: We don't like [area].

RR: Why don't you like [area]?

Laura: I don't know, it's known as the rough end really.

RR: What, what about it is rough?

Orla: What about Grandma's end?

Laura: That's not as rough as [area] end, 'cos there's literally nothing to do there, all the people, all the teenagers [inaudible].

Orla: Plus, they camp in the forest.

Laura, 16 and Orla, 15, Community B

The 'rough' area referred to by Laura and Orla, and by other participants (see Beatrice's quote at Section 8.3.1), was an estate of social housing in the attached town to the south. As with existing research, it appears that young residents of mixed communities' ideas of safe and 'rough' are tied up with social class, be it overtly or covertly, and the reputation that areas develop (Kleinhans, 2004; Neal and Vincent, 2013). As discussed in Section 6.2.2.2, this is, in part, determined by parental discourses of risk (Timperio *et al.*, 2004; Horton *et al.*, 2014). Community B was particularly seen as a safe place; there were no 'rough' areas within the development (though the woods at the boundary were no longer a 'good place', as mentioned in Section 7.3.3) and no reported incidents within the boundary that had threatened a young person's safety. As discussed in Sections 6.2.2.2 and 7.3.2, there had been an incident within the boundary of Community A and many participants identified outside the supermarket at the centre of the development as 'dodgy' and 'rough'. Poorer urban fabric has been found to be connected to greater parental fear for children's safety (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013). The inchoate nature of Community B meant it engendered a greater feeling of safety, but had not yet had time to develop a rich history of community, for good or ill.

8.6 Ensuring a mixed and balanced community

Mix and balance under PPG1 was concerned with mixed uses and provision of different types and affordability of housing. This developed, under the post-1997 Labour Government, into mixed community policies specifically targeting the mixing of tenure to provide for socio-economic balance.

Mix and balance were raised by participants as issues in relation to social housing, equality and belonging. These will be discussed in detail below.

8.6.1 Thoughts on social housing

Issues surrounding classification of lower socio-economic classes as 'chavs' and areas of social housing as 'rough' have been debated in Sections 7.3.2, 8.3.1 and 8.5.2. Research by Sarkissian *et al.* (1990) demonstrated that old stereotypes of socio-economic groups persisted in mixed tenure communities and were at the source of negative opinion between residents in these developments. Previous research has found that owner occupiers associate areas of social housing with vandalism, crime and drugs, leading to social housing tenants feeling excluded and stigmatised (Ruming *et al.*, 2004), despite mixed communities policy aiming to reduce the social isolation and material disadvantage associated with living in deprived social housing estates (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). Some of the young residents of the communities examined did associate areas of social housing with poor environmental quality and stigmatise the residents. Susie associated areas of social housing with roughness (as quoted in Section 8.3.1) and failed to recognise any such housing in Community B:

> Susie: There's not that many nice people around here...there's lots of gangs, chavs, which are rough, they're not very nice...
> RR: Yep. Do you know where there is any social housing around [town], in [Community B]?
> Susie: There's none in [Community B], I don't think. I'm not really sure, because I wouldn't really go round to those bits.
> RR: Do you have any friends in Council housing?
> Susie: No.
>
> Susie, 13, Community B

Susie's connection of areas of social housing with a poor environment and crime ('rough') led to an avoidance of it, whilst her association of her area as 'nice' meant she did not associate social housing with it. This was also discussed by Beatrice:

> But I don't know, considering, not in a horrible way, I don't mean, it's not posh, but it's a bit, it's different from the bottom of [town]... all the Council houses are up here, but in [Community B] it's different...[the Council people] live up here, and round here it's like the middle class...like you know with [town] people always say the bottom end is the rough end, with [Community B] it's like, we're all just [Community B], sort of thing, which is nice,

because then you don't have rough ends or what people would class as rough ends sort of thing.

Beatrice, 16, Community B

In both cases, Beatrice and Susie identified a boundary between 'rough' areas and the community in which they lived, a community they felt was socially (and in appearance) homogeneous. As with research by Smith *et al.* (2010) in socially mixed neighbourhoods, the identification of people in social housing as 'rough' and not of one's own ('nice') is likely to lead to residents avoiding public spaces to reduce the risk of conflict. This hostility has implications for community cohesion (McGhee, 2003). Similarly, Silverman *et al.* (2005) found that the unified appearance of social housing and private housing in some mixed income new communities reduced the potential for segregation and increased feelings of safety. The appearance of social housing in Community B can be seen in Figure 8.9. Susie and Beatrice did not perceive any mix in their neighbourhood, suggesting that either the housing had been seamlessly blended into the urban fabric or Susie and Beatrice had not explored their neighbourhood to its fullest extent.

The more socially homogeneous Community A, which had low levels of social housing and was more established, also appeared to have some issues surrounding class:

RR: And, erm, do you think there are different groups of people that hang around [Community A]?

Bradford: Yeah.

RR: How would you, what kind of groups of people?

Bradford: Mostly chavs, mostly chavs.

Bradford, 13, Community A

This classification of 'chavs' hanging round suggests that class/tenure issues are also played out across the landscape of Community A, despite its more socially homogeneous make-up.

Figure 8.9 Social housing in Community B showing the simpler design and smaller size house (Source: Author)

Others did not consider tenure to be an issue and did not know whether their friends lived in social housing, suggesting it was not a topic of importance:

> Orla: [Social housing is different because of] the signs.
>
> RR: The signs?
>
> Orla: Well, the signs tell you what it is.
>
> Laura: Yeah, but not in the people.
>
> Orla: No.
>
> Laura, 16 and Orla, 15, Community B

> RR: Do you have friends that live in Council housing?
>
> Mike: No, no.
>
> Neil: Don't think so. I think I might know one person in my class, in my school, but dunno.
>
> RR: It's not something that comes up in conversation anyway.
>
> Neil: Yeah.
>
> Mike, 15 and Neil, 14, Community A

> I think it's [social housing], like, fine, because it's still the same sort of people and I don't really notice that it's that different to be honest.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

Some young people appeared blind to tenure and made friends at school or through clubs because they enjoyed each other's company, as outlined in Section 6.4.2. For some, it is interests and values that are important for building friendships, rather than class (Kleinhans, 2004; Brown *et al.*, 2008; De

Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). As mentioned, however, this opinion was not universal, with some participants setting themselves apart from those of a different habitus, rejecting interaction with those outside their socio-economic group (Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Levitas, 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2010). This rejection was based on appearance ('rough') showing that even in mixed communities appearance, particularly style, is intrinsically linked to socio-economic status and cultures/subcultures (Croghan *et al.*, 2006). In addition, discussions in Section 6.4.3 and 8.4.1 show that social mix and identification with others is not simply a matter of tenure; it is also connected with a desire to build a local network. It appears there are a number of factors that come into play in relation to intergroup social contact that mere coexistence in socially mixed communities cannot overcome (Hewstone *et al.*, 2007). This reflects adult relationships in the mixed communities studied by Meen *et al.* (2005): diverging lifestyles and different socio-economic characteristics are more important than tenure in determining cross-tenure social interaction by young people.

There is a dichotomy at play in the way young people discuss social housing, regardless of age or gender, with some stating they see such housing and its occupants as no different to them, but others identifying such areas as 'rough'. This reflects existing literature (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001; Allen *et al.*, 2005). Little was said by participants about socio-economic inequality in mixed communities, with responses more likely to focus on age-based inequalities (as will be discussed in Section 8.6.2). This discussion shows that there appear to be a number of factors (such as shared interests, stereotypes, appearance and desire for a local network) that contribute to inter-tenure networks and perceptions that simple coexistence in a mixed community cannot overcome.

8.6.2 Issues of equality

Given their residence in a mixed community, all participants were asked whether they felt people were treated equally. Field notes from 9 August 2012 summarised the researcher's general impression on responses:

> *Interesting that when I ask them about equality, they either say 'yes' or refer to victimisation and stereotyping of teenagers.*

The young people generally interpreted equality as being connected with age, hence their reference to the stereotyping of teenagers, as Anna discusses:

> Two boys I was talking to, younger than me, they were talking about meeting up, so there wasn't any like proper inequality or anything like that and most people are treated equal.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

Equality in terms of age was an issue particularly raised in Community A:

> RR: Do you think everybody is treated equally in this neighbourhood?
>
> Emily: Not really, no.
>
> Sarah: Not really.
>
> RR: No, why not?
>
> Emily: Well, I always see the parks being shut, like closed because of the teenagers destroying them, like little babies, like toddler, sort of kids they don't have anything to go on ....
>
> Katie: I think that we don't because, um, let me think, oh because the teenagers hang outside the shops and that loud music, that rings in your ears, that opera music, they do that because they're destructive and like naughty...
>
> Emily, Sarah and Katie, 12, Community A

These participants in Community A were concerned with the exclusion of other young people as a result of the actions of certain teenagers (Matthews *et al.*, 1999). This limited, or excluded, their accessing certain facilities. This focus on age as a central issue in equality in Community A could be connected to the prevalence of teenage antisocial behaviour issues, which had resulted in specific police campaigns against this in the area (as outlined in Section 7.3.2). Community B had issues surrounding the behaviour of young people, as mentioned in Section 6.5, yet no incidents had occurred in relation to the new facilities to exclude them from these. The issue of belonging and displacement due to age reflects research by Leyshon (2011) in rural areas.

Some referred to housing size when discussing equality:

> RR: And do you think everybody in [Community A] is treated equally then?
>
> Mark: Um, yeah, yeah. There's like a wide variety of big houses and small houses.
>
> Mark, 15, Community A

> Umm, well, you've got flats as well, and you've got apartments I think down there, so there are different people there. But there's a range of variety of size houses so it's mainly for families, I think...
>
> Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

This range of housing was seen positively, providing for varying needs of different people. This reflects the aim of mixed community policy to enable people of different needs (social and economic) to live together in the same area (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Gemma, however, summarised some interesting opinions in relation to housing size or tenure and people's perception of the occupants:

> I think some of the people that have affordable housing, so where some of it is paid by them and some of it is paid by the government, I think sometimes they're looked down on, but I think most of the time people are treated equally...I think most people assume that everyone that lives on [Community B] is either really, really posh or quite common, 'cos like, some of the houses are social houses or affordable housing. So people think that the people that live in the big houses are stuck up and the people that live in the terrace houses are quite, like, common.
>
> Gemma, 14, Community B

This shows that, at least in Community B, socio-economic prejudice in connection to housing prevailed to a certain extent, but that this was not necessarily linked to housing tenure, but more explicitly connected to the size of the dwelling. Assumptions were made that bigger houses cost more money, linking owners to a high socio-economic position. This suggests that if social housing is built as part of a wider development and is in keeping with the size, style and design of private sector housing then, as long as proper maintenance is undertaken, stigmatisation of social housing tenants would be reduced (Kleinhans, 2004). There is some difference between the communities here as the lesser extent of social housing in Community A, its greater social and economic homogeneity and the manner in which interviews were conducted, meant that little was mentioned about the equality of social housing tenants. Where equality was mentioned, it concerned whether the young people felt they were equitable members of the community by virtue of their age, likely a reflection of issues over the stigmatisation of teenagers within the community.

8.6.3 Feelings of belonging

The differences in terms of whether participants felt they lived in a community were discussed in Section 8.2.1. Given a perceived lack of equality in terms of age, it is perhaps not surprising that the questionnaire results revealed those aged over 16 years were also more likely to say they did not live in a community (45.0%, n=18, compared to an average of 23% for all other ages). This demonstrates that, as with existing literature, older teenagers in mixed communities are disenfranchised and often experience social isolation (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Raffo and Reeves, 2000; Bartlett, 2002; Leyshon, 2011).

Some young people felt quite remote from their community because of their age:

> It's not really a kid's place....there's not much kids' stuff to do, until the leisure centre came over...I dunno, people talk to each other and stuff, they're polite and everything. I don't know anything else that goes on, I just do school work.
>
> Isabel, 11, Community B

> I think there is a community, but we're not part of it because we're younger.
>
> Laura, 16, Community B

This was also reflected in Mark's comments on whether he felt where he lived was a community. In the following quote he discusses how he feels in the minority in terms of his age when compared to all the young children and families:

> ...er yeah, kinda, but I don't really get involved with [the community]...cos it's all young kids and families with them.
>
> Mark, 15, Community A

That young people feel excluded from their communities reflects existing research; Matthews *et al.* (2000c) found that a small minority of young people felt included in their British rural communities. Highlighting the differences between communities, however, Nairn *et al.* (2003) found that almost half of their Australian sample felt included. Not all of the sample of this study into mixed communities felt they were excluded from their community because of their age; Caitlin, Anna, Melinda, Hannah, David, Trudy, Neil and Mike all spoke warmly of where they lived in terms of being connected to their neighbours and enjoying community events. This demonstrates the differences between, as well as within, communities.

8.7 Urban design and public space in mixed communities

Urban design became the driving force behind planning following the publication of *Towards an Urban Renaissance* in 1999 (Urban Task Force, 1999). It was seen as the means to secure a high quality public realm that fostered a sense of place. Young participants' conception of their community was, to some extent, determined by design. In Community A, the community was

conceived in two parts (top and bottom), bounded by a road running through the centre of the development:

> We don't see the other side of [Community A], 'cos it's sort of split in half...
>
> Trudy, 14, Community A

This was clear from the maps completed during interviews, where very few of the participants lived below this road (save for Mark and Sarah) and even fewer had friends living in this southern area. Geography, therefore, does have some part to play in the establishment of friendships (Bunnell *et al.*, 2012).

In Community B, its smaller size meant that it was viewed as one place, though there were some residents who divided up the area based on who the developer of the houses was:

> RR: Do either of you have any friends in [Community B]? Or where are your friends based?
> Susie: Mine are further back here, [Housebuilder A] and [Housebuilder B].
>
> Susie, 13, Community B

> She lives on [Community B] and she's like 'You're in [Housebuilder A] and I'm in [Housebuilder B]'.
>
> Gemma, 14, Community B

This was unique to Community B and may reflect its more recent development or perhaps the difference in how the two sites were developed as Community A was built by fewer developers. There are potential implications in terms of urban design in having more than one developer on site, which may, along with the phases of construction, have helped to distinguish the different 'places' of the developers. This section will discuss places, design and the public realm in further detail.

8.7.1 Creating a 'sense of place'

Section 3.6 notes that one of the most important contributions Children's Geographies can make is to illustrate the importance of place (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Vanderbeck and Morse Dunkley (2003) note that more research with young people is needed to understand the way in which place-based narratives are implicated in the construction of social identities. This growth in the popularity of the meaning of place, and how undifferentiated space becomes place (Stokowski, 2002), may have

helped fuel its interest within the planning system; sense of place was one tenet of planning policy concerning the creation of new communities. The idea of 'place' featured in young people's definitions of community:

> I think it's just like one, one place, like just [town] and it's just where the whole people in that area just come together sometimes and they're just all friendly, no-one's sectioned off, it's all, you're a part of it, just, not because of any other reason, like if you're from a different place or anything, I just feel that, once you're moved in, you're a part of it.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

In Anna's definition you automatically came to be a part of a community just by living in a place, which then led to people coming together inclusively. This was similarly reflected in Roger's definition:

> People that kind of live in a place and then just community...People that know each other.
>
> Roger, 14, Community B

In Anna and Roger's definitions, community was not fostered and did not grow; it was produced by a coincidence of residence (Levitas, 2005). Lee and Abbott (2009) noted that in their research into physical activity and rural young people's sense of place, the visual data they collected demonstrated how spaces became places for young people as they could depict on maps numerous places of importance and their geographical relationship to each other. The process of annotating the maps during interviews revealed how place was used to divide up the community:

> ...there's the base of [town] so I would say there are two parts of it, so that's the base of [town] and the secondary part of [Community B].
>
> Steve, 12, Community B

This was also discussed through the interview questions:

> Because it's like its own little town to itself...I don't say I live on [street], I say I live on [Community B] and everyone else will be like 'I live on [Name] Street' and whatever.
>
> Isabel, 11, Community B

The geographic separation of Community B and the small town to the south (by the physical boundary of a railway line) also led, for some, to a clear distinction between the new residents of Community B and those living in the town:

> The town and [Community B] are a bit far apart so people don't really mix.
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

This underlines the role of geography in creation of community. In Community A, a physical feature (a road) marked this boundary, whilst for Community B it was the railway line. Invisible boundaries, and even physical ones, separate and delineate the geography of social bonds and so community. Malone (2002) says that for this reason boundaries matter: they construct a sense of identity in the places of residence and organise social space through geographies of power. This was true in Community A where some difference was evidenced from the physical boundaries, given the lack of participants from the southern area of the development. It was also the case in Community B where the physical separation of the development from the small town to the south by a railway line led to some issues with regard to acceptance and belonging with the existing community of the small town. As with existing literature, such place-based narratives have implications for young people from mixed communities' senses of self and their thoughts about the future, as well as the constitution of youth cultures (Vanderbeck and Morse Dunkley, 2003; Leyshon and DiGiovanna, 2005).

8.7.2 Influence of design on community

As deliberated in Section 8.7, urban design is considered the key to producing a sense of place. The design of the communities was discussed during some interviews, though less so in interviews with residents of Community A. Design is important to community, not only because it creates a sense of place, but also because community is built up through interaction which can be fostered by design (Camina and Wood, 2009). If a community's design does not facilitate causal interaction then community cannot develop. Some young people interviewed complained that the design of their houses meant they never saw their neighbours in order to know them:

> You don't see them [neighbours] because the fact their cars are behind so you don't ever see them come out the front door so you can't say 'Hi' or anything, so you just get in the car and go and then go back in the house, that's it.
>
> Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

> And how Caitlin lives as well, it's like a little group...But with me we're all on the same street.
>
> Beatrice, 16, Community B

The driveway of Amy and Susie can be seen in Figure 8.10. It is significant that Susie took a photo of this as having the car parking to the rear of the houses was clearly something she, along with her sister, felt damaged development of relations with her neighbours. The position of her and her neighbours' houses and parking led to less visibility and so less causal interaction so that Amy and her sister Susie felt they did not talk to their neighbours to know them. This finding is in keeping with extant literature that social contact on the street is needed to build community bonds (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012).

Figure 8.10 Rear parking area of Susie's house (Source: Susie)

The discussion above also demonstrates the importance of the car to the community. Reliance on the car has been shown to adversely affect the development of community (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010). Despite the intention of creating places that were walkable, Ruby complained that her community was too spaced out:

> Why, because everything is all like spaced out. It's not like, it's like too spaced out really...All the roads, 'cos like you go like for a half mile before there's anything. It's like 'Why?' Like from my house to [friend's house].
>
> Ruby, 11, Community B

This is contrary to Isabel's view, however, who felt the density of the area was too much and left little space for driveways:

> It's all packed together and there's like no driveway space or anything.
>
> Isabel, 11, Community B

Considering that Isabel cannot drive and so would not need driveway space, it may be that she has taken on her mother's perception of the community to some extent. This is in keeping with research suggesting that young people produce and reproduce parental discourses of fear (Timperio *et al.*, 2004; Horton *et al.*, 2014). Isabel's comments are also interesting in relation to the increased density of the development from that originally envisaged in planning policy terms, outlined in Section 4.5.

The walkability of the community was important as a greater number of residents walking on the street would increase the likelihood of causal interaction (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012). As well as the maturity discussed in Section 8.3.1, the physical separation of Community B with the existing community of the small town in the south also led to issues with regard to integration of community:

> I feel like it's more [Community B] and [town] because they seem like really, really different... [Community B] as a whole and [town] seems to be a whole as well because no-one really mixes...
>
> Alice, 15, Community B

A sense of place within Community B was fostered to some extent by the design of the street furniture, as explained by Amy, as well as the similarity of the house design:

> Yeah, because they've got the same lighting and everything so you can tell it's part of [Community B] when you get into it...It's pretty samey, basically, the houses.
>
> Amy, 17 (sister of Susie, 13), Community B

This sense of place, however, also meant that it became difficult to read the townscape, with participants getting lost:

> Yeah, 'cos all the roads look the same...I don't know, like maybe keep, make a few differences in the way that they built the houses and also like keep signs telling you, this way to [street] or this way to, because it does help you a lot.
>
> Anna, 15, Community B

This was also reflected in Community A, suggesting that the 'sense of place' in new communities is confusing in its homogeneity:

It's an absolute maze...if you don't know the area then you just get lost very easily.

Mark, 15, Community A

This shows the difficulties of urban design that is too homogeneous meaning that rather than a sense of place being created, it is a sense of confusion. This research agrees with extant literatures that urban design is a powerful tool by which to develop social bonds (Casey *et al.*, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012), but it also shows that too homogeneous a design leads to problems of identification.

8.7.3 Significance of public space and community facilities

Young people's needs in relation to their communities were very simple; they wanted informal and formal facilities, from more shops (discussed in Section 6.3.2) to green space (as quotes in Section 7.3.3 show) to a café:

Sarah: ...there's no cafés and stuff and the only café is like the [church]...And we opened that as kids and it's open during school time.

Amelia: We can't even go there [giggles].

Sarah: And we can't even go there so there's no cafés where we could all just sit and hang out.

Emily: But there used to be by [supermarket]...there used to be a like a little sandwich shop where you could buy coffee and stuff.

Sarah: Not anymore.

Sarah, Amelia and Emily, 12, Community A

As with research from existing communities, young people wanted more facilities that had potential for their use (Bartlett, 2002; Matthews, 2003; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Matthews and Tucker, 2007). They also wanted to see more activities within the community that everyone could join in with, echoing research by Panelli *et al.* (2002). Participants from Community A mentioned a hot air balloon festival that used to happen annually, whilst those from Community B frequently mentioned the annual carnival in the town to the south as an event they enjoyed that brought people together:

[talking about special week of activities and attractions]...and, er, that was a lot of fun. Something to do, but it was just for a week. We need something like that, that's more fun that people, 'cos people our age, well, me and Mike and other sort of people we know, we

don't like smoke or anything, [Mike: No] vandalism and that, but most people that are our age do that sort of thing and ruin the fun for us.

Neil, 14, and Mike, 15, Community A

The need for 'something to do' reflects the frustration Mike and Neil had with the lack of suitable facilities and activities for them in the area. This boredom led some to seek entertainment in vandalism. The connection between boredom and antisocial behaviour is frequently cited in existing research in criminology and psychology (Burney, 2005; Squires and Stephen, 2005; Brown, 2013). Neil's comment that this 'ruins the fun for us' also reflects the argument by Matthews *et al.* (1999) that the innocent are punished by the antisocial behaviour of the minority, reflecting the discussion on negative stereotyping in Section 6.5. As with Tucker (2003), Neil and Mike's reactions to their environment and its lack of facilities demonstrates the way in which young people make sense of and respond to their particular social and environmental context varies according to interests, capacities and inclinations.

The need for more green space was mentioned frequently by participants of Community B, though not of Community A. This is likely a reflection of the greater amount of pocket parks and small green spaces in Community A, as well as the country park:

Frank: Overall, yeah, but I think they could put more green spaces in.

RR: Oh yeah, like when you said you looked out over that.

Frank: Yeah, that would be a bit better, so we had somewhere we could properly go, just to kick a ball around and stuff...Places for people to go or a park or something. I know they've got that one there, but it isn't that big and there's not really a huge amount to do for people my age.

Frank, 15, Community B

This lack of green space was seen as a cause of antisocial behaviour as it meant there was less to do:

Amy: Yeah, and there's not a lot of green grass or anything, just a lot of pavement, concrete.

Susie: So all the kids hang around here [outside their house].

...

Amy: They need more greenery I think, for kids to play.

Susie: Yeah.

Amy: Instead of, like, going round the streets, I think.

Susie, 13 and her sister Amy, 17, Community B

The importance of public green space to community was demonstrated in the way it functioned when it was provided:

> Where like the houses are like not put so they're out of the way from each other, all the people are nice and there's a green space where you can gather on for a street party or something.
>
> Gemma, 14, Community B

Gemma had a strong relationship with her neighbours due to the potential for interaction provided by the green space in the front of their houses. As with the existing literature, this research has shown the importance of informal community facilities, or spaces with this potential, for developing a sense of community and providing the interaction and interest needed to promote young people's social capital (Bartlett, 2002; Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012; Brown, 2013).

Community A had more community facilities than Community B, such as shops, a church and a community centre. Just as Jupp (1999) stated that public spaces are important for gathering people and cementing relationships, the facilities within neighbourhoods have also been found to be important for cementing community (Raco, 2007b). Robertson *et al.* (2008) found in their study into three different housing neighbourhoods in the city of Stirling in Scotland that what was understood as 'community' was often rooted in the realm of familiar, mundane and everyday interactions, centred on chatting in local shops and conversations about the local school. Fewer facilities would, therefore, suggest that community would have more problems developing, as is reflected in the results of whether questionnaire and interview participants from Communities A and B felt they lived in a community (see Section 8.2.1) and the differences in discussions about future development (Section 8.3.6). As with Horton *et al.* (2014), the recent construction of Community B had an impact on both the provision and delivery of community facilities. Some that had been planned were not delivered due to the economic downturn, whilst the leisure centre came seven years after first occupancy. This delay meant that the community lacked facilities shown as important in the development of social bonds.

Joseph and Feldman (2009) found schools to be an important building block of community. This is echoed by Trudy, who noted how the neighbourhood primary school in Community A brought parents together:

> We're all connected. Quite a lot of the kids go to the primary school, and the primary school connects the parents and the parents form groups.
>
> Trudy, 14, Community A

The primary school, being located within the development, was also walkable, with many participants reporting being able to walk to the school by themselves from the age of about 8 onwards. Existing research by Prezza and Pacilli (2007) has found that greater independent mobility as a child leads to a stronger sense of community. This appears to be reflected in this study into mixed communities. Young people in the communities examined also mostly made their friends through school, adding further importance to building community bonds through school, and reflecting the continued value of material spaces for developing friendships (Bunnell *et al.*, 2012). Studies have shown that positive experiences at school have a beneficial effect on local community cohesion (Demack *et al.*, 2010), with development of friendships important for helping young people feel part of a community (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000). The greater feeling of community in Community A is thought to be a reflection of the greater number of community facilities, and friendships from these, within the development.

As with existing literature, community facilities and events were found to be an important part of building social bonds in new mixed communities, but young people felt there could be more appropriate facilities within the development for people of their age (Bartlett, 2002; Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Raco, 2007b; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012; Brown, 2013). The results also underline how a lack of community facilities apparently weakens development of community (Raco, 2007b; Joseph and Feldman, 2009).

8.8 Conclusion

This chapter has debated how young people living in mixed communities understand and experience community. It began by outlining the similarity between planning rhetoric's definition of mixed communities and those given by participants. Planning has sought to encourage a sense of community, create social and economic ties, provide good services, ensure mix and balance, and secure a high standard of urban design and access to public space (see Figure 8.1). Young people living within the case study mixed communities described their communities using similar terms. Definitions of community referred to people, place, residence, communication, and positive and negative adjectives (see Figure 8.2). It was not common for participants to have heard of mixed communities, but definitions given mentioned race, people, culture, religion and place.

In general, no differences between gender, age or tenure in responses were identified. The exception for tenure was in relation to sense of community, which was found to be stronger amongst those occupying social housing and weaker with those in private rented. This reflects previous research that certain groups, social housing tenants included, often have stronger ties to their local area when compared to the more mobile, higher socio-economic groups (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Camina and Wood, 2009). Greater population churn from higher levels of private rented housing have been found to affect place attachment (Rowlands *et al.*, 2006; Livingston *et al.*, 2008). Strong differences in strength of community were identified between the two locations studied. Residents of Community A were more likely to say they lived in a community, and to discuss their community as a whole, than those of Community B. Throughout the chapter various factors were identified that are thought to have contributed to this difference, including newness, facilities and events, population stability and the level of social mix.

The chapter explored the impact of newness, reputation, community events, population churn, aspirations for where to live in the future, and further development on sense of community. Area appearance was connected to newness, reputation and social class, with some participants identifying areas of social housing as 'rough'. Such participants defined themselves in opposition to this (Leyshon, 2008). Furthermore, the research areas were both seen as 'posh' due to both the size of the houses and their newness. Posh was seen as remote and superior; some participants drew on this reputation to define themselves, but others sought to distance themselves from it. The recent construction of Community B is also thought to have had an impact on its integration with the existing community in the attached town to the south. There were differences between the participants in terms of where they wished to live in the future, and between the two localities in terms of preference for further development.

Getting together through community events was shown to be a popular way to engender feelings of community, as has been found in existing research (Panelli *et al.*, 2002). Population churn also had an impact on establishing neighbourhood bonds in the less stable Community B. The role of place was shown as important in determining future aspirations for where to live; young people who were born elsewhere, who spent a lot of time in another neighbourhood, or who had recently moved were less likely to want to live in their current place of residence when they were older. This underlines the importance of place to development of identities (Weller, 2007b). Future expansion was also viewed differently by the two communities due to different provision of facilities, highlighting the importance of facilities to building community bonds (Raco, 2007b).

Social and economic aspects of community and availability of good services were two other factors that contributed to young people's concept of community. Communication was important to development of community bonds, but these were not necessarily related to relationships with neighbours. Employment was also seen as an important cementer of social relations. Young people's reliance on walking meant that good provision of public transport and walkable neighbourhoods were important to them, as has been found in existing research (Skelton, 2000; Matthews and Tucker, 2006; Weller, 2007b; Weston, 2010). Safety was a key contributor to community satisfaction, with perceptions of safety connected to class and newness (Watt and Stenson, 1998; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013).

The chapter discussed how there was a dichotomy at play in relation to the way participants discussed social housing, with some seeing it as 'rough' areas and people within them as 'rough' or 'chavs'. Others recognised residents of social housing as no different to them, seeing interests rather than class as the key marker of difference (Kleinhans, 2004; Brown *et al.*, 2008; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008). These opposing views reflect conflicting results in existing literature (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001; Allen *et al.*, 2005) and it is suggested that this is a reflection of the different habitus of participants and parental discourses of risk (Timperio *et al.*, 2004; Horton *et al.*, 2014). This exclusionary practice of class based on appearance and stereotypes is not a new finding (Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Croghan *et al.*, 2006; Neal and Vincent, 2013), but it is interesting that it is reflected by young people living in mixed communities given the desire to build bridging social capital across socio-economic groups. Tenure was not found to be the only exclusionary practice in socialisation, however, with shared interests and desire for local networks also affecting social mix. This suggests that simply mixing tenure will not overcome existing prejudice nor naturally lead to the development of inter-tenure networks. Age was found to be an important factor in issues of equality and belonging within communities. This reflects existing literature that young people feel excluded from existing communities as a result of their age (Sibley, 1995; Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Bartlett, 2002).

Finally, the chapter debated the role of urban design and public space in the two communities. Geography was found to be important in defining community, with physical boundaries influencing development of social bonds in both communities. The design of the area was thought to influence community relations, as well as provide a sense of place, though the lack of variation in design sometimes led to confusion. Public spaces, particularly shops, cafés and green spaces, were highly important to young people and many felt these were lacking in the development. The lack of appropriate facilities for young people created issues of antisocial behaviour by some groups of young people. These findings reflect research in existing communities or with adults in mixed

communities (Bartlett, 2002; Matthews, 2003; Giddings and Yarwood, 2005; Casey *et al.*, 2007; Matthews and Tucker, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009; Dempsey *et al.*, 2012).

This chapter has explored how young people living in mixed communities understand and experience the community in which they live. It has shown that the most important factors in determining community were newness, provision of community facilities and events, population churn and social mix. Apart from the role of newness, many of these factors have been explored in existing research, showing that mixed communities policy makes little difference to youthful residents' reproducing dominant concepts of community. The impact of newness has been little explored in existing literature on Children's Geographies, yet this study reveals it is important to young people's spatialities and conceptualisations of community through its effect on reputation, attachment to place, and development of social bonds. The proceeding chapter will conclude the purpose and key findings of this research into young people's geographies in mixed communities.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Summary

This thesis has set out results from research into young people's social and spatial lives in mixed communities in Northamptonshire. The research was framed firstly within the context of planning policy for mixed communities that actively seeks interaction amongst residents of different tenures to engender greater socio-economic balance. It secondly examined previous research in Children's Geographies looking at the spaces which shape children's experience of childhood and how such spaces influence, and are influenced by, the construction and maintenance of young people's identities. Using mixed methods, the research built upon academic work surrounding the expectations of mixed communities versus the reality (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Meen *et al.*, 2005; Silverman *et al.*, 2005; Kearns and Mason, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009) and what spaces are identified of importance to young people (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Karsten and Pel, 2000; Valentine, 2004; Weller, 2007b; Kato, 2009) to examine the experience of young participants' geographies in two mixed community case study areas.

The research found many similarities between use of and access to space in suburban mixed communities and previous studies in Children's Geographies, notably related to young people in rural environments (Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Tucker, 2003; Leyshon, 2011). Specific findings in relation to young people and mixed communities centred on: greater freedom due to a perception of greater safety in a new area; problems with forming friendships for some recent movers; the growth of walking as a practice and more mobile use of the street than historic studies; the increasing importance of consumption to young people's geographies; changing spaces of the communities as they underwent continuing construction; the influence of a rapid growth in population on community and provision of facilities, and the impact that newness had on development of reputation and community bonds. In terms of mixed communities, tenure was not generally identified as a barrier to social cohesion or use of space, but many participants referred to inequalities in relation to age and discussed how stigmatised they often felt as teenagers (Malone, 2002; Weller, 2006; Brown, 2013). The research confirms the continuing importance of place in studies of childhood and its differences (Holloway and Valentine, 2000).

This chapter will set out the key research findings alongside the research aims (Section 9.2), critically reflect on the limitations of the research (Section 9.3) and consider directions for future research (Section 9.4).

9.2 Key research findings

The three research aims were as follows:

1. Understand the mobility, social relations and interests of young people to ascertain how they define themselves and what about these everyday experiences are unique to mixed communities.

2. Explore what young people's use of public space within two case study areas (one under construction and one recently completed) in Northamptonshire reveal about Children's Geographies in new mixed communities.

3. Clarify what the everyday experience and use of public space by young people reveal about the understanding and experience of community for young people in mixed communities.

These aims sought to address the research gap concerning the geography of young people in mixed communities. This was achieved through a mixed methods approach exploring which spaces were used in the communities and for what purpose, what determined preference for these spaces, feelings of community and belonging, and the role of spaces and community in identity definition and creation for participants.

9.2.1 Aim One: the uniqueness of young people's everyday experiences of mixed communities

In keeping with existing literature, the local area was found to have special importance for young people, as well as being a source of frustration (Weller, 2007b). This was due to walking being their primary mode of independent transport (Mackett *et al.*, 2007) and a lack of things to do in the area (Skelton, 2000). To some extent, reliance on walking affected what activities they pursued and who they saw most regularly, with friends who lived close-by being seen more frequently (Smith, 2013). Walking was also an activity in itself, a practice that is only just emerging as a field of study in Children's Geographies (Horton *et al.*, 2014). In terms of other activities, organised ones were not particularly popular, whilst informal activities were undertaken with friends and more local.

Reoccurring limitations on young people's everyday experiences out and about in mixed communities were parental control, mobility, fear, conflict, interests and inclinations of the participant, and material resources. This echoed findings in existing research (Valentine, 1997a; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Pain, 2006). These limitations had different

impacts in relation to age, gender, and locality. Tenure was found to have a limited influence on some aspects of the everydayness of young people in mixed communities, such as family mobility, but parental job (and so material resources) was a much stronger influence on mobility and activities.

Relationships with family and occupation of the home environment were found important to some young people, whilst friends were generally made at school and based on shared interests. There was some evidence of inter-tenure friendships. Generally boys were more likely to have fewer friends. Places was found to be important in building and maintaining friendships, but the growth in use of technology also meant friendships (particularly for recent movers) were maintained at a distance (Ellison *et al.*, 2007). Communication with neighbours varied, but those from Community B were more likely to report non-existent (as opposed to friendly or antagonistic) relations. Other than where indicated, there was a general lack of pattern in relation to interaction and factors such as age, gender, tenure and locality, with the interests and inclinations of the participants the strongest defining factor.

Whilst mix only had a limited effect on everydayness, the newness of the communities was frequently found to affect spatial practices within the two developments. Its nascent nature meant Community B had not developed a history of rumours and incidents affecting the safety of young people; it was consequently seen as a safe place and young people experienced greater spatial freedom and less fear as a result. Community A was more mature and had a history of rumours and incidents, including within the boundary of the development. Community B had more recent movers due to its later construction. Some of these young people reported problems making friends in the new area and this altered their geography. Community A also had a history of antisocial behaviour by teenagers, which had a severely deleterious effect on some of the young participants. They felt stigmatised by the community through the actions of these teenagers (Matthews *et al.*, 1999). Issues surrounding antisocial behaviour and negative stereotyping of teenagers were not reported in Community B. This was considered to be connected to its later construction as prior to the opening of a community facility, which had only just opened at the time of the research, there were no public facilities beyond some green spaces for young people to 'hang out'.

The results show that everyday mobility and activities of young people in mixed communities were broadly similar to those found in extant literature on existing communities (Valentine, 1997a; Chawla and Malone, 2003; O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Percy-Smith and Matthews, 2001; Pain, 2006; Weller, 2007b; Leyshon, 2011), including the growth of walking as an everyday practice, not just a means of transport (Horton *et al.*, 2014). The research reveals the impact of newness on the geography of

young people in the two areas through its effect on their perception of safety, formation of friendships, and the development of negative stereotyping of teenagers.

9.2.2 Aim Two: what young people's use of public space reveals about Children's Geographies in mixed communities

Whilst the domestic environment was a popular space for young people in the mixed communities, public spaces were also valued by them as 'places of retreat' and 'places to be seen' (Lieberg, 1995; Chawla and Malone, 2003). The spaces of importance were community facilities, semi-public spaces (namely the local supermarkets), country parks and green spaces, the street, recreation grounds and playgrounds. The centrality of semi-public spaces to new mixed communities shows the growing importance of consumption to spatial practices. Use of the street was also shown to be much more mobile than the static focus of extant literature.

Accessibility, belonging, and being with friends were of key importance to the success of public space in mixed communities, whilst many areas were avoided due to not belonging (as a result of age, gender or social group), conflict with adults or other young people, perception of danger, and quality of the space. In keeping with Freeman (2010), tenure was not an influencing factor in use of public space. Young people were keen to describe their streets as 'nice' and 'safe', defining it in opposition to other areas which were described as 'dangerous' (Sibley, 1995; Leyshon, 2008). The research shows that having a variety of spaces to accommodate different groups and uses, as well as prevent boredom, is as important in mixed communities as it is in established (rural) communities (Tucker, 2003; Karsten, 2003; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008).

Newness influenced use of public space in the two communities studied. The continued construction of Community B meant that its first community facility had only just opened at the time of the research, previously green space was developed for housing, and the newly constructed playground had been poorly implemented. In Community A, the rapid influx of population meant that there were a large number of teenagers in the area at the time of the research compared to when it was first occupied. The use of space by these teenagers changed as they grew older and they felt there was little specific provision for them in the community. The spaces of youth were constantly under construction and evolving, sometimes against their wishes.

The results show that public spaces feature strongly in the lives of teenagers, despite research in Children's Geographies discussing parental perception of a decline in outdoor play and increasing

invisibility of young people (Valentine, 1997a; Matthews *et al.*, 1998a; Cahill, 2000; Vanderstede, 2011; Witten *et al.*, 2013).

9.2.3 Aim Three: clarifying what everyday experience and use of public space reveals about understanding and experience of community for young people

Participants' understanding of community was similar to that outlined in planning rhetoric: a sense of community, social and economic ties, provision of good services, mix and balance, and a high standard of urban design and access to public space. The similarity suggests that young residents reproduce dominant concepts of community. In general, no differences were found in relation to gender and age, though age was frequently raised by participants (notably in Community A) in relation to issues of equality. Significant differences were revealed between the two locations and their experience of community. Community A had a stronger sense of community than Community B. This difference was attributed to the level of maturity of the community, provision of facilities and events, population stability and the amount of social mix.

Tenure was found to have some effect on sense of community and relational communication. A sense of community was found to be stronger amongst those occupying social housing and weaker amongst residents of private rented housing, in keeping with findings from existing research (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Rowlands *et al.*, 2006; Livingston *et al.*, 2008; Camina and Wood, 2009). Some participants discussed social housing and the people living there as 'rough', and others considered residents of social housing to be no different to them (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001; Ruming *et al.*, 2004; Kleinhans, 2004; Allen *et al.*, 2005; Brown *et al.*, 2008; De Visscher and Bouverne-de Bie, 2008; Sutton, 2009; Neal and Vincent, 2013). The research showed there were a number of factors (such as shared interests, stereotypes, appearance and desire for a local network) that contribute to inter-tenure networks and perceptions, which simple coexistence in a mixed community cannot resolve.

The recent construction of the community had a pervasive influence on experience of neighbourhood bonds by the young residents. It affected the perception of area appearance and consequential reputation, integration with any existing community, delivery and construction of community facilities, and development of a collective history. This shared history comprised of community events and development of social contact. The impact of newness is little explored in existing literature on Children's Geographies, yet this study reveals its importance to young people's geographies and their conceptualisations of community and place.

9.3 Critical reflection on limitations of the research

The greatest limitation of the research is considered to be the difficulty in selecting the case study areas. New developments that had a greater amount of social housing were identified yet were at too early a stage of construction to yield results because only a few houses were completed and occupied. The relatively low levels of social housing for families in the two communities, particularly Community A, make it difficult to usefully draw wider conclusions. If the study had been conducted at a later date the inclusion of a third case study area with a greater level of social mix would have made for a richer data set. In addition, Northamptonshire did not contain an area of social housing that had been redeveloped as mixed through inclusion of a proportion of private housing. A comparison study with such an area would have been interesting because, as Livingstone *et al.* (2013) contend, there is no agreement on what a suitable level of mix actually is. By comparing areas with different levels of mix it may be easier to determine at what point housing tenure becomes an issue (if at all) in young people's geographies and community cohesion.

It was also difficult accessing the views of young people who were seen as the source of antisocial behaviour in the communities. The researcher spoke to these young people informally, but they declined to participate formally in the research, raising questions of representation. All efforts were made to gather as many views as possible, however, and no further steps could have been taken to secure the (voluntary) participation of all young people in the communities. Unfortunately, research practice is "messy, fallible, faltering" (Horton *et al.*, 2008: 340); there can be no neat capture of all potential views, of the multiplicity of embodied aspects of social existence (Ansell, 2009).

The nature of a postgraduate research project means that data is necessarily collected over a relatively short time period. Given mixed communities are intended to have specific benefits with regard to educational attainment and future employment of young people (Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Kearns and Mason, 2007), it would have been valuable to undertake a longitudinal study to determine the future direction of the young participants and the extent to which this was influenced by where they grew up.

9.4 Directions for future research

9.4.1 Out and about

Given findings regarding the spatial freedom of young people and reduced parental anxiety in connection with newer urban environments (O'Brien *et al.*, 2000; Chaskin *et al.*, 2013), it would be interesting to compare other new mixed communities with existing communities to see if greater independence is evident in the former or latter, and how this is connected to the physical environment or the social policy in evidence. Future research projects may also wish to focus on how the changing perception of an area (and its residents) as it becomes more established affects the geographies of young people, including the development of rumours and incidents affecting young people's safety, and any increase in stigmatisation of teenagers through increasing antisocial behaviour by their age group. It would be interesting to explore how this intersects with variables such as parenting style, gender, age, length of residency, and victimisation. This would also further understanding of community and development of reputation.

The research found participants often chose to get a lift with a parent rather than selecting more active forms of transport. The control that young people have on this form of transport is little understood, though the power they have within the space of cars has been explored by Barker (2009) and factors affecting parental chauffeuring have been examined by Carver *et al.* (2013). It would be worth exploring the negotiations and power relations connected to receipt of parental lifts given the expressed preference of young people for such lifts and the impact this has on their independence and future transport patterns. Furthermore, walking as a form of independent transport has been explored in previous studies (Mackett *et al.*, 2007), yet there is an emerging field of interest connected to walking as a practice (Horton *et al.*, 2014). Research may wish to focus on any gender and rural/urban differences in this practice.

The geography of friendships is a neglected area of study in Children's Geographies (Bunnell *et al.*, 2012). Material spaces were found to be important in the creation of friendships in this study, but they formed only a part of the maintenance of friendship considering the number of participants upholding friendships over long distances. Future research may wish to explore the role of place and technology in the making, maintenance and dissolution of young people's friendships.

9.4.2 Recreational use of space

The research showed that use of the street has become more mobile than the static activity revealed by historic studies. Alongside examination of walking as a practice, it may be worth future studies exploring whether this more mobile use is also true in existing communities and the reasons behind this shift. Echoing Weston (2010) there is also a need for planners to provide environments that are conducive to greater pedestrian movement to improve the environment for young people and encourage social contact through greater street presence. There is also a challenge to planners to provide more facilities specifically for young people. Young people frequently complained of the paucity of activities and facilities in their local area and how this led to antisocial behaviour by some of their age group and conflict in existing facilities. This reflects historic studies (Matthews *et al.*, 1999; Skelton, 2000; Tucker and Matthews, 2001; Weller, 2007b) and shows that geographers need to do more to empower young people and ensure planners meet their needs in communities, particularly when many young people express such pride and attachment to their neighbourhood.

A key finding from the research was the importance of supermarkets and takeaway establishments to young people's geographies. Supermarkets often form a key part of new housing developments (Wrigley *et al.*, 2002) so it would be interesting to explore whether they now form an important focal point of community. Studying supermarkets and takeaway establishments may reveal additional insights regarding the role of semi-public space in the establishment of community and the importance of geographies of consumption to the lives of young people in existing and new communities.

9.4.3 Young people and mixed communities

It is clear that newness affects both Children's Geographies and their experience of community. It would be worth studying this in further detail, both how planners can better mitigate against this impact through the appropriate delivery of facilities and engendering of social networks, and how geographers can further understanding of the impact of newness on the creation of place and the mediation of any deleterious effects associated with it.

In addition, given the influence of parental control and parental discourses on young people's geographies and experience and understanding of community, it may be worth any future study into mixed communities interviewing both parents and young people. This would aid understanding of factors influencing young people's reproduction of parental discourses of fear, risk, and social grouping.

As discussed in Section 9.3, this study provided only a brief insight into young people's social and spatial worlds in the two communities. It would be fascinating to undertake additional research in the two areas to see what choices young people made for their future, to what extent this was influenced by their community, and what role tenure played in these decisions.

9.4.4 Future publications

In order to propagate the findings of this research three, papers will be written on the central themes of this thesis:

(i) young people's understanding and experience of 'new' places;

(ii) social capital in relation to young people in new mixed communities; and

(iii) the spatial element of young people's awareness of community formation and identity.

The first paper will explore the 'newness' of new communities, particularly the implications of growing up in a space which does not (yet) have a 'script' or 'moral topography'. The paper will consider how you might define newness, alongside its impact on area reputations, perceptions of safety, development of friendships, provision of community facilities, and community bonds. The second paper will review literature relating to young people and social capital, the arguments for this in relation to mixed communities and the experience of it for young people living in such communities. It will argue that social capital has not yet been effectively theorised in Children's Geographies and offer insights into young people's social capital in new mixed communities, including their ability to build networks, that might have implications for how children's geographers think about the concept. The third paper will debate whether the concept of 'habitus' works or not for research in Children's Geographies given that young people's use of space in new communities, where there is no history of usage, as well as their differing perception and investment into community, suggests that young people's geographies are often more complex and changeable than ideas of habitus allow.

9.5 Conclusion

The spatial and social lives of young people living in mixed communities in Northamptonshire have been explored in relation to three key themes: the everydayness of young people's lives, their use of public space, and their experience of (mixed) community. This has addressed a gap in the literature on mixed communities and Children's Geographies through exploring the geographies of groups of teenagers in mixed communities.

The research revealed similarities with previous work in Children's Geographies in relation to the importance of the local, stigmatisation of teenagers, lack of specific provision for youth, and walking as the main independent transport. It also identified similar effects on mobility and use of space, including gender, age, conflict, parental practices, material resources, fear, and interests. Key findings related to the popularity of community facilities where provided, whilst consumption was shown to be increasingly important to Children's Geographies through use of supermarkets and takeaways. Use of the street was also found to be more mobile than previous research has revealed, due to the significance of walking as a practice. Children's geographers may wish to pursue research on the changing spaces and mobility practices of young people in the twenty-first century.

Newness was found to have a significant impact on mobility, use of space and experience of community. It affected the development of rumours and incidents concerning the safety of young people, which were shown to increase fear and consequently adversely impact mobility. It affected the building and maintenance of friendships through a greater number of recent movers. It led to a rapid growth in population creating problems in the provision of appropriate facilities as this population aged, incorporation of this population into any existing community, and the development of social networks within the nascent community itself. Newness shaped an area's appearance, which positively impacted its reputation and perception of safety, leading to greater spatial freedom and shaping identity. Finally, the recent construction of an area meant that green spaces young people liked were built upon, and facilities provided were sometimes poorly enacted, leaving young people disenfranchised and disappointed. Geographers may wish to consider the impact of newness on place, whilst planners must consider what can be done to mediate against any negative impacts of it when creating communities.

Tenure was found to have only a limited impact on young people in mixed communities. There was evidence of some inter-tenure friendships, but others portrayed any occupant of social housing as 'rough'. The research found similar independent mobility, activities, interaction and use of space by occupants of different tenures in the developments. Tenure also had some effect on experience of community, with neighbourhood bonds stronger for social housing occupants and weaker for those from private rented housing. The impact of tenure on social networks and spatial practice was only one of a number of influencing factors, however, suggesting that it is a crude means of engendering social mix and has a weak relationship to socio-economic status. The research adds further weight to the body of evidence showing mixed communities policy is a poor means to engender socio-economic balance. Planning obligations remain the primary means through which to secure social housing, but the inclusion of such housing in any development cannot of itself lead to social mixing.

To build strong communities with social capital, planners and the Government must look beyond mixed communities policy to wider provision of community facilities and reducing socio-economic stigmatisation within society.

Many young people spoke fondly of their neighbourhoods; they showed a real interest in and attachment to where they lived. They spoke with frustration, however, at the lack of activities and spaces for youth, the stigmatisation of teenagers, and a lack of equality and engagement with young people by older residents. Children's Geographies has called for greater participation by young people in environmental planning for over twenty years: this research shows young people continue to have specific needs that are not being met. Work must continue amongst geographers and planners to empower the voice of young people in their communities so that they feel equal members of society, both now and in the future.

References

Aitken, S. (2001) *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity*. London: Routledge.

Alderson, P. (1995) *Listening to Children: Children, Ethics and Social Research*. Ilford, Essex: Barnardo's.

Alderson, P. (2004) Ethics. In Fraser, S., Lewis, V., Ding, S., Kellett, M. and Robinson, C. (eds) *Doing Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage. pp.97-112.

Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (2004) *Ethics, Social Research and Consulting with Children and Young People*. Essex: Barnardo's.

Allen, C., Camina, M., Casey, R., Coward, S. and Wood, M. (2005) *Mixed Tenure 20 Years On – Nothing Out of the Ordinary*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Amin, A. (2006) The good city, *Urban Studies*, 43(5/6) 1009–1023.

Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. London: Verso.

Anderson, B. (2008) For Space (2005): Doreen Massey. In Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Key Texts in Human Geography*. London: Sage. pp. 225-234.

Ansell, N. (2009) Childhood and the politics of scale: descaling Children's Geographies? *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(2) 190-209.

Arthurson, K. (2013) Mixed tenure communities and the effects on neighbourhood reputation and stigma: residents' experiences from within, *Cities*, 35 432–438.

Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2000) Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts, *Policy and Politics*, 28(1) 93–108.

Austin, S.B., Melly, S.J., Sanchez, B.N., Patel, A., Buka, S., and Gortmaker, S.L. (2005) Clustering of fast-food restaurants around schools: a novel application of spatial statistics to the study of food environments, *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(9) 1575-1581.

Barker, J. (2009) 'Driven to distraction?': children's experiences of car travel, *Mobilities*, 4(1) 59-76.

Barker, J. (2011) 'Manic Mums' and 'Distant Dads'? Gendered geographies of care and the journey to school, *Health and Place*, 17(2) 413-421.

Barker, J. and Weller, S. (2003) 'Never work with children?': the geography of methodological issues in research with children, *Qualitative Research*, 3(2) 207-227.

Bartlett, S. (2002) Building better cities with children and youth, *Environment and Urbanisation*, 14(2) 3-10.

Bauman, Z. (2003) Utopia with no topos, *History of the Human Sciences*, 16(1) 11–24.

Bauman, Z. (2007) *Liquid Times*. Cambridge: Polity.

Béneker, T., Sanders, R., Tani, S. and Taylor, L. (2010) Picturing the city: young people's representations of urban environments, *Children's Geographies*, 8(2) 123-140.

Bennett, J. (2005) *From New Towns to Growth Areas: Learning From the Past*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research. Available at: www.ippr.org/ecomm/files/housing.pdf [Accessed on 27 October 2011].

Benwell, M.C. (2013) Rethinking conceptualisations of adult-imposed restriction and children's experiences of autonomy in outdoor space, *Children's Geographies*, 11(1) 28-43.

Beunderman, J., Hannon, C. and Bradwell, P. (2007) *Seen and Heard: Reclaiming the Public Realm with Children and Young People*. London: Demos.

Biddle, S., Gorely, T. and Stensel, D.J. (2004) Health-enhancing physical activity and sedentary behaviour in children and adolescents, *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 22(8) 679-701.

Blondeel, P. (2005) Reading and (re)writing the city: the use of the habitus concept in urban research and development. Paper presented at 'Doing, thinking, feeling home: the mental geography of residential environments', TUDelft, 14–15 October.

Bolster, A., Burgess, S., Johnston, R., Jones, K., Propper, C. and Starker, R. (2007) Neighbourhoods, households and income dynamics: a semi-parametric investigation of neighbourhood effects, *Journal of Economic Geography*, 7(1) 1-38.

Bond, S. (2011) Being in myth and community: resistance, lived existence, and democracy in a north England mill town, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29(5) 780-802.

Borden, I. (1998) An affirmation of urban life: skateboarding and socio-spatial censorship in the late twentieth century city, *Archis*, 5 46-51.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bournville Village Trust (1956) *The Bournville Village Trust, 1900-1955*. Birmingham: Bournville Village Trust.

Bridge, G. (2002) The *Neighbourhood and Social Networks (Centre for Neighbourhood Research) Paper 4*. Available at: www.urbancenter.utoronto.ca/pdfs/curp/CNR_Neighbourhoods-Social-N.pdf [Accessed on 14 December 2011].

Bromley, R.D.F. and Stacey, R.J. (2011) Identifying children's perspectives on anti-social behaviour: variations by home area and the implications, *Geoforum*, 42(3) 650-659.

Brown, B., Mackett, R., Gong, Y., Kitazawa, K. and Paskins, J. (2008) Gender differences in children's pathways to independent mobility, *Children's Geographies*, 6(4) 385-401.

Brown, D.M. (2013) Young people, anti-social behaviour and public space: the role of community wardens in policing the 'ASBO Generation', *Urban Studies*, 50(3) 538-555.

Bunge, W.W. (1973) The geography, *Professional Geographer* 25(4) 331-337.

Bunnell, T., Yea, S., Peake, L., Skelton, T. and Smith, M. (2012) Geographies of friendship, *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(4) 490–507.

van der Burgt, D. (2008) How children place themselves and others in local space, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B Human Geography*, 90(3) 257–269.

van der Burgt, D. (2013) Spatial avoidance or spatial confidence? Young people's agency in the active negotiation of risk and safety in public space, *Children's Geographies*, Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14733285.2013.828455#.U1ud51fhGM4 [Accessed on 21 August 2013].

Burney, E. (2005) *Making People Behave: Antisocial Behaviour, Politics and Policy*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Bushin, N. (2007) Interviewing with children in their homes: putting ethical principles into practice and developing flexible techniques, *Children's Geographies*, 5(3) 235-251.

Bushin, N. and White, A. (2010) Migration politics in Ireland: exploring the impacts on young people's geographies, *Area*, 42(2) 170–180.

Cahill, C. (2000) Street literacy: urban teenagers' strategies for negotiating their neighbourhood, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3(3) 251-277.

Cameron, D. (2010) David Cameron's speech in full: the transcript of Cameron's speech outside No 10 Downing Street as Prime Minister. Available at: www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/may/11/david-cameron-speech-full-text [Accessed on 14 December 2011].

Camina, M.M. and Wood, M.J. (2009) Parallel lives: towards a greater understanding of what mixed communities can offer, *Urban Studies*, 46(2) 459-480.

Carver, A., Timperio, A. and Crawford, D. (2013) Parental chauffeurs: what drives their transport choice? *Journal of Transport Geography*, 26(1) 72-77.

Casey, R., Coward, S., Allen, C. and Powell, R. (2007) On the planned environment and neighbourhood life: evidence from mixed-tenure housing developments twenty years on, *Town Planning Review*, 78(3) 311-334.

Chaskin, R. J., Sichling, F. and Joseph, M.L. (2013) Youth in mixed-income communities replacing public housing complexes: context, dynamics and response, *Cities*, 35(1) 423-431.

Chawla, L. and Malone, K. (2003) Neighbourhood quality in children's eyes. In Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds) *Children in the City: Home, Neighbourhood and Community*. London: Routledge. pp.118-141.

Cheshire, P. (2007) *Segregated Neighbourhoods and Mixed Communities: A Critical Analysis*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Cheshire, P. (2009) Policies for mixed communities: faith-based displacement activity? *International Regional Science Review*, 32(3) 343-375.

Childress, H. (2004) Teenagers, territory and the appropriation of space, *Childhood*, 11(2) 195–205.

Chiu, C. (2009) Contestation and conformity: street and park skateboarding in New York City public space, *Space and Culture*, 12(1) 25-42.

Christensen, P. (2003) Place, space and knowledge: children in the village and the city. In Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds) *Children in the City: Home, Neighbourhood and Community*. London: Routledge. pp.13-28.

Christensen, P. (2004) Children's participation in ethnographic research: issues of power and representation, *Children and Society*, 18(2) 165-176.

Christensen, P. and Prout, A. (2002) Working with ethical symmetry in social research with children, *Childhood*, 9(4) 477-497.

Clark, G. (2011) Neighbourhood planning is an opportunity for councillors, *The MJ*, 9 June 2011 Available at: www.communities.gov.uk/articles/newsroom/neighbourhoodplanning [Accessed on 5 January 2012].

Clarke, S., Gilmour, R. and Garner, S. (2007) Home, identity and community cohesion. In Wetherell, M., Laflèche, M. and Berkeley, R. (eds) *Identity, Ethnicity and Community Cohesion*. London: Sage. pp.87-100.

Cole, I. and Goodchild, B. (2001) Social mix and the 'Balanced Community' in British housing policy – a tale of two epochs, *Geojournal*, 51(4) 351-360.

Colenutt, B. and Field, M. (2013) *The Crisis of Housing Supply: The Role of Urban Extensions.* (Unpublished).

Collins, D.C.A and Kearns, R. (2001) Under curfew and under siege? Local geographies of young people, *Geoforum*, 32(3) 389-403.

Collins, R., Esson, J., Gutierrez, C.O. and Adekunle, A. (2013) Youth in motion: spatialising youth movement(s) in the social sciences, *Children's Geographies*, 11(3) 369-376.

Crang, M. (2001) Filed work: making sense of group interviews. In Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers*. London: Arnold. pp.215-233.

Cresswell, T. (2004) *Place: A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Croghan, R., Griffin, C., Hunter, J. and Phoenix, A. (2006) Style failure: consumption, identity and social exclusion, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(4) 463-478.

Crossley, N. (2008) Social class. In Grenfell, M. (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Durham: Acumen. pp.87-100.

Davies, W.K.D. and Herbert, D.T. (1993) *Communities within Cities: An Urban Social Geography*. London: Belhaven Press.

De Visscher, S. and Bouverne-de Bie, M. (2008) Recognizing urban public space as a co-educator: children's socialization in Ghent, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(3) 604-616.

Demack, S., Platts-Fowler, D., Robinson, D., Stevens, A. and Wilson, I. (2010) *Young People and Community Cohesion - Analysis from the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE)*. London: Department for Education.

Dempsey, N., Brown, C. and Bramley, G. (2012) The key to sustainable urban development in UK cities? The influence of density on social sustainability, *Progress in Planning*, 77(3) 89-141.

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (2005) *Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development*. London: HMSO.

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (2012a) *Neighbourhood Planning* Available at: www.communities.gov.uk/planningandbuilding/planningsystem/neighbourhoodplanningvanguards/ [Accessed on 20 March 2012].

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (2012b) *National Planning Policy Framework*. London: HMSO. Available at: www.communities.gov.uk/publications/planningandbuilding/nppf [Accessed on 2 April 2012].

Department of the Environment (DoE) (1997) *Planning Policy Guidance 1: General Policy and Principals*. Available at: www.illo.demon.co.uk/ppg1.htm [Accessed on 4 October 2011].

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (1998) *Planning and Affordable Housing, Circular 06/98*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (2000a) *Housing Green Paper*. London: HMSO.

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (2000b) *Planning Policy Guidance Note 3: Housing*. London: HMSO.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2012) *National Travel Survey: 2011*. Published online by Department for Transport. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-travel-survey-2011 [Accessed on 2 July 2013].

Dines, N., Cattell, V., Gesler, W. and Curtis, S. (2006) *Public Spaces, Social Relations and Well-Being in East London*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Edwards, M. (1996) New approaches to children and development: introduction and overview, *Journal of International Development*, 8(6) 813-27.

Ellison, N.B., Steinfield, C. and Lampe, C. (2007) The benefits of Facebook 'friends': social capital and college students' use of online social network sites, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(4) 1143-1168.

Elsey, S. (2004) Children's experience of public space, *Children and Society*, 18(2) 155-164.

Etzioni, A. (1993) *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda*. New York: Crown.

Etzioni, A. (2011) Amitai Etzioni on communitarianism, civil rights, and foreign policy, *Encyclopaedia Britannica Blog*. Available at: www.britannica.com/blogs/2011/05/amitai-etzioni-communitarianism-civil-rights-foreign-policy/ [Accessed on 5 January 2012].

Fargas-Malet, M., McSherry, D., Larkin, E. and Robinson, C. (2010) Research with children: methodological issues and innovative techniques, *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 8(2) 175-192.

Fitzpatrick, S., Hastings, A. and Kintrea, K. (2000) Youth involvement in urban regeneration: hard lessons, future directions, *Policy and Politics*, 28(4) 493-509.

Foot, M. (1975) *Aneurin Bevan, 1945–1969*. St. Albans: Granada Publishing.

Fordham, G. and Cole, I. (2009) *Delivering Mixed Communities – Learning the Lessons from Existing Programmes*. London: DCLG.

Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. (1999) *Joined Up Places: Social Cohesion and Neighbourhood Regeneration*. York: York Publishing Services/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. (2001) Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood, *Urban Studies*, 38(12) 2125–2143.

Freeman, C. (2010) Children's neighbourhoods, social centres to 'terra incognita', *Children's Geographies*, 8(2) 157-176.

Freeman, C., Henderson, P. and Kettle, J. (1999) *Planning with Children for Better Communities: The Challenge to Professionals*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Furedi, F. (2001) *Paranoid Parenting: Abandon your Anxieties and be a Good Parent*. London: Penguin.

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Fyhri, A. and Hjorthol, R. (2009) Children's independent mobility to school, friends and leisure activities, *Journal of Transport Geography*, 17(5) 377-384.

Gallagher, M. (2009) Data Collection and Analysis. In Tisdall, E.K.M., Davis, J. and Gallagher, M. (eds) *Researching with Children and Young People: Research Design, Methods and Analysis*. London: Sage. pp.65-88.

Galster, G. (2001) On the nature of neighbourhood, *Urban Studies*, 38(12) 2111-2124.

Galster, G., Andersson, R. and Musterd, S. (2010) Who is affected by neighbourhood income mix? Gender, age, family, employment and income differences, *Urban Studies*, 47(14) 2915-2944.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Giddings, R. and Yarwood, R. (2005) Growing up, going out and growing out of the countryside: childhood experiences in Rural England, *Children's Geographies*, 3(1) 101-114.

Gill, T. (2007a) *Can I Play Out...? Lessons from London Play's Home Zones Project*. London: London Play. Available online at www.londonplay.org.uk/file/478.pdf [Accessed 21 August 2013].

Gill, T. (2007b) *No fear: Growing Up In a Risk Averse Society*. London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Gollop, M. (2000) Interviewing children: a research perspective. In Smith, A.B., Taylor, N.J. and Gollop, M. (eds) *Children's Voices: Research, Policy and Practice*. New Zealand: Longman. pp.18–34.

Gough, K.V. (2008) Guest editorial introduction: Nordic geographies of children and youth, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(3) 217–226.

Government Office for the East Midlands (GOEM) (2001) *Community B Outline Planning Application Decision Letter*. Northamptonshire: Local Planning Authority B.

Graham, S. and Healey, P. (1999) Relational concepts of space and place: issues for planning theory and practice, *European Planning Studies*, 7(5) 623-646.

Griffin, C. (2004) Representations of the young. In Roche, J., Tucker, S., Flynn, R. and Thomson, R. (eds) *Youth in Society: Contemporary Theory in Policy and Practice*. Second edition. London: Sage. pp.10-18.

Gullino, S. (2008) Mixed Communities as a means of achieving sustainable communities: a comparison between US experiences and UK policy intentions, *Local Economy*, 23(3) 127-135.

Gustafson, K. (2011) No-go-area, no-go-school: community discourses, local school market and children's identity work, *Children's Geographies*, 9(2) 185-203.

Halldén, G. (2003) Children's views of family, home and house. In Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds) *Children in the City: Home, Neighbourhood and Community*. London: Routledge. pp.29-45.

Hart, R. (1979) *Children's Experience of Place*. London: Irvington Press.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Henning, C. and Lieberg, M. (1996) Strong ties or weak ties? Neighbourhood networks in a new perspective, *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research*, 13(1) 3-26.

Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Hughes, J. and Cairns, E. (2007) Prejudice, intergroup contact and identity: do neighbourhoods matter? In Wetherell, M., Laflèche, M. and Berkeley, R. (eds) *Identity, Ethnicity and Community Cohesion*. London: Sage. pp.102-112.

Hill, M. (1997) Participatory research with children, *Child and Family Social Work*, 2(2) 171-183.

Hill, M., Davis, J., Prout, A. and Tisdall, K. (2004) Moving the participation agenda forward, *Children and Society*, 18(2) 77-96.

Hodgkinson, S. and Tilley, N. (2011) Tackling anti-social behaviour: lessons from New Labour for the Coalition Government, *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 11(4) 283–305.

Holland, C., Clark, A., Katz, J. and Peace, S. (2007a) *Social Interactions in Urban Public Places*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Holland, J., Reynolds, T. and Weller, S. (2007b) Transitions, networks and communities: the significance of social capital in the lives of children and young people, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10(1) 97-116.

Holland, S., Burgess, S., Grogan-Kaylor, A. and Delva, J. (2011) Understanding neighbourhoods, communities and environments: new approaches for social work research, *British Journal of Social Work*, 41(4) 689-707.

Holloway, S.L. and Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2014) Enriching children, institutionalizing childhood? Geographies of play, extracurricular activities, and parenting in England, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Available online: dx.doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2013.846167 [Accessed: 18 March 2014].

Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (2000) Children's Geographies and the new social studies of childhood. In Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. London: Routledge. pp.1-28.

Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (2003) Cyberkids: Youth Identities and Communities in an On-line World. Abingdon: Routledge.

Horton, J. (2008) A 'sense of failure'? Everydayness and research ethics, *Children's Geographies*, 6(4) 363-384.

Horton, J., Christensen, P., Kraftl, P. and Hadfield-Hill, S. (2014) 'Walking...just walking': how children and young people's everyday pedestrian practices matter, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 15(1) 94-115.

Horton, J., Kraftl, P. and Tucker, F. (2008) The challenges of 'Children's Geographies': a reaffirmation, *Children's Geographies*, 6(4) 335-348.

Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (2003) Community and the changing nature of urban policy. In Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds) *Urban Renaissance? New Labour, Community and Urban Policy*. Bristol: The Policy Press. pp.3-36.

Jackson, P. (1995) *Maps of Meaning*. Fourth edition. London: Routledge.

Jackson, S. and Scott, S. (2000) Childhood. In Payne, G. (ed) *Social Divisions*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd. pp.152-167.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.

Jacobs, K., Kemeny, J. and Manzi, T. (2003) Privileged or exploited council tenants? The discursive change in Conservative housing policy from 1972 to 1980, *Policy and Politics*, 31(3) 307-320.

James, S. (1990) Is there a 'place' for children in geography? *Area*, 22 (3) 278-283.

James, A. and James, A. (2007) *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies*. London: Sage.

James, A. and Prout, A. (1999) Introduction. In James, A. and Prout, A. (eds) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociology of Childhood*. Second Edition. London: Falmer Press. pp.1-6.

Jones, K. (2008) 'It's well good sitting in the storecupboard just talking about what we do': considering the spaces/places of research within Children's Geographies, *Children's Geographies*, 6(3) 327-332.

Jones, O. (2000) Melting geography: purity, disorder, childhood and space. In Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. London: Routledge. pp.29-47.

Jones O. (2001) 'Before the dark of reason': some ethical and epistemological considerations on the otherness of childhood, *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 4(2) 173-178.

Joseph, M. and Chaskin, R. (2010) Living in a mixed-income development: resident perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of two developments in Chicago, *Urban Studies*, 47(11) 2347–2366.

Joseph, M. and Feldman, J. (2009) Creating and sustaining successful mixed-income communities: conceptualising the role of schools, *Education and Urban Society*, 41(6) 623-652.

Jupp, B. (1999) *Living Together*. London: Demos. Available at www.demos.co.uk/publications/livingtogether [Accessed 1 October 2013].

Karsten, L. (2003) Children's use of public space: the gendered world of the playground, *Childhood*, 10(4) 457-473.

Karsten, L. and Pel, E. (2000) Skateboarders exploring urban public space: ollies, obstacles and conflicts, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15(4) 327-340.

Kato, Y. (2009) Doing consumption and sitting cars: adolescent bodies in suburban commercial spaces, *Children's Geographies*, 7(1) 51-66.

Katz, C. (2001) Vagabond capitalism and the necessity of social reproduction, *Antipode*, 33(4) 708–727.

Kearns, A. (2002) Response: from residential disadvantage to opportunity? Reflections on British and European policy and research, *Housing Studies*, 17(1) 145–150.

Kearns, A. and Mason, P. (2007) Mixed tenure communities and neighbourhood quality, *Housing Studies*, 22(5) 661-691.

Kearns, A. and Parkinson, M. (2001) The significance of neighbourhood, *Urban Studies*, 38(12) 2103-2110.

King, P. (2001) Was Conservative housing policy really Conservative? *Housing Theory and Society*, 18(3-4) 98-107.

Kintrea, K., Bannister, J. and Pickering, J. (2010) Territoriality and disadvantage among young people: an exploratory study of six British neighbourhoods, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 25(4) 447–465.

Kintrea, K., Bannister, J., Pickering, J., Reid, M. and Suzuki, N. (2008) *Young People and Territoriality*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Kirk, S. (2007) Methodological and ethical issues in conducting qualitative research with children and young people: a literature review, *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 44(7) 1250-1260.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N.J. (2000) *Conducting Research into Human Geography*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Kleinhans, R. (2004) Social implications of housing diversification in urban renewal: a review of recent literature, *Journal of Housing and Built Environment*, 19(2) 367-390.

Kraftl, P. (2006) Building an idea: the material construction of an ideal childhood, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31(4) 488–504.

Kraftl, P. (2008) Young people, hope, and childhood-hope, *Space and Culture*, 11(2) 81-92.

Kraftl, P., Christensen, P., Horton, J. and Hadfield-Hill, S. (2013) Living on a building site: young people's experiences of emerging 'Sustainable Communities' in England, *Geoforum*, 50 191-199.

Kraftl, P., Horton, J. and Tucker, F. (2007) Children, young people and built environments. *Built Environment*, 33(4) 399-404.

Laughlin, D.L. and Johnson, L.C. (2011) Defining and exploring public space: perspectives of young people from Regent Park, Toronto, *Children's Geographies*, 9(3) 439-456.

Lauwers, H. and Vanderstede, W. (2005) Spatial planning and opportunities for children's participation: a local governance network analysis, *Children, Youth and Environments*, 15(2) 278-289.

Lee, J. and Abbott, R. (2009) Physical activity and rural young people's sense of place, *Children's Geographies*, 7(2) 191-208.

Levitas, R.A. (2005) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour*. Second Edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Leyden, K.M. (2003) Social capital and the built environment: the importance of walkable neighborhoods, *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(9) 1546-1551.

Leyshon, M. (2002) On being 'in the field': practice, progress and problems in research with young people in rural areas, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18(2) 179-191.

Leyshon, M. (2008) The betweeness of being a rural youth: inclusive and exclusive lifestyles, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 9(1) 1-26.

Leyshon, M. (2011) The struggle to belong: young people on the move in the countryside, *Population, Space and Place*, 17(4) 304-325.

Leyshon, M. and DiGiovanna, S. (2005) Planning for the needs of young people in rural Southern England, *Children, Youth and Environments*, 15(2) 254-277.

Leyshon, M., DiGiovanna, S and Holcomb, B. (2013) Mobile technologies and youthful exploration: stimulus or inhibitor? *Urban Studies*, 50(3) 587-605.

Lieberg, M. (1995) Teenagers and public space, *Communication Research*, 22(6) 720-740.

Livingston, M., Bailey, N. and Kearns, A. (2008) *Place Attachment, Neighbourhood Instability and Social Mix*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Livingston, M., Bailey, N. and Kearns, A. (2013) Delivering mixed communities: the relationship between housing tenure mix and social mix in England's neighbourhoods, *Housing Studies*, 28(7) 1056-1080.

Local Planning Authority A (1997a) *[Community A] Planning Brief*. Northamptonshire: Local Planning Authority A.

Local Planning Authority A (1997b) *[Area] Local Plan 1997*. Available at: www.[Area].gov.uk/adopted_local_plan_september_2007_chapters_1-12.pdf [Accessed on 6 October 2011].

Local Planning Authority A (2010) *[Community A] Lessons Report*. Northamptonshire: Local Planning Authority A.

Local Planning Authority B (1995) *[Area] Borough Local Plan*. Available at: www.[Area].gov.uk/downloads/All_Saved_Policies-July_2011.pdf [Accessed on 6 October 2011].

Local Planning Authority B (2002) *[Community B] Development Brief*. Northamptonshire: Local Planning Authority B.

Lynch, K. (1977) *Growing in Up in Cities: Studies of the Spatial Environment of Adolescence*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Mackett, R., Brown, B., Gong, Y., Kitazawa, K. and Paskins, J. (2007) Children's independent movement in the local environment, *Built Environment*, 33(4) 454-468.

Mackintosh, M. and Mooney, G. (2000) Identity, inequality and social class. In Woodward, K. (ed) *Questioning Identity: Gender, Class and Nation*. London: Routledge. pp.79-114.

Mallan, K. and Greenway, R. (2011) 'Radiant with possibility': involving young people in creating a vision for the future of their community, *Futures*, 43(2) 374-386.

Malone, K. (2002) Street life: youth, culture and competing uses of public space, *Environment and Urbanization*, 14(2) 157–168.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity.

Massey, D. (1998) The spatial construction of youth cultures. In Skelton, T. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Culture*. Routledge: London. pp.120-129.

Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage.

Maton, K. (2008) Habitus. In Grenfell, M. (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Durham: Acumen. pp. 49-65.

Matthews, H. (1986) The influence of gender on the environmental cognition of young boys and girls, *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 147(3) 295-302.

Matthews, H. (1992) *Making Sense of Place: Children's Understanding of Large-scale Environments*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Matthews, H. (2002) Children and regeneration: setting an agenda for community participation and integration, *Children and Society*, 17(3) 264-276.

Matthews, H. (2003) The street as liminal space: the barbed spaces of childhood. In Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds) *Children in the City: Home, Neighbourhood and Community*. London: Routledge. pp.101-117.

Matthews, H. and Limb, M. (1999) Defining an agenda for the geography of children: review and prospect, *Progress in Human Geography*, 23(1) 61-90.

Matthews, H., Limb, M. and Percy-Smith, B. (1998a) Changing worlds: the microgeographies of young teenagers, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 89(2) 193-202.

Matthews, H., Limb, M. and Taylor, M. (1998b) The geography of children: some ethical and methodological considerations for project and dissertation work, *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 22(3) 311-324.

Matthews, H., Limb, M. and Taylor, M. (1999) Reclaiming the street: the discourse of curfew, *Environment and Planning A*, 31(10) 1713-1730.

Matthews, H., Limb, M. and Taylor, M. (2000a) The 'Street as Thirdspace'. In Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. London: Routledge. pp.63-79.

Matthews, H., Taylor, M., Percy-Smith, B. and Limb, M. (2000b) The unacceptable flaneur: the shopping mall as a teenage hangout, *Childhood*, 7(3) 279–294.

Matthews, H., Taylor, M., Sherwood, K., Tucker, F. and Limb, M. (2000c) Growing up in the countryside: children and the rural idyll, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16(2) 141–153.

Matthews, H. and Tucker, F. (2000) Consulting children, *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 24(2) 299–310.

Matthews, H. and Tucker, F. (2006) On the other side of the tracks: the psychogeographies and everyday lives of rural teenagers in the UK. In Spencer, C. and Blades, M. (eds) *Children and Their Environments: Learning, Using and Designing Spaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.161-175.

Matthews, H. and Tucker, F. (2007) On both sides of the tracks: British rural teenagers' views on their ruralities. In Panelli, R., Punch, S. and Robson, E. (eds) *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp.95-106.

Mauthner, M. (1997) Methodological aspects of collecting data from children: lessons from three research projects, *Children and Society*, 11(1) 16-28.

Mayall, B. (2013) *A History of the Sociology of Childhood*. London: Institute of Education Press.

McCulloch, K., Stewart, A. and Lovegreen, N. (2006) 'We just hang out together': youth cultures and social class, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(5) 539-556.

McGhee, D. (2003) Moving to 'our' common ground – a critical examination of community cohesion discourse in twenty-first century Britain, *The Sociological Review*, 51(3) 376-404.

McKendrick, J.H., Bradford, M.G. and Fielder, A V. (2000) Time for a party! Making sense of the commercialisation of leisure space for children. In Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. London: Routledge. pp.100-116.

McLaughlin, M.W (1993) Embedded identities. In Heath, S.B. and McLaughlin, M.V. (eds) *Identity and Inner City Youth: Beyond Ethnicity and Gender*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Meegan, R. and Mitchell, A. (2001) 'It's not community round here, it's neighbourhood': Neighbourhood change and cohesion in urban regeneration policies, *Urban Studies*, 38(12) 2167–2194.

Meen, G., Gibb, K., Goody, J., McGrath, T. and Mackinnon, J. (2005) *Economic Segregation in England: Causes, Consequences and Policy*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Monk, S., Clarke, A. and Tang, C.P.Y. (2011) *Mixed Communities Literature Review*. Edinburgh: Queens Printers of Scotland.

Moore, R.C. (1986) *Children's Domain: Play and Play Space in Child Development*. London: Croom Helm.

Morris-Roberts, K. (2001) Intervening in friendship exclusion? The politics of doing Feminist research with teenage girls, *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 4(2) 147-153.

Morrison, Z. (2003) Cultural justice and addressing 'social exclusion': a case study of a Single Regeneration Budget project in Blackbird Leys, Oxford. In Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (eds) *Urban Renaissance? New Labour, Community and Urban Policy*. Bristol: The Policy Press. pp.139-162.

Mullan, E. (2003) Do you think that your local area is a good place for young people to grow up? The effects of traffic and car parking on young people's views, *Health and Place*, 9(4) 351-360.

Mulliner, E. and Maliene, V. (2013) Austerity and reform to affordable housing policy, *Journal of Housing and Built Environment*, 28(2) 397–407.

Musterd, S. and Andersson, R. (2005) Housing mix, social mix, and social opportunities, *Urban Affairs Review*, 40(6) 761-790.

Nairn, R., Panelli, R. and McCormack, J. (2003) Destabilizing dualisms: young people's experiences of rural and urban environments, *Childhood*, 10(1) 9-42.

Neal, S. and Vincent, C. (2013) Multiculture, middle class competencies and friendship practices in super-diverse geographies, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 14(8) 909-929.

New Towns Committee (1946) *Final Report (Cmnd 6876)*. London: HMSO.

Newman, M., Woodcock, A. and Dunham, P. (2006) 'Playtime in the borderlands': children's representations of school, gender and bullying through photographs and interviews, *Children's Geographies*, 4(3) 289-302.

Nolan, N. (2003) The ins and outs of skateboarding and transgression in public space in Newcastle, Australia, *Australian Geographers*, 34(3) 311-327.

Northamptonshire County Council (2001) *Northamptonshire County Structure Plan 1996-2016.* Available at: www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/en/councilservices/Environ/planning/policy/landuse/Documents/PDF%20Documents/Housing%20Development%20%28pdf%20format%20589KB%29.pdf [Accessed on 6 October 2011].

Northamptonshire County Council (2012) *Northamptonshire Results: 2011 Census 1st Data Publication Summary.* Available at: northamptonshireobservatory.org.uk/publications/document.asp?documentid=2330 [Accessed on 18 December 2013].

Northamptonshire County Council and Northamptonshire Teaching Primary Care Trust (NCC and NT PCT) (2011) *Joint Strategic Needs Assessment.* Available at: www.northamptonshireobservatory.org.uk/publications/document.asp?documentid=2214 and www.northamptonshireobservatory.org.uk/publications/document.asp?documentid=2315 [Accessed on 19 December 2013].

Northamptonshire Police (2014), *Neighbourhood Crime Map.* Available at: http://www.police.uk/northamptonshire/ [Accessed 6 May 2014].

O'Brien, M., Jones, D., Sloan, D. and Rustin, M. (2000) Children's independent spatial mobility in the urban public realm, *Childhood*, 7(3) 257-277.

Office of Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) (2003) *Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future - Main Document*. Wetherby: Office of Deputy Prime Minister.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2013) *Neighbourhood Statistics.* Available at neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/ [Accessed on 1 April 2014].

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (undated) *The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC rebased on the SOC2010).* Available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html#top [Accessed on 29 February 2012].

Pain, R. (2006) Paranoid parenting? Rematerializing risk and fear for children, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7(2) 221-243.

Pain, R., Grundy, S., Gill, S., Towner, E., Sparks, G. and Hughes, K. (2005) 'So long as I take my mobile': mobile phones, urban life and geographies of young people's safety, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4) 814-830.

Panelli, R., Nairn, K. and McCormack, J. (2002) 'We make our own fun': reading the politics of youth with(in) community, *Sociologica Ruralis* 42(2) 106-130.

Parker, G. and Murray, C. (2012) Beyond tokenism? Community-led planning and rational choices: findings from participants in local agenda-setting at the neighbourhood scale in England, *Town Planning Review*, 83(1) 1-28.

Pattman, R. and Kehily, M.J. (2004) Gender. In Fraser, S., Lewis, V., Ding, S., Kellett, M. and Robinson, C. (eds) *Doing Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage. pp.131-144.

Pennycock, M. (2011) Undermining social housing will damage communities, *The Guardian*. Available at: www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/07/social-housing-mixed-communities [Accessed on 6 January 2012].

Percy-Smith, B. (2002) Contested worlds: constraints and opportunities in city and suburban environments in an English Midlands city. In Chalwa, L. (ed) *Growing Up in an Urbanising World*. London: Earthscan. pp.57-80.

Percy-Smith, B. and Matthews, H. (2001) Tyrannical spaces: young people, bullying and urban neighbourhoods, *Local Environment*, 6(1) 49-63.

Petrin, R.A., Farmer, T.W., Meece, J.L., and Byun, S. (2011) Interpersonal competence configurations, attachment to community, and residential aspirations of rural adolescents, *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 40(9) 1091-1105.

Philo, C. (1992) Neglected rural geographies: A review. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 8(2) 193-207.

Pinkster, F.M. and Fortuijn, J.D. (2009) Watch out for the neighbourhood trap! A case study on parental perceptions of and strategies to counter risks for children in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, *Children's Geographies*, 7(3) 323-337.

Pratchett, L., Thorp, L., Wingfield, M., Lowndes, V. and Jabbar, R. (2010) *Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: Rapid Evidence Assessment Mapping Report – Stage One*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Prezza, M. and Pacilli, M. (2007) Current fear of crime, sense of community, and loneliness in Italian adolescents: the role of autonomous mobility and play during childhood, *Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(2) 151–170.

Propper, C., Burgess, S., Bolster, A., Leckie, G., Jones, K. and Johnston, R. (2007) The impact of neighbourhood on the income and mental health of British social renters, *Urban Studies*, 44(2) 393-415.

Punch, S. (2002) Research with children: the same or different from research with adults? *Childhood*, 9(4) 321-341.

Punch, S. (2003) Childhoods in the majority world: miniature adults or tribal children? *Sociology*, 37(2) 277-295.

Punch, S. (2007) 'I felt they were ganging up on me': interviewing siblings at home, *Children's Geographies*, 5(3) 219-234.

Putnam, R.D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks.

Pyer, M., Horton, J., Tucker, F., Ryan, S. and Kraftl, P. (2010) Children, young people and 'disability': challenging Children's Geographies? *Children's Geographies*, 8(1) 1-8.

Raco, M. (2007a) *Building Sustainable Communities: Spatial Policy and Labour Mobility in Post-War Britain*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Raco, M. (2007b) Securing sustainable communities: citizenship, safety and sustainability in the new urban planning, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 14(4) 305–320.

Raffo, C. and Reeves, M. (2000) Youth transitions and social exclusion: developments in social capital theory, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3(2) 147-166.

Rasmussen, K. and Smidt, S. (2003) Children in the neighbourhood: the neighbourhood in children. In Christensen, P. and O'Brien, M. (eds) *Children in the City: Home, Neighbourhood and Community*. London: Routledge. pp.82-100.

Reay, D. and Lucey, H. (2000) 'I don't really like it here but I don't want to be anywhere else' children and inner city council estates, *Antipode*, 32(4) 410-426.

Rice, S. (2010) Sampling in geography. In Clifford, N., French, S. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Key Methods in Human Geography*. London: Sage. pp.230-252.

Rissotto, A. and Tonucci, F. (2002) Freedom of movement and environmental knowledge in elementary school children, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 22(1) 65-77.

Roberts, K. and Parsell, G. (1994) Youth cultures in Britain: the middle class take-over, *Leisure Studies*, 13(1) 33-48.

Robertson, D., Smyth, J. and McIntosh, I. (2008) *Neighbourhood Identity: People, Time and Place*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Robinson, C. and Kellett, M. (2004) Power. In Fraser, S., Lewis, V., Ding, S., Kellett, M. and Robinson, C. (eds) *Doing Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage. pp.81-96.

Rowlands, R. and Gurney, C.M. (2001) Young people's perceptions of housing tenure: a case study in the socialization of tenure prejudice, *Housing, Theory and Society*, 17(3) 121-130.

Rowlands, R., Murie, A. and Tice, A. (2006) *More than Tenure Mix: Developer and Purchaser Attitudes to New Housing Estates*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Ruming, K., Mee, K.J. and McGuirk, P.M. (2004) Questioning the rhetoric of social mix: courteous community or hidden hostility? *Australian Geographical Studies*, 42(2) 234-248.

Ryan, S. (2005) 'People don't do odd, do they?' Mothers making sense of the reactions of others towards their learning disabled children in public places, *Children's Geographies*, 3(3) 291-306.

Sarkissian, W. (1976) The idea of social mix in town planning: an historical review, *Urban Studies*, 13(3) 231-246.

Sarkissian, W., Forsyth, A. and Heine, W. (1990) Residential social mix: the debate continues, *Australian Planner*, 28(1) 5-16.

Schäfer, N. (2012) Finding ways to do research on, with and for children and young people, *Geography*, 97(3) 147-154.

Seamon, D. (1980) Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets. In Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. (eds) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. London: Croom Helm. pp.148-165.

Sennett, R. (1970) *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*. New York: Random House.

Sennett, R. (2008) *The Public Realm*. Available at: www.richardsennett.com/site/SENN/Templates/General2.aspx?pageid=16 [Accessed on 20 January 2014].

Sharpe, S. and Tranter, P. (2010) The hope for oil crisis: children, oil vulnerability and (in)dependent mobility, *Australian Planner*, 47(4) 284-292.

Sibley, D. (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge.

Silverman, E., Lupton, R. and Fenton, A. (2005) *A Good Place for Children? Attracting and Retaining Families in Inner Urban Mixed Communities*. Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Sinclair, R. (2004) Participation in practice: making it meaningful, effective and sustainable, *Children and Society*, 18(2) 106-118.

Skelton, T. (2000) 'Nothing to do, nowhere to go?' Teenage girls and 'public' space in the Rhondda Valleys, South Wales. In Holloway, S.L. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. London: Routledge. pp.80-99.

Skelton, T. (2001) Girls in the club: researching working class girls' Lives, *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 4(2) 167-173.

Smith, G. (1996) Ties, nets and an elastic bund: community in the postmodern city, *Community Development Journal*, 31(3) 250-259.

Smith, S. (2013) *'My Friends Probably See the Friendships of the Group as a Community': Exploring Young People's Experiences of Friendship and Community in a Newly Constructed Settlement*, Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leicester.

Smith, S., Bellaby, P. and Lindsay, S. (2010) Social inclusion at different scales in the urban environment: locating the community to empower, *Urban Studies*, 47(7) 1439-1457.

Soja, E. (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Somers, M. (1994) The narrative constitution of identity: a relational and network approach, *Theory and Society*, 23(2) 349-373.

Speak, S. (2000) Children in urban regeneration: foundations for sustainable participation, *Community Development Journal*, 35(1) 31-40.

Squires, P. and Stephen, D. (2005) *Rougher Justice: Young People and Anti-social Behaviour*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Stacey, J. (1990) *Brave New Families: Stories of Domestic Upheaval in the Late Twentieth Century America*. New York: Basic Books.

Staeheli, L.A. and Mitchell, D. (2007) Locating the public in research and practice, *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(6) 792-811.

Stainton Rogers, R. (2004) Making and moulding of modern youth. In Roche, J., Tucker, S., Flynn, R. and Thomson, R. (eds) *Youth in Society: Contemporary Theory in Policy and Practice*. Second Edition. London: Sage. pp.1-9.

Stokowski, P.A. (2002) Languages of place and discourses of power: constructing new senses of place, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 34(4) 368-382.

Sutton, L. (2009) 'They'd only call you a scally if you are poor': the impact of socio-economic status on children's identities, *Children's Geographies*, 7(3) 277-290.

Thomas, D. (1991) *Community Development at Work: A Case of Obscurity in Accomplishment*. London: Community Development Foundation.

Timperio, A., Crawford, D., Telford, A., and Salmon, J. (2004) Perceptions about the local neighbourhood and walking and cycling among children, *Preventive Medicine*, 38(2004) 39-47.

Tisdall, E.K.M., Davis, J. and Gallagher, M. (2009) Introduction. In Tisdall, E.K.M., Davis, J. and Gallagher, M. (eds) *Researching with Children and Young People: Research Design, Methods and Analysis*. London: Sage. pp.1-10.

Travlou, P. (2003) *Teenagers and Public Space: Literature Review*. [online] Edinburgh: OPENspace Research Centre. Available online at: www.openspace.eca.ac.uk/pdf/teenagerslitrev.pdf [Accessed 30 January 2012].

Travlou, P., Owens, P., Thompson, E., Ward, C. and Maxwell, L. (2008) Place mapping with teenagers: locating their territories and documenting their experience of the public realm, *Children's Geographies*, 6(3) 309-326.

Tucker, F. (2003) Sameness or difference? Exploring girls' use of recreational spaces, *Children's Geographies*, 1(1) 11-124.

Tucker, F. and Matthews, H. (2001) 'They don't like girls hanging around there': conflicts over recreational space in rural Northamptonshire, *Area*, 33(2) 161-168.

Tunstall, R. and Lupton, R. (2010) *Mixed Communities: Evidence Review*. London: DCLG.

Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance. Final Report of the Urban Task Force Chaired by Lord Rogers of Riverside*. London: DETR.

Valentine, G. (1996) Angels and devils: moral landscapes of childhood, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14(5) 581-599.

Valentine, G. (1997a) 'Oh yes I can." "Oh no you can't': children and parents' understanding of kids' competence to negotiate public space safely, *Antipode*, 29(1) 65-89.

Valentine, G. (1997b) A safe place to grow up? Parenting, perceptions of children's safety and the rural idyll, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 13(1) 137-148.

Valentine, G. (2001) *Social Geographies: Space and Society*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Valentine, G. (2004) *Public Space and the Culture of Childhood*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Valentine, G. and Holloway, S.L. (2002) Cyberkids? Exploring children's identities and social networks in on-line and off-line worlds, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92(2) 302-319.

Valentine, G. and Skelton, T. (2007) Re-defining norms: D/deaf young people's transitions to independence, *Sociological Review*, 55(1) 104-123.

Valentine, G., Holloway, S. and Bingham, N. (2002) The digital generation? Children, ICT and the everyday nature of social exclusion, *Antipode*, 34(2) 296-316.

Vandell, K.D. (1995) Market factors affecting spatial heterogeneity among urban neighbourhoods, *Housing Policy Debate*, 6(1), pp.103-139.

Vanderbeck, R. (2008) Reaching critical mass? Theory, politics, and the culture of debate in Children's Geographies, *Area*, 40(3) 393-400.

Vanderbeck, R.M. and Morse Dunkley, C. (2003) Young people's narratives of rural-urban difference, *Children's Geographies*, 1(2) 241-259.

Vanderstede, W. (2011) 'Chilling' and 'hopping' in the 'teenage space network': explorations in teenagers' geographies in the city of Mechelen, *Children's Geographies*, 9(2) 167-184.

Van Deusen Jr., R. (2002) Public space design as class warfare: urban design, the 'right to the city' and the production of Clinton Square, Syracuse, NY, *GeoJournal*, 58(2-3) 149-158.

Veitch, J., Salmon, J. and Ball, K. (2007) Children's perceptions of the use of public open spaces for active free-play, *Children's Geographies*, 5(4) 409-422.

Ward, C. (1977) *The Child in the City*. London: Architectural Press.

Watt, P. and Stenson, K. (1998) The street: 'It's a bit dodgy around there': safety, danger, ethnicity, and young people's use of public space. In Skelton, T. and Valentine, G. (eds) *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. London: Routledge. pp.105-131.

We Are What We Do (2013) *Chicken Shop*. Available at www.wearewhatwedo.org/portfolio/chicken-shop/ [Accessed 17 October 2013].

Weaver, M. (2006) Ministers push for dilution solution, *The Guardian*. Available at: www.guardian.co.uk/society/2006/apr/26/communities.politics1 [Accessed on 9 January 2012].

Weller, S. (2006) Situating (young) teenagers in geographies of children and youth, *Children's Geographies*, 4(1) 97-108.

Weller, S. (2007a) 'Sticking with your mates'? Children's friendship trajectories during the transition from primary to secondary school, *Children and Society*, 21(5) 339-351.

Weller, S. (2007b) *Teenagers' Citizenship: Experience and Education*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Weller, S. (2010) Time(s) to be creative! Sustaining young people's engagement in qualitative longitudinal research. In Shirani, F. and Weller, S. (eds) *Conducting Qualitative Longitudinal Research: Fieldwork Experience*, Timescapes, ESRC: Online www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/WP2-final-Jan-2010.pdf [Accessed: 10 April 2014] pp.34-48.

Weller, S. (2012) Evolving creativity in qualitative longitudinal research with children and teenagers, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15(2) 119-133.

Weller, S. and Bruegel, I. (2009) Children's 'place' in the development of neighbourhood social capital, *Urban Studies*, 46(3) 629-643.

Weston, L. (2010) Building cities for young people: why we should design cities with preteens and young teens in mind, *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(3) 325-334.

Weszkalnys, G. (2008) A robust square: youth work, planning and the making of public space in contemporary Berlin, *City and Society*, 20(2) 251-274.

Witten, K., Kearns, R., Carroll, P., Asiasiga, L. and Tava'e, N. (2013) New Zealand parents' understandings of the intergenerational decline in children's independent outdoor play and active travel, *Children's Geographies*, 11(2) 215-229.

Wood, M. (2002) *A Balancing Act? Tenure Diversification in Australia and Britain*. Paper presented at Housing Studies Association Conference, Spring 2002, York University, UK. Available at: www.york.ac.uk/inst/chp/hsa/papers/spring02/wood.pdf [Accessed on 11 October 2011].

Woolley, H. (2006) Freedom of the city: contemporary issues and policy influences on children and young people's use of public open space in England, *Children's Geographies*, 4(1) 45-59.

Woolley, H. and Johns, R. (2001) Skateboarding: the city as a playground, *Journal of Urban Design*, 6(2) 211-230.

Worpole, K. and Knox, J. (2007) *Social Value of Public Space*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Wrigley, N., Guy, C. and Lowe, M. (2002) Urban regeneration, social inclusion and large store development: the Seacroft Development in context, *Urban Studies*, 39(11) 2101-2114.

Wyn, J. and White, R. (1997) *Rethinking Youth*. London: Sage Publications.

Wyness, M. (2008) Adult's involvement in children's participation: juggling children's places and spaces, *Children and Society*, 22(6) 1-12.

Yeung, J., Wearing, S. and Hills, A.P. (2007) Child transport practices and perceived barriers in active commuting to school, *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 42(6) 895-900.

Young, L. and Barrett, H. (2001) Adapting visual methods: action research with Kampala street children, *Area*, 33(2) 141-152.

Young, A., Russell, A. and Powers, J.R. (2004) The sense of belonging to a neighbourhood: can it be measured and is it related to health and well being in older women? *Social Science and Medicine*, 59 2627-2637.

Appendices

Appendix A: Completed risk assessment

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON		Risk Assessment	
Activity:	Fieldwork for research degree (Rebekah Ryder, Centre for Children and Youth). To take place on a number of occasions between September 2011 and December 2013.	**Reference No:**	
		Assessed By:	Rebekah Ryder (student) Dr Faith Tucker (supervisor)
Location:	Various public spaces and private homes within two case study areas in Northamptonshire.	**Approved By:**	
		Issue Date:	
		Revision Date:	

This risk assessment draws upon documents presented on the Occupational Health & Safety Office website.

Hazard	Consequences	Persons affected	Existing Control Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk	Additional Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk
Travelling to study sites – travel hazards										
Delays	Aims not met Financial Distress	Researcher	Ensure itinerary is appropriate.	2	2	4				
Breakdown	Distress Financial	Researcher	If travelling by private vehicle, researcher to ensure that has access to recovery service,	2	2	4				

Hazard	Consequences	Persons affected	Existing Control Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk	Additional Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk
			alternative transport.							
Road Traffic Accident	Fatality Major/minor injury Financial Distress	Researcher	If travelling by private vehicle, researcher to ensure that the vehicle has a valid MOT and insurance, and is roadworthy.	4	1	4				
Liability	Financial	Researcher	Inform Finance department of the trip.	1	2	2				
Interviews – activity-specific hazards										
Personal safety	Major/minor injury Distress	Researcher					Researcher to ensure that all meetings and research activities take place in a public place. Researcher to inform a nominated individual of the precise time and location of research activities. Researcher to carry mobile phone and to leave contact details with nominated person. If research takes place in a private home, researcher will 'check in' with nominated individual when arriving and departing the property.	3	2	6

Hazard	Consequences	Persons affected	Existing Control Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk	Additional Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk
Personal safety	Distress	Participants	Researcher will be working with young people (aged 11-16 years). Researcher has CRB Enhanced Disclosure Certificate.				All research materials will be reviewed by an experienced supervisory team to ensure that they are 'fit for purpose'. Researcher will liaise with local youth workers and teachers to help gain an understanding of issues relating to working with young people.	1	3	3
Fire and evacuation	Fatality Major/minor injury Distress	Researcher and participants	Researcher and participants to familiarise themselves with specific fire and evacuation arrangements for all buildings visited.	5	1	5				
Obstacles (e.g. slips, trips and falls)	Various degrees of severity	Researcher and participants					Ensure researcher is aware of first aid provision at location. If an injury does occur, emergency services to be contacted. If an accident does occur, this must be reported to OHS office as soon as possible.	3	2	6

Hazard	Consequences	Persons affected	Existing Control Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk	Additional Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk
Photo tours – activity-specific hazards										
Weather	Conditions may be inappropriate for activity	Researcher and participants					Researcher to check forecast and advise of any specific clothing/footwear requirements.	3	2	6
Traffic	Various degrees of severity	Researcher and participants					Researcher and participants to adhere to accepted traffic/pedestrian segregation control measures.	5	1	5
Injury sustained whilst on activity (e.g. slips, trips and falls)	Various degrees of severity	Researcher and participants					See controls relating to Weather above. Ensure researcher is aware of first aid provision near study sites. If an injury does occur, emergency services to be contacted. If an accident does occur, this must be reported to OHS office as soon as possible.	3	2	6
Personal safety	Major/minor injury Distress	Researcher					Researcher to ensure that all meetings and research activities take place in a public place. Researcher to inform a nominated individual of the	3	2	6

Hazard	Consequences	Persons affected	Existing Control Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk	Additional Measures (Where appropriate)	Severity	Likelihood	Total Risk
							precise time and location of research activities. Researcher to carry mobile phone and to leave contact details with nominated person.			

RISK ASSESSMENT MATRIX

RISK						
Severity	5	5	10	15	20	25
	4	4	8	12	16	20
	3	3	6	9	12	15
	2	2	4	6	8	10
	1	1	2	3	4	5
		1	2	3	4	5
		Likelihood				

SEVERITY	
5	Multiple fatality
4	Fatality
3	Major injury
2	Minor injury
1	Negligible impact

LIKELIHOOD	
5	Almost Certain
4	Probable
3	Possible
2	Remote
1	Improbable

The aim is to reduce the risk by prevention or control measures so far as is reasonably practicable.

Explanatory Note:

Risk	
16-25	Very high (Do not proceed without authorisation from the Directorate)
12-15	High
6-10	Medium
1-5	Low

Likelihood	
Almost certain	Self explanatory
Probable	More likely than not to occur
Possible	Has the potential to occur
Remote	Unlikely to occur

Severity	
Multi fatality	Self explanatory
Fatality	Self explanatory
Major injury	Reportable incident under RIDDOR such as fracture of bones, dislocation, amputation, occupational diseases (e.g. asthma, dermatitis), loss of sight.
Minor injury	First aid administered. This would include minor, cuts, bruising, abrasions and strains or sprains of ligaments, tendons, muscles
Negligible impact	Self explanatory

Appendix B: Letter of introduction to gatekeepers

Address

Miss Rebekah Ryder
The University of Northampton
Address
Telephone: xxx
Mobile: xxx
E-mail: rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk

Dear [Headteacher], [Date]

My name is Rebekah Ryder and I am a current doctoral research student at the University of Northampton. I am undertaking a project entitled '*A part of community or apart from community? Integration of young people in mixed community developments*'. The research is looking at the community experiences of young people aged 11-16 within two case study areas: [Community A and Community B].

I am writing to you in your capacity as Headteacher of [...] School to ask whether you would be willing to let me access pupils from [Community A/B] in order to conduct research (a questionnaire). I enclose a copy of the consent form, questionnaire and follow up interview questions that I will use for the research.

The questionnaire would be done at a time which fits with your timetable (perhaps citizenship, Geography or PSHE/form periods) and should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. I am aiming for one hundred young people from [Community A/B] to complete my questionnaire. Questionnaire respondents will be able to volunteer for further research outside of school hours with parents' consent. I intend to start collecting data (including the questionnaire) as soon as possible.

There is no obligation for anyone to take part in the research. Everything that participants tell me will be kept confidential and no one will be able to identify them in the final report on the project. All information collected will be stored in a secure place, and protected by a password if saved on a computer. I am in possession of a clean CRB check, dated May 2011. The project has been cleared by the University's Research Ethics Committee.

I understand you are very busy, but I would appreciate if you could contact me by [date] to indicate your willingness to release your pupils for this project.

Thank you for your time and attention.

I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Rebekah Ryder MRTPI
PhD Researcher - Human Geography

Copy sent by email.

Enc.

Appendix C: Leaflet used to promote research in Community B

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON

Prize for your Wise

University of Northampton Research

- What do **you like** about [Community B]?
- What do you and **your friends do here**?
- What would **make it better?**

My name is Rebekah Ryder. I'm doing a project on **young people living in** [Community B]. I am looking for volunteers **aged 11-16 years** to do a survey, take photos and tell me about themselves. I can offer a **small reward** for interview work.

If you would like to help, complete the survey: https://survey.northampton.ac.uk/youth-community, contact **me** on Twitter (RebekahRyder), by text: 0xxxxxxxxxx or email: rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON

Young people and community

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. It should take around
15-20 minutes to complete. There are no right or wrong answers. In the final report, no-one will be able to tell who answered what to what questions.

Please tick (✓) boxes as appropriate.

ABOUT YOU

1. How old are you?

   11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14 ☐ 15 ☐ 16+ ☐

2. Are you a

   boy ☐ girl ☐

3. What is your ethnic background?

Chinese	☐	Bangladeshi	☐	Indian	☐
Pakistani	☐	Other Asian Background	☐	Black Caribbean	☐
Black African	☐	Other Black Background	☐	White (British)	☐
White (other)	☐	White & Black African	☐	White & Black Caribbean	☐
White & Asian	☐	Other Mixed Background	☐	Other Ethnic Background	☐
Prefer not to say	☐				

4. Do you think you are part of a social group?

   Yes ☐ **go to question 5** No ☐ **go to question 6**

5. If you answered yes to question 4, can you define this group (for example, emo, punk, gamer, chav, goth, skater, raver or rah)?

   .....

YOUR FAMILY

6. What is/was your parents' or guardians' main job? (please give job title if known and a description of what their job involves)

   .....

   .....

7. How many brothers or sisters do you have living with you?

   Number of older brothers/sisters living with you .....

   Number of younger brothers/sisters living with you .....

YOUR HOME

8. Where do you live? Please describe where in your neighbourhood you live.

.....

9. Did you see the plans for your home before moving in?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't remember ☐

10. Which option best describes the ownership of your house?

Owned by my parents/guardians ☐
Owned by the Council ☐
Don't know ☐
Owned by someone else ☐
Owned by a Housing Association ☐

11. How long have you lived in your home?

less than a year ☐ 1-2 years ☐ 3-4 years ☐ 5 years or more ☐

12. How many people live in your house, including you but excluding pets?

2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 or more ☐

YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD

13. Do you agree with the following sentences?

	Agree	Disagree
There is lots for me to do	☐	☐
There are some things for me to do	☐	☐
There is nothing for me to do	☐	☐
I have friends in my neighbourhood	☐	☐
I have friends who live outside my neighbourhood	☐	☐
I have family in my neighbourhood	☐	☐
I have family who live outside my neighbourhood	☐	☐
I enjoy living in my neighbourhood	☐	☐
My neighbourhood is boring	☐	☐

14. How would you describe the **majority** of residents in your neighbourhood?

Older than me ☐ Younger than me ☐ About my age ☐
Mostly male ☐ Mostly female ☐ Not sure ☐

15. Do you think you get on well with people in your neighbourhood?

Yes - with most people ☐ Yes - with some people ☐ No ☐

16. How often do you see your next door neighbour/s to talk to?

Daily ☐ Weekly ☐ More than once a month ☐
Once a month ☐ Once every six months ☐ Once a year ☐
I have never spoken to my next door neighbour/s ☐

17. Do you think you live in a community?

Yes ☐ No ☐

18. How would you define community?

.....

.....

19. Have you ever heard of the term 'mixed community'?

Yes ☐ **go to question 20** No ☐ **go to question 21**

20. If you answered yes to question 19 above, please state what you think a mixed community is:

.....

.....

HOW YOU SPEND YOUR TIME

21. Which of these apply to you **(please tick all that apply)**: I spend most of my free time...

Outdoors ☐ In my home ☐ At friends' houses ☐
In organised activities ☐ With my family ☐ Other (please specify)
.....

22. I mostly like to **(please tick all that apply)**:

Play sport ☐ Watch TV ☐ Hang out ☐
Play computer /console games ☐ Surf the internet ☐ Listen to music ☐
Go to the cinema ☐ Other (please specify).....

HOW YOU TRAVEL

23. How do you get to school? **(please tick all that apply)**

Parents' car ☐ Another car ☐ Bus ☐
Walking ☐ Cycling ☐ Other (please specify)
.....

24. When I am out by myself I mostly travel by **(please tick all that apply)**:

Walking ☐ Cycling ☐ Scooter ☐
Bus ☐ Other (please specify) .....

YOUR PLACES

25. Please complete the following spider diagrams. Feel free to add more legs if you want.

DON'T FORGET YOU CAN ADD MORE LEGS IF YOU NEED TO!

DON'T FORGET YOU CAN ADD MORE LEGS IF YOU NEED TO!

YOUR MAP OF THESE PLACES

26. If you have time, please draw a map of where you live and the places you most like to go or things that you would most like to change:

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

If you are willing to take part in further research please provide your name and contact details. You will receive a £5 voucher of your choice for help with this further research.

Name:.....

Email: .....

Home phone number:.....

If you have any further questions about the research, please contact:

Rebekah Ryder, PhD Student, Centre for Children & Youth, The University of Northampton, Park Campus, Northampton, NN2 7AL. Tel: 01604 892512 E-mail: rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk

Appendix E: Parental consent form

Dear Parent/ Guardian,

Research Project: A part of community or apart from community? Integration of young people in mixed community developments in Northamptonshire

My name is Rebekah Ryder and I am a current research student at the University of Northampton. I am undertaking a project entitled '*A part of community or apart from community? Integration of young people in mixed community developments*' looking at the effectiveness of planning policy to create 'mixed' communities, which aim to mix people of different ages, lifestyles and incomes to create a socially balanced community. My project focuses on young people aged 11-16 within two case study areas, [Community A and Community B].

The research project has gained ethical approval from the University's Research Ethics Committee and I am CRB checked.

What will my child be asked to do?

I am completing a series of group and face to face interviews with up to twenty young people in the two case study areas in Northamptonshire. Group and individual interviews will take no more than one hour and will be led by an experienced researcher. Interviews will be recorded for clarity. Individual interviewees will also be asked to complete a diary and take photographs of where they have been and who with over a non-continuous period of three weeks. Interviewees will also be asked to take the researcher on a tour of the neighbourhood to show areas discussed. Each individual will be asked if they would like to participate and no one will be pressured to take part.

Confidentiality

Everything that participants tell the researcher will be kept confidential and no one will be able to identify them in the final report on the project. All information collected will be stored in a secure place, and will be protected by a password if saved on a computer.

Do they have to take part?

There is no obligation for anyone to participate in the research.

If you or your child have any questions or would like to discuss the project further I would be happy to talk to you. I am available on 01604 892512/xxxxxxxxx or rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk. My supervisor is Dr John Horton and he can be contacted on 01604 892990 or john.horton@northampton.ac.uk.

Yours faithfully,

Rebekah Ryder MRTPI
PhD Researcher - University of Northampton

✂----------

Research Permission form

If you are happy for your child to participate in the study please complete this slip and send it with them to their next *youth group session*. Please use the back to provide any additional information about your child that you think the researcher should be aware of.

I give permission for _____ (name of participant) to take part in the above research.

Signed _____ **Date** _____

Please print name_____
Relationship to young person_____

Appendix F: Interview consent form for participants

Title of study:
A part of community or apart from community? Integration of young people in mixed community developments

Signing this form does not commit you to take part in this study. You can tell the researcher you wish to withdraw from the study without having to give any reason for doing so.

Please initial

I have read/ the information sheet and/ or it has been read and explained to me by the researcher	
I am happy to talk to the researcher about my thoughts and feelings about where I live now	
I understand that the interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder, and will then be typed out.	
I understand that direct quotes from my interview may be used in reports but that I will not be able to be identified from these.	
I understand that my answers may be written down on paper by a researcher	
I am happy for the researcher to retain copyright of photos I have taken as part of the research project and for them to be published as part of the research project	

Signature of individual: Date:	
Print Name:	

I have explained this form and was able to answer any questions that arose.

Signature of Researcher: Date:	
Print Name:	

Confidentiality and data protection.
All data will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office. All information stored electronically will be kept on password protected computers owned by The University of Northampton. This data will be coded so that it cannot be linked to an individual.

Appendix G: Participant information sheet

A part of community or apart from community? Integration of young people in mixed community developments

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what you would have to do. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. You can talk to your **[youth group leader/teacher]** as well. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

This research will look at what places young people like to go and with who in two new communities in Northamptonshire. The research wants to see the success of planning policy to create communities with a mix of age, lifestyles and income. The project aims to examine whether young people from such neighbourhoods mix as a community.

The study is being carried out by Miss Rebekah Ryder, Student Researcher and Dr. John Horton, Senior Lecturer from the University of Northampton. Both are based in the Centre for Children and Youth at the University and their contact details are available at the end of this information sheet.

2. Why have I been invited?

You have been asked if you would like to take part because you live in [**Community A/Community B**]. Your neighbourhood has been recently built under planning policies designed to mix the community. This makes your views important to the study.

3. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. If you are interested in taking part, we will meet with you to describe the study and go through this information sheet. You can take a copy away. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you have agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw any time up to a month after data collection, without giving a reason.

4. What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be interviewed by one researcher for no more than 1 hour on three separate occasions, with at least one of these interviews occurring during school term time and at least one during school holidays. The researcher will ask you some questions about where you like to go in your neighbourhood, who with and how you feel about the area in which you live. The interviews will be recorded by pen and paper and digital voice recorder. You will also be asked to take the researcher on a tour of your neighbourhood, to look at the places talked about.

5. What will I have to do?

You will be asked to sign a consent form indicating your willingness to take part in the study and to have information collected from your weekly diary by the researcher. You will also be asked to complete a diary of where you have been over the course of a week in school term time and a week in school holidays. You will be asked to take photographs on a disposable camera provided to you of these locations during this time.

Once the diary is filled in and photos taken, you will be asked a series of short questions based on them, about what areas you like and don't like in your neighbourhood, who you go there with and whether you like the area in which you live. You will be interviewed by one researcher for about 1 hour on three separate occasions, with at least one of these interviews occurring during school term time and at least one during school holidays. The researcher will record what you say on a digital voice recorder, with additional notes taken using pen and paper. If you are not happy to be recorded, your answers will be written down on a paper form.

Following the interviews, you will be asked to take the researcher on a walk around the areas talked about in your diary and interviews.

6. What other information will be collected about me?

The researcher will ask you to complete a diary, with photographs from a disposable camera provided, of where you have been over the course of a week, and with who, in school term time and a week in school holidays. You will then be interviewed based around what is written in your diary.

7. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

We think the risks of taking part in this study are very low. If for any reason it upsets you to be asked about your views then we will let your **[youth group leader/teacher]** know so that they can support you. We will make sure that you cannot be identified from any information presented in our report. A risk assessment has been completed as part of the research and a copy is available for you to read.

8. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

A £5 voucher of your choice is offered for help with the interview work. We hope that results from the study will contribute to debates on planning policy for new housing developments and wider work in young people's geographies.

9. Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept confidential. Any information about you will have your name removed and replaced with a number so you cannot be identified. The data will be used only for this study and only the research team involved with the project will have access to it. All data collected will be stored securely and destroyed within three years of the finish of the study.

If you tell us something that makes us believe that someone is at risk then we would have to break confidentiality. We would always discuss this with you first.

10. What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

You can withdraw from the study at any point, up to a month after data collection is complete.

11. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The researcher will produce an 80,000 report on the findings of the study. This will be publicly available from the University of Northampton. The report may be used to inform later presentations and articles. You will not be identifiable in any report or publication.

12. Who is organising and funding the research?

The researcher is from the University of Northampton and is funded by a studentship from the University. The research has not been commissioned and no profit will be made by the University as a result of the study.

13. Who has reviewed the study?

The research has been approved by the University of Northampton's Research Degree Board and the Research Ethics Committee to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity.

14. Complaints

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher who will do their best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain, you can do this by asking to speak to the supervisor of the research project, Dr. John Horton, Senior Lecturer at University of Northampton on 01604 892990 or e-mail on john.horton@northampton.ac.uk.

This copy of the information sheet is yours to keep. If you decide to take part in the study you will be given a copy of the signed consent form to keep.

Contact details for researcher:

Miss Rebekah Ryder MRTPI
PhD Research Student – Centre for Children and Youth
Knowledge Exchange
The University of Northampton
Park Campus
Boughton Green Road
Northampton
NN2 7AL
Telephone: xxxxxxxxxxxxx
E-mail: rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk

Appendix H: One page information sheet for participants
Young People and Community

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Take time and read the following information carefully. You can ask me, or talk to your teacher or parent, if anything is not clear or if you would like more information. A £5 voucher of your choice is available for doing all three interviews.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

This research will look at what places young people like to go and with whom in two new communities in Northamptonshire. The study is being carried out by Miss Rebekah Ryder, Student Researcher.

2. Why have I been invited?

You have been asked if you would like to participate because you live in [Community A/Community B] and are aged 11-16.

3. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. If you are interested, I will need your parents' permission for you to take part and I will need you to sign a consent form to show you are happy to do the research.

4. What will I need to do if I take part?

You will be interviewed by one researcher for no more than 1 hour on three separate occasions (this can be done with your friends if you want). The researcher will ask you some questions about where you like to go in your neighbourhood, who with and how you feel about the area in which you live. The interviews will be recorded by pen and paper and digital voice recorder. You will be asked to complete a diary (with photos on a camera provided to you) of where you have been and with whom over two separate weeks. You will also be asked to take the researcher on a tour of your neighbourhood, to look at the places talked about.

5. What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

You can withdraw from the study at any point, up to a month after data collection is complete.

Contact details for researcher: Bekah Ryder
The University of Northampton NN2 7AL
E-mail: rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk
Mobile: xxxxxxxxx
Telephone: 01604 892512

Appendix I: List of contacts who could provide guidance on sensitive issues raised by participants

Contact Numbers

- **SupportLine Telephone Helpline: 01708 765200**
  email info@supportline.org.uk - Provides emotional support and information relating to other helplines, counsellors and support groups throughout the UK including helplines and face to face for young people.

- **The Acne Resource Center**
  www.acne-resource.org - Provides free information on every aspect of this very treatable acne.

- **After Adoption: 0800 0568 578**
  www.afteradoption.org.uk - Helpline for up to 25 years re adoptees and for their birth parents, siblings and friends. Information and support on issues relating to adoption, including tracing relatives, birth identity and other services.

- **Brook Young People's Information Service: 0800 0185 023**
  www.brook.org.uk - Information, support and signposting service for young people under 25 on sexual health. Also run a confidential enquiry service via the Brook website .

- **Childline: 0800 1111**
  info@childline.org.uk, www.childline.org.uk, - Emotional support for children and young people on issues relating to child abuse, bullying etc.

- **Children's Legal Centre: Young peoples Freephone 0800 783 2187, Child Law Advice Line: 0845 120 2948**
  www.childrenslegalcentre.com - Represents the interests of children and young people in matters of law and policy affecting them.

- **Connexions: 020 8536 3630**
  www.connexions.gov.uk - Ages 13-19 years or up to 25 years for young people with special educational needs. Support and practical help with choosing right courses, advice on issues like drug abuse, sexual health and homelessness.

- **Forced Marriages Abroad: 020 7008 0230/0109**
  email clu@fco.gov.uk - Service provided by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office to protect young people from forced marriages abroad. Service offers help to young people in these circumstances to help get them back to the UK.

- **Get Connected: 0808 808 4994**
  www.getconnected.org.uk - Free telephone and email helpline which can connect a child or young person to any UK helpline where appropriate.

- **Life Train: 0130 6730 929**
  email info@lifetrain.org.uk, www.lifetrain.org.uk - Focuses on the development of young people and people with disabilities. Runs courses and workshops and residential centre.

- **Muslim Youth Helpline: 0808 808 2008**
  email help@myh.org.uk, www.myh.org.uk - Helpline providing culturally sensitive support to Muslim youth under the age of 25. Outreach services including family mediation, face to face counselling and befriending.

- **National Youth Advocacy Service: 0800 616101**
  email help@nyas.net, www.nyas.net - Provides information, advice, advocacy and legal representation to young people up to 25 through a network of advocates through England and Wales.

- **Nightline**
  www.nightline.ac.uk - Nightline is a listening, emotional support, information and supplies service, run by students for students and open at night when few other services are available.

- **Samaritans: 0845 790 9090**
  www.samaritans.org - Samaritans provides confidential non-judgemental emotional support, 24 hours a day for people who are experiencing feelings of distress or despair, including those which could lead to suicide.

- **Sexwise: 0800 28 29 30**
  www.ruthinking.co.uk - Helpline providing information, advice and guidance for young people aged 12-18 on sexuality and sexual health. Issues dealt with include contraception, pregnancy, family planning clinics and peer pressure.

- **Talk Don't Walk: 0800 085 2136**
  Support and advice for young people who have run away from home or are thinking of running away from home or care.

- **Voice for the Child In Care: 0808 800 5792**
  email help@voiceyp.org, www.voiceyp.org - Telephone advice, information and advocacy services for children in care. Visiting advocacy service for children in secure units and other residential homes.

Appendix J: Interview questions

There will be three interviews:

- initial (group or individual) interview to introduce researcher to participant through discussing typical week, complete mental mapping exercise for neighbourhood and introduction to diary exercise;
- Second interview during term-time to discuss term time diary; and
- Third interview during school holidays to discuss diary

Interview One

Can you tell me a little about yourself, how old you are, where you live, who you live with?

Take me through what you've been doing over the last week.

Who are your friends? Where do you know them from and how did you become friends?

Who do you spend most of your free time with? Where do you go together and what do you do there?

Do you have any friends in your neighbourhood? What do you like doing with your friends here?

Do people from school live in your neighbourhood? Do you talk to each other at school?

What do you like to do in your neighbourhood? Where do you go to do them?

Are you a part of any organised activities in your neighbourhood?

Would you say you and your friends are part of a group? How would you define yourselves?

Are there different groups of young people in your neighbourhood?

Do different groups hang out in different areas? Why?

Are there any people that you don't like seeing in your neighbourhood, old or young? Why?

Can you remember moving in to your house? Take me through that.

(Where did you live before and how was it different?)

What do you think community is? What makes a community?

Is your neighbourhood a community? Why?

How do people from the different areas of the neighbourhood get along?

How do people from the different areas describe each other, or how would you describe people from the different areas?

Are there any things in your neighbourhood that you think need to change?

USING A1 MAP

- Limits of your neighbourhood?
- What's your favourite place in your neighbourhood and why?
- Are there any places you avoid? Why?

- Would you say there are different areas of your community/neighbourhood?
- What kind of facilities are your neighbourhood and the wider area? Do you like them?
- How do you get about in your neighbourhood?

WANT TO KNOW:

- **FREQUENCY**
- **WHO WITH**
- **WHAT DO**
- **HOW GET THERE**
- **GOOD OR BAD**
- **ROUTES**

Interview Two - Term Time

You've completed your diary, can you take me through the best and worst bits of the week?

What was your favourite place you went to this week and why?

Were there any places you didn't enjoy going and why?

If you didn't spend much time in your neighbourhood, why not?

Is there anything you did in the wider area that you wish you could have done within your neighbourhood?

Who did you spend the most time with?

When you're at school, is there a difference between people that live in your neighbourhood and other people? What is different?

Who did you see as part of your daily routine? I.e. friends, neighbours

Are there any places your parents didn't like you going? What do you think about that?

Are there any friends your parents didn't like you seeing? What do you think about that?

Do you prefer going into town with your parents or with your friends? Why?

Is there anyone you normally see that you didn't this week?

Did you see anyone you know this week that you didn't speak to?

Did you come into conflict with people in your neighbourhood when you were out and about? Do/have you ever?

Are there places that you didn't or don't go in your neighbourhood? If so, why not?

How would you describe your neighbours?

Do you think your neighbourhood is a good place to live?

What do you think makes a good place to live?

Do you think it is designed well? Why?

Do you think everyone is treated equally in your neighbourhood?

Interview Three – Out of Term

You've completed your diary, can you take me through it?

What was your favourite place you went to this week and why?

Is there anything you did in the wider area that you wish you could have done within your neighbourhood?

If you didn't spend much time in your neighbourhood, why not?

Who did you spend the most time with?

Who did you see as part of your daily routine? I.e. friends, neighbours

Is there anyone you normally see that you didn't this week?

Did you come into conflict with people in your neighbourhood when you were out and about? Do/have you ever?

Are there places that you didn't or don't go in your neighbourhood? If so, why not?

How would you change your neighbourhood and the people in it?

Do you want to live in a community now? How about when you are older?

What do you think about affordable housing?

How would/do you feel about further development in your area?

What do you want to do in the future?

Would you like to own your own house?

What kind of house do you want to live in when you're older?

Do you think you will stay in this area?

Appendix K: Copy of diary given to participants for completion

MY DIARY

Name:.....

Welcome to your weekly diary! Try and make notes of:
Where you've been in the day (even if it's at home)
Who you saw (if anyone)
What you did that day
Who you talked to (even online)? This can be family/friend/ neighbour/stranger
What's been the best thing about [Community A/B] today or what would you change about [Community A/B] today?

We can then talk about your diary when we next meet. You've also got a camera, so try and take photos of these places and people.

MONDAY

Where you've been today (even if it's at home)?

Who have you seen (if anyone)?

What did you do today?

Who did you talk to (even online)?

What's been the best thing about [Community A/B] today or what would you change about [Community A/B] today?

Appendix L: Street interview questions

Can you tell me a little about yourself, how old you are, where you live, who you live with?

Take me through what you've been doing over the last week.

How do you get about?

Who are your friends? Where do you know them from and how did you become friends?

Would you say you and your friends are part of a group? How would you define yourselves?

Are there different groups of young people in your neighbourhood?

Do different groups hang out in different areas? Why?

Are there any people that you don't like seeing in your neighbourhood, old or young? Why?

Are there places your parents don't like you going? What do you think about that?

Are there any friends your parents didn't like you seeing? What do you think about that?

What makes a community? Is your neighbourhood a community? Why?

How do people from the different areas of the neighbourhood get along?

How would you describe your neighbours?

Do you think your neighbourhood is a good place to live? Are there any things in your neighbourhood that you think need to change?

Would you like to live here when you're older?

Would you like to own your own house in the future?

What do you think about affordable housing?

How would/do you feel about further development in your area?

What do you think makes a good place to live?

Do you think it is designed well? Why?

Do you think everyone is treated equally in your neighbourhood?

Appendix M: Street interview consent form

Title of study:
A part of community or apart from community? Integration of young people in mixed community developments

Signing this form does not mean you have to take part in the study.
You can tell me if you want to stop at any time, without telling me why.

Who is carrying out the research?
Bekah Ryder, PhD Researcher from The University of Northampton. The researcher has a clean Criminal Record and the research has been approved by the Research and the Ethics Board of The University.

Why have you been asked to take part?
Because you're aged 11-16 and live in either [Community A or Community B], where the research is based.

What will you be asked to do?
Answer a short questionnaire and complete a short interview about your thoughts and feelings of where you live. The researcher will ask you to show some of the places mentioned on a small map of your area.

Please tick

I am happy to talk to the researcher about my thoughts and feelings about where I live now	
I understand that the interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder, and will then be typed out.	
I understand that my answers may be written down on paper by a researcher	
I understand that direct quotes from my interview may be used in reports but that I will not be able to be identified from these.	

Signature of individual:	
Print Name:	

I have explained this form and was able to answer any questions that arose.

Signature of Researcher:	
Date:	

Confidentiality and data protection.
All data will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office. All information stored electronically will be kept on password protected computers owned by The University of Northampton. This data will be coded so that it cannot be linked to an individual.

Contact details for researcher: Bekah Ryder
The University of Northampton NN2 7AL
E-mail: rebekah.ryder@northampton.ac.uk

Mobile: xxxxxx
Telephone: 01604 892512

Appendix N: Issues concerning data collection and ethics

Issue	Strategy	Evaluation
Preliminary papers and authority	• Information leaflet/letter in clear and concise language (Alderson, 2004) for gatekeepers, participants and interested parties (including parents and guardians). Copies at Appendices B, C, E, F, G, H and M. • Criminal Records Bureau check completed.	• The letter had mixed success in terms of response. Of the two schools contacted in Community A, only one replied and of the five schools contacted in Community B, three replied. The consent letter drafted by the host school in Community B was sent to 75 young people living in the study community and 38 permissions were received back from parents and young people.
Informing participants	• Written, informed consent obtained from participants before undertaking research (Mauthner, 1997; Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). Copy of consent form at Appendix F. • Made clear did not have to take part and could withdraw, at any point up to a month after completion of the data collection (Alderson, 1995; Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Kirk, 2007). • As participants under 18, written consent of parents and guardians obtained (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Kirk, 2007; Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). • Participants fully informed concerning purpose, why selected and what required of them (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b).	• The parental consent forms were amended to include a sentence requesting whether there was any additional information about their child the parent/guardian wished to convey which they thought the researcher should be aware of. This raised issues that one participant had ADHD (Attention Deficit Disorder). • The information sheets for participants were amended upon reflection. Initially a longer one (Appendix F) was given to participants to read, but it was found that participants during initial interviews were not inclined to read such a long document. A shorter information sheet (Appendix H) was devised to go through at interviews, with longer ones given to participants for them to read in their own time. • In terms of consent forms, those at the younger end of the cohort were very excited to have to sign something.
Informing relevant authorities	• Recruitment of participants done through schools, youth workers, outreach workers, Scout groups, parish councils and youth groups (Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010; Weller, 2010). • Authorities fully informed of nature of research and requirements of participants (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b).	• Contact with schools prompted a sufficient response to guarantee a representative sample. Informing the relevant authority at Community B school of the project worked well through regular phone calls and emails. Contact with the school in Community A was more difficult to maintain. Youth workers were kept updated with informal conversations.

Issue	Strategy	Evaluation
Distressing circumstances and need for referral	• Participants informed could withdraw from the data collection process, and from the project entirely, at any point up to a month after completion of data collection to protect against loss of research material. • Participants made aware that if the researcher was concerned for welfare of participant or others then information would not remain confidential and would be passed to the relevant authority (Matthews *et al.*, 1998b; Kirk, 2007). • List of contacts who could provide guidance on sensitive issues developed with gatekeepers to give to participants as required (Appendix I).	• A list of contacts was developed through attendance at community events and youth club and talking to health professionals at such events. No distressing circumstances were discussed during any interviews and the researcher did not feel at any point that the participants were going to harm themselves or another. Bullying was mentioned by a few participants, but the researcher established that parents and relevant authorities were aware of these issues.
Confidentiality, anonymity and data storage	• Participants fully informed of protection of data during collection. • Data stored electronically was password-protected. • Hard copies of any data were stored in a locked cabinet. • All participants were anonymised at the analysis stage (Christensen and Prout, 2002).	• This worked well once the researcher had secured extra storage space on the drive at university to ensure the privacy and security of interview recordings.
Health and safety and risk avoidance	• Researcher informed the supervisory team of location of interview, start and finish time, name of participant and mobile phone number for emergency use. • Researcher at all times carried mobile phone, copy of Criminal Records Bureau check, University ID card, other forms of identification, letters of consent (where relevant) and supervisory team contact details. • Full risk assessment was completed for all parts of the data collection prior to their being undertaken and is available at Appendix A. • The researcher and participants familiarised themselves with the fire evacuation procedure of building before interviews or focus groups.	• No problems arose with regard to health and safety and risk avoidance. Fire alarms did not go off and the researcher was made welcome in all interview spaces (community hall cupboard, school of Community B and participants' homes). The researcher was not challenged by anyone when undertaking the research.

Issue	Strategy	Evaluation
Positionality and power relations	• The researcher did not attempt to speak for the participants and attempted to accurately reflect data gathered from participants (Pattman and Kehily, 2004; Kirk, 2007). • Issues of positionality, as a result of adult/child relations and gender for example, may have impacted upon the flow of discussion (Skelton, 2001; Leyshon, 2002), or led young people feeling they had to take part (Kirk, 2007). Hoped to overcome through repeatedly telling participant could withdraw from the study, presentations to participants on the purpose of the research and relating to participants in different contexts (Robinson and Kellett, 2004). • Introductory interviews arranged to help the participant and interviewer become comfortable in each other's company (Punch, 2002).	• An initial interview was scheduled so that the researcher and participant could discuss (using diaries and participant-created maps of the area) how the participant liked to spend their time. This introduced the researcher and participant and build up trust and rapport (Punch, 2002; Bushin, 2007; Fargas-Malet *et al.*, 2010). The researcher was sensitive to issues of positionality at all stages of the research process (Robinson and Kellett, 2004) and allowed young people to talk of their lives in their own words (Matthews *et al.*, 1999). This did create problems during the focus groups where the researcher had difficulty ensuring young people spoke in turn, leading to transcription difficulties at a later date.
Training	• The researcher observed the supervisory team undertaking research with young people (including interviews and focus groups). • The researcher volunteered as a 'reading buddy' at a local school (not related to either case study community) to gain experience of working with young people.	• Training worked well, especially the 'reading buddy' volunteer work as this gave the researcher valuable experience of working with young people. Given that the researcher did not have previous experience in youth work this secured additional skills.
Dissemination	• The researcher asked participants and gatekeepers whether they would like to know the results of the study once the research was completed. A record was kept and one page summary letters were sent to interested participants and gatekeepers.	• The researcher completed data collection in summer/autumn 2012 and wrote to participants in spring 2014. The gap may have felt considerable to the participant, though it felt a continuous process to the researcher (Weller, 2012).
Photography	• Participants were requested to pass consent of copyright, including permission to publish photographs taken by them, to the researcher for the purpose of the research (Panelli *et al.*, 2002; Newman *et al.*, 2006). All persons visible in photographs had their faces obscured to avoid identification.	• The photographic methods did not work very well. Participants lost the cameras or did not know what to take photos of. Others reported that their parents had taken photos or had directed them to take certain photos (Barker and Weller, 2003). Many of the photos that came back were of poor quality. They were useful for providing weight to what was discussed at interviews, however, even if they were not a rich data source in themselves.

Appendix O: Participant characteristics

Name	Area	Gender	Age	Tenure	Biography
Amelia	A	Female	12	Private	Amelia lived with her parents in Community A. Her older sisters would quite frequently come to visit the family. She had lived in Community A for over five years and used to attend the Primary School, which is where she met Sarah, Emily and Katie. She was best friends with Katie and would frequently have sleepovers at her house. She was scared of catching the bus and would never walk alone, though she and Katie did walk around Community A quite regularly.
Bradford	A	Male	13	Don't know	Bradford had lived in Community A for three years. He lived with his mum and was the only participant from Community A to go to a different secondary school. He was a skater and spent much of his time doing this at various locations in Community A. He was interviewed in the playground in Summer 2012 where he was messing about with his friends. He also happened to attend the youth club.
Bruce	A	Male	14	Private	Bruce lived with Trudy whilst her parents fostered him. He enjoyed riding his bike and being creative, as well as karate. He had lots of brothers and sisters living elsewhere and attended school 20 miles to the north of his home. Bruce did walk within Community A, but because of the distance to his school and to karate, as well as family trips to restaurants, shopping and the cinema, he was mostly driven.
Emily	A	Female	12	Rented	Emily was best friends with Sarah. She lived with her Dad in Community A, where her older brother was a frequent visitor. She had lived in Community A for over five years and used to attend the Primary School, which is where she met Sarah, Katie and Amelie. A lot of her family lived in Leicester. Emily enjoyed going for long walks by herself and frequently went to the stables to ride horses. She also caught the bus by herself.
Eric	A	Male	11	Private	Eric was interviewed on the street outside Melinda's house with Louise. He had lived in Community A for over five years. He lived with his parents and had a good knowledge of Community A from biking and visiting his friends. He had just finished at the Primary School in Community A and, along with Melinda and Louise, had made many friends there. He enjoyed walking or biking to their houses and playing out with them. He was very attached to Community A. He was not allowed to go beyond the built-up boundary of Community A.
Hannah	A	Female	16	Social	Hannah had lived in Community A for over ten years. She used to live 35 miles to the south. She lived with her parents and two brothers. She got on very well with her neighbours. At the time of the research, she was leaving secondary school to start beautician training at college. She used to attend youth club before starting to volunteer there.
Katie	A	Female	12	Social	Katie lived with her mum. She had lived in Community A for over five years and used to attend the Primary School, which is where she met Sarah, Emily and Amelia. She was best friends with Amelia and would frequently have sleepovers at her house. Katie's mum was very protective over her, and this was reflected in Katie's behaviour. She walked around Community A, but not beyond its boundary. She was not allowed to go to the village to the north of Community A. She would go for picnics with her neighbours in the town to the north and visit her family in Oxford. She felt Community A was posh.

Name	Area	Gender	Age	Tenure	Biography
Louise	A	Female	11	Private	Louise was interviewed on the street outside Melinda's house. She had lived in Community A for over five years, though she was born in a large town to the south. She lived with her parents and brother. She really enjoyed living in Community A, particularly as she had just finished at the Primary School. She walked to her friends' houses to play with them and also enjoyed playing out with them in the country park and playgrounds of Community A, including with Melinda and Eric. She was not allowed to go beyond the built-up boundary of Community A.
Mark	A	Male	15	Private	Mark was interviewed on a bench as he walked to meet friends in the village to the north. He had lived with his parents in Community A for seven years. He enjoyed skating, but did not use it as a means of transport, and felt irritated that he could not access the skatepark in the town to the north due to his reliance on his parents for a lift. He thought Community A was a community, but he did not feel he was involved in it.
Melinda	A	Female	11	Rented	Melinda was interviewed outside her house with Eric and Louise. She lived with her two brothers and two sisters and her parents in Community A; their house was one of the first houses to be occupied. She enjoyed biking and walking around the area with her friends, as well as playing out in the country park and playgrounds. She was just starting to be taught more independence in activities, such as going to the cinema and getting the bus with her sister. She was proud to live in Community A. She was not allowed to go beyond the built-up boundary of Community A.
Mike	A	Male	15	Private	Mike had lived in Community A for 10 years, having been born in the town to the north. He lived with his parents and his sister. His best friend was Neil. Mike and Neil joked that Mike would one day become Prime Minister. Mike enjoyed playing golf and coming to youth club. His family socialised with his neighbours and he felt very attached to his community. Mike walked or biked most places, but he was also driven.
Neil	A	Male	14	Private	Neil had lived in Community A for over10 years, but had been born in a large town in the south, where many of his family still lived. He lived with his sister and his parents. Neil's best friend was Mike. Neil had a paper round. He loved going to the local chip shop and enjoyed watching TV in his spare time. He felt very attached to where he lived, even though he did not get on with his neighbours. Neil walked or biked most places, but he was also driven. Neil also caught the bus by himself to go shopping in the town to the south or visit his family.
Patti	A	Female	14	Rented	Patti was Melinda's sister and was interviewed outside of her house during the street interviews. She lived with her two sisters and her parents and was one of the first families to move into the development. She enjoyed going for runs in the country park and getting the bus into town to meet up with friends. Her and her friends would also hang out in playgrounds in Community A in the evening. She enjoyed living in Community A. Her parents placed fewer restrictions on her than her younger sister.
Sarah	A	Female	12	Private	Sarah lived with her parents and brother in Community A. She had lived in Community A for over five years and used to attend the Primary School, which is where she met Emily, Katie and Amelia. She was best friends with Emily and would spend most of her time at Emily's house, partly as a result of arguments with her mum. Her family had frequent disagreements with her next-door neighbours. She walked to visit friends in the village to the north and also caught the bus by herself.

Name	Area	Gender	Age	Tenure	Biography
Trudy	A	Female	14	Private	Trudy had lived in Community A for 6 years. She could remember moving in to her house, when she hid in a wardrobe and scared the removal men by bursting out whilst they were carrying it. She lived with Bruce whilst he was fostered by her parents. She enjoyed watching all Twilight films from start to finish, playing with her cat and dog and playing Sims on her laptop. She lived with her two sisters and her parents and was friends with her neighbours. She was proud to live in Community A and would walk to school, youth club (where she volunteered) and the shop, though she was also frequently driven. Her family regularly went to the cinema, restaurants or bowling.
Alice	B	Female	15	Private	Alice had lived in Community B with her parents and brother for four years, since moving from 40 miles to the south. She felt like Community B was made up of people that had moved to the area. She really enjoyed dancing and was driven to many classes. In her free time she would walk round Community A and the town to the south with her friends. She would take the bus to meet friends in town to go shopping and lamented the lack of shops in Community B. She was close to her neighbours and thought she lived in a community.
Anna	B	Female	15	Private	Anna had moved to Community B with her parents, one sister and four brothers in the last year. She had moved from 110 miles to the south and missed what was within walking distance of her old house, though she did not miss the busy road where she used to live. She felt she lived in one big community and was starting to make friends in the area. She wanted to study science at university and live abroad when she was older. She would walk to friends' houses and get the public bus to the large town nearby. She used to play football where she used to live, but had to give it up due to poor health. Her health also affected her activities in Community B as she had to conserve her energy.
Beatrice	B	Female	16	Private	Beatrice had lived in Community B for six years. She lived with her brother and parents. She used to live 10 miles away. She was best friends with Caitlin and they were in a football team together. She spent most of her time working as a waitress, going to the gym with Caitlin or playing cricket with her brother. She walk on a near daily basis to Caitlin's or the gym, but would be driven to work, which was further away. She felt there were pockets of community in Community B.
Caitlin	B	Female	16	Private	Caitlin had lived with her parents and sister in Community B for six years. She used to live in the attached town to the south and many of her family members still lived here. Caitlin was extremely friendly and acknowledged many people during her neighbourhood tour. She was part of a football team and also had a waitressing job in a restaurant in the town to the south (where Beatrice also worked). She loved going clubbing at weekends and was best friends with Beatrice. Caitlin was very close to three of her neighbours, one of whom was Roger.
David	B	Male	12	Social	David had lived in Community B for six years. He lived with his mum, step-dad, brother and two sisters. He used to live in the attached town to the south. He walked, skated and biked most places in Community B and the wider town and would spend a lot of time at the playground by the leisure centre, as well as playing on his computer games. He spent a lot of time at his nan's house in the town to the south and knew where all the corner shops were in the area. Unfortunately, he was bullied, which occasionally restricted what he did. He did not get on well with some of his neighbours.

Name	Area	Gender	Age	Tenure	Biography
Frank	B	Male	15	Private	Frank marked the highest number of friends' houses on his map (nine). He had lived with his parents in Community B for seven years, having moved from a town nearly 100 miles in the north. He walked to friends' houses, as well as frequently bike as he suffered from a bad leg and this somewhat eased his pain. He would regularly play cards with his friends round one of their houses. They would also ride around on bikes and go to the supermarket together. Frank also enjoyed swimming and X-box.
Gemma	B	Female	14	Private	Gemma lived with her parents and two brothers in Community B. She had moved from the attached town to the south a year and a half ago and felt Community B had a better sense of community than there. She reported walking more since she moved due to the number of friends she had in the area. Her and her neighbours would have street parties on the green outside her house and she spent a lot of time socialising with neighbouring children here. She would walk to places in Community B and take the bus to meet friends in a nearby town.
Isabel	B	Female	11	Private	Isabel had lived with her mum and two sisters in Community B for four years. She moved during the course of the research, back to the town 20 miles to the north where she had lived before moving to Community B. She walked to her friend's house and played out with her, but mostly she was driven to dance classes. Isabel spent a lot of time texting and on her iPad. She seemed happy to leave Community B as she felt there was little to do, though she did miss living close to her dad who had a house in the town attached to the south of Community B.
Laura	B	Female	16	Private	Laura was interviewed with Orla outside the leisure centre. She had lived with her parents and two sisters (one of whom was Orla) in Community B for three years, having moved from a town 40 miles to the south. Laura and Orla liked to hang out at the leisure centre and felt there were a lot of areas best avoided in the attached town to the south. They felt people were quite close in the community.
Orla	B	Female	15	Private	Orla was interviewed with Laura outside the leisure centre. She had lived with her parents and two sisters (one of whom was Laura) in Community B for three years, having moved from a town 40 miles to the south. Laura and Orla liked to hang out at the leisure centre and felt there were a lot of areas best avoided in the attached town to the south. They felt people were quite close in the community.
Rob	B	Male	12	Rented	Rob lived with his mum and brother in Community B. He had lived there for one and a half years, having moved from the town to the south. He had two friends in the local area that he played cricket and football with. He would walk or bike to meet them. He spent much of his free time playing football for the local team and was driven to matches, as well as going to Denmark for tournaments. He did not feel he lived in a community.
Roger	B	Male	14	Private	Roger had moved with his Dad and brother to live with his step-mum in Community B. He had moved from London six months before the interview, but marked a lot of friends' houses on his map (eight). His step-mum said he had settled in really well and he seemed confident and safe in the area. He would walk and get the bus to friends' houses and the rec in the south. Roger was Caitlin's neighbour.

Name	Area	Gender	Age	Tenure	Biography
Ruby	B	Female	11	Private	Ruby had lived with her brother and mum and step-dad in Community B for four years. She used to live 20 miles to the south, and most of her family remained there. She had friends in Community B, but would spend most of her time, when she was not helping her mum with cubs, or attending scouts or church, in the playground by the leisure centre. She had a very bad relationship with one of her neighbours. She did not really feel she lived in a community. Ruby would frequently be driven to activities or to see her family, but would walk or bike everywhere when she was by herself. Ruby enjoyed swimming and going to sweet shops.
Steve	B	Male	12	Private	Steve had only recently (within 6 months) moved from London with his parents and brother. He was struggling to adapt to the change, though he had made friends with his younger neighbour and a couple of boys from school. He spent a lot of time on his X-box and spoke to his friends from his old home regularly. He walked around Community B and knew lots of shortcuts. He enjoyed biking to the supermarket, particularly with friends.
Susie	B	Female	13	Private	Susie had lived with her sister and parents in Community B for three years. Her granddad lived in the attached town to the south and she would frequently bike to visit him. She enjoyed walking to her neighbour's house to play X-box with them and would also visit the rec in the town to the south. She did not feel many 'nice' people lived in Community B and wished to move to a village in the future.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHAMPTON
LIBRARY