The Place of Young People in the Spaces of Collective Identity

Case Studies
From the Millennium Green Scheme

Alice Siobhan Goodenough

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Abstract

Change associated with late modernity is argued to have diminished collective identification, particularly in relation to locality, as an approach to and resource for, navigating life paths. Young peoples' creation of a life course has been understood as particularly responsive, or alternatively vulnerable, to such influences. Contrasting research asserts, however, that collective identification with and through particular appreciations and understandings of locality continue to provide ontological security within the circumstances of modern change. Local collective identification can be carried out via its participants' shared investment in symbolic interpretations of culture and space. This identification is asserted through claims to affinity with, or competency in, these socio-spatial systems and practices and the building of symbolic boundaries that contrast identities not possessing such claims. This perspective renews the significance of academic explorations of young peoples' choice of collective identification with locality as a tactic in managing their biography and its negotiation as an influential social, cultural and spatial context in their lives.

This thesis explores the ways in which young people negotiate the spaces and resources of local collective identification, in the context of late modernity. It employs a qualitative analysis of a community participation project – the Millennium Green Scheme - to access such issues. The participation of adult active citizens and inclusion/exclusion of young people within this scheme are understood to reflect some of the dimensions of collective identification with locality, at three case study sites. At each case study - two rural and one urban - the research takes an unusual intergenerational approach, exploring both adults' and young peoples' understandings of locality, collective identification and young peoples' relationship to these.

The findings suggest that young peoples' access to the spaces and resources of collective identification, with and through locality, are negotiated within adult defined social and cultural contexts. Further, adults mobilise cultural representations of young people that regulate this access, in relation to the symbolic resources and boundaries of local collective identification. This regulation is influenced by adult reactions to wider pressures upon collective identification associated with modernity. The research finds that although modernity may influence young peoples' recourse to local collective identification, it is also central in shaping adults' inclusion/exclusion of young people from accessing this means of navigating the life course.

Adults' geographies of locality are central symbolic material to their collective identification with locality. They are also found to dictate the logic of adult inclusions of young people within the spaces and resources of local collectivity. Adults at the case studies associated many young people within cultural affiliations and competencies they understood to belong to the late modern context, resulting in representations of 'dislocated' childhood. At rural case studies these were perceived as inappropriate to local socio-spatial norms and rendered young people outside the symbolic boundaries of collective identification and endeavour. In the urban

research, young people were perceived to require reinstatement into local collective identification through education about and encouragement into, its spaces and resources. Both understandings reflected broader adult reactions to late modern change.

Young people took up the tactic of collective identification with locality or rejected it, in context dependent strategies. However their perceptions of opportunities to share identification with locality were significantly influenced by adult attempts to shape their inclusion/exclusion from spaces of collective identification. In addition, young people interpreted these inclusions/exclusions as broad comment upon their local socio-cultural and spatial status.

This research finds that locality and local collective social contexts continue to be of significance in young peoples' lives. It adds texture to understandings of the way in which the influence of modernity upon young peoples' biographical choices is experienced and negotiated from within local social and cultural relations and spaces.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Alice S Goodenough

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List of Abbreviations

CA	**Countryside Agency**
CASE	**Collaborative Research Studentships**
CC	**Countryside Commission**
GFG	**Going For Green**
HVP	**Hillview Project**
LA21	**Local Agenda 21**
MG	**Millennium Green**
NSM	**New Social Movement**
UDC	**Urban Development Corporation**
UNCRC	**United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child**

Chapter One - Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The structural shifts that have occurred in late modernity have been accompanied by substantial transformations in social, cultural and spatial patterns. Whilst certain continuities persist in the social and spatial relations and cultures of the West, some have argued that forms of collective identification have been significantly destabilized and dislocated, their influence and relevance diminished, particularly in relation to local society, space and culture (Beck, 1992, 1994, Giddens, 1990, 1991, 2001). The notion of local collective identification is central to this thesis and refers to the processes by which individuals collectively identify with various aspects of their immediate locality, including the social and physical environment, but also images and ideas.

A general diminution of collective identification has also been argued to have reshaped young lives (For example, Delli Carpini, 2000, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Hart et al., 1997, Katz, 1998 Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998). Young people are sometimes understood to be particularly open or alternatively, vulnerable, to the influence of modernity (Bæck, 2004, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Thompson & Taylor, 2005). Although modernity has the potential to liberate young identities, it also can place increased pressure upon their shaping of self (Paulgaard, 2002, Valentine, 2000, Wyness, 1997). However, a focus on the broadly transforming influence of late modernity upon young peoples' processes of identification can conceal the influence of locality upon the particularities and significance of this experience (Bæck, 2004, O'Conner, 2005, Paulgaard, 2002, Thompson & Taylor, 2005, Serdedakis & Tsiolis, 2000).

Studies that attempt to re-contextualise young peoples' experience of the influence of modernity within the context of locality cluster around several themes. First, that this influence is encountered heterogeneously and often negotiated in relation to other socio-cultural and biological resources of identification including age, gender, social and ethnic background and sexuality (O'Connor, 2005, Thompson & Taylor, 2005, Serdedakis & Tsiolis, 2000). Second, that its effects are context dependent and experienced by young people in relation to other cultural dynamics and resources, such as those of locality (Bæck, 2004, O'Connor, 2005, Paulgaard, 2002, Thompson & Taylor, 2005). Third, that the shaping of the self is negotiated and constructed via social relations; a process that is mediated and transmitted through social contexts (Paulgaard, 2002, Serdedakis & Tsiolis, 2000, Thompson & Taylor, 2005).

The obscuring of the extent to which young lives remain embedded within locality, both as a resource for, and barrier to, constructions of the self has been described as *'naïve'* (O'Connor, 2005: 24) and identifies a need for research that provides '*a more balanced account of the general tendencies towards change among the youth of today'* (Paulgaard, 2002: 96).

Similarly the *'eclipsing'* by the '*universal interpretive framework'* of modern individualisation of

young peoples' articulation of identity through membership of and interaction with local collectivities, forms a starting point for this study (Serdedakis & Tsiolis, 2000: 20). The continued significance of young peoples' negotiation of the resources of identity from within localised and collective contexts requires further examination of how: '*this combination of resources and agency is animated in practice*' (Thompson & Taylor, 2005: 332).

This PhD uses a community participation project, the Millennium Greens (MG) scheme, as a lens through which to address these research lacunae. The MG scheme was introduced in October 1996 and aimed:

'*to provide new areas of public open space close to built up areas, to be enjoyed permanently by the local community…an exercise in community participation: the local community was to make application to introduce a Green, to purchase the land, to design and develop it and to take responsibility for its ongoing maintenance*' (Curry & Selman, 2000, p 1).

This study employs the scheme as a vehicle for exploring young peoples' place in the spaces of local collective identification, in the context of late modernity. The notion of 'spaces' of collective identification within this approach has a dual interpretation, suggesting both the social and cultural locus of collectivity and the spatialisation of these relations and resources. The MG project provided the opportunity to reach both young people and adults in the context of their membership of local collective relations, in order to generate data with which to explore and interrogate the relation of these dynamics and actors, in certain localities.

The research was enabled by a studentship part sponsored by the Countryside Agency (CA) who conceived of, and administered the MG scheme. It commenced in the context of the CA winding up the scheme as the Millennium passed. The results of this collaboration however have relevance beyond their original policy context and speak to broader social scientific debates as outlined above.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The overarching research aim of this thesis is to explore, through MG projects, young peoples' place within spaces of local collective identification, in the context of late modernity.

The research objectives are:

1. To explore adult constructions of spaces of local collective identification and their status in relation to late modernity.

2. To examine how young people are constructed by adults in relation to spaces of collective identification.

3. To understand how these constructions may influence young peoples' inclusion/exclusion from the process of creating/using a communal place and the space it presented for local collective identification.

4. To explore young peoples' sense of spaces of local collective identification and their understanding of their place within them.

5. To identify young peoples' awareness of how they are perceived amongst adults in relation to local collective identification and identity.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two is a contextualisation of the status of spaces for collective identification in the UK, in the context of modernity, with particular reference to the role of locality and space within such issues. It describes models of the influence of late modernity upon collective identification, with a critical focus in order to suggest a framework for understanding its continuance as a resource and method of identity construction. The role of projects such as the MG scheme as sources and spaces of collective identification in late modernity are explored and their emergence as a form of governance is discussed.

Chapter Three continues this contextualisation through an exploration of the influence of change associated with modernity upon the spaces available to young people for local collective identification and their perception of those spaces. It establishes the pivotal role of adult social contexts and cultural constructions in defining the shape of these relationships and identifies current dominant, 'dependent' representations of 'childhood'. The influence of such contexts and constructs in shaping young peoples' access to potential spaces and resources of collective identification within governance policies like the MG scheme and the kind of public, collective spaces it seeks to create, is examined.

Chapter Four describes the methodological response to the theoretical premises and practical requirements of the research, paying specific attention to issues surrounding the conduct of research with young people. The particularities and purpose of using the MG scheme as a vehicle for research are examined. The selection of research tools and tactics and their implementation are then detailed. The social and spatial circumstances in which the case study MG projects originated, is introduced.

Chapters Five to Seven discuss the results of the research at the three case study sites, structuring the findings broadly in relation to the research questions. Some comparisons and contrasts are highlighted within the discussion of these case studies.

Chapter Eight discusses the key findings of the research and their contribution to, and place within, existing research agendas. The thesis then concludes by identifying areas for further research suggested by these conclusions.

Chapter Two - The Influence and Significance of Local Collective Identification in Late Modernity

2. Introduction

This chapter reviews the status of local collective identification in the UK in the context of modernity, with particular reference to the role of locality and space within such issues. It explores and compares theoretical models of the influence of late modernity upon collective identification. This provides a context for understanding the significance and dynamics of local collective identification in the empirical sections of this thesis. Radical social change has occurred concurrent with structural shifts, which have taken place in late modernity. Whilst certain continuities can be seen to persist in the Western world's social relations, it has also been argued that forms of collective identification have been significantly destabilized, their influence and relevance diminished (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997: 2). The work of Giddens and Beck is explored as the most influential sources of thinking about these processes. Aspects of this thesis are then critiqued, through an exploration of models of local collective identification and social relations. The symbolic dimensions of collective identification with locality are examined as providing active and viable responses to disembedding and individualising pressures produced by modernity.

The role of projects such as the MG scheme as sources and spaces of collective identification in the context of these societal stresses are explored and their emergence as a form of governance is discussed. This further develops an understanding of how adults collectively identify with locality together with the dynamics of these processes in late modernity and builds a context for the interpreting the empirical data.

2.1 Collective identification, Globalisation, Individualisation and the Risk Society

The social relations of the modern era have been defined by the requirements of the rise of industrialised capitalist economies and the socio-economic change inherent in their establishment and hegemony (Giddens, 1991). A waning in collectivity has been seen as an inherent element of such transformations (Giddens, 1990, 1991, 2001).

The socio-economic changes characteristic of modernity include: restructured labour markets, extended education and training, altered expected educational attainment, changed distribution of disposable income levels, increased employment of women and change in family structures, altered interventions and withdrawals by state bureaucracies and welfare systems, globalisation and so on (Beck, 1992, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Katz, 1998). Such shifts have had significant material consequences for social relations, including patterns of collective identification and communality. It has been argued however, that reactions to these changes at psychological and perceptual levels are responsible for radically altering affinities with local social relations

and communal impulses (Beck 1992, 1994, 1995, Giddens, 1990, 1991, 1994, 2001).

2.1.1 *Globalisation and disembedding*

Globalisation and the changes associated with it are the features of late modernity that are arguably most significantly altering our day-to-day social and cultural patterns and experiences. Globalisation describes the processes by which worldwide social networks gain in significance and interrelation (Giddens, 2001: 51). The rise of tools and agencies that function trans-nationally, such as electronic information and communication technologies, multi-national corporations and international political and non-governmental organisations, stimulate this phenomena of increasing temporal and spatial flexibility and altering relationships between the local and the global (Ibid: 52).

'Globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at distance" with local contextualities' (Giddens, 1991: 21).

Such processes have significant implications for the nature of collective social structures and their 'embeddedness' in local place and culture.

Authors such as Giddens, for example, suggest that social relations have become 'disembedded' by *'disembedding mechanisms"*, the increasingly *'abstract' and 'standardised'* practices of exchange associated with modernity and globalisation (Ibid: 18). These mechanisms include types of understanding considered universally applicable, despite their original context (for example, standard time) or symbolic items the significance of which is abstract and again, not attached to any local context (such as money) (Ibid). The everyday use of such 'systems' it has been argued disembeds or decontextualises our social relations from specific locales or cultural identities, diminishing their significance as sources of collective identification (Ibid). From this perspective, local place and cultures are seen as thoroughly penetrated by wider abstract relationships and therefore no longer a significant container of or reference point for, social interaction and experience (Ibid).

Further, it is suggested that the spatial and cultural dislocation of social structures disturbs the sense of ontological security previously located in familiarity with particular places and sets of social relations, 'local communities' for instance. This has been considered both potentially liberating and un-nerving (Giddens, 1990: 140). The personal ties and intimacies of communality may perhaps continue in new and transformed relationships, but community tied to locality as a resource of self-assurance is argued to be displaced (Ibid).

Giddens (1991) suggests that social relations have also become disembedded from various collective, cultural contexts. With the infiltration of local contexts by globalised perspectives and scales of time, individual sense of local *'generational life cycle'* or collective transition, may be less significant (Ibid: 146). Likewise, disembedding mechanisms change our affinities to kinship

ties and relationship to ritual, precipitating a movement away from collective and local tradition (Ibid). Local collectivity no longer retains its influence as a generator and repository of its own traditions, as the tools and rules with which collective tradition has been created and maintained such as localised time and space, kinship and ritual, are dislocated (Ibid). As our sense of intimacy with and continuity of, local place, time and culture transform, Giddens argues, our sense of collective identification relies less upon them, becoming the project and responsibility of the individual (Ibid).

2.1.2 *Individualisation and The Risk Society*

Late Modernity has been argued to be enacting fundamental *social* as well as structural transformations upon all our societies. One such shift in personal identity and social networks, it is argued, is a movement away from *'collective and group specific sources of meaning'* (Beck, 1994: 7). These have been found to be variously subject to fatigue, fragmentation and disillusionment (Ibid).

Authors such as Beck suggest that with the loss of collectively significant points of reference by which to navigate the construction of a life course, the individual must take increasing personal responsibility for perceiving, interpreting and shaping their future and identity. This pressure, to individually select the narratives with which to construct identity and negotiate social relations, has been termed 'individualisation' (Beck, 1992). Individualised lives no longer reference local cultural precedent, becoming *'ahistorical'* and self-produced.

'*Children no longer even know about their parents' life contexts much less that of their grandparents…their temporal horizons of perception narrow more and more, until finally… everything revolves around the axis of one's personal ego and personal life…removed from given determinations and placed in his or her own hands'* (Ibid: 135).

Although individualised patterns of living have occurred in various historical periods and social movements, they are argued by some to have become dominant now due to awareness of and attitudes toward, late modernity (Beck, 1992, 1994, 1995). Increased attentiveness to, and unease with, the consequences of the practices and social relations associated with industrial modernity, are the defining characteristics of this awareness or 'reflexive' modernity (Beck, 1992, 1994, Giddens, 1991). So for example, awareness and deliberation of the hazards produced by technical and economic advances has increased, and institutions have been undermined by the principles on which they were founded *'civil rights, equality, functional differentiation, methods of argumentation and scepticism'* (Beck, 1992 p 14). According to Beck (Ibid: 14), our allegiance to certain patterns of collective understanding, such as scientific or democratic perspectives, and subscription to particular behaviours, such as creating nuclear families or becoming professional workers, are being further questioned and destabilised through our self-awareness of their failings. This mass reflexivity has been termed 'The Risk Society' or culture, and has further diminished the influence of certain sources of collective

identification, ever increasing the pressure for individualisation (Beck, 1992, Giddens, 1991).

Beck and Giddens have been criticised as understating the extent to which, though we may be experiencing increased individual reflexivity, our social structures and struggles may often remain collective in nature, and that it is the extent to which we are able to perceive our social relations and concerns to be collective concerns that has altered (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997).

'late modernity can be seen as representing a step along a continuum leading from collectivised to individualized social identities…in these terms, social change does not involve a weakening of social structures, the chains of interdependence remain intact, but "the entire complex of intermeshing processes of change eludes the control and even the comprehension of the individuals who partake in it"…the intensification of individualism means that crises are perceived as individual short-comings rather than the outcome of processes which are largely outside the control of individuals (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997: 114, citing Goudsblom, 1997: 148).

2.2 Symbolic Collective Identification, Locality and Space

Giddens' and Beck's understanding of the status of local collective identification in late modernity makes several other inferences concerning collective identification and locality that can be valuably questioned in the context of this study. First, it suggests that local collective identification retains little relevance in the liquid social and cultural flows of late modernity. Second, it provides little reply to research that suggests certain individuals and collectives appear to remain enmeshed within local histories, cultures and places. The aim of this section is to identify ways of approaching and comprehending of local collective identification, as a dynamic and viable response to the pressures produced by modernity, which can usefully be employed by this study. It explores processes of collective identification via symbolic qualities of locality and examines the construction of local belonging and exclusion through such identification.

The anthropologist Anthony P. Cohen (1994) offers a critique of Beck's and Giddens' portrayal of the influence of processes of individualisation, globalisation and reflectivity upon local collectivity. According to Cohen, Giddens depicts a world where the self has *'...lost the protection which the individual enjoys in "the small community" and "tradition"'*, an *'atavistic evocation of long discredited distinctions made in anthropology between 'folk' and 'urban' cultures, and between Great and Little traditions'* (Cohen, 1994: 21). Cohen suggests that such a model positions the 'self' and 'society' as independent entities, with self-identities constantly obliged to react to the pressures that societal change demands (Ibid). Individuals are awarded a purely reactive agency in creating their own biography. Selves appear to possess little ability or desire to similarly control or shape society: '*doomed to be perpetrators rather than architects of action'* (Ibid). From this perspective, depictions of an increasing responsibility for the creation of biography, in the face of changing or fading influences from collective and local sources of

identification, do not allow selves a pro-active role in re-shaping and re-aligning those very categories (Ibid).

Cohen's reading of Giddens' interpretation of community, as one that contrasts the shape of past collectivity with its penetration and transformation by modernity in the present, associates it with two influential paradigms in the social sciences. Each of these has been understood as deploying ideas associated with local collectivity somewhat nostalgically or idealistically, and for positioning local social patterns as contrasts to the prevailing social trends of civil society (Hoggett, 1997). The elder of these, Tönnies' model of local community, has been understood to form the basis of understandings of local collectivity within social science (Hoggett, 1997, p 4). It describes a dichotomous social world, where local collective ties are based upon similarity and the meeting of mutual interest ('Gemeinschaft') in a wider environment of broader secondary relationships based upon the interests of the individual ('Gesellschaft') (Ibid, Featherstone, 1995). Tönnies suggested that in the context of modernity, this second less altruistic pattern becomes the dominant social norm (Hoggett, 1997, p4-5). However, this understanding is open to interpretation as a critique of modernity and has been understood as helping to *'sanction'* romantic interpretations of community (Featherstone, 1995: 103, also see Hoggett: 34-5). It has been suggested that Tönnies drew nostalgic inspiration for Gemeinschaft from an *'idealised picture of medieval Germany',* a resource that offered specific contrasts with modern society:

'an image of a settled place with a common culture…Its vision of prior harmony and simplicity presents a picture of a fall from grace' (Featherstone, 1995: 131).

A second prominent tradition of understanding local collectivity, 'community studies', developed during the 1950's and 1960's with sociologists influenced by anthropology immersing themselves in the field to create ethnographically rich accounts of local collective identification Crow & Allan, 1994: 13-14, Featherstone, 1995: 104). These have similarly been critically reassessed and some identified as efforts to locate unified, socially secluded, local collective identities in the modern context (Featherstone, 1995: 104). In the UK context, such studies have been suggested to be part of an, again romantic, impulse to uncover *'a world of more convivial social relations'* within the transformations of wider society (Hoggett, 1997: 5). Together with Tönnies' influential conceptualisation of local collectivity they have been credited with shaping in social science an equation of locality with integrated collective commonality, its examples understood as either unaccountably isolated from, or rapidly declining under, the influence of modernity (Crow & Allan, 1994: 14, Featherstone, 1995: 107). This has been termed the 'romantic model' of local collective relations (Stacey, 1969 cited in Hoggett, 1997; 6): *'the coexistence of a body of theory which constantly predicts the collapse of community and a body of empirical studies which finds community alive and well'* (Abrams, 1978: 12 cited in Crow & Allan, 1994: 14).

More recently the mechanics of local collective identification have been investigated through notions of social capital, currently an influential concept in both theory and policy (Johnston & Percy-Smith, 2003). As an idea it possesses continuities with the issues at the heart of Tönnies' original attempts to understand Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.

'the concept of social capital is in all its essentials a reinstatement of that historic concern of the 19th-century social theorists with how best to understand and explain the integrative and the disintegrative dynamics of modernity' (Ibid).

In certain interpretations, however, this idea moves away from the dualisms of the romantic model. Less emphasis is placed upon what distinguishes the type of relationships developed in collective identification with locality and those of wider transactions or upon the making of contrasts between the benevolent communality of the past and the motivations and imperatives of collectivity in Modernity. In Bordieu's understanding of social capital, for example, it is broadly defined as *'the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network…of mutual acquaintance and recognition…in other words, to membership in a group'* (Bourdieu, 1983, p 248). These resources are consciously or unconsciously accrued through the process of active investment in *'usable'* relationships that will allow the participant increased access to further social capital (Ibid: 249). These associations can be both affective and/or economic and do not appear to be exclusively a property of local 'community' or civil society (Ibid).

By contrast, the development of the concept by Putnam (2000) and others appears to move social capital towards something less critically definable. In this assessment, experiences of the broadly benevolent mechanics of small-scale collective identification are understood to foster the development of trust and reciprocity in participants. These are the resources which then suggest and facilitate their active involvement and investment in further and broader societal relationships, building more trust and creating a *'virtuous circle'* of collective participation (Johnston & Percy-Smith, 2003: 325). The precise details of how social capital is generated and the circumstances under which it may decline are, however, the subject of a range of explanations, though its diminishment has been variously linked to socio-cultural changes associated with modern life (Mohan & Mohan, 2002: 194). Despite this breadth of interpretation, in relation to social capital, local collective identification is typically understood to be largely accessible, co-operative and positive when it occurs (Ibid), *'a public good, to which all residents of an area have access'* (Ibid: 192). There has been relatively little attention paid to instances where its operation may be inequitable (Johnston & Percy-Smith, 2003: 327, Mohan & Mohan, 2002: 195). Although the concept of social capital could be a useful and relevant perspective for a study of this type, it is challenging to locate within its wide interpretation a clearly defined and widely agreed route for critical analysis of the issues of inclusion and exclusion within local collective identification that are central to this thesis. As such, the perspective from which Cohen critiques Giddens, is regarded as a more effective approach for

this research.

Cohen's conceptualisation of community belongs to an approach to local social networks that emphasises a different element of their existence, their 'symbolic' resonance (Kempney, 2002). Cohen's work, in particular, can also be seen as part of the tradition in social research, explored above, of using the concept of 'community' as a method for exploring relationships between modernity, social change and social cohesion (Amit, 2002). However it provides a clearly constructed opportunity to move away from the dichotomised models explored above. So, for example, it understands the mechanics of collective identification with a locality not to be distinguished through their sense of validity or scale, in contrast to other social relationships, but instead focuses upon the *'style'* in which such collectivity is imagined by its members (Featherstone, 1995: 108). Symbolic collective identification with locality is a pattern of community that can be sustained in local, national and possibly trans-national social networks through highly symbolised interpretations of particular places (Featherstone, 1995: 108).

Symbolic collective identification also moves away from perspectives that divide social relations into networks of benevolent, mutual commonality and more independent, 'self' interests by being premised not only upon what its members hold in common, but significantly how they characterize their differences with other social networks, local collectivities and individuals (Crow & Allan, 1994: 7).

'communities are defined not only by relations between members, among whom there is similarity, but also by the relations between these 'insiders' and 'outsiders', who are distinguished by their difference and consequent exclusion' (Ibid).

This model of local collective identification as acting both to include and exclude, increases the notion's complexity. It indicates the active and partial nature of a collective's boundaries and identities and suggests exploration of its members' agency and power in shaping these social networks. It has commonalties and complementarities with Bordieu's understanding of the active and partial nature of individuals accessing of social and cultural resources or capital through collective identification. It allows the possibility that its participants may be able to actively shape their collectivity, rather than watch it ebb away in the late modern context. It also has relevance for this thesis in its situating of place, local culture and space at the heart of any continued collective identification with locality, amidst current transformations. Cohen's perspective in particular has provided a model within various studies to highlight the continued relevance of cultures of locality in the creation and defence of local communality and identity in the late modern era (Cloke et al, 1997, Sheilds, 1992, Tyler, 2003, Wright, 1992). His portrait of these social patterns and other investigations of the symbolic dimension of local collective identification are now explored in some detail.

Cohen (1985) argues that 'community' has been, and remains, a strong yet adaptable space for

local social relations. As a shared construct, local 'community' is argued to be capable of acting as a container for the divergent ideas of its members, whilst externally presenting them as a united, collective identity, with ideas of social separation focused externally upon other identity networks. In addition, it is positioned as a framework that explicitly allows its members to manage the pressures and changes faced by localities, whilst retaining a sense of stability and continuity. Rather than breaking up or becoming less influential as its context alters, 'community' can be understood as relatively flexible and able to accommodate or defend against such change (Cohen, 1985). This is achieved through its member's adherence to 'symbols'. Symbols can be understood within this context as single ideas and categories that contain within them a range of meanings and interpretations, making their precise definition broad (Ibid). *'Justice, goodness, patriotism, duty, love, peace'* and *'community'* itself are described as particularly symbolic notions, capable of uniting individuals whilst each attaches *'their own meaning to it'* (Ibid: 15).

The *'media'* of symbolism allows a local collective to make their differences externally invisible, whilst allowing its individual participants to retain their various interpretations of the world (Cohen, 1985: 9). This concealment allows a unity to be experienced and projected by the group as a symbolic boundary, one that defends its members' feelings of belonging through demarcating the difference between their alignment and the nature of other social networks and identities (Cohen, 1985: 9). The symbols involved in constructing communality and symbolic boundaries are understood as necessarily *'oppositional'* and *'relational'*, much of their significance in the contrasts they create between the identity of one group and another (Cohen, 1985: 58). Cohen, emphasises that a continual eye upon the difference of others is fundamental to the cohesive creation of any form of identity (1985, citing Boon, 1982).

It is acknowledged within this conceptualisation of local social networks, that disembedding and individualising pressures associated with modernity do undermine the symbolic boundaries of local, collective identity (Cohen, 1994: 44). Established patterns of local social relations are blurred and weakened and can become less expressive of local spatial and social context. However, in such circumstances sensitivity to difference, the central reflex of communal identification, can become heightened (Cohen, 1985: 1-2). This continuity of a collective's sense of distinctness in the face of modernity means that as pressures to disembed from local and collective context increases, so too can active resistance to such pressure (Cohen, 1985, 1994). One element of this strategy of counteraction, for example, is the 'adaptation' of change and its translation into a form that has symbolic resonance for local communal culture (Cohen, 1985: 10). Communal identities faced with change, it is argued (Cohen, 1985:44), are *'inclined to reassert their boundaries symbolically by imbuing these modified forms with meaning and significance'* (also see Wright, 1992).

In line with such interpretations, the pressures associated with late modernity would not necessarily indicate a withdrawal from forms and spaces of local, collective relation. Rather, the

symbolic values that such groups maintain may be manipulated and strengthened in order to retain communal integrity in the face of change or threat. Outwardly, these symbolisms might suggest stability and continuity. Inwardly however, a collective will be actively rearranging and realigning them, in order to exclude or incorporate change. This approach to local collectivity moves the concept of local collective identification away from the notion of local social structures to which the behaviour and ideas of selves respond, towards an understanding of it as a constellation of *symbolic phenomena,* responsive to selves' local ideas and behaviours (Cohen, 1985). It allows that collectives can be subject to processes of change whilst remaining enmeshed in the symbolic significance of local cultures and spaces. Such contexts are thus able to retain a significant role in the negotiation of biography and senses of identity.

Cohen's perspective can reinvigorate local, collective identification, as a tool in negotiating and managing the pressures associated with late modernity. This is the understanding of collective identification that is employed by this thesis in interrogating young peoples' relationship to such processes and whose features and mobilisation are further explored in the remainder of this section. If Cohen's observations are to be appraised, then perhaps the lack of detail in his work concerning the implications for local 'community' of the demographic shifts, migration and in-migration, associated with structural shifts in late modernity, can be identified as a neglected element. However, research building on, or compatible with, his insights has expanded upon the significance of these shifts, and is now explored.

2.2.1 *Belonging and exclusion*

Cohen's model of local collective identification is necessarily both inclusive and exclusive. It produces symbolic boundaries to difference and change by actively seeking to include and champion selves and ideas expressive of unity and continuity, thus defending against and excluding, understandings and identities signifying alternative values.

Research exploring the influence of incomers to rural localities has built on Cohen's model. It finds such inclusions/exclusions to be central in the creation of a sense of belonging to locality, the demarcation of the identities of 'them' and 'us' guiding who should be included and excluded from local collectivity (Cloke et al.1997). The findings suggest that it is in situations where everyday lifestyles are actively confronted by the presence of different ideas, aspirations and behaviours that *'identities are shaped and cultural distinctiveness becomes most apparent* (Ibid: 17)'.

Both in-migrants and longer-term inhabitants were found to be capable of supporting strong ideas and imagery of the types of tradition, lifestyle and space appropriate to the countryside (Ibid). Knowing about these 'correct' collective values, identities and environments appear regarded as a type of cultural 'competence' The degree to which someone invests in or accrues these competencies are viewed by each group as an indication of how much that someone 'belongs' to a particular culture of appreciation, in this case of the local countryside

(Shumer Smith & Hannam, 1994:195).

'When such competences are placed and practised…they can often lead to distinct cultural conflicts resulting in an experience of 'not belonging' on the part of in-migrants, and experiences of 'a threat to our way(s) of life' on the part of different existing residents' (Cloke, Milbourne & Thomas, 1997, cited in Cloke et al., 1997: 150).

Cloke et al's research suggests that whilst the rural locale has been spatially and socially reconstituted by modernity, rural residents of any term can galvanise symbolic aspects of cultures and places to ensure they experience a sense of themselves or their values, as 'belonging' to that locality (Ibid). This can be achieved by contrasting themselves, their social networks, their culture or their representation of place, with values, cultures or representations of space, which they construe as not belonging. These findings suggest that in the construction of local collective identification, locality remains a significant resource for orienting the self in late modernity (Ibid).

2.2.2 *Collective identification with the symbolic content of locality*
Cloke et al. illustrate how Cohen's model of collective identification operates in the context of a rural locale (Ibid). They contend that locality, and the cultural references tied to it, are strong symbolic targets or ingredients of local collective identification and the construction of belonging (Ibid: 144). Residents in their research found motivations and justifications for living in an area, through claims to understand its material spaces and cultural significance. Both incomers and longer-term inhabitants articulated *'idyllic'* conceptions of the local landscape that specifically connected symbolised conceptions of local space and culture, but that significantly differed from each other (Ibid: 148).

These idyllic views of locality have been conceptualised as 'imagined geographies', definable as '*The way in which we project our own attitudes and beliefs in representations of people and places'* (Knox & Pinch, 2000: 410). Suggestive of a complex relationship between senses of identity, locality and wider social relations, this *'cultural categorisation'* of local space and culture, has been described as having a central role in the construction of social inclusion and exclusion (Shields, 1992: 4-5). The imbuing of locales with symbolic cultural relevance has been seen as a significant mechanism of defining what is considered axial and predominant and that which is *'other'* or peripheral, in social structures (Ibid: 4-5).

'In these recodings of geographic space, sites become associated with particular values, historical events and feelings…geographical space is mediated by an edifice of social constructions which become guides for action and constraints upon action, not just idiosyncratic or pathological fantasies' (Ibid: 29-30).

This entangling of space and cultural message has been investigated particularly

comprehensively in terms of idyllic, social constructions of place, predominantly *'rural idylls'* (Halfacree, 1995, Halfacree, 1996, Jones, 1995 for example). Idyllic imagined geographies articulate cultural ideals in relation to material aspects of space (Jones, 1995: 46-47, Halfacree, 1996: 50). These idyllic social and spatial qualities articulate a logic as to what, who, and how someone should belong to certain rural locales. The rural idyll has been explored as a particular imagining of countryside which often privileges white, middle class identities, '*social and moral values'* as belonging to that space (Halfacree, 1996, Tyler, 2003: 392, Lash & Urry, 1994: 302).

'The characteristics of the rural idyll are well known…Physically, "real" England consists of small villages joined by narrow lanes and set amongst small fields…socially, it is a tranquil landscape of social stability and community…an escape from the urban industrial society, characterized by tension, strife, pollution and general misery…the rural idyll is exclusive in its class, race and status connotations, and in the demands for conformity it places on its adherents' (Halfacree, 1996: 51-52).

The rural idyll is commonly understood as a refuge from Late Modernity, its qualities projecting stability, continuity and unity upon countryside space (Ibid). In an echo of the ideas discussed earlier concerning the construction of local collective identity, this may provide symbolic shelter from the ontological insecurity produced by Late Modernity (Ibid).

Imagined geographies are more than ways of seeing. The logic they possess provides motivation for shaping locality. Rural idyllic symbolism has been understood as giving impetus to those who feel included in or aspire to that imagery, to find or establish areas with idyllic contours and participate in ensuring their continuance and dominance (Tyler, 2003, Cloke et al., 1997). Adherence to imagined geographies of locality has been seen as providing the symbolic material with which collectives create Cohen's symbolic boundaries, suggesting that they can be a central and strategic tool in the creation of local collective identification (Cloke et al., 1997, Shields, 1992, Tyler, 2003).

'Place- and space-myths are united into a system by their relative differences from one another even while they achieve their unique identities by being 'set-off' against one another. Even if split by inconsistencies and in continual flux, this formation works as a cosmology: Through these contrasts of spatialised identity, communities may distinguish themselves from other social collectivites' (Shields, 1992: 63).

Likewise, Shields (Ibid: 252) describes the ability of imagined geographies to become shared symbolic *'yarns'*, *'insider stories'* aiding the construction of collectivity, *'despite the polyvocality of the images at the level of individual experience'*.

These ideas about the role of symbolised locality in the process of collective identification have

particular value for this research. They provide a model with which this thesis can explore the construction of spaces of local collective identification in late modernity, through examination of the spatial and social ideas and practices associated with a local MG scheme and young peoples' position in relation to such concerns. The findings above dictate that a search for the dimensions of local, imagined geographies is an essential requirement for understanding how adults and young people constitute local collective identity and determine the spaces available for participation in local collective identification. The next sub-section of this research describes ways of conceiving of and describing the role of symbolic resources of locality in constructing local collective identification.

2.2.3 *Describing the role of locality in constructing collective identity*
The term *'social spatialisation'*, has been employed to describe the way in which imagined geographies form part of active and collective re/constitutions of the symbolic significance of locality and any associated *'spatial practices'* (Shields, 1992: 31). 'Spatial practices' have been understood as the ways in which selves actualise the cultural associations of locality: inscribing them into space through their behaviours and actions (Ibid: 52-53). This can range from everyday ways of using and being in space, to the way in which these routine uses become concrete through eventual expression in the built environment (Ibid, 1992). This notion, drawing upon Lefebvre's interpretations of space, encompass the idea that certain spaces or places silently suggest behaviours culturally appropriate to themselves, whilst in turn the repeated carrying out of these behaviours further embeds the expectation that they should occur (Ibid: 53).

The manner in which cultural ideas and spatial practices become part of the way in which social belonging, dominance and marginality are defined has similarly been termed our '*socio-spatial system'*, (Sibley, 1995: 76). Research suggests (Ibid) that places are integral in directing how we participate in social relations and experience power relations within these, reflecting and reproducing the dispersion of authority, control and influence in the social world. Powerful groups will seek to maintain landscapes that embody and replicate their values (Ibid). Less powerful groups, however, may experience that environment as a form of dominance. If such collectives seek to change the environment, these changes are likely to be interpreted in *'the dominant vocabulary as deviance, threat or subversion'* (Ibid).

Notions of imagined geographies, social-spatialisation, spatial practices and socio-spatial systems, provide ways of understanding connections between the social world and material locality: a context for this thesis's understanding of the construction, expression, articulation and experience of collective identification in relation to particular locales. When not referring to a particular example from this set of ideas, this research utilises the term 'cultures of locality' as shorthand suggestive of this range of possible behaviours.

2.3 Representing Locality and Space and New Social Movements

The research review above describes processes by which collectives make competing claims to belong to and represent locality, and finds local collective identities to constitute active and partial forms of social relation in late modernity. It challenges the view that reference to locality and collective cultures are diminishing resources of identification, suggesting these remain emotive and strategic ingredients in the construction of secure selves.

In terms of this study's focus upon the collective creation of a new, communal space, it is productive to reflect further upon firstly; the continued significance of material localities and secondly; the desire to collectively identify with and represent them, despite their penetration by global contexts. This develops an understanding central to this study, that the Millennium Greens scheme and its aims provided a specific space and resource of collective identification with locality within the context of late modernity.

One contention is that under the conditions of globalisation such relationships actually intensify: that *'globalisation generates localization'* (Lash & Urry, 1994: 303, citing Harvey, 1989). As physical and temporal separations give way, awareness amongst economic forces, governments and citizens, of the range of local variation in space increases, the cultural and material features characterising one space from another becoming more apparent.

It is suggested that this heightened appreciation of the specificity of place constitutes locality in two interrelated ways; first, as a product capable of consumption; second, as distinctive space or heritage under threat (Ibid: 303, Urry, 1995: 224-225). Globalisation increases pressure on places to competitively market their distinctive qualities as consumable, in order to invite investment and attract a workforce and tourists (Lash & Urry, 1994: 303). Likewise, the globalisation of tourism and leisure has played a part in alerting such consumers to the consumable 'value' and worth of particular material and cultural environments.

This appreciation, in combination with increased misgivings concerning the progress of modernity characteristic of the 'risk society', has contributed to concern that certain 'environments' are under threat from modern life (Urry, 1995). This perception has conceivably contributed to a significant increase in the desire of individuals and collectives to contest the right to represent such places (Massey & Jess, 1995, Urry, 1995). In the UK, for example, there has been an increase throughout the twentieth century in New Social Movements (NSMs), which protest their entitlement to define the identity and prospects of places (Massey & Jess, 1995, Urry, 1995).

NSMs are a form of activity closely associated with matters of identity in the context of late modernity (Hetherington, 1998: 31). Their growth as a form of collective identification is associated with the rise of individualisation and the distrust characteristic of the 'Risk Society' and the resulting diminution of more traditional forms of collectivity and political expression

(Giddens, 2001: 440). Giddens (Ibid: 440-441), describes NSMs as, *'a unique product of late modern society…profoundly different in their methods, motivations and orientations from forms of collective action in earlier times'*.

NSMs have been explored in terms of their existence as collectives' subscribing to particular ideologies that allow critical commentary on patterns of societal change, however their function as forms of collective identification providing empowering cohesion, is arguably under emphasised (Hetherington, 1998: 31-32). The notion of *'new sociations'* has been used to describe phenomenon such as the NSM, but focuses upon the social function of such collective groupings (Urry, 1995: 220). As local and traditional forms of collective identification retreat in the context of globalisation and the Risk Society, groups and individuals may feel increasingly able to form new associations surrounding shared values and interests, discrete from the social structures of wider society. (Ibid: 220). New sociations, whilst more flexible in membership than previous historical forms of collectivity, allow participants to experiment with sharing ideas and identities and experiencing emotional security from their collective identification (Ibid: 221). NSMs can be understood as situated and entangled in the collective shaping of selves via their potential to create *'distinct lifestyles, shared symbolism and solidarity': 'New social movements can be associated with a politics of identity that is also a politics of identification'* (Hetherington, 1998: 34)*.*

The notion that NSMs are flexible spaces and resources of collective identification corresponds with understandings of the continued value of collective identification in the context of late modernity, as described above. Such a perspective has value for this research, as the MG scheme may be considered somewhere between a community and an NSM based upon a locality, in the manner of their constitution. This alignment would suggest that the NSM is potentially as exclusive in its process of enabling collective identification as the social patterns examined previously. NSMs may similarly use cultures of locality as symbolic resource in the creation of collective identity (Hetherington, 1998). Locales can embody specific symbolic characteristics for NSMs seeking to establish collective identification through such sites (Hetherington, 1998: 106-108). Particular types of space can *'come to symbolise another set of values and beliefs around which groups can order their identities and the way they want to be identified'* (Hetherington, 1998: 107).

The rise of British NSMs specifically concerned with issues of space and locality has been significant since the 1970's (Urry, 1995: 223). By the early 1990s one in ten of the British population were suggested to be members of an environmental organisation (Ibid, p 222). Similarly, the 1960s and 70s saw a sharp increase in amenity groups focused upon planning and heritage issues (Samuel, 1994: 237). Whilst processes associated with modernity appear to threaten and transform cultures of locality and collective identification, it also seems that concern for place has grown through groups offering experiences of collective identification (Urry, 1995). This resonates, however, with accounts of collective identification through

particular understandings of locality as retaining significance as tools of constructing ontological security and belonging (Cloke et al., 1997, Cohen, 1985, Halfacree, 1996).

Members of the dynamic forms of collective identification described above are often the 'active citizens' that certain policies of governance, emerging during the late twentieth century, such as the MG Scheme, have drawn upon for their operation. These policies of 'new governance' that have embraced the idea of collective identification as a tool of policy implementation are now explored, in order to place the MG scheme in its policy context.

2.4 Globalisation, Collective Identification and Governance

The preceding review explored the status and relevance of forms of collective identification in Late Modernity and started to position the MG scheme as a potential location of these processes. This section focuses upon the emergence of distinctive strategies of governing via local collectivity, through the 'new governance' response to the challenges created by the free-market capitalism of late modernity (Jewson & Macgregor, 1997: 6). It further contextualises the MG scheme's dimensions as a space and resource of local collective identification.

A juncture in late modernity has been described where the internal policies of 'welfare states' are limited by elements of globalised economics. The growth of global financial markets and trans-national production challenge and limit the influence of state interventions at a National level (Jewson & Macgregor, 1997, Hutton, 1995). In the light of these shifts of influence and authority, some strategies of governance have been reformulated. The traditional territorial spaces and institutional structures of government have evolved toward increasingly diffuse networks and dispersions of power with the focus of government shifting from the *'national (welfare) space to the governance of diverse and discrete localities and communities'* (Marsden & Murdoch, 1998, Murdoch, 1997: 110)*.*

Within the context of the UK, such a shift in the style and territory of government can be seen in the 'New Right' 'reforms' that reshaped governance of localities during the Conservative administrations of the '80's and '90's. The New Right discourse favoured minimalist state intervention, focusing upon achieving economic flexibility and competitiveness as a response to the globalised market (Jewson & Macgregor, 1997, Woods, 1998). The challenge of managing its influence upon particular local environments saw the implementation of new policy styles: the *'privatisation'* of policy through the use of central government funding to attract private sector investment for regeneration, and the '*commodification'* of policy through the creation of competitive markets in regeneration funding (Collinge & Hall, 1997: 129, Geddes, 1997: 210)*.*

Partnership approaches to policy development and delivery, premised upon collaboration with private sector resources and entrepreneurialism to catalyse development, grew increasingly common, particularly in urban areas (Jones & Little, 2000: 173). The role of local collectives or

individuals within such policy was limited, with a decline in the power held by their elected representatives and no allocated role for local social networks as partners. Research suggests however, that within policies such as Urban Development Corporations (UDC), consultative relationships were necessarily developed with residents in order to respond to local wishes and pacify local antagonism (Burton & O'Toole, 1995: 161). UDC's encountered robust local, collective agendas in taking on fields of activity previously the territory of local authorities (Ibid). Some suggest that such experience was taken on board in the creation of a new policy style, requiring evidence of *'true partnership'*, such as City Challenge regeneration funding (Burton & O'Toole, 1995: 161, Jones & Little, 2000). The established collective networks that UDCs encountered may have been derived from a range of sources. These ranged from the formal participation opportunities available within local government to the informal spaces provided by the rising tide of voluntary activism, previously addressed (Taylor, 1995: 60 & Hambleton, 1995: 60). Changes in governmental policy formulation took place in concert with the growth of localised voluntary action and the growth of NSMs.

An emergent 'active citizenship', in the limited sense of engaging in collective responsibility rather than relying on state intervention, was desirable to the Conservative administrations of the '80s and '90s (Selman & Parker, 1997: 173). Policies such as 'City Challenge' acknowledged these citizens as customers of state funding and consumers of locality, situating them as groups affiliated with, and socially responsible to, their local collective contexts. Partnership of these 'communities' is now a key feature of achieving Rural Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget funding, some suggesting that *'If "market" was the buzzword of the 1980s, "partnership" and "community involvement"' were* the *'mantras'* of such policies in the 1990s (Taylor, 1998: 173). This policy model alters the role of government to one of enabling governance; finding local stakeholders, creating the connections and occasions within which they can identify collectively and facilitating their collaboration in governing themselves: *Civil society…thus provides the tools of achieving policy goals or the 'traditional tasks of formal state'* (Goodwin, 1998: 8-9). The championing of local collectivity and allegiance to locality, as political structures via which governance can occur has been described as governance through the *'dynamics of communities'* (Rose, 1996: 331). If for some reason such collective dynamics were seen to be missing from local social relations, then the participation element of regeneration programmes was regarded as capable of regenerating and stimulating the qualities required for its existence (Rose, 1996: 331, Selman & Parker, 1997: 173-174).

'Programmes of urban renewal…imagine the plight of the inner city in terms of the loss of a 'spirit of community' with all the capacities of self-reliance, entrepreneurship and communal pride which such a spirit evokes. They attempt to 'empower' the inhabitants...by constituting those who reside in a certain locality **as** *[italics in original] 'a' community…and by linking them in new ways into the political apparatus in order to enact programmes which seek to regenerate the economic and human fabric of an area by re-activating in 'the community' these 'natural' virtues it has temporarily lost'* (Rose, 1996, p 336).

With the arrival of the Labour Party in power in 1997, the politics of the Third way and Stakeholding continued to understand the 'active citizen', with their sense of collective spirit and identification with locality, as a key response to the pressures of governing in the era of global capitalism (Hutton, 1999: 80). The impetus for the citizenry to participate within society was strengthened in messages of 'rights and responsibilities', social, economic and political (Murdoch, 1997: 112). Third way politics was premised on amongst others, the notion that *'civil society'* must be *'strengthened and joined up'* to government and the market in meeting the challenge of societal change (Giddens 2001: 437). Engaging forms of collective identity, from the family to the NSM, were understood as essential in this attempt (Ibid: 437).

Collaboration with civil society, as an integral tool of policy development and implementation, creates new participatory opportunities for non-constitutional actors. A brief exploration however, of the execution and reception of new governance style policies, emphasises their reliance on specific and narrow conceptions of local collective identification. Describing the policy framework within which the Millennium Greens scheme operates and exploring the potential consequences of such policies local contextualisation, demonstrates the extent to which local collectivity can remain embedded within cultures of locality.

Such governance depends upon the priorities of local citizens matching those that policy makers envisage as significant to them. National policy, perhaps formulated in relation to international institutions or issues, represents an ideological context, which is then understood and implemented at locally specific environmental, social, and economic contexts. The culture of the policy must somehow chime with these local cultures it intends to partner. This does not acknowledge the local specificity of cohesive collective identification: *what matters and works in one place is irrelevant and fails in another'* (Smith et al, 1999: 197).

Further, dependence on the participation of local social networks as a policy delivery mechanism relies on local people's priorities being shared and that that they will act as a united, benevolent and *responsive* political unit (Marvin & Guy, 1997: 317). Again, such a conception does not take into account the partial and necessarily exclusive nature of local collective relations explored previously. Underlying the creation of these policies is often a crude appreciation of what 'community' might be (Evans, 1994, Edwards, 1997, Smith et al., 1999). As described earlier such notions are notoriously difficult to define (Crow & Allen, 1994) but are often engaged with uncritically by public policy makers and advisors. As Williams (1983: 76), comments:

'Community can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships, or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships. What is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of social organisation…it seems never to be used unfavourably…'

Constructions of local communality embody positive and resonant associations useful to those devising policy and as such may have been employed, in a relatively uncritical manner, to legitimate the shape of and practices within, participatory policy (Edwards 1998: 66). When however, 'community' participation becomes active in context it becomes situated, located within the complex social, spatial and economic relations that constitute the 'local'. Policy implementation via community may encounter collective agendas and disaffections that alter its consequence and relevance (Selman, 1998: 535, Smith et al., 1999: 198-199).

This embeddedness in local culture and space, may apply not only to the broader response of a locale to policy, but also may influence the responses of particular groups within localities and their partners. For example, the enthusiasms and perspectives of Local Agenda 21 (LA21) participants have been found to relate to their 'community' of interest (i.e. *'LA21 co-ordinators, local government officers, elected members, stakeholders and lay volunteers'* (Selman & Parker, 1999: 48). Each group operates via a particular representation or discourse of the process of policy implementation, shared by those in a similar position. These *'storylines'* situate participants' or partners' understanding and response to LA21 policy (Ibid: 48). In the context of a model of collective identity formation, via creation of shared symbolisms and cultures of locality, the cultural resources of an individual's collective identity/ies upon their response to policy intervention is entirely to be expected.

Exploration of the environmental issues recognised within localities as relevant policy targets, have provided further evidence that concepts invoked in national policy are understood through a lens of locality during implementation (Macnaghton et al, 1995, Smith et al, 1999). For example, a percentage of participants in LA21 implementation were dissatisfied with the dominance of banal local agendas that *"always prioritise dogs, litter, crime and traffic"* (Selman, 1998, p 547). It has been contended that ideas of environment are most keenly formulated and understood within locally referential frameworks, that these may in fact form citizens *'environmental horizons'* (Macnaghton et al, 1995, see also Warbuton, 1998). Nationally formulated policy can fail to take account of the extent to which regions and local residents remain embedded in collective identifications and cultures of locality. Going For Green (GFG), for example, has been described as premised on a limited conception of 'the environment', concentrated on its material nature and substance, whereas local understandings were:

'…enmeshed within broader, socially related feelings (concerning sense of place or community, for example) and economic realities (such as poverty or wealth; what are/are not economic possibilities (Smith et al, 1999: 198)'.

Further situated understandings and responses to participatory policy may be found *within* the local collectives or *between* the groups involved. The role of local individuals in catalysing or hindering the engagement of other residents is seen as significant in establishing the ability of

participatory schemes to attract involvement or inhibit it (Smith et al, 1999: 197). Research into LA21 identifies three types of *'active environmental citizen'* argued to be crucial in galvanising LA21 processes; *'catalytic personalities',* the *'community champion'* and the *'supernetworker'* (Selman & Parker, 1997: 180). Within these characterisations are identified several of the key attributes necessary to such 'community' figures – interest, time, energy, enthusiasm, contacts and the ability to articulate the 'interests' of the locality to others. It can be argued that without this combination of resources, not only will local collective networks or interest groups be unable to participate, but also policy targets will not be understood as relevant (Jones & Little, 2000, Smith et al, 1999).

It is significant that those most likely to possess these assets are the group that have also been identified within LA21 research as the most prevalent participants, *'white, middle-class professionals, with a strong skew to middle-aged people and early retirees, the latter being a particularly important source of social capital'* (Selman, 1998: 546)*.* It is these 'articulate' sectors, often in-comers to rural localities, which are most likely to participate in policy such as Rural Challenge partnerships (Jones & Little, 2000: 178). If certain sections of local populations are to dominate participatory structures, then only limited versions of locality will be articulated and championed by the 'community' (Murdoch & Marsden, 1994).

A further demonstration that the established history and culture of localities, including established power relations, influence participation is the dominance of *'the usual suspects'* within such initiatives (Selman, 1998). Selman (1998: 545) finds that within LA21 activities there have been very moderate increases in new participants and a tendency to rely on established 'local champions' and organisations. It appears that previously 'active citizens' are most likely to re/enrol in participatory opportunities (Jones & Little, 2000: 171). These individuals may possess a 'lay' expertise in participation that counteracts any disaffection with local decision making bodies and the potential intimidation of working with 'expert' partners (Darlow & Newby, 1997, Selman, 1998). Again, however, this raises the possibility that these particularly vocal members of localities are promoting particular narratives of collective identity and concern. Policies based around partnering locality through the self-selection of participants could exacerbate exclusion for some sections of the population (Jones & Little, 2000: 172). The participatory policies of new governance can and do provide a reflection of the extent to which its participants, local citizens and collectives, remain embedded in the culture and dynamics of their locality and local social relations.

As this section has demonstrated, new governance's embracing of problematic notions of collective identification as mechanisms of policy delivery, actually suggests that the MG scheme may well embody the social and spatial politics of its locality.

2.5 Summary

This chapter identifies two premises central to thesis. First, it has argued that local collective identification is a significant and flexible space and resource of defining belonging and providing ontological security, in the context of pressures associated with late modernity. It can provide a tool of managing and negotiating these forces for change through participants' identification with and mobilisation of symbolic cultures of locality, including assertions of claims to local cultural competency. The symbolic boundary drawing employed in the creation of cohesive collective identification, the demarcation of self and other, is inherently exclusive.

Second, it has contended that the MG scheme can be considered a space and resource of these processes of local collective identification for two reasons. One, it can be considered in its identity as a local environment-focused NSM: a potential location of collective solidarity via members shared identification with particular cultures of appreciating place and space. This non-traditional location of collectivity can be understood as stimulated by some of the pressures associated with late modernity.

Two, it can be explored in its context as a unit of new governance policy implementation. As such it is likely to enrol active citizens who will understand and mobilise its priorities from a locally embedded context. These individuals can be expected to be some of the most able, well-resourced and dynamic shapers of their locality.

These characteristics render the MG scheme reflective of processes of collective identification. MG participants are likely to reference particular cultures of locality in their understanding of local priorities. MG scheme cultures, in their involvement of participants engaged in collective identification with particular versions of locality, may embody elements of exclusivity. Claims to know and understand locality are likely to be articulated within the culture of the MG project, and may be constructed in relation to identities understood as not possessing such understanding or competency. In terms of their goal, the collective creation of a new, communal space, such understandings can be expected to have spatial representations and expressions at their centre.

These aspects of the MG scheme, its reflection of processes of local collective identification with cultures of locality, are returned to and employed in the research findings in order to achieve answers to several of the research questions. They allow exploration of the form of adult constructions of spaces of local collective identification and their status in relation to late modernity. They aid explanation of how young people are constructed by adults in relation to spaces of collective identification. Finally they help gather an understanding of how these constructions may influence young peoples' inclusion/exclusion from the process of creating/using a communal place and the space it presented for local collective identification.

Chapter Three – Young people and Local Collective Identification in Late Modernity

3. Introduction

This Chapter explores how changes associated with globalisation, individualisation and risk have affected the spaces available to young people for local collective identification and some of their perceptions of these opportunities. It reviews the pivotal role of dominant cultural constructions of 'childhood' in defining the shape of these relationships. It then identifies current, dominant 'dependent' representations of childhood, suggesting that it is a category of identity mainly understood through its difference and boundary with adulthood. The potent symbolism of constructs of childhood in conjunction with environmental representations, such as idyllic imagined geographies is discussed. The influence of individualisation and late modernity in challenging this way of viewing young identities and a resultant 'crisis' in the state of childhood is then examined. This builds an understanding of the manner in which young peoples' access to spaces and resources of local collective identification are negotiated from within and transmitted via collective social contexts, a central contention of this research (Serdedakis & Tsiolis, 2000, Thompson & Taylor, 2005).

The remainder of the review explores young peoples' experience of 'community participation' projects such as the Millennium Greens scheme and their relationship to open, communal spaces like the Millennium Green. This enables an exploration of how young peoples' access to these material and social spaces and resources of collective identification are shaped by the social contexts and constructs explored in the first part of the chapter.

Throughout this thesis the term 'young people' or 'young persons' is used to describe the age range of nought to eighteen. Sometimes the term 'children' or 'child' is used if they are aged eleven or under and on occasion 'youth' or 'adolescent' if aged above eleven. The notion of 'childhood' however, is understood to denote a symbolic concept and representation of the experience of being young.

3.1 Young People, Collective Identification, Transitions and Constructions

Research exploring young peoples' recourse to and opportunities for collective identification in the context of Late Modernity often suggests that young peoples' experiences and cultural orientations are particularly vulnerable and/or open to its influence (for example, Bæck, 2004, O' Connor, 2005, Delli Carpini, 2000, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Hart et al., 1997, Katz, 1998 Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998). These understandings have been suggested to position young people *at the cutting edge of an increasingly liquid modernity'* (Thompson & Taylor, 2005:330).

One such perspective, for example, understands the influence of modernity to particularly

manifest itself in the altered nature of transitions describing the movement from child to adulthood (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997). It identifies transitional routes of socialisation, from one state to another, as increasingly subject to individualising pressures that can alter the subjective significance and influence of collective experience in young lives. Some identify these transitions as particularly influential in establishing young peoples' understanding of and relationship to, collective identification (Ibid).

'young people today have to negotiate a set of risks which were largely unknown to their parents...irrespective of social background or gender...as many of these changes have come about in a relatively short period of time, points of reference which previously helped smooth processes of social reproduction have become obscure...increased uncertainty can be seen as a source of stress and vulnerability' (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, p 1).

Areas of young lives inspiring such interpretation include young peoples' participation in education, employment and political socialisation, each understood to be experiences fundamental in the development of collective impulses (Delli Carpini, 2000, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998).

Research focusing upon the increasingly diversified, lengthened and commodified experience of the education to work transition is illustrative of these findings (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998). The expansion of the time spent in education, the wider range of routes to educational attainment and increased expectations of the level of that attainment, are all understood as requirements of the Post Fordist, restructured employment market (Amin, 1994, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997: 110, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998: 213). These changes, in order to cultivate flexible specialisation in the work force, are considered to intensify young peoples' sense of personal responsibility in determining their attainment and progress and reduce both the nature and influence of its previously more collective nature. (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997: 110). Whilst there remain continuities in the school to work transition, some analyses find that the nature of its transformations increase young peoples' sense of individualism, whilst decreasing recognition of the experience as a collective one. As such, it is understood by some to be a contributing factor in the creation of a modern social environment that limits the development of the reflex of collective identification amongst the young (Ibid). Some have argued that such changes in the collective nature of the child-adult transition have resulted in particularly intense manifestations of individualising pressures in young lives (Ibid).

Such transitions, however, can also be explored in the context of another set of commentaries that focus upon the unique tensions that growing individualisation can create in young lives. Whilst the thesis of individualisation draws attention to aspects of late modernity that engender a sense of increased personal accountability in the negotiating of biographies, for example, this contrasts with the manner in which developments such as the lengthened education to work transition potentially increases the dependency of young people upon others (Valentine, 2000).

Research drawing attention to a culture of dependency shared between parent, state and child in the Western world, suggests that this is equally established through and within the structural changes associated with modernity (Ibid). Altered labour markets, prolonged education and corresponding alterations in the legal and welfare status of the 'child' create increased state and parental responsibilities for the young, that potentially compete with processes of individualisation (Ibid: 258).

These two perspectives are resident at the border of the same cultural edifice: one rooted within it, and one a view upon it. A perspective that understands young peoples' socialisation *into* collectivity to take place through pivotal life experiences or transitions that are currently being dislocated by individualisation, has its origins *within* the paradigm of youth dependency that the second viewpoint identifies. The second viewpoint suggests that this understanding of childhood forms part of a cultural construction of being young that is in competition with processes of individualisation. In other words, what may be being contested and altered by individualisation is not necessarily young peoples' transitional development into collective identification, but the viewpoint that understands their collective identification to be developed and mobilised in this manner (Wyness, 2000: 1, James, Jenks & Prout, 1998: 22-23).

Pressures associated with modernity can be seen to have reinforced inherent tensions in understandings of any 'transition' or boundary between adult and child states, concerning what exactly constitute young and mature identities, and how one relates to the other. The practices and social relations associated with late modernity have emphasised the location of 'childhood' within contradictory cultural patterns, parallel processes of '*homogenization*' and '*disintegration*' (Krüger, 1990: 108). To broadly characterise for the purposes of this discussion, the homogenising pattern can be seen to belong to political, academic and societal comprehensions of young people as undifferentiated, dependent selves making transitions to different kinds of social and mental comprehension and choices as adults. Such conceptions of 'childhood', face disintegration, however, as young people potentially make increasingly differentiated, independent and individualised lifestyle choices, previously considered the territory of the more mature (Krüger, 1990: 108, Valentine, 2000, Wyness, 2000: 1). Examination of these two colliding cultural perspectives and their implications is a significant element in developing an understanding of the spaces and resources available to young people to participate in local collective identification.

3.1.1 *Culturally constructed childhood*

During Britain's recent past the notion of 'childhood' has been defined, interpreted and governed, mainly through its difference with adulthood (Valentine, 2000: 257). *'While adults are sexual, responsible, competent, strong, decision making agents; children are asexual, irresponsible, incompetent, vulnerable, human 'becomings' in need of protection'* (Ibid: 258).

These narratives of identity, dividing child from adult, are reinforced via particular child-care

patterns and attitudes toward childhood development and socialisation (Ibid: 258). Likewise, the growth of 'childhood' institutional spaces such as schools and playgrounds has socially and spatially segregated child and adult. Some research finds young people increasingly inhabiting environments that seek to define for young people, culturally and age appropriate behaviours (Büchner, 1990).

The developmental theory of child psychologist Jean Piaget is cited within a range of disciplines, as having made dominant this understanding of the Western worlds' young people (Cohen, 1983, James, Jenks & Prout, 1998, Grave & Walsh, 1998: 2, Hill & Tisdall, 1997, Valentine, 1997a). This influence is argued to extend into and beyond the fields of academia, child education and care, exercising *'immeasurable impact upon the everyday common-sense conceptualisation of the child'* (Jenks, 1996: 29). The Piagetian model of childhood experience and growth can be considered a cultural context informing how the young are to be 'young'.

The central component of Piaget's thesis is the premise that children's mental structures (schema) are comprehensively different to those of adults, that the young child does not simply know less about the world than their elder siblings, what it knows it knows differently (Piaget, 1929, Aitken & Herman, 1997). Piaget characterised a child's comprehension as developing in stages that formed a linear transition from childhood understanding to that of an adult. This perspective suggests that a young person will gradually grow into 'adult' realities, gaining in mental skills and the full complexity of thought structures, appropriate to mature reasoning and understanding (Sylva & Lunt, 1982: 95). Sociological models of child socialisation owe much to this understanding with the child conceptualised as developing social comprehension in transitional movements from child to adult (James & Prout, 1997: 12-13, James, Jenks & Prout, 1998: 22-23).

The persistence of these models of development, with claims to universality, have arguably established the western world's young as inherently dependent on adult protection and guidance, a state of *'becoming'*, by definition incomplete, *'constructed not as different from adults but as less than adults"* (Valentine, 1997a: 67). Such models of child development circumscribe the range of behaviours and aspirations considered appropriate to the young and contribute to reinforcing perceived divisions between adult and child states (Valentine, 2000). The paternalist outlook of these models of psychological and social development, is argued to contribute to a dualistic response toward young people as either requiring protection due to their dependency, or supervision to prevent misdeeds: *'the innocent child victim on the one hand and the young deviant on the other'* (Valentine, 1996: 596, see also Wyness, 2000). The polarities within this way of seeing young people have seen the defining of childhood as a matter of collective adult concern, necessitating far-reaching welfare and legislative interventions and expert understanding, regarded by some as aspects of an assertion by adult society of control over the limits and bounds of modern young identities (Nieuwenhuys, 1997, Hendrick, 1997).

That this perspective is a temporally and culturally contingent representation of young lives can be demonstrated through historical surveys suggesting that 'childhood' has always been thus (Aries, 1973, Jenks, 1996: 69, Hendrick, 1997). In the manner in which ideas of locality were previously argued to constitute social constructs, childhood has been identified as a category of identity fluctuating in relation to and reflecting concurrent, collective cultural and social variation. It has been argued through examinations of cultural practices, that childhood has been constructed and reconstructed in order to constitute it a uniform phenomenon. Further it is argued that this homogeneous construct is expressive of the dominant *'ideological imperatives'* of adult society (Hendrick, 1997: 60). Jenks (1996: 60), in particular finds historical forms of childhood to be a mirror of current patterns within wider social relations and orders: the way in which we formulate childhood he suggests, *'must tell us as much about the condition of our society as it does about our children'*.

'the child is an icon of the condition of the social structure at any particular time, and thus currently emblematic of our collective responses to the impact of late-modernity...'(Jenks, 1996: 97).

The defining of 'childhood' is understood in these terms as a project of governance. This political endeavour seeks to delimit the appropriate and non-appropriate forms of young identity and in doing so aims to embed corresponding cultural ideas and social relations that wider society should conform to (Hendrick, 1997: 38). An example of such relationships is the way in which historically, youth has been constructed in relation to cultures of space and environment. Such constructions are active in adult understandings of their own and young peoples' relationship with aspects of space and culture and are now explored further.

3.1.2 *Culturally constructed childhood and the environment*
Both childhood and environment are subject to varied representations and constructions by adult society, but the two notions when allied also appear to act as a particularly potent cultural context. There is a cultural and historical tradition that connects conceptions of young people and environment as both 'natural', an association that fluctuates in its particulars according to temporal spatial and social context (Jordanova, 1989: 8, cited in Gittins, 1998: 140).

'the state of childhood may be seen as pure, innocent or original…children may be analogised with animals or plants, thereby indicating that they are natural objects available for scientific and medical investigation; children may be valued as aesthetic objects...but they could equally be feared for their instinctual, animal like natures' (Jordanova, 1989: 8, cited in Gittins, 1998: 140).

The association of children and the natural world in the UK and Western Europe has been traced to seventeenth century Cartesian rationalism and the prevalence of dualistic categories of mind/body, rationality/irrationality (Ibid: 41). Such dichotomies were accompanied by a societal need to delimit and confirm the boundaries between human and animal (Ibid, 1998: 41).

Arguably, children occupied a somewhat vague location amongst the polarities drawn, on the boundary between animal/human and lower/upper. For example, in terms of discipline children may have been understood sometimes to behave in a similarly wild fashion as animals (Ibid, 1998: 41). The connection of young people and wild nature has been identified as a latent fear in modern society, finding expression in an adult preoccupation with socialising or taming children to recognise 'grown-up' relations of space and identity (Sibley, 1995a, 1995b).

Evidence of a reformulation of this association, in Western Society, is found within the literature and philosophy of the Romantic tradition (Gittens, 1998, Hendricks, 1997).   Jean-Jacques Rousseau's influential Emile (1762), the story of a boyhood education guided by the child's own interests and experience of a 'natural' environment is particularly expressive of this change (Gittins, 1998: 152). The connection of sin and animal instinct in the young was replaced with the notion that the child was 'naturally' innocent until corrupted. The child, free to engage with nature, takes part in an innocent education unadulterated by wider society. This redefinition is understood as expressing a political thesis, the romantic contest of rationalism and the rise of industrialism (Hendrick, 1997: 38). The association between child and nature becomes a noble alliance, as opposed to a revelation of baseness (Gittins, 1998: 152). These symbolisms are equated with elements of the dependent dimension of current western constructions of childhood and the 'romantic child' considered the precursor of modern interpretations of childhood (Hendrick, 1997: 38).

Modern echoes of this literary and philosophical discourse, that finds affirmative relationships between youth and nature, have been detected in more recent associations between pastoral environments and a 'natural' or correct childhood (Jones, 1997: 164-165). Childhood, some suggest has come to be seen as belonging in the countryside (Jones, 1997: 159-164). The unification of these two symbolically resonant constructs is expressive of a societal yearning for less modern or 'adult' contexts (Jones, 1997: 158). Idyllic imaginings of rural childhoods deploy imagery of *'happy, healthy lifestyles'* where the young may *'enjoy the benefits of trouble free environments, away from the stresses and uncertainties of the urban mayhem'* (Matthews et al, 2000a: 145). These couplings of space and child offer symbolic shelter from the disembedding and individualising pressures of modernity. The rural child is a key cultural representation of temporal and spatial continuity (Matthews et al, 2000a: 145, Jones, 2000: 35).

The power of childhood environments to provide a collective haven from modern life has also been located in research suggesting that the adult, recalled, location of childhood is most often symbolically idealised (Holland, 1992: 95, Williams, 1985: 297, for examples see Ward, 1978 and Ward, 1990). Remembered rural, or less commonly urban, childhoods may be metaphoric, symbolic of social relations that are understood as *'human'*, *'natural'* but are believed to be lost to urban *'progress'* and *'modernity'* (Williams, 1995: 297). It appears that childhood and its association with environment hold particular symbolic significance in adult conceptions of stability and tradition, change and modernity. Further, attitudes toward young peoples'

relationships with certain environments can be explored as expressive of collective reactions to these dynamics of societal changes.

Valentine's (1997b) research upon parenting perceptions of childrens' safety provides a scarce empirical exploration of how this construction shapes adult, everyday perceptions of the relationship between young peoples' identity and their participation in their environment. The research is based upon interviews with parents of children aged from 8 to 11 years old, from 10 households in the Derbyshire Peak District (Valentine, 1997b: 139). These country parents were found to actively mobilise idyllic imaginings of rural childhoods and position them in relation to understandings of '*streetwise',* urban childhoods, to argue that the countryside protects young people form the individualising pressures of late modernity. It is argued that;

'a rural location provides children with a more innocent, less worldly and purer experience of childhood than that offered by the city...a rural environment is perceived to shelter young people from the commercial pressures of the fashion industry...peer group pressures to engage in drugs, underage sex, bullying, violent crime and bad language' (Valentine, 1997b:140).

These parents regarded the rural locale as a place where the boundary between adult and child identities is protected and maintained. The findings reveal an adult utilisation of a childhood/environment construct in demarcating legitimate activities, identities and spaces that their children may inhabit (Valentine, 1997b). Via legitimating some, they may however, restrict others. As Jones (2000: 35), has commented,

'There is a need to unravel these interconnecting constructions of pure and defiled space, children as "little angels" or "little devils", the rural and the urban, and the implications they have for the lives of children'.

That adult society has understood and managed childhood in terms of constructions whose symbolisms are expressive of wider societal concerns is a significant perspective in the context of this study. It suggests that adult interpretations of young peoples' space in collective identification will be understood through cultural representations of young people that will relate to their perceptions of wider society. Likewise, young people are likely to be able to identify elements of these constructions in their understanding of the spaces available to them to participate in local collective identification. In addition, a review of the literature surrounding the historically fluctuating construct of relationships between environment and childhood identity, suggests that these constructions may well be the potent location of some sense of symbolic refuge from modern life. However, as suggested previously, the predominance of this manner of understanding young people as naturally dependent on protection from modern threats and the temptations of disorder is currently contested by elements of late modernity itself.

3.1.3 *The 'crisis' in childhood*

Concurrent with universalised, paternalistic understandings of the young reinforced through boundaries and difference, both the individualising social relations and cultural practices of late modernity are understood to be destabilising this boundary. The divides between youth and adult concerns and behaviours are blurring and the transitions between the two states becoming more complex and obviously differentiated (Büchner, 1990, Krüger, 1990, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998, Valentine, 2000). The category of childhood is subject to *'destructuring'* as the established symbolic architecture that delineated the shift from childhood to adulthood is reorganised and disconnected (Krüger, 1990: 109, Valentine, 2000).

'instead of pursuing a linear pathway (finish school, discover sex, leave home, get married, have children) young people are plotting more complex paths to adulthood riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions (e.g. having sex while still at school; drinking, smoking and taking drugs while simultaneously being dependent on parents to provide meals, clothing, emotional security, money and so on) (Valentine, 2000: 258)'.

In exploring young peoples' experiences of late modernity, research emphasises the increasing availability of non-local and non-traditional symbolic and cultural resources with which the young may identify. Young people are seen as having increasingly independent access to such resources via disembedding mechanisms and individualising influences such as participation in globalised communication mediums and growing spaces of consumerism (Ibid: 258, Wyness, 1997: 315). These kinds of experience potentially offer access to traditionally adult experiences and ways of being, providing young people with alternative cultural materials with which to construct their identity outside of the 'dependency' model of childhood (Ibid: 258). It has been argued for young people this can be experienced as a negotiation of several context dependent versions of youth, son/daughter, pupil, peer, consumer or audience: '*where in each context particular different expectations, norms and rules may be at stake*' (Valentine, 2000: 258).

For adults however, these contradictory trends in young lives have occasioned a perceived 'crisis' in childhood (James & James, 2000, Wyness, 2000). This crisis appears to reside most strongly in a prevalent sense that as *'collective'* and *'traditional'* frames of reference, such as family, become less influential and diverse cultural references more accessible to all ages, adults are no longer succeeding in delineating and maintaining the borders between the states of adult and child (Wyness, 1997: 315).

'What is in crisis is a particular understanding of childhood, a recurring set of dominant ideas within political and academic domains that draws a generational boundary between adults and children, in the process restricting children to subordinate and protected roles' (Wyness, 2000: 1).

This perceptual crisis is evidenced by a number of *'moral panics'* concerning the status of

children in Britain in the last decade of the twentieth century. Societal fears that adults could no longer contain childhood through moral and social divides were fuelled by high profile events highlighting juvenile crime and child abuse (Valentine, 1996: 596, Wyness, 2000: 1). Little research appears to highlight how this type of panic is expressed in everyday relations between adults and young people. Work focusing upon parental claims to personal authority over their adolescent children, finds that the boundaries between identities feel less clear to these adults (Wyness, 1997). Parents in this case suggest that, based on behaviours and values they believe to have existed in the past, the hierarchical nature of the parent-child relationship has been flattened (Ibid).

By contrast with claims that in late modernity the boundaries between adult and young identities is blurred, however, there are elements of life in late modernity that appear to provide the material for the creation of new boundaries between age groups. Several authors for example, suggest that young people are often credited with a special affinity with certain types of electronic communication media, which divide them from previous generations (Buckingham, 2000: 41, Holloway & Valentine, 2001: 27). These studies find that our notions concerning young people and technology are often defined via essentialist interpretations of the effects of young peoples' 'natural' abilities to grasp and understand such media. This supposed relationship has been interpreted either as negative, where vulnerable children's innocence is corrupted by their access to adult worlds via such devices or perhaps more positively, where young people are seen as possessing un-childlike knowledge and competency in comparison to adults using such tools (Buckingham, 2000: 41, Holloway & Valentine, 2001: 26).

From both perspectives it can be argued that young people are imagined to have an inherent *'natural wisdom that is somehow denied to adults'* in their use of new electronic media (Buckingham, 2000: 41)*.* For some, however, young peoples' increasing access to adult worlds via new electronic media has more than any other factor, contributed to adult failures to maintain the boundary between adult and child. Electronic media, particularly television, is seen within this body of literature as blurring the separation of the informational worlds of young and old, revealing adult behaviours and concerns to young people. In turn therefore, the division between the way young people and adults behave is dissolving and resulting ultimately in the *'Disappearance of Childhood'* (Postman, 1994, see also Meyrowitz, 1986)*.*

The remainder of this review explores how the tensions created by efforts to maintain boundaries between young and adult identities through cultural constructions of childhood had influenced young peoples' ability to take part in inter-generational social and spatial collective identification, at the turn of the last century. It explores young peoples' experience of 'community participation' projects such as the Millennium Greens scheme and their relationship to open, communal spaces like the Millennium Green. This enables an exploration of how young peoples' access to these material and social spaces and resources of collective identification are shaped by the social contexts and constructs explored above

3.2 Young People and Community Participation and Collective Decision Making

The Millennium Greens initiative encouraged young peoples' participation in collective identification, decision-making and action through the broader medium of a community participation initiative for establishing local environmental change. The impetus for and barriers to, viewing young people as part of collective identification, decision-making and endeavour and the types of new governance style opportunities that have arisen for young people to participate in such, are explored now. Some of the motivations for, and barriers to, involving young people in collectivity are highlighted, as are issues arising from the process and some of the possible outcomes. Attention is drawn to the possible effects of adult 'constructions' of young people upon young involvement. This part of the review starts by tracing some of the recent context that has shaped notions concerning young peoples' rights to participate in collective decision-making. This will further contextualise the MG scheme acting as the vehicle of this research.

3.2.1 *The impetus for young peoples' involvement in collective decision-making*

Young peoples' position within the decision-making structures of British society during the last decade of the twentieth century has been described as *'characterised by a growing awareness of the issue of children's participation'* (Freeman, 1999: 68). This raised awareness is attributed to the conjunction of several trends. These include an emphasis upon inter-generational equity within the concept of sustainable development, the growth of environmental education and critically, the UN convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Ibid: 68).

UNCRC represents a clear contemporary reflection and promotion of the notion that young people should participate in decision-making processes. Almost universally ratified, it creates state responsibilities towards young people in areas not previously subject to governance (Boyden, 1997: 216). The UNCRC, for example, recognises the child's right to participate within a society's decision-making structures upon '*matters affecting the child*' and the right of *'freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers'* (UNCRC, 1989)[1]. This has been identified as the newest direction taken by our cultural ideas and ideals of childhood, that although young people should be protected in their dependency, they must also be empowered by their protectors (Boyden, 1997: 222). The UNCRC is part of a recently formulated model of young peoples' position within the social order and structure that

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[1]'Article 12

1   *States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child…*

Article 13

1   *The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through media of the child's choice'*

(Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

challenges, on a global scale, locally and nationally accepted norms and beliefs about the young (Stasiulus, 2002). Its potential to give agency and integrity to the young therefore contests constructions of the young as dependent objects of paternalist protection (Ibid: 509).

Evidence of shifting conceptions of the abilities and rights of young people to participate were until fairly recently most clearly discernable at the international scale (Bell, 1999, Freeman, 1999). It is argued that the testimonies of children from the developing world in the latter twentieth century provided evidence of youths' integrity and resilience, despite a lack of paternalist institutions and welfare interventions, that fundamentally influenced such shifts (Nieuwenhuys, 1997: 235)

By contrast, however, others find that the UNCRC, deployed via a supra-national governance institution, has been pivotal in establishing a *'global construction of childhood'*, promoting culturally non-specific notions of youth modelled predominantly upon the biological and psychological 'facts' of Western constructions (Boyden, 1997: 203). Some research suggests that when young peoples' UNCRC coded right to participate is placed within the context of local cultures it is actively redefined within that milieu and re-deployed in ways that conform to that locality's collective constructs of childhood (Stasiulis, 2002). This diversity of opinion makes it clear that further research into how young people are understood and constructed within participatory initiatives is required.

3.2.2. *Young people and collective decision-making in the national context*
In order further to contextualise the MG scheme, the contemporary political climate in which it was situated is established here. It is suggested that at the end of the last century young peoples' non-participation in societal decision-making was the prevailing trend within the UK, in spite of the ratification of the UNCRC by Britain (Matthews et al, 1999, Freeman, 1999: 71). At the beginning of this century successive British governments had dithered in creating ministerial posts with specific responsibilities for young people and lacked a unified national structure for achieving young peoples' participatory rights (Matthews 2001b: 35). Britain possessed no statutory representative mechanisms for young people and the UNCRC has no legal function in British law (Ibid: 26). Researchers have directly connected this situation with the continued dominance of the paternalistic, dependence construction of young people within the governing political philosophy. Matthews for example, identifies this construction as contributing to the failure of elements of the culture of the UNCRC to embed in the UK (Ibid: 26, Wyness, 2000: 1).

Evidence for this contention is also found within the uneven reception of the UNCRC in Britain. The elements that dealt with child protection and welfare were accommodated more readily and favourably than those dealing with young peoples' participatory engagement in societal decision-making (Matthews et al., 1999: 136). The characteristics of the dependent representation of childhood had contributed to a failure at the turn of the century to accommodate understandings of young people as decision makers. Providing young people

with the right to voice their perspective can be understood from a variety of perspectives on the dependent/deviant continuum. It might for example; confer responsibilities on a time of life understood as free from these; or on those incapable of responsibility; or on those with no experience to take on responsibility; or those who will treat responsibilities, irresponsibly; or on those who might contest adult authority with the status conveyed by their responsibilities (Lansdown, 1995: 20 cited in Matthews et al, 1999, p136). In a period where the boundaries between adult and child are potentially threatened by increased individualisation, it is plain to see how young peoples' active citizenship might be construed as part of this challenge posed by late modernity (Wyness, 2000: 1).

At the level of UK government policy making young peoples' participation in local collective contexts has sometimes been used as a tool of increasing protection and supervision of the young (James & James, 2000). Whilst general trends of devolved governing in the UK sought to revive participation in local public life via engaging localities in decision-making, by contrast young people had perhaps been increasingly subject to attempts to restrict their 'agency' (Ibid). Whilst mobilising notions of local community participation these governance interventions ultimately may serve to decrease young peoples' freedoms, through increasing surveillance and control of their actions and ideas. This has been found to be the case in the establishment of child curfews via discussions between adult local residents and the police, delivered through the Crime and Disorder Act (1998), and policy which increases the use of adult citizens in attempts to mentor and guide young peoples' behaviours both in and out of schools. That the young were regularly being excluded from local collective inclusion is again attributed to a continued understanding in national governance that society needed to protect the young from its dangers and itself from the dangers of the young (Ibid: 212).

Local participation which increases parental and collective responsibilities for producing and supervising the child, positions the young as the collaborative future 'capital' of society, whilst potentially decreasing the freedom and ability of self-governance for young people (Ibid: 217). Several studies touch upon the way in which 'Citizenship' as defined for young people in policy and education[2], in the UK, seems to carry implicit moral agendas as an attempt to socialise young people to 'become' responsible and active citizens of their collective contexts (Hall et al., 1999, James & James, 2000). So for example, government rhetoric has focused not only on the youngs' entitlement to rights, but also upon their responsibilities to gather the skills to operate such rights in ways that benefit local collective relations (James & James, 2000: 218). The emergence of Citizenship in the context of childhood during the 1990s has been identified as a defining and redefining of the *'normative'* values of the young active citizen in relation to his/her *'membership'* of local social relations; *'belongingness, independence and equality, responsibility and participation, and shared existence and identity'* (Hall et al, 1999: 504). James & James (2000: 215) suggest that such policy has increasingly focused upon controlling

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[2] Citizenship became a compulsory subject of the national curriculum in September 2002 in under sixteen education.

the form that 'childhood' can take and that the present involvement of wider citizens in the regulation of young lives is a method of creating certain types of conforming collective identities in the future.

3.2.3 *Young people and collective decision-making in the local context*

In contrast to the lack of Government legislation or policy concerning participation of the young, however, there was an uneven, but significant, endorsement of childrens' participation, in the local context. A mapping of the range of activities aimed at involving young people within local decision-making and democratic structures during 1999 found a wide range of opportunities. These ranged from relatively formal consultation, youth councils and forums to diverse methods and structures delivered by various agencies and through various policies, including Youth Services, Groundwork Trusts and through LA21 and Single Regeneration Budget initiatives (White, 2000). Some research however, highlights poor communication amongst and the localised nature of, many of these initiatives as potentially leading to inconsistent and transitory opportunities (Matthews & Limb, 1998a: 76-77). Another consequence of the lack of national responsibility over such forums is that young participants are afforded no guarantee that their involvement will be followed by change (Ibid: 77). The consequences and responsibilities of potentially redistributing power between young people and adults at a local level are recurrent themes within the literature exploring best practice in community participation (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998, Hart, 1999, Matthews, 2001a, Matthews, 2001b, Spencer et al.(2000), Wellard et al., 1997, White, 2000). A review of this material also highlights young and adult beliefs about their roles in participative activity that reflects deployment and perceptions, of dependent constructions of youth. This evidence is briefly explored in order to provide a context for assessing how the MG scheme relates to such evidence. For the purposes of discussion, the findings are organised in terms of their relationship to three areas of the participatory process; impetus for and impediments to, involvement; experience of the process and; the consequences of involvement.

Impetus and impediment to involvement

Young people have been found to be cynical about participative processes and their potential to alter the distribution of power and responsibility between youth and adults (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 25-26, Spencer et al (2000).: 16- 17, White, 2000: 26). A study of practice, however, finds levels of cynicism are often lower than might be expected. Likewise, it suggests that uninvolved peers do not consider their friends participation to be *'uncool'* (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 25-26).

Lack of confidence in their abilities has led some young people to doubt their ability to handle the responsibilities involved in participative activities (White, 2000: 26). This feeling that they are unqualified to voice their own experience or take on the activities that participation might involve could also be seen as a response to constructions of young people as less than adult. Some youth feel that they possess the abilities and experience to participate in local decision-

making, but are aware that adults do not hold them to be able and attribute failure by adults to devolve power to them to this fact (Matthews, 2001a: 310). Some young people however, become involved in participation in order to change adult attitudes toward themselves (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 24). The idea that they can alter the present and future circumstances of young people in the locality can also be a motivational factor for some young peoples' involvement in participative schemes (Ibid: 24).

Adults can feel anxious collaborating with young people and are sometimes unclear about the logistics of meaningfully sharing power (White, 2000: 27, Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 25). Others however do not wish to share power with young people and feel uncomfortable with relinquishing control of projects (Fitzpatrick et al. 2000: 505-506, Matthews, 2001a: 315). This can be because they believe young people are not likely to be *'experienced'* or adult enough to take on such activities (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 24, Matthews, 2001: 23, White, 2000: 27). Some adults feel that at particular ages young people are simply unable to take part in rational decision-making (Matthews, 2001b: 24). Others suggest that childhood is a period of innocence relatively protected from decision-making: '*Growing up today gives young people enough to worry about on a personal level - they can do without the added pressure of feeling responsible for all of society's problems too'* (White, 2000: 27). Such feelings articulate young people as dependents, but also acknowledge increasing individualisation of young lives as a reason for not involving them as participants in decision-making: '*their right to childhood'* (Matthews, 2001b: 23). Some adults have suggested that young people could not be awarded power as they have expectations unable to be accommodated within general consensus (White, 2000: 27) and others that youth are uninterested in collective participative involvement (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 25). Sometimes there is an intense polarisation between generations in a locality and this can result in representations of each age group as all doing and thinking the same thing (White, 2000: 39).

Adults are sometimes motivated to engage with young people by ideas that participation and 'citizenship' can help socialise young adults to take up responsibilities as part of collective social relations (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 23). This research (Ibid: 23) found that the idea that participating in regeneration schemes was a form of *'self-development'* was far more emphasised in relation to young people than it was to adults. Motivation for adults to involve young people is sometimes also provided by the idea that this training in citizenship can encourage a future generation of community leaders, possibly to the detriment that young participants are *'fellow citizens'* (Ibid: 23). Those engaged as professionals in community participation schemes or elected to local decision-making processes were more likely to rationalise involving young people as giving them a *'voice'* (Ibid: 23).

Experience of the process
Initiatives such as youth conferences and youth forums may *'compartmentalise'* young people, lessening their opportunities to participate in an intergenerational context (Ibid: 505). Certain

formats of participation are, however, seen as more attractive and achievable than others, when it comes to involving young people (White, 2000: 36). The setting of, and language or jargon used by, adults in participative projects has been found to be significant in alienating some young people from involvement (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 24). White (2000: 39), found that there are often complaints that language is *'exclusive and deliberately obscure'*. Involving external facilitators between adults and young people, such as youth workers, can be valuable (Ibid: 39). It is argued in some studies that if young people are to work effectively with notions of 'citizenship' and within shared or adult enabled processes of decision-making, then they will require training (Matthews, 2001b: 183, Fitzpatrick et al., 2000: 504). Likewise, however, it has been suggested that in order for adults to understand the needs, behaviours and potential of young people who wish to be involved in participative initiatives, training should be provided for them (Matthews, 2001b: 182, Fitzpatrick et al., 2000: 504).

Consequences of involvement

Some young people find that participative processes essentially leave unaltered the distribution of power and responsibility between young people and adults (Matthews, 2001a p 308-309). In other cases, however, young participants feel better acquainted with local issues and social relations (Ibid: 307) and gain confidence in themselves and their abilities from participative involvement (Matthews, 2001b: 148). In particular it appears that young people can gain confidence in communicating with adults, through participation (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 25). Certain young people enjoy the sense of responsibility and power that is conferred via decision-making and of 'ownership' over the results (Ibid: 24). Other research finds though, that young people have complained that the agenda of participative forums is often set and steered by adults (Matthews, 2001a: 308).

Seeing young people in action during participative activities can change adult views of their abilities (Matthews, 2001b: 23, White, 2000: 27). Some warn, however, that participative initiatives can be 'token', involving a small section of local youth, yet are used to 'legitimate' the corresponding actions of agencies and adults (Fitzpatrick, 1998: 20, Matthews, 2001a: 309). Sometimes adults do not know how to 'value' the contribution of young participants sufficiently, providing insufficient acknowledgement of young peoples' efforts or failing to feed back to them and keep them appraised of developments (Matthews, 2001a: 313, White, 2000: 39). There can be 'disparity' between what adults have felt to be the aims and objectives of projects and the motivations and aims of young people (Fitzpatrick et al., 1998: 13, White, 2000: 39). Fitzpatrick et al., suggest that this can sometimes be due to *'genuine intergenerational differences in the perspectives of what is important'*. Adults have been argued to expect both more and less of young people, than they do of their peers (White, 2000: 40). This has resulted in patronising praise for young peoples' participation, whilst adults also give closer scrutiny to contributions, noting mistakes and rejecting the results when it does not match their high expectations, higher perhaps than they might expect of themselves (Ibid: 40).

These examples are by no means exhaustive. However, they provide an indication of the extent to which many of the barriers and some of the motivations towards involving young people in collective participation, as well as issues arising within elements of the process and resulting outcomes, are located within adult attitudes about young people. Adults express ideas, particularly concerning the way in which young people handle responsibility and their current and future relationship to their local collective context, which limit and specify the ways in which the young will be viewed as 'able' to participate. Various deployments of the 'dependent' representation of young people are evident within the adult reasoning for not involving the young in decision-making, including that the young are irresponsible, incapable or require protection.

These constructions are also recognisable in motivations for reaching out to young people, in terms of 'socialising' them as future citizens of their local collective context. Likewise, such ideas are reflected in the understandings of young people concerning their own ability to participate, their motivation to be involved similarly responding to the effects of these constructions. Young people are participating from amongst others, a desire to change current adult attitudes towards themselves or to alter their own and/or their peers' position within social relations and local distributions of power that are doubtless constrained by adult perspectives highlighted here. In these studies adult constructions of young peoples' identities and abilities have a significant influence, both upon the space made available to them in local collective decision making, as well as their ability to perceive and conceive of this space. Such evidence emphasises the role of social context and cultural representations in shaping young peoples' access to the material and social spaces and resources of collective identification and endeavour.

3.3 The Spatialisation of the Influence of Modernity upon Young People

The final section of this review explores young peoples' experience of and access to, outdoor collective space, the environment that the MG schemes aimed to produce. It examines how the tensions created by efforts to maintain the boundaries between youth and adult identities, through cultural constructions of childhood, have influenced young peoples' ability to take part in spatial arenas and expressions of, local collective identification in the context of Late Modernity. This further develops a context for this research's examination of how young peoples' access to the material and social locations and resources of collective identification are shaped by social contexts and construct.

3.3.1 *Young peoples' experience of outdoor environments and collectivity*

Young people have been shown to enjoy and often actively prefer spending their time in outdoor environments, places that are part of the development of their social self and sense of belonging (Depeau, 2001, Matthews et al, 2000a, Matthews et al, 2000b, Panelli et al., 2002). A survey of rural 9-16 year-olds in Northamptonshire finds that 77% *'considered themselves an*

outdoor person' (Matthews et al, 2000a: 143). Similarly, research with the same age group in the urban East Midlands establishes that 85% of boys and 62% of girls class themselves as an *outdoor* rather than *indoor person*, (Matthews et al, 2000b). In the rural study, 44% of young people meet with friends away from their homes, two or more times a week (Matthews et al., 2000a: 143). The most common places to spend time outside of the home are the local 'streets' (42%) or recreation grounds and parks (34%), (Ibid). Likewise, the urban study finds that 74% of its respondents claim to meet with their friends on the 'street' at least once a week (Matthews et al, 2000b). The data demonstrates that outdoor public places are significant venues for young people from both the British countryside and denser built environment. Research with the 9-11 year age group, in a suburban setting, also establishes that places away from the home are common locales for play, again, with streets described as favoured venues as well as shopping centres (Matthews et al, 2000b)[3].

The evidence explored in the Northamptonshire study finds that young people commonly like to spend time in places where peers can locate them, but also where the *'adult gaze'* is absent (Matthews et al, 2000a: 144). Cross-culturally comparative research in Paris and Australia, however, has established that young people in urban areas can appreciate the security value of passive adult surveillance (Depeau, 2001: 84). However urban young people in this study also valued places where congregation with their peers was possible (Ibid: 83).

UK based urban and suburban studies, highlight the significance of the 'street' as a space for young people in which to interact with their age cohort (Matthews, 1995: 458, Matthews, 2001b: 60-61, Matthews et al, 2000b: 69). Here, the evidence indicates that outdoor public 'street' areas are reclaimed by young people from their everyday position in the spatial practices of the locality, to form temporary sites that are outside of the boundaries designated by adult society (Matthews et al., 2000b: 69). Matthews et al. (Ibid: 69), designate this a *'thirdspace'* for young people *'where adultist conventions (constraints) and moralities about what it is to be a child, that is, less than adult, can be put aside'*. The relative freedom of the 'thirdspace' from the restraints produced by local collective norms allows young people to utilise such places in their construction of their sense of self (Ibid: 69). Identity may be tested by young people in the Thirdspace provided by the street, through choices concerning conformity to or freedom from the conventions of the local social world.

Echoing the popularity of the 'street' amongst urban and suburban young people, the preferred places of rural young people from the Northamptonshire study do not have an essentially *'natural'* character and include car parks, shop fronts and construction sites. Natural features

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[3] It should be noted this research, which in terms of its direct canvassing of young peoples' opinions and focus on attitudes toward outdoor space represents a relatively infrequent type of survey in the UK, has a cross over in some authorship and origin. The influence of this upon the methodology, remit and perhaps results and analysis may be significant, but from a limited selection, it is particularly relevant and provides thorough examples for the requirements of this review.

(Matthews et al., 2000a: 144), such as *'fields'* and *'woods'* (3%) and *'ponds'* and *'rivers'* (4%), often particularly valued by adults, are not regularly utilised as playing spaces. Research from Ireland asserts that the natural features of locality retain significance for both rural and urban young people and that they provide recreational spaces equally with built environment (O'Connor, 2005: 15). However, in rural areas experience of natural places can be limited by high amounts of private ownership of land, little public space and parental fears surrounding lack of supervision and order in the countryside (Matthews et al., 2000a: 144-145). Contrary to expectation and cultural construction, rural areas do not necessarily provide an experience of childhood that is closer to nature (Ibid: 145). Rural research finds that the restrictions of the countryside can contribute to the movement of young people into spaces currently unemployed by adults, particularly those that lend themselves to larger scale congregation (Ibid: 145). Occupation of nominally 'adult' places has also been noted in a suburban context (Matthews, 1995: 459). Some have concluded that emerging from the rural sphere such results demonstrate young peoples' valuation of the social possibilities of space and place over the attractions of the *'natural'* (Matthews et al, 2000a: 145). The authors of this research hypothesise that the young rural research participants actively attempt to populate space in which they can produce 'urban' social scenes.

'Indeed, it is almost as if these children were trying to occupy, even create for themselves, mini-urban spaces where they could perform a sociability akin to that which they see depicted regularly in television 'soaps', films and magazines' (Ibid).

This again can be understood as an overturning of adult spatial norms by young peoples' occupation of local space, a reinterpretation of the use value of place and the creation of youth oriented Thirdspace or 'microgeographies' (Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith 1998: 195).

The importance to young people of outdoor and public places in their capacity as social environments is a recurring theme in research focusing on young members of localities and their place in spatial and collective relations (Depeau, 2001, Matthews et al., 2000a, Matthews et al, 2000b, Panelli et al., 2002, Thomas & Thompson, 2004: 7). The relationship between young people and the locations where they are able to take part in the social world of their peers are the ingredients of what have been described as *'geographies of social belonging'* (Matthews et al. 2001b: 60). Similar conclusions have been drawn in relation to young peoples' relationships with adult members of their local collective contexts (Depeau, 2001, Panelli et al., 2002). This appreciation of space is located in its ability to provide a setting for the display, observation, interaction and recording of social identities. It is one aspect of young peoples' interpretation or internalisation of the social and material world.

Social places are intrinsic elements of both young peoples' sense of self and their 'belonging' to a locality and local collective identities (Depeau, 2001, Panelli et al., 2002). The patterns of these relationships between selves and space are several (Panelli et al., 2000: 113-115). So

for example, young people may value space for its ability to provide the social opportunity that can enable a sense of belonging to local social relations (Depeau, 2001: 84, Panelli et al, 2002: 114). If local communal spaces are felt to be unwelcoming, young people may experience a sense of exclusion from collective relations (Depeau, 2001: 83, Panelli et al., 2002: 115). If the uses of public space and environments that young people enjoy are not supported or *'legitimate'* in the eyes of the community, young people may again feel excluded from local social relations (Panelli et al., 2002: 115). If young people perceive themselves to be part of broad adult assumptions and ideas concerning their relationship with public space, they may consider themselves the victims of preconceptions and intolerance and again therefore not included in local communal relations (Ibid: 115). Young people may require outdoor and public social spaces in order for them to experience the relationships and acceptance that allow to them to find 'belonging' in local spatial and collective relations.

These findings have affinities with the notion of public outdoor spaces as 'Thirdspace' testing grounds for the development of young peoples' sense of independent personal, social identity (Matthews et al., 2000b: 69). Emphasis here, however, is lent to the ways in which such places can serve to connect young people to their local collective context and define their collective identities. This spatial inclusion has been identified as particularly significant given the social and cultural exclusions experienced by young people, due to their construction as dependent (Freeman & Riordan, 2002: 301). It should be noted, however, that some occupation of outdoor public places can also be the result of young peoples' lack of power to choose their environment: such places may be occupied by *'default'* (Matthews, 2001b: 59). It has been argued in a rural context that young peoples' occupation of space creates experiences of *'a "darker" rural'* where they meet the *'splinters and fractures of community life'* in their everyday lives (Matthews et al, 2000a: 145-146). Thus, for example, rural young people must often enter into contest over space with their peers and other adults, due to the lack in availability of the social spaces they prefer (Matthews et al, 2000a: 146)

The cultural constructions that more widely delimit youth identities also have spatial expression and provide a context for both adult perceptions and young peoples' experience of, occupying public, communal places. For example, moral panics over child safety some argue, have direct roles in shaping adult perceptions of risk and their subsequent attitudes toward the protection and spatial restriction of young people (Matthews et al, 2000a: 146, citing Valentine, 1997). Adult fears of young people in groups (Matthews et al, 2000, Wolpole, 2003: 11) or in particular, of adolescent young men, in shared space, have arguably been fuelled by media coverage of disorderly 'youths' and gangs (Kraack & Kenway, 2002: 145).

There are increasing concerns amongst adults, that young people *'hanging around'* are not to be trusted to conform to their norms and expectations (Matthews et al, 2000a: 146). Further, this perception understands public space to be a private adult domain that is potentially polluted by the inconsistent and incompatible presence of young people (Ibid: 146). One study makes

brief reference to the idea that in a rural context the competition between these representations of the young and the rural idyll may lead to youth being *'constructed as "anti-idyll" in that they are often seen to introduce disquiet, crime and immorality to rural environments'* (Kraack & Kenway, 2002: 145).

Due to the lack of public space and social places in rural areas, young people can be particularly visible when they attempt to congregate (Matthews et al. 2000: 146). This can result in a high level of intervention from adults attempting to regulate young peoples' behaviours and re/gain autonomy over place (Ibid: 146). When adults are not actively managing places, their continued presence can be perceived by the young through: adult surveillance or 'gaze'; memories of previous conflicts with adult members of the community; fears concerning future generational contest and awareness and resentment of adult suspicions (Matthews et al., 2000: 146, Kraack & Kenway, 2002: 148). Teenagers appear to be particularly subject to disapproving observation as potential transgressors of adult social regulation and custom (Matthews et al., 2000: 149). Such unrelenting inspection by older members of the community can, some suggest, result in the disruptive behaviours of a few becoming the widespread condemnation of the younger generation (Matthews et al., 2000: 149). Strikingly, Irish research found little evidence amongst young people that they posed either a 'threat' or were likely 'victims' (O'Connor, 2005: 15).

Young peoples' attitudes toward open spaces have been found to be shaped by their ideas and fears concerning their position within local social relations, particularly between themselves and older peers (Matthews et al., 2000: 146-147, Thomas & Thompson, 2004: 7, Wolpole, 2003: 15). For many young people, material places are segregated by social boundaries, defining the cliques, families and age groups able to occupy particular areas (Matthews et al., 2000: 146, Thomas & Thompson, 2004: 7). Qualitative research with 10 to 11 year olds in four contrasting sites across Britain, finds in their use of and attitude toward outdoor places, young people frequently referred to the social content of material space (Thomas & Thompson, 2004: 7).

'children continually referred to the social codes and expectations that are features of different environments. Different areas were characterised by a whole range of social factors, including parental approval or disapproval, gender, bullying or danger' (Ibid: 7).

The ideas about space expressed by young participants in recent research, suggest that the interplay between young peoples' social and physical environments is complex and profoundly affects their everyday actions and use of space (Matthews et al., 2000a: 146, Thomas & Thompson, 2004: 7). Some young people are responding to the culture and history of a space as defined by adults and their peers. They find themselves inappropriate 'polluting' presences in space regulated by the adult gaze or responding to demarcation of place enforced by the threat of possible confrontation with older youth. Sibley (1995a) employs a Freudian psychoanalytic model of childhood to explain the internal construction of boundaries between

the child and 'other', the *other* being both 'natural' material elements and the social world. From this perspective environment is an explicitly social space*,* embodying a more fluid relation of material, social and internal, personal territory. In a similar manner, Matthews refers (2001b: 61), to the complex *'mental landscape'* that young people construct in relation to their material environment, an internal map of cultures of locality where social, territorial patches are marked out and claims to inclusion or exclusion from a space recorded. Reference to these internal geographies of self, other and place may well take place in young peoples' understandings of their space in local collective identity.

Young peoples' access to, and use of, local space are also constrained by boundaries generated by their fears of the anti-social elements of their world such as dangerous traffic or 'stranger danger' and people from outside of their immediate community (Thomas & Thompson, 2004: 8, Matthews et al., 2000a: 148). These anxieties are particularly evident amongst small children, no matter where they live, and in some research appear to represent *'a reproduction of parental concerns'* (Matthews et al. 2000: 148). This review now explores the spatial expression of pressures and shifts associated with modernity and their influence upon young lives and access to spaces and spatial resources of collective identification.

3.3.2 *Spatial segregation, regulation and collective identification*

Research suggests that in the Western economies of late modernity, concurrent with a blurring of some of the boundaries between adult and child experiential worlds, the specific divide between adult and child *spatial worlds* has grown (Büchner, 1990, Valentine, 2000). Young people are spending increasing amounts of time in spaces specifically designed as 'childhood' places. The declining youth labour market and the expanded period spent by young people in education and training establishments are examples of this trend. A rise in demand for female employment has also increased the number of children entering pre-school childcare (Dyck, 1989). In addition, increased perceptions of personal responsibility for decision making about risks, may have changed the places and spaces to which adults allow young people access. These structural and social changes have a number of consequences for the way in which young people both inhabit and understand spaces, the relationship between peers and generations and the ability of young people to participate in and resource collective identification.

Not only has the time spent in specialised places for young people increased, but also the number of such places has expanded, *'...playgrounds, playschools, playgroups, formal and informal children's recreational and cultural programmes'* (Büchner, 1990: 79). Each such space is designed with specific behaviours and purposes in mind and is often under the social control of adults. Concurrent with increased specialisation in governing the spatial practices of the young, their independent access to unsupervised spaces and consequently unsupervised social participation, is diminishing (Ibid, 1990: 79). Such change is demonstrated in Britain, for example, in the decline in the number of 7-8 year olds allowed to travel to school autonomously,

from 80% to 9% over the period from 1971 to 1990 (Wolpole, 2003: 6). Similarly nearly four times as many English school children were collected from school by car in comparison to German children of the same age, whilst only one-third walked home by themselves after school in contrast to the three-quarters of German children allowed to do the same (Ibid: 6).

That places where young people now spend time are removed from their local context, requiring increased reliance on transport and timetabling, may also serve to fragment young peoples' perception of localities (Büchner, 1990: 79). Büchner (Ibid), argues that this *'breaking up, pre-structuring, specializing and organizing of spatial factors'* in young peoples day to day lives, influences their social relationships. Childhood relationships are no longer founded upon the sharing of a local context, it is argued, but have become activity and time determined and therefore constricted in their potential for the creation of relationships of any greater depth than occasion specific, acquaintances (Büchner, 1990: 79). If social spaces and public places are essential to young peoples' sense of self and belonging within local collective relations, the spatial designation and fragmentation experienced by growing numbers of young people may well influence their sense of collectivity and collective identification (Depeau, 2001, Freeman & Riordan, 2002: 301, Matthews et al., 2000b: 69, Panelli et al., 2002).

Several pieces of research and commentary, examining the American context, voice these concerns (Hart et al., 1997, Katz, 1998 Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992). They describe, as in the UK context, a growing perception of risk amongst parents that leads to limitations upon the access of their children to unsupervised places and a simultaneous rise in childcare institutions (Hart et al., 1997, p34). An additional ingredient in these shifts, identified in the US context, is the withdrawal of state provision for maintenance of safe public environments following economic restructuring and structural adaptation. The dilapidation and loss of secure public spaces has contributed to adult anxieties about both the 'social and physical' risk of being outside ((Katz, 1998: 135, see also Hart et al., 1997, Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992), Katz, 1998). A viscous cycle is described where public space is perceived as dangerous and unsuitable for use by certain groups of people, including the young, and thus neglected and unused, left to undesirable use (Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992: 38). Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard echo, though more emphatically and romantically, some of Giddens' reflections upon ontological security and the effects of disembedding from local place. The authors (Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992: 38), contrast the *'militarised conception of everyday experience'* with a past where;

'*Historically, it is in the public realm that inhabitants of cities exercised their sociability, celebrated together, and maintained their rituals and ceremonies. Being present with others at such "good" occasions provided a sense of belonging and trust in each other. Consequently, the public world was not perceived as dangerous*'.

The sum of such changes, it is argued, now temporally and spatially limit young peoples'

autonomous activities, with consequences for their ability to participate in the types of wider social relations and cultures that constitute collective social relations and provide opportunities for young people to develop certain senses of self and collective belonging (Hart et al.,1997: 34, Katz, 1998: 140). Such concerns are on occasion echoed in UK research (Matthews, 1995, Wolpole, 2003). What has been seen as a tendency for young British people to be confined to spaces designed by adults for their protection and perceived needs, yet isolated from wider society, has been termed 'Childhood ghettoization' (Matthews, 1995: 457). In the US context it is concluded that these spatial patterns will influence young peoples' sense of self, their understanding of their position in local collective social relations and in addition, the way in which they collectively identify in the future (Katz, 1998: 142-3).

The deterioration in 'the public realm' found in US-based research could also be contrasted with the status of the outdoor public spaces to which young British people have access. A persistent decline in the quality of public space has been noted by government, policy makers and youth themselves (Wolpole, 2003: 8). For example, research suggest that, *'Two-thirds of 9-11 year-olds in the UK are dissatisfied with the quality of outdoor play facilities where they live. For 15-16 year-olds this rose to 81%, higher than any other European country'* (Wolpole, 2003: 8). Environmental enhancement and regeneration initiatives, including the MG scheme have been launched in attempts to address this situation. However, such responses, particularly those concerning young people, may sometimes be based on assumptions concerning a relationship between poor environmental quality and anti-social behaviours such as vandalism, rather than a belief that public spaces are necessary social locations for young people, their peer group and sense of collective identity (Wolpole, 2003: 8).

It is suggested that in the UK, governmental responses to young peoples' requirements *of* public environments are in the first place extremely varied and perhaps poorly conceived and in the second, appear to incorporate a disapproving conception of young people (Wolpole, 2003: 9). Public space issues are variously interpreted as matters of *'crime and disorder'*, *'environmental quality'* and *'tourism and consumer-led leisure and regeneration'* (Wolpole, 2003: 9). Within these frameworks, young peoples' roles and requirements may not be understood or understood positively (Wolpole, 2003: 9). The case of three separate schemes launched by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit aimed at tackling street safety and environmental quality through paid Wardens, is cited as exemplifying such lack of comprehension and seeming negativity (Wolpole, 2003: 9). In each project the tasks are defined through notions of deterring and preventing undesirable behaviours and activities, whilst *'"children"'* and *'"play"'*, appear to be absent concepts.

'*One might be tempted to think that such initiatives not only want to clean the streets of litter, but of young people as well. It is telling that the* [first] *Minister for Children and Young People also doubles up as Community and Custodial Provision Minister, based at the Home Office, rather than being a minister located within the more permissive and developmental settings of Health,*

Education or even Culture, Media & Sport ministries' (Wolpole, 2003: 9).

Such public policies reflect constructions of young people as dependents to be protected from certain behaviours and environments or as deviants, whose bad behaviours must be restrained and the evidence of such removed from public places (Wolpole, 2003: 9-10). In either case, such conceptions at a policy level can provide a context for allowing the potential segregation of young people from public space, whilst leaving unrecognised the heterogeneity of this age group and any positive place they may have in such environments (Wolpole, 2003: 10).

Increasing spatial segregation may constitute an attempt to control and fix the parameters of identities, in this case that of 'youth' or 'childhood' (Massey, 1998: 127). The practice of controlling youth cultures through spatial 'organisation' is arguably exhibited in the way Western societies have created and executed regulations for the division of spaces by age, such as toddlers play spaces and adult public houses (Massey, 1998: 127). In the context of a crisis in childhood where the division between adult and child is perceived as increasingly difficult to maintain and control, spatial segregations may provide a useful tool of boundary making (Jenks, 1996:76). Youth oriented spaces, may not only segregate, but also 'discipline' young peoples' activity and behaviour through their fitness for purpose (Ibid). Such spaces also allow for the adult surveillance of young people, which it has been suggested, now proliferates from the child-minder through to the teacher, exams to counselling (Ibid: 77). The adult surveying gaze can be seen to monitor young peoples' conduct comparing it with normative models of appropriate behaviour and development for youth. The need for such management of young people may be indicative of an increasingly individualised society, full of 'difference' (Ibid: 79).

These types of overlap and interrelation between methods of collective social interaction, regulation, control and spatial worlds are elements of socio-spatial systems (Sibley, 1995b: 76). These systems encompass the ways in which power relations are inscribed into and reproduced by human environments. Places are a fundamental feature in how we carry out social relations and experience power relationships (Ibid: 76). Landscape plays a central role in *'conditioning activities and creating opportunities'* in its manifestation and duplication of the way power, domination and influence are organised in social relations (Ibid: 76). As Sibley (Ibid: 76) proposes, the powerful will maintain landscapes that embody and reproduce their authority and regulate the behaviour of the less powerful. Subversions of these landscapes are likely to be understood therefore in terms of disorder, by the dominant Group (Ibid: 76). All these observations can be traced through the preceding discussion. The concept of a socio-spatial system provides a way of understanding some of the connections between social world and material place and a context for understanding young peoples' inclusion/exclusion from places, social relations and the regulation of their behaviour in relation to the environment (Sibley, 1995b: 76).

3.4 Summary

This chapter argues that young peoples' relationships to space and society are negotiated from within, and delimited by particular social contexts and cultural constructs shaped by adult ideals and concerns. It develops an understanding central to this PhD, that young peoples' access to, and perspective upon the spaces and resources of local collective identification will be acquired within and influenced by these circumstances. This perspective is tested by the empirical focus of this thesis that explores the particular dimensions of this negotiation by listening to both adult and young voices drawn together over the MG scheme.

The research reviewed demonstrates the manner in which current adult representations of young Western identities are flexible and responsive to context, but primarily understand young people in terms of their difference from adults. It also establishes that such constructs deployed in attempts to both regulate the spaces and resources available to young people with which to shape their self, and through control of the identity of 'childhood', also govern adult societies' perceptions of the opportunities and spaces for young biographical choices. These ways of situating young people and 'childhood', however, currently compete with alternative sources for, and possibilities of, defining the young self that are provided by changes associated with late modernity. This PhD will assess the role of modernity in influencing the social context and cultural constructs from within which young people acquire the resources, and access the spaces, of local collective identification.

The previous chapter established that particular resources and features of processes of local collective identification are likely to be reflected within the MG scheme. These included collective identification through and with cultures of locality, the assertion of associated cultural competencies, and the drawing of symbolic boundaries around these collective cultures. This chapter has suggested that young peoples' access to and perspective upon these aspects of collective identification are likely to be shaped and negotiated from within adult social contexts and cultural representations. Further, it is evident that these relationships will be influenced by the context of modernity. These contentions are explored and addressed through the empirical and discussion elements of this thesis, through its research questions, which seek:

1. To explore adult constructions of spaces of local collective identification and their status in relation to late modernity.

2. To examine how young people are constructed by adults in relation to spaces of collective identification.

3. To understand how these constructions may influence young peoples' inclusion/exclusion from the process of creating/using a communal place and the space it presented for local collective identification.

4. To explore young peoples' sense of spaces of local collective identification and their understanding of their place within them.

5. To identify young peoples' awareness of how they are perceived amongst adults in relation to local collective identification and identity.

The next chapter explores the methodological approach employed by this thesis in examining these questions.

Chapter Four- Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This research explores young peoples' place in (the creation and maintenance of) spaces and resources of collective identification in late modernity, through case studies of the Millennium Greens Scheme. The methodological approach of this study fulfilled this exploration in several ways.

Centrally, the methodology was required to respond to the theoretical premise of the research that understands reality to be socially produced. The key constituents of the research objective, place/space, collective identification and young people, are the subjects of various social constructions which the research tools were required to locate, as well as the circumstances and consequences of their mobilisation.

In addition, the notion that young people are commonly subject to social constructions that shape their position in space and society has particular implications relating to the researcher's immersion within, and perpetuation of, such constructs. Further, working with young people carries with it a number of specific ethical issues (explored in section 4.4).

Practically, flexible and creative methods were required in order to use the MG as a research tool, due to its different constitution at each site (described in the introduction to the case studies later in this chapter) and the variation in their relationship to young people. Trustee involvement in the study varied, and wide ranges of tactics were required in locating and engaging young people as research participants.

This chapter discusses the influence of the theoretical and practical concerns of the research agenda upon the methodological approach, and then the theoretical approach specifically employed in relation to young research participants. The selection of research tools and their implementation are then detailed. The specific use of Millennium Greens as a research vehicle is further contextualised in an introduction to the case studies

4.2 The Theory and Method of the Research

Underlying the theoretical perspective employed by this study, is the understanding that 'reality' is socially produced or constructed, and that various social groups will have different ways of seeing and interpreting the world (Robson, 2002:27, Matthews, 1998:311). The arrival of this theoretical perspective in exploring space and society has been described as the 'cultural turn', the point at which exploring and explaining cultures of understanding and behaving, increasingly became a legitimate focus of research in the social sciences (Eden, 2001, Little, 1999, Matthews, 1998). From this point of view the role of the researcher is to attempt to gain understanding of the various constructions implicated in the identities, values and judgements of

the respondents (Shumer-Smith, 2002:1). Achieving this task is usually understood to require a flexible and responsive methodological framework that will encourage and allow research participants to reveal their way of seeing, the emphasis upon qualitative tools (Robson, 2002:27). So for example, *'looking, feeling, thinking, playing, talking, writing, photographing, drawing, assembling, collecting, recording and filming…reading and listening'*, have all been cited as appropriate methods within the field (Shumer-Smith, 2002:4). The selection of a flexible qualitative approach, however, was also generated by the selection of Millennium Greens as the research vehicle for exploring the young peoples' place in the creation and maintenance of spaces of collective identification.

4.3 The MG Scheme as Research Vehicle and Methodological Approach

'In an increasingly stressful world, we all need somewhere to relax, where we can breathe fresh air and just sit with our friends and family. Millennium Greens offer just this opportunity; there forever, they give us hope for the future' (Dame Judi Dench, cited by Countryside Agency in Curry & Selman, 2000, Appendix 1).

The Millennium Green Scheme, the vehicle of this research, was a programme initiated in October 1996 by the Countryside Commission (CC)[4], to provide 250 new, permanent, open spaces for recreational use by local communities (Curry & Selman, 2000). The CC described the MG's ethos to be that of '*breathing spaces*', public areas for *'relaxation, play and the enjoyment of nature and pleasant surroundings'* (CA, 2001a). MGs were to be of any size up to about 30 acres, within pedestrian access of residents and within any sized settlement from city to hamlet (CC, 1996). The Millennium Commission provided funding for at least half the costs of each project with the schemes applicants to find 50% matched funding (Curry & Selman, 2000: 1, CA, 2001a).

The identity of these applicants was also a crucial dimension of the scheme (CA, 2001a). MGs were to be instigated, created and managed by the local communities that were to surround and use them (Ibid). This was understood by the CC as a *'twin'* objective to that of establishing material spaces (Ibid). The conditions of achieving admission to the MG scheme and grants set out by the CC included meeting, amongst others, the basic criterion that the proposed project had local collective support and was accessible to, and usable by any member of the community for informal recreation (CC, 1996). The scheme sought to foster through community participation *'the active commitment of communities to their development'* (Ibid). The MG would commemorate the Millennium and *'how hard local people worked to make it happen'* (CA, 1999).

The scheme attracted over 6000 inquiries, with 245 MGs established throughout urban and

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[4] The Countryside Commission subsequently became the Countryside Agency, now a part of Natural England

rural England at its close in December 2001 (Natural England, 2007). The identity of 'communities' that applied to the initiative can be largely grouped into five categories: parish councils, local authorities, *'multiple interest voluntary groups'*, *'single-interest voluntary groups'* and *'groups formed specifically for the purposes of making a MG application'* (Curry, 2001: 570). It was administered by the CC/CA through a national project team who managed regional MG Advisors. MG Advisors offered some guidance to applicants on becoming Millennium Green Trusts and the responsibilities of identifying local aspirations, establishing community support, creating site plans, determining costs, applying for MG grants, generating matched funding, acquiring land, gaining planning permissions and managing development and maintenance of a site (CA, 1996, CA, 1998).

The success of the scheme has been measured in several ways. The CA identified the project as having four main areas of achievement in its generation of: recreational resources, benefits to local communality, increased experience and expertise for CA advisors and positive public attitudes toward National Lottery spending (CA, 2001a). Interpretations of the outcomes of the community participation elements of the initiative are explored briefly here as they are of particular interest in the context of this thesis. For example, the CA suggested that the initiative:

'provided a boost to community spirit, a sense of collective achievement…The process has brought communities together and in particular has been a means for different age groups to mix…some communities – exposed to the idea of a community venture – had going on to be involved in other activities' (CA, 2001a).

However, contemporaneous evidence suggests that the MG scheme's influence upon, and relationship to collectivity, was more complex. A longitudinal evaluation of MGs found that some of the main limitations of the initiative were located in this area (Curry & Selman, 2000: iii-iv). The research argued that in the majority of cases sites were developed by the efforts of a small number of committed individuals and that it had been less successful in generating genuinely broad based community participation (Ibid: iii). It further contended that this factor had limited *'community commitment'* to the projects, which was often further reduced on the project's completion (Ibid). These findings were acknowledged by the CA as indicating a certain *'fragility of community participation'* within the initiative (CA, 2001a).

Further analysis of the background of applicant communities to the scheme further contests assumptions of its productive relationship with local collectivity. It suggests that when a applicant group's existence was catalysed solely by the opportunities presented by entry to the scheme (the case in one-quarter of MG applications), their desire and capacity to speak for, and be answerable to, local community could be limited (Curry, 2001:574)

'Here, notions of representativeness and accountability can be volatile. Whilst some groups systematically seek to secure community support, others are more tokenist or post-rationalize a

community position. Still others visibly seek to pursue their own partisan ends' (Curry, 2001:574)

Although the CA asserted at the close of the scheme that *'projects of this nature unite a community, giving people a common sense of purpose'* other evidence suggests that the precise nature of such 'communities' is open to question (CA, 2001b).

4.3.1 *The MG scheme as a research vehicle and young people*
In addition to the conditions that schemes had to fulfil for entry to the scheme, proposals that met several further criteria in their relationship to local collective life and space were prioritised. Of significance for this thesis was the stating of preference for projects which took *'positive measures to involve children in the design and management of the site, particularly through links with local schools'* (Ibid). The conditions of the scheme suggested that gaining young peoples' participative involvement with the proposed scheme was a priority for the CC and therefore an opportunity for applicants to help secure successful admission to the initiative.

Research conducted for the CA as the scheme drew to a close however, suggested that the majority of young peoples' involvement had been located within the practical *'site works'* stage and that in any future scheme of this nature CA staff could valuably target this area to attain greater successes (Curry & Selman, 2000: 27). So for example, MG advisors could help communities in *'Exploring the potential of children at each stage in the development process, and advising on their potential for involvement'* in order to *'acknowledge their "voices" and secure their commitment'* (Ibid). The research concluded that *'The role of children's 'voices' in such initiatives merits further research'* (Ibid: 28).

It was this final observation that provided the impetus for this PhD, a studentship carried out in collaboration (CASE) with the CA and through the medium of the MG scheme. The original research objectives emphasised young peoples' experiences in the context of many policy orientated outcomes and objectives, corresponding with the circumstances of its conception. The benefits to the research of partnership with the CA and use of the MG initiative included CA staff participation and knowledge of the MG sites and assistance with gaining access to research participants. However, preliminary research, conducted with staff revealed that many had not been in post long, replacing those who had moved on as the project wound up and new initiatives were established. In terms of the requirements of this research, this meant a relative unfamiliarity with the history of many Green sites. Consequently, knowledge of young peoples' involvement with the schemes, not formally assessed as part of the scheme criteria, was often imprecise and impressionistic.

Most striking however, was that on investigation, many advisors found that relatively few sites had actually involved young people to any great extent. In addition, this participation had often been on an informal, intermittent basis so that staff were largely unaware of where these young

people had been drawn from or how they might be contacted. These findings re-shaped the nature of the PhD. They challenged how a study of young peoples' involvement in a collective undertaking to create new communal space could be carried out, if they had been largely absent from the process or were now unknown. This lack of young peoples' extensive or consistent participation created a research agenda that redefined the study's parameters. In terms of the research design this meant that there would be more challenges and less was known about the type of material that would be generated. Both of these issues reinforced the suitability of a flexibly framed qualitative approach that could encourage adult participants in the scheme (actives) to disclose what elements of their world-view had influenced their approach to young peoples' participation. In terms of young people, they needed to be able to communicate how their world-view had influenced any participatory decisions, but also how this perspective was shaped by their inclusion or exclusion from the project.

Capturing the way in which participants described their social relations and realities would be the objective of the methodological tools employed. With no clear patterns of young peoples' participation discernable, each MG site was approached as possessing its own distinct arrangements of human action and reaction in the context of the MG. Qualitative methods offered the most flexibility and therefore ability, to modify and clarify the research questions in order to achieve the greatest depth of comprehension (Robson, 2002:58).

Whilst the need for a qualitative approach was clarified by the practical concerns of the project, the theoretical concerns had wider implications concerning the role of the researcher. Reflexivity is seen by some (Cloke, 1994), to be a significant requirement of social science research, but understanding young people as the subject of dominant cultural constructions that are widely embedded in western society requires a particular focus upon methodological approach.

4.4 Young People, the Role of Researcher and Methodological Approach

As a way of interrogating people's lives, a 'cultural turn' appeared to have gained momentum within the context of exploring young peoples' lives, when this PhD research commenced at the turn of the Millennium. The view that 'childhood' is a social construction was understood to be at the heart of this *new paradigm* (James & Prout, 1997: x). The influence of this form of understanding could be discerned within the social sciences in an increased focus upon young peoples' lives and the influence of age based relativism upon them. In addition to this however, were methodological questions of researcher reflexivity and what kind of relationship the researcher could or should have with young research participants (Ibid).

'Few groups in our culture are as close and as distant as are our children' (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988: 9).

The conception of 'distance' between young people and adults appeared to be central to devising the methodological approach employed in researching young lives. Perceptions of 'distance' are pivotal in defining the extent of youth's difference, in terms of their 'cultures', comprehension, protection, expectations and consequently the researcher's role in negotiating such issues. The notion that childhood is both near and far from adults described the instability of the divide that researchers seemed to have to negotiate in order to access young people successfully.

During the twentieth century the most influential basis for comprehending this distance, in western culture had been through its structuring in terms of psychological stages (Cohen, 1983, Hill & Tisdall, 1997, Valentine, 1997c, Grave & Walsh, 1998). Within research this model has largely, quantitatively approached and measured the distance between child and adulthood (Grave & Walsh, 1998: 3-4). However, this methodology and its tools had been subject to a sustained attack for its lack of acknowledgment of the context of the research, the inappropriateness of the methods and the lack of reflexivity by researchers (Ibid: 3). The perceived reductionism at its heart has been subject to interdisciplinary criticism for its failure to acknowledge the inherent validity of young experiences (Grave & Walsh, 1998: 3, Jenks, 1996, Valentine, 1997).

4.4.1 *The new paradigm: children as 'experts'*

Children had also been regularly characterised as difficult research subjects through their lack of adult qualities, unable to comprehend *'interview etiquette'*, sometimes inarticulate and if older and more eloquent, then not always in a manner that fitted with the researcher's requirements (Nespor, 1998: 371). Researchers had faced the accusation that children did not tell the truth or invented, in order to content their adult interviewer, invalidating research (Valentine et al, 1998: 22).

Within the context of academic and policy reassessment of the nature of 'childhood' during the past fifteen years however, young peoples' participation in the research process was being increasingly reformulated as possessing intrinsic validity. Researchers elicit 'accounts' from research subjects, be they young person or adult (Valentine et al, 1998: 22, Nespor, 1998: 371). In their status as accounts they are transposed in the telling by the research subjects, the researchers viewpoint, both parties' agendas and the immediate context. As such then *'all research accounts are equally likely to be a cocktail of the "experienced", the "perceived" and the "imagined" '* (Valentine et. Al., 1998: 22). Within the new paradigm of youth focused research and practice, young people were being recast as the experts upon their own lives (Frasier et al., 2004: 16). As a guide to approach it situated young people as having autonomous significance as research subjects and engaged with the manner in which they shaped their social contexts as well as vice versa (Christensen & Prout, 2005: 42).

Positioning young peoples' responses to the research process as equally valid to adults alters

the researcher role from one of management, attempting to gain true, competent and relevant answers, to one of access. The challenge was to identify ways in which an adult researcher could enter and capture young worlds. These matters of 'distance' were being expressed, at the time of this study's methodological construction, as concerns regarding power, ethics and establishing a working relationship with young people. They surrounded methodological choices such as the role of the researcher (in both the senses of adopting a certain manner and the researcher's function in the research process) and the precise methodological tools to employ. These issues are now explored in the context of the debates that were taking place, as the methodology was being structured.

4.4.2 *Accessing young cultures and contexts*

The 'culture of childhood' had been characterised within some research as possessing its own rather insular and secretive character, *'traditions, games, values, loyalties, and rules',* that are hidden specifically from the adult observer so as to free it of adult imposed consequences (Stone & Church, 1968: 370, cited in Fine & Sandstrom, 1988: 34). Recognising childrens' culture as autonomous had two key implications for the research process: first, 'social meanings' and practices within this culture, though similar to adults, might be also be different: and second; adults are by definition conspicuous within and distant from this culture and therefore are presented with difficulties in accessing it (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988, Grave & Walsh, 1999). Some argued that in some situations the adult will *'be seen as an intruder, making observation difficult'* (Sibley 1991: 270). From this perspective, the 'role' that the researcher adopts was regarded in certain research guides as central to negotiating this distance between adult and child. Some, for example, advocated a research approach where practices associated with recognisable adult roles (e.g., those of parents or teachers) must be avoided (Nespor, 1998).

Other debates included the extent of 'cover' assumed, in terms of how explicitly one's presence and aims were displayed and explained to children (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988:19-21), the adoption of an acceptable physical appearance, the amount of identification with other adult 'authority' figures when in role (Morris et al, 1998: 223). The success of one's adopted behaviour, was surrounded with ethical issues, for if the researcher elicited sensitive information or watched dangerous activities in one role, could it be revealed in their alternative 'adult' identity (Ibid: 223). Rather than assuming a particular role, however, researchers can ask questions as to how young people understand research practices. Contrasting research emphasised young peoples' independent assessments of the distance between the researcher and themselves, regardless of the manner in which the researcher attempts to traverse it (Nespor, 1998:372). .

Some reflective accounts suggested that young peoples' understandings of the research process could be both *pragmatic* and *strategic* (Nespor, 1998, p376). McCrum (1996: 83), for example, suggests that in hindsight she can attribute her difficulties managing young

interviewees, to the fact that she paid more attention to what she wished to achieve in her role than she did to the agency of the young respondents.

'*I set up the task; I knew what I wanted to hear from them; I decided which kind of behaviour was appropriate, and I was the only person who know when we had finished when I was satisfied that I had what I needed…The children knew, without putting it into words that I was far more interested in my agenda than theirs and they showed me, in their own way*' (Ibid: 83).

Alternatively, young peoples' responses to the research can be influenced by a strategic evaluation, leading them to feel that the researcher should have some power to alter their immediate situation (Mahon et al, 1998: 152, Matthews et al., 1998: 316, Nespor, 1998: 376). The possibility of this outcome highlights young peoples' limited access to decision making. Researchers need to make clear the exact purpose and restricted outcomes of the research (Mahon et al, 1998: 52*).

Perhaps, then, the task of negotiating the distance between child and researcher was something that could be viewed as a joint effort, constructed through both parties. If young people were to be formulated as possessing their own forms of culture, competency and expectation from the researcher and research process, managing their responses in relation to their perceptions of the research rather than simply the researcher, then might their role in the research process also be re-assessed. This reassessment could make explicit the '*processes whereby both adults and children continuously position and identify each other*' (Lærke, 1998: 3). Lærke (1998) for example, argued that empirical attempts to capture childrens' voices and culture were now refocusing *solely* upon childrens' worlds, in a reaction to their previous exclusion. This approach potentially disconnected them from the *collective* contexts that shape their status, including the research process. Whilst it is important to explore the differences between young and adult cultures in terms of methodology, this should not isolate young peoples' voice from the power-relationships that structure experience.

'*Instead of looking for technical fixes that can make kids respond more like good sociological subjects or treating them as inhabitants of foreign cultures, we might look at kids and adults as living in the same world, albeit differently positioned*' (Nespor, 1998: 384)*.

4.4.3 *Allowing young people to 'participate' in research*
Child-focused research processes were undergoing a re-conceptualisation as a joint or increasingly participative enterprise, throughout social science. (Lynch, K. 1977, Moore, 1986, McCrum, 1996, Mauthner, 1997, Mahon et al, 1998, Nespor, 1998). This entailed a greater focus upon gaining informed consent and the use of qualitative methodological tools that are responsive to a child's point of view and situation (Mauthner, 1997:19).

Such approaches were directed at 'opening a space' in which the research relationship can

function, rather than a concentration on negotiating the distance between researcher and child. Within such a space, reciprocity might form with the researcher able to be explicit about their aims and problems with the research process (McCrum, 1996, Mauthner, 1997). Research goals can be more '*open-ended*' allowing children to set the research agenda to a greater or lesser extent. Reflection upon the research process can be encouraged. The role and distance between child and researcher can be varied as appropriate in response to age and respondent needs (Mauthner, 1997). Ethical concerns regarding confidentiality can be made explicit, with arrangements concerning the provision of further help or information about sensitive subjects provided if appropriate (Mahon et al, 1998).

This reframing of methodological approaches to young people, in response to the 'new' paradigm of childhood, represented significant alteration to the way this subject was conceived of. Though relatively recent perspectives when they informed the methodological approach taken by this thesis they have subsequently, as Hill suggests, in a short time become mainstream (Christiansen & Prout, 2005, Hill, 61: 2005).

4.4.4 *Childhood studies come of age*
'*this is no time to be self-congratulatory for while childhood studies might have come of age…it is not yet fully matured. There is still much work to be done*' (James, 2007:1).

With the study of childhood having achieved a '*conceptual autonomy*' (Prout, 2002: 69 cited by Matthews, 2003: 3), investigating both young peoples' circumstances and their agency, the field has evolved in various ways. Attention is being paid, for example, to the effects upon childhood of large scale, cross-cultural changes, such as those associated with globalisation, that may de-localise and reorganise some of its specifics (James, 2007:1). At the same time the heterogeneities of the experience of 'childhood' are being explored, from the manner in which its particularities are shaped by social structure, resources and constructs, to how specific experiences of space and place influence its conduct (Matthews, 2003: 4, Valentine, 2003). Within both of these areas of interest exploring childhood's generational commonalities whilst deconstructing cultural constructs of a universalised young experience, are a central project (Matthews, 2003: 149).

The task of representing young voices also continues to pose a major challenge and critical reflection upon this task has developed too. Recently, there have been calls for self-analysis from researchers concerning the consequences and requirements of the study of 'childhood' as discrete from that of other age groups (Holt & Holloway, 2006:136, Horton & Kraftl, 2005, Spencer, 2005). So, for example, the extent to which research in this area should engage with, and be accessible to, the structures and agencies shaping child lives, is the subject of much discussion (Matthews, 2003, Horton & Kraftl, 2005, Spencer, 2005). Some have suggested that whilst the body of evidence collected within the area grows there is a danger that its authors could be '*largely talking to ourselves*' (Spencer, 2005: 265). Equally, however, it has been

argued that positioning such agendas at the forefront of the topic will only constrain its growth and in fact engender academic insularity (Horton & Kraftl, 2005: 134). Similarly a possible over-reliance within the discipline upon a *'familiar'* canon of work and the maintenance of particular paradigms and styles has been questioned as further isolating (Ibid: 139). It has been argued that these predispositions could become restrictions to the subject's continued development, *'exclusionary practices…anything that does not fit these boundaries and norms…simply not the "done thing" '* (Ibid).

Within these progressions a tension can be discerned between academic analysis and critique, and the achieving of greater influence for young peoples' voices within policy and practice (Beale, 2006: 219-220, Horton & Kraftl, 2005). The continued deconstruction and theorising of childhood worlds and the capacity of researchers to make strategic judgements and recommendations concerning the details, requirements and potentialities of this life period are creating an ongoing dilemma within the field: the task of producing work *'both "theoretical" and "policy-relevant", "engaged" and "applied"'* (Beale, 2006: 223).

This research has been conducted bearing this challenge in mind. The results are explored within this thesis in relation to a robust academic framework. However the conclusions have been made with the aim that relevant aspects of the work can be progressed and made more accessible to policy makers and practitioners in the future.

4.5 The Research Framework and Methods in Practice

In terms of accessing respondents' world views MG's potentially presented profiles of considerable material variation: background from which trustees and young people were drawn, their type of involvement, and their accessibility to the research, for example. This was approached through employing a flexible and iterative research design. This section explains the research framework and the choice of methods. The case studies in which these were used are displayed in Table One.

4.5.1 *Case studies as a research framework*

After discussion with MG advisory staff in each of the CA's regions[5], a case study approach was selected as the research framework. The nature of the MG scheme as a comparable phenomenon, reproduced in different contexts, generates evidence within which contrasts can be observed whilst each case can also be contextualised in relation to its locality. The wide diversity of sites suggested a high number of cases could potentially be gathered. Drawing comparisons and noting differences between the sites would prove to be a valuable tool of data interrogation, however, the theoretical, material and methodological considerations directed a focused, qualitative, approach. On the balance of these considerations, three case studies were selected, each in distinctive social and spatial landscapes of the Southwest region[6], two in rural villages and one in a major city. This enabled a significant amount of time to be spent at each site, but at the same time enabled comparison. The first case site was to be a pilot study, though in practice differences between the MGs meant that at each case study research strategies had to be modified and adapted. The details of the methods employed are explained below and Table One. describes their place in the research process.

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[5] The CA administered England by division into a number of geographical regions.

[6] The largest region administered by the CA.

Site	Research Strategy and Methods
Participant Selection and Gatekeepers: Actives	
Camdown	Contacted individually following approach to Chairperson
Tincombe	Contacted individually following approach to Chairperson
Hillview	Approached via Chairperson Contacted individually following collaborative research
Participant Selection and Gatekeepers: Young People	
Camdown	Contacted via collaborative outreach with Youth Service
Tincombe	Contacted via approaches to Heads of Primary and Secondary Schools
Hillview	Contacted via approaches to Head of Primary School, Youth Service and through collaborative consultation events with HVP
Research Methods used: Actives	
Camdown	Focus-group, interview
Tincombe	Focus-group, interview
Hillview	Participant observation, interview
Research Methods used: Young people	
Camdown	Group interview, group interview/discussion, paired interview
Tincombe	Group interview, group interview/discussion, paired interview
Hillview	Group interview, paired interview, 'vox-pop' interview, observation
Additional Sources of Data	
Camdown	Documents produced by Actives
Tincombe	Documents and Website produced by Actives
Hillview	Documents, Website and Questionnaire produced by Actives

4.5.2 *Participant selection and gatekeepers*

Initiating contact with trustees

Trustees of the Millennium Greens Scheme were contacted through their chairperson and individually invited to take part in the research (example Appendix 1). This approach was initially rejected at Camdown and Hillview. At Camdown, the Chairperson and gatekeeper to other respondents believed the lack of involvement of young people at the site made them unsuitable respondents, although with further explanation access was negotiated. At Hillview trustees felt that, as a group, they did not have the knowledge of the MG's circumstances or time to participate in the research. A trustee key in originating the scheme was the single interview offered, though this situation altered as discussed below.

Initiating contact with young people

At each site, a range of local organisations was approached to act as gatekeepers to young respondents, including the primary schools, secondary schools and region's youth service. Approaches to potential gatekeepers were characterised by protracted negotiation, in order to achieve success (examples Appendices 2 and 3).

In Camdown, the regional Youth Service collaborated with the research, making a youth worker available for outreach work. The village was postered, local houses leafleted (Appendix 4) with material describing the research and an informal contact meeting and discussion held. Young people were asked to gain consent to come and meet the researcher and youth worker.

In Tincombe, the Heads of the local primary school and a regional secondary school agreed to act in loco parentis. Interviews in groups of two and three were arranged at the primary school, to take place over a day with available classes. At the secondary school, local pupils were scattered throughout tutor groups and years, so details of a contact meeting were read out in tutorials, handouts provided (Appendix 5) and pupils invited to attend an informal discussion group at lunchtime of the same day.

In Hillview the Heads of the primary and secondary schools agreed to act in loco parentis. Paired interviews were arranged with primary classes as they became available over a day. The primary and secondary schools agreed to my presence at consultation events run by the Hillview Project (HVP), the local charity that administered and managed the MG scheme, at which pupils were engaged in the research. Details of the event were read out in tutorials, and pupils invited to attended at break-times during the same day. This was carried out for each year group over the course of a week. The Youth Service agreed to contact participants in the Youth Shelter element of the MG scheme to give them details of the research and ask if they would be involved.

4.5.3 *Research methods and sources of evidence: trustees*

Participant observation with trustees

At Hillview, participant observation of actives was employed whilst undertaking various collaborations in consulting young people with them. Hillview's trustees resisted group involvement in the study. However, offering to collaborate in delivering this research as part of a consultation they were undertaking allowed the researcher access to actives. Working in the Office at HVP and at the schools with actives, assisting in consultation activities provided an opportunity to observe the ideas and constructs that trustees and key actives collectively articulated. This technique was adopted to manage the restrictions at this case site and, as such, was carried out experimentally.

This material was recorded in brief 'scratch' notes and references (Cloke, 2004: 197). Some of these were later drawn up into larger narrative accounts describing context, location, the interaction occurring, the researcher's position in the events and reflections (Ibid: 198). The verbal exchanges that were recorded are what have been analysed in this thesis' discussion of its findings, but the experiential data provided useful, subtle confirmation of actives' collective interaction at a site where trustees did not wish to participate in Focus Group discussion.

Focus groups with trustees

Both Tincombe and Camdown actives participated in a semi-structured focus group which preceded individual interviews. The technique is appropriate on several levels. Discussion in a group setting can aid a feeling of security with the topic of research, as its initial discussion would take place in an atmosphere where participants can more freely consider their opinion and contrast it with others, without the necessity of making a response (Krueger & Casey, 2000: 4). This particularly felt appropriate for trustees who sometimes felt they had little to offer the research due to their lack of knowledge of local young people.

The pre-existence of the groups, however, meant they already functioned as a collective or *'social context'* within which *'ideas are nurtured and decisions made',* and the research focus upon collective identification emphasised the need to explore them as such (Burton, 2000: 187). The use of a group format potentially allowed for existing group dynamics to be made overt within the research. For example, key figures dominated discussion and sometimes there appeared to be a mutual stifling of areas of debate. Research confirms that group-interviewing people who frequently take part in interaction can *'inhibit disclosure'* and this was the case when trustees approached a sensitive topic (Krueger & Casey, 2000: 11). This was revealing, however of affective areas of the dialogue. A significant advantage of the focus groups was the insight they provided into the reasoning behind key themes and ideas as they were expressed by respondents and justified to other participants. Participants' ability largely to find agreement and material with which to align themselves, in their varied opinions, echoed the dynamics of communality, explored by Cohen (1985).

Moderation of the groups was carried out through directing discussion via a number of thematically linked, open-ended questions focused upon the MGs and their relationship with

trustees, young people and locality (example appendix 6). Broad discussion was encouraged so that actives made clear their own priorities. The focus groups also generated background information regarding the projects and their progress.

Semi-structured interviews with trustees

In comparison to other techniques such as participant observation, interviews and focus groups best reflected the time constraints of the research. The interview situation is artificial although in the circumstances of this research this was an advantage. It has been suggested that this artificiality can lead participants to state the *'normative values of the community',* a focus of this research (Shumer-Smith, 2002: 96).

'valuable for tapping into self-conscious practices, knowledge's and beliefs…interview is less likely to reveal what it was really like when an aged interviewee was young than to reveal how old people in a particular cultural milieu construct and represent their childhoods and thus, their presents' (Shumer-Smith, 2002: 96).

At Camdown and Tincombe, following the focus group with interviews provided time for the participant to review the themes of the group discussion and affirm, expand upon or distance from themselves from them. The interview also allowed dissent from group opinion to be offered in a more secure setting and personal insight and experience to be followed up with more ease. The interviews were semi-structured and the open-ended questions were gathered into several broad themes (example Appendix 7). At Hillview, individual interviews were the main source of data collection with adults and the interview schedule was constructed in response to participant observation.

Textual sources

Literature produced by actives was collected at each site. Its main significance as a data source was at Hillview, where actives produced official literature that included details of their aspirations and ideas of young peoples' relationship to, and general collective use of, the site and locality. The material was explored for its reflection of the discursive values shared by this particular group with thematic analysis similar to the transcripts.

4.5.4 *Research methods and sources of evidence: young people*

Group interviews

At Camdown, the outreach research event consisted of informal group interviews with few, open-ended questions concerning the MG, locality and young lives (example Appendix 8). Groups of three and four took part in the interviews in a public space in Camdown. Young people then interviewed their peers with a video camera and led discussion. If interested in further involvement, participants agreed to their parents being contacted to give consent to attend a group interview/discussion. The results were used to guide this further research.

At Tincombe, informal group interviews were employed in making contact with pupils at the secondary school. Young people were interviewed, with few open-ended questions, in two groups according to age range, which then evolved into an informal group discussion. Those attending were asked to gain parental consent to participate in a further group interview/discussion the following week and allowed to invite interested peers.

At both sites, a group interview/discussion followed the contact meetings approximately a week later. A semi-structured interview schedule (example Appendix 9), drawn from the themes arising within the contact event with specific reference to the Millennium Green, was referred to. This was employed so that young people could debate issues they had raised previously, amongst themselves, aiming to increase their sense of control over the discussion and depth of contributions and generating a sense of continuity (Kruegar & Casey, 2000: 178). The method built on the group interviews that had occurred previously. This gave young respondents a chance to confirm and elaborate upon or rebuff the impressions the previous research had gathered. Discussion remained broad, despite the focus of the MG.

At Hillview, young people who had participated in the MG Scheme took part in a group interview concerning their experiences with a youth worker acting in loco parentis. The interview was semi-structured with three open-ended questions aimed at gathering the details and opinions of their involvement and a series of prompts to aid discussion.

Paired Interviews

Pupils at primary schools in Tincombe and Hillview were interviewed in twos and threes, at various times during their school day. This format was less disruptive than bigger groupings and was aimed at eliciting more intimate reflection than group discussion, but also providing peer support and an element of dialogue between respondents (Highet, 2003: 114). The research was introduced to young people in their class, which they then left to take part in interviews in self-selected groups. The interview schedule was semi-structured, consisting of open-ended questions and prompts to aid discussion.

At Camdown, the primary aged participants in the contact event who wished to be further involved were interviewed as a pair in a semi-structured format, while older youth took part in a group interview/discussion. This age split was aimed at broadly reflecting their likely peer network within the village and therefore increasing their comfort and ease of social interaction (Highet, 2003: 117). It has also been suggested there should be an age range of no greater than two years amongst participants when interviewing young people on the basis of the potential variance in interests, experience and peer relationships shaping this period. Young people are described as sometimes letting age based judgements influence their dismissal of or concurrence with a contributor (Kruegar & Casey, 2000: 178).

MG consultation events

Collaborating at consultation exercises with HVP provided increased access to young people at the Primary and Secondary Schools and allowed participant observation of actives. The consultation subjects were the MG and wider locality and the questions of this research were included as part of the consultation. These opportunities had a brief, 'vox pop' quality and verbal exchanges were noted down immediately afterwards, as were impressions and context. Involvement also allowed observation of young peoples' responses and attitude toward MG consultation, although only exchanges engaged in for the purposes of this PhD are cited in the results chapter. Again, observation provided subtle confirmation of the significance of certain results

Questionnaire evidence

HVP conducted a questionnaire with Local Secondary School pupils in each year group with both closed and open questions, some of which focused upon young peoples' opinions of the MG and locality. Tutors at the school had managed the completion of these. In return for entering some of the results into a database, the researcher had access to them. They are employed as supplementary statistical evidence in the results chapter.

Summary

As can be seen, a range of young respondents were involved in the research through various methods. Who (age and gender), did what (research method) and where (case study) are summarised below, in Tables Two, Three and Four.

RESPONDENTS	METHOD	MALE (M)	FEMALE (F)	AGE
Group B/G	**Group Interview		F	15-16

RESPONDENTS	METHOD	MALE (M)	FEMALE (F)	AGE
Group K	*Group/ Trio Interview		F	9
			F	9
			F	12
			F	15-16
			F	15-16
		M		15-16
Group B/G	Interview/ Discussion Group		F2	15-16
			F2	15-16
			F2	15-16
		M		15-16
		M		15-16
		M		15-16
Pair K	Pair Interview		F2	9
			F2	9

Table Two - Age and gender of young respondents at Camdown

Notes

*, ** These took place at the same contact event, at which peers also interviewed each other in mixed age groups.

Some participants at Camdown attended a second interview, following their first. A '2', following their gender description, indicates their second appearance in the table.

Where an age range is given, this corresponds with the school year of the respondent, which was sometimes the way in which young people preferred to describe themselves, or the information captured when the format did not encourage an opportunity for stating personal information (as at consultation events).

Table Three - Age and gender of young respondents at Tincombe

RESPONDENTS	METHOD	MALE (M)	FEMALE (F)	AGE
Group T	*Group Interview	M		14-15
		M		14-15
		M		14-15
			F	14-15
			F	14-15
Pair S	**Paired Interview		F	11-12
			F	11-12
Group V	Group Interview/Discussion	M2		14-15
			F2	14-15
			F	14-15
			F	14-15
			F2	11-12
			F	10-11
Trio O	Trio Interview		F	11
			F	10
			F	10
Trio L	Trio Interview	M		10
		M		10
		M		10
Trio N	Trio Interview	M		9
		M		9
			F	9
Trio M	Trio Interview		F	9
			F	9
			F	8
Trio K	Trio Interview		F	8
			F	8
			F	8

Notes

*, ** These took place at the same contact event, at which peers also joined in discussion in mixed age groups.

Some participants at Tincombe attended a second interview, following their first. A '2', following their gender description, indicates their second appearance in the table.

Table Four - Age and gender of young respondents at Hillview

RESPONDENTS	METHOD	MALE (M)	FEMALE (F)	AGE
Group T	Teen Shelter Interview	M		14
		M		14
		M		14
B12	MG Consultation	M		15-16
B11	MG Consultation	M		15-16
Trio G	MG Consultation		F	15-16
			F	15-16
			F	15-16
B10	MG Consultation	M		14-15
B9	MG Consultation	M		13-14
B8	MG Consultation	M		13-14
Pair D	MG Consultation	M		7-8
			F	7-8
Pair A	Pair Interview	M		10
			F	9
Pair E	Pair Interview	M		9
			F	9

Notes

Pair F	Pair Interview	M		9
			F	9
Pair H	Pair Interview	M		9
			F	9
Trio G	Trio Interview		F	8
			F	7
			F	7
Pair B	Pair Interview	M		7
			F	7
Trio C	Trio Interview	M		7
		M		7
		M		7

At Hillview some young peoples' opinions were gathered at consultation events attended as part of this research. The age and gender of respondents was only recorded when they gave permission to be quoted within this research, and have been. This information is recorded in the 'MG Consultation Events' section of the table. Whether respondents were making individual comment or chatting in a group has also been described.

4.5.5 *Recording, analysing and writing up the findings and ethical considerations*

Recording research findings

Field notes were taken and all interviews recorded by Dictaphone, some by video, and then transcribed in full. Reflexive writing was undertaken in a research diary maintained throughout the data collection process (examples from diary included below).

Ethical considerations and researcher's role

All respondents participated in the research anonymously: this fact was important to both adults and young people. To further protect identities the sites have been renamed and references have not been included for quoted literature that draws attention to the areas. This second consideration was not requested by participants at the time of their involvement and is by no means a certain barrier to the sites' identification. However, in terms of some of the more sensitive statements eventually made by respondents this was an appropriate safeguard. The research was explained carefully to all participants. Handouts detailing its aims were made available before participation (example, Appendix 10), (excluding the 'vox pop' interviews).

Participants sometimes were confused about the nature of the relationship between the researcher, who required their participation and what guidance the researcher could provide them concerning the MG. Raising the issue of young peoples' participation and use of the MG sometimes left adult's unsure of how to proceed as the following excerpt from the Field Diary reveals.

> *Have just spoken to Will from Camdown MG. He says that he wants to cut back the grass in an area of the MG to facilitate children playing, that he means 'children' (i.e. presumably not youths) and wants them to be able to kick a ball around or toddlers to run around with their mothers nearby. He has encountered opposition from other people, including a trustee. He feels that these people are against the idea because they don't wish to be disturbed by children's play.*
>
> *I say that as far as I know the CA encouraged the use of the Green for informal recreation of all ages, but suggest he contacts his MG advisor, but he doesn't want to…He has been accused by others of taking 'unilateral action'. It's roughly a year since I did the study at Camdown* (extract from research diary).

A discussion of the ethical approach to carrying out research with young people formed the earlier part of this chapter. In practice, the issues that needed most careful management were gaining informed consent and issues concerning the benefits of the research to the young (Matthews et al, 1998, p 316).

Concerted efforts were made to ensure that parents or those acting in loco parentis gave their permission for young peoples' participation. However, the practice of allowing young people to bring their peers to two of the follow up group interviews/discussions meant that the parents of some young people were not contacted nor did they have prior details of the research. These

participants were aged between fifteen and sixteen, however, and it was decided to accept that their informed consent and permission to attend the discussion were sufficient.

Attention has been drawn previously to the necessity of making clear the limited remit of research so that young peoples' expectations of change are not raised (Mahon et al, 1998:152, Matthews et al., 1998:316, Nespor, 1998:376). This research raised difficult issues concerning the relationship of young people to their locality and exclusion and powerlessness in that context and did commonly result in young people expressing a desire to create change. This problem was dealt with in a number of ways. In Camdown, It was understood that the collaborative benefits of the research for the Youth Service were making contact with young people and extending their work into the area. This meant that when the research finished young people had a clear route to creating certain types of change. In Hillview, carrying out some of the work as part of a consultation by a charity wishing to gain young peopless commitment to regeneration, again created access to ways of altering young peoples' current situation, if they wished.

Tincombe, was the most problematic of the sites in this context. Young people engaged in the research clearly wished to make changes to the way that they understood themselves to be excluded from local, collective decision making and lobbied the researcher to this end. The clearest route forward appeared to be to approach the main figure in the local charity that oversaw the MG and other local projects and describe, with their permission, young peoples' wishes to engage in local, collective undertakings. This felt like a precarious response as the research diary excerpt below, records. This experience emphasised the importance of anticipating the influence of an experience of inclusion upon those so often experiencing exclusion from the ability to shape local space and society.

> *I felt I really had to do something as I had raised this situation, CATALYSED it simply by getting a group of them together and asking them what life was like and [so] highlighting their lack of effective power…I did try to assist in identifying an advocate for them…I felt embarrassed by my half in, half out position and told them it made me uncomfortable and tried to explain why…all I'd done was ask them how they felt and they were ecstatic that I'd asked – as if this was care in itself- and this did make me care. I know from my enquiries whilst trying to contact them, how limited their access to* [youth orientated] *resources is (extract from research diary).*

Research analysis

The research analysis was both inductive and deductive. The theoretical perspective of the study and its influence over the construction of the research questions ensured that the analysis was particularly sensitive to the occurrence of certain behaviours and themes. However, methods of inductive practice drawn from grounded theory were also made use of in order to permit the data an opportunity to speak for itself (Charmaz, 1995:28, Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 63). Nudist software was employed for exploring the transcripts, coding and noting them.

Initially sections of a transcript were selected, coded, named and a note was made describing the phenomena they appeared to illustrate. Sections might be a line, several or a group of exchanges. These conceptualisations were sometimes inductive, sometimes responsive to the literature, sometimes both. The phenomena emerging from the transcripts of a complete case study were then explored as a whole and grouped together into themes or categories with memos attached, describing and examining them (Charmaz, 1995:42, Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 198). In practice, subtle spatial phenomena inspired the most inductive thinking. However, many similar phenomena had been observed elsewhere and are situated in relation to and confirmation of these ideas in the final section of this PhD. Each case study was then explored in relation to the others and the differences and similarities used to interrogate the data further. This developed the groupings of thought and action that shared patterns in their content and/or mobilisation.

Writing up

The results were written up as separate case studies, but with contrasts and similarities between them noted as they occur and then further explored in the discussion of the results. This approach best communicated the particularities of each local context whilst allowing a broader story to emerge, told by the differences and commonalities of the data.

The writing up aimed at both capturing the original voices of respondents and achieving a readable text. This compromise meant that much of the um's, er's, repetition and obliqueness of respondents' contributions had to be left out and occasionally some of the humour and subtle emphasis achieved by these wanderings. In the process of achieving this balance much of the presence of the researcher was also removed from the text.

The next section of this methodology introduces the physical and cultural contexts of the case study sites and the origin and particulars of their MG schemes. This begins to develop an understanding of the circumstances in which the empirical data is embedded.

4.6 Introduction to the Case Study Locations and Their Active Adults

The case studies are now introduced below through exploring first, the social and physical background of their locale and second, which members of their communities became the *'key activists'*[7] of the Millennium Greens Scheme (Curry & Selman, 2000).

4.6.1 *Camdown*

Camdown is a village in the Cotswolds, in an area with a long history of settlement. The village lies in a valley with many springs and a river, the water from which provided the power for the woollen industry that shaped much of its past. The area found prosperity and growth through the woollen industry during the 17th and 18th centuries and many of the buildings that structure the settlement were stone built during this period. Although still a village in scale, the Camdown of the early industrial revolution has been described as culturally resembling a *'miniature'* mill-town (Anonymised, 2003: 35). This social and spatial culture was reshaped when the local cloth industry was sent into decline by competition from the steam driven Mills of the North and subsequently from overseas. The population of the village subsequently declined rapidly and the settlement returned to an agricultural economy (Ibid). After the 1960s the most significant influence upon the profile of the area has been its attractiveness to incomers, the socio-spatial milieu altering once again as it has become a commuter village, with a high percentage of its population composed of relatively new residents (Ibid: 83). During the 1990s residents fiercely defended aspects of the settlements spatial and social structure through planning disputes, opposing the growth of the village and successfully removed themselves from Government new build targets (Ibid: 115). Strikingly, in a locale that has seen a significant amount of social and spatial fluctuation in the last few centuries, such defensive reactions to physical development and modernisation played a significant role in the life of the village at the time this research was conducted. Camdown was fairly affluent with 3% of the population claiming income support, compared to a national average of 8% (National Statistics, 2002, Table Five, p 79). In the Indices of Deprivation 2000 it was ranked 7711 out of 8414 English wards (with 1 being the most deprived ward) (Ibid, Table Six, p 79).

4.6.2 *The Camdown actives*

At Camdown, interest in the MG project originated from within the Parish Council. Members of the Parish Council then selected figures from amongst themselves and the local community whom it was felt would be appropriate Trustees or 'actives'. Much of the gathering of key activists took place through co-opting members via established, informal, local relationships. One Trustee described being telephoned and 'told' to be present at Parish Council meetings

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[7] A longitudinal evaluation of the MG scheme describes the prime movers in instigating involvement with, developing and implementing the scheme as 'stakeholders', 'actives' or 'key activists' (Curry & Selman, 2000). These terms are employed here to describe such people. 'Trustees' are also be referred to, as this is the schemes term for those who joined the official committee that took on legal responsibility for the requirements of the project.

concerning the MG, but didn't claim to know what qualified him for this role. Following his attendance, he was told to *'get some more members of the committee and sort it out...So I went straight across to um, Will and asked him 'will you be treasurer' and then we formed out own little committee'* (Martin). Another described how, *'I got talked into it coming back from church one day [laughs]. They all ganged up on me as we walked down the hill [laughs]'* (Veronica).

In the context of NSMs providing significant spaces for shared identification with symbolic cultures, without the MG scheme imposing formal principles or processes of trustee selection, key activists may have been more likely to draw in individuals they understood to share their cultures of locality (Hetherington, 1998). Equally this method of selecting local stakeholders may have exacerbated the tendency of the MG project to rely on existing community champions, re-enrolling existing 'active citizens' (Selman & Parker, 1997). Such citizens were also likely to originate from similar social, ethnic and generational groups, largely middle class, white retirees (Selman, 1998). Each of these factors suggest that actives from the MG would articulate a set of understandings of locality that represented the perspective of a particular section of local society, already most vocal and active in defining the socio-spatial cultures of the area.

At Camdown the majority of actives had previously been involved in local voluntary activity. If they hadn't, however, then some acknowledged their interest in defining the socio-spatial identity of the MG due to its proximity to their property. The majority were retirees, all were white and most could be described as middle-class. MG actives' social and cultural background was not unique to the scheme at Camdown. A longitudinal evaluation of the scheme notes that *'key activists...were amongst the most educated and affluent members of society as a whole'* (Curry & Selman, 2000, p 29). Further, it identifies the implications of actives' tendency to take advantage of,

'local skills availability, "early retired" professional skills and existing networks of, and experience with, local community organisations. Money also was often easier to raise and existing infrastructures (for example home offices and computers) could be readily exploited. These factors might have worked against the incorporation of the socially excluded' (Curry & Selman, 2000, p 30).

At each case study, the process of recruiting actives to the MG scheme demonstrated an amount of informal self-selection and re-enrolment.

4.6 3 *Tincombe*

Tincombe is a village in Cornwall sited in woody valleys that conceal its historical relationship with nearby post-industrial landscapes. The area has long been a centre of mining and tin-streaming and has, like Camdown's environs, experienced substantial socio-spatial shifts in recent centuries (Anonymised, 2002: 8). Tincombe evolved from a hamlet to, during the mid

19th century peak of local mining, a settlement partway between a village and town in its scale and urban aspirations (Ibid: 18). This halfway nature, between urban and rural, is a historical characteristic of the locale that has a resonance within socio-spatial characterisations of 21st century Tincombe. The precipitous position of local place and people within 'rurality', that seems to threaten to topple over into the 'urban', was a recurrent theme in respondents accounts of locality.

With industrial decline during the later part of the nineteenth century the population declined. By the early twentieth century the social backgrounds of residents reflected its return to an agricultural economy (Ibid: 11- 12). By the end of the twentieth century, Tincombe was established as a dormitory community with little economic activity within the settlement itself. The population stood at 1500, with 200 jobs in the locale and 1 percent of the district's total Income Support Claims were made by 9 percent of the community (with eight percent the UK average) (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2002, Tables Five & Seven, p 79). In the Indices of Deprivation 2000 (with rank 1 being the most deprived ward in England), Tincombe was ranked 1711 (Ibid, Table Six, p 79).

4.6.4 *The Tincombe actives*

Actives at Tincombe also networked within established local relationships to co-opt trustee members. Again, those who initiated the MG were members of the Parish Council. The scheme was then adopted by a local charity that actives understood to form *'a community arm'* of the Parish Council (Duncan). This charity carried out several schemes concurrent with the MG. Overall a picture emerged at Tincombe, somewhat similar to that described in the evaluation of the MG scheme, of dependence upon the established resources of locally familiar faces, largely similar in both ethnicity and class and often retired. Duncan explained, tongue in cheek, the reliance upon of the Parish Council upon existing active citizens with which to establish a group of MG actives.

'I think we just contacted all the normal suspects, rounded them up, put a spotlight on them and said "you do agree its a good idea to do this don't you" and there are some people you know will, are attracted to it and some people who aren't (Duncan).

Again the dependable presence of the 'usual suspects' may have concentrated the presence of particular ideas and processes of identification within the MG scheme, cultures of locality that represent the socio-spatial desires of a limited yet extremely influential section of the community, whilst restricting the incidence of others.

4.6.5 Hillview

Hillview is a large estate set in the suburban fringe of Bristol that was built in the 1950s during post-war reconstruction and expansion (Anonymised: 2005). It occupies an area of compulsorily purchased former farmland (Ibid). The socio-spatial character of Hillview had

obvious, but also complex contrasts with the other case studies. For one, it is urban though not perhaps physically typical of common conceptions and representations of a metropolitan landscape. It is largely low rise, relatively open, green and immediately adjacent to the countryside.

It is also distinguished by not having organically evolved from an established settlement. During the earliest phases of Hillview's construction only housing was built with residents dependent on services from outside of the development, including schools, shops and places of worship (Ibid). Public buildings and stores did begin appearing in following years, but the need to look outside of the estate for facilities and opportunities remained a recurring theme within socio-spatial constructions of the area (Ibid). Hillview also lacked employment. In 1998 with a population of 10,800 people, the estate had 1800 employee jobs, 1% of the Cities total and 11% of its residents claimed income support, with 8% the UK average (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2002, Tables Five & Seven, p 79).

The combination of Hillview's material and cultural existence at the fringe of the city and its lack of internal facilities and employment appeared to have generated a persistent perception of physical and psychological isolation. This sense of geographic and social separation was a source of strain upon the estate and compounded problems of social deprivation. The Indices of Deprivation gave Hillview the rank of 1036 out of 8414 English wards (with 1 being the most deprived, Neighbourhood Statistics, 2002, Table Six, p 79)

The social and physical challenges that Hillview poses had been recognised, at the time this study was conducted, by government and NGOs in the form of multiple initiatives, such as the Social Regeneration Budget. The MG Scheme was one of many community development and environmental projects occurring upon the estate at this time.

4.6.6 *The Hillview actives*
Hillview also provides some significant contrasts to the rural studies in the composition of its actives. The scheme was incorporated into an existing project of more general socio-spatial regeneration. This broader initiative, 'Hillview Project' (HVP), was focused upon re-developing a substantial area of the estate, including large areas of open space. Its origins lay in the concerns of staff, pupils and local parents about the immediate environment of the local Primary School. As at Tincombe, other ventures were being carried out alongside the MG and HVP's board of trustees were designed to be a partnership that represented various sections and interests within and relating to, the community. It included members from public, private and voluntary sectors, such as the City Council and the local Higher Education College. This range of interests potentially provided a broad array of potential actives to engage with the MG project.

Anecdotally however, respondents described a vigorous focus upon and commitment to the MG scheme as belonging to a smaller 'core' of individuals. It was suggested that in terms of the MG

project, *'a lot of the trustees are, you know, just attend three times a year and whatever'* (Don). Again, as at both rural sites, some of these more focused stakeholders were local 'active citizens'. The scale of HVP enabled some local residents to become formally employed as members of staff with responsibilities both for the MG and the wider regenerative scheme. Other actives however, were not residents of the area but 'locally' active citizens. These included several trustees with an official concern for young peoples' interests such as the heads of the local primary and secondary school and a local youth worker, as well as HVP professional staff such as Chris the *'Millennium Green Project Worker'.*

This smaller 'core' group of actives can be described as younger on average than those at the other case studies, non-retirees and more likely to have children still living at their home. Non-resident stakeholders tended to be middle-class professionals. Some locally resident actives, however, came from less affluent backgrounds and reflected the current social and economic status of the estate.

Hillview's professional and non-local actives ensured that ideas influencing the shaping the locality were also drawn from beyond the neighbourhood, particularly in the shape of 'expert' discourse. The conspicuous presence of such external perspectives within the Hillview MG Scheme, again distinguishes it from the other two case studies.

The next chapters explore these localities and actives through a focus upon their creation of a social and spatial context influencing young peoples' place in spaces of local collective identification.

Table Five - Income Support claimants, August 1998 and employee jobs, September 1998 (numbers) at the case study sites.

	Income Support claimants	Employee jobs
Camdown	40	200
Tincombe	105	200
Hillview	890	1800

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2002)

Table Six - Rank of case studies in Indices of Deprivation 2000 (out of 8414 wards)

	Index of multiple deprivation rank (out of 8414 wards)
Camdown	7711
Tincombe	1117
Hillview	1036

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2002)

Table Seven - Resident population of case study sites, mid 1998 (numbers).

	Resident population (numbers).
Camdown	1600
Tincombe	1500
Hillview	10800

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2002)

4.7 Introduction to the Empirical Results

The preceding review chapters developed a context from which to explore the place of young people in spaces of collective identification.

Previous empirical chapters of this thesis explore three case studies within this context. Each chapter focuses primarily upon the results of an individual case study in its discrete local context in order to convey the story of young people, active adults and collective identification with and through cultures of locality at that site. However, comparisons and contrasts between each case study are highlighted as they become clear and further explored in the discussion chapter. Each chapter shares a similar structure that broadly follows the chronology of the research objectives. Within these sections, subsections and headings highlight the particularities of each case study.

Section .1 introduces the case study.

Section .2 explores actives' awareness, and management, of spaces for local collective identification and their status in relation to late modernity. It examines the use of cultures of locality as symbolic material within such identification. These relationships are considered in order to understand the role of actives in negotiating young peoples' access to such spaces and symbolic resources.

Section .3 examines how active adults envisaged young peoples' place within, and perspective upon, some of the social and spatial aspects of collective social relations: those that actives utilized as key symbolic resources in their constructions of local collective identity. It highlights how their ideas of these relationships reflected the priorities of these imagined local geographies.

Section .4 explores the way in which actives' understandings of young peoples' relationship to the spaces and resources of collective identification were directly translated into their management of young peoples' involvement in the MG scheme. It considers the manner in which actives' constructions of such relationships influenced young peoples' inclusion and exclusion from the scheme, and the space it presented for collective identification.

Section .5 starts to explore the evidence gathered from young people at the case studies. The data is investigated with the MG scheme taking a more central place in the data. Young peoples' understanding of the MG project and their role and place within it are examined as an expression of their sense of, and relationship with, spaces and resources of local collective identification. The influence of actives' actions and perceptions upon young peoples' understanding of themselves and their community, in this crucible of collectivity, are highlighted throughout the discussion.

Section .6 continues this examination by looking at the manner in which young people perceived their place within local collective identity and identification to have spatial dimensions and expression.

Section .7 explores young peoples' perceptions of the *site* of the Millennium Green as a space of collective identification and identity, and its relationship to cultures of locality. It further considers the connections between these understandings and actives' engagement with, and shaping of, the MG scheme.

Section .8 provides a summary of the key findings of the chapter.

Chapter Five - Camdown

5.1 Introduction

This is the first of the three results chapters in which the empirical data is presented. It broadly follows the structure described in section 4.7.

5.2 Actives' Construction of Spaces of Local Collective, Identification and Identity

This section explores actives' awareness and management of spaces for local collective identification, and their status in relation to late modernity. It explores the use of cultures of locality as symbolic material within such identification. These relationships are considered in order to enable the understanding of actives' role in negotiating young peoples' access to such spaces and symbolic resources.

5.2.1 Camdown's cultures of locality and spaces of local collective identification.

Several of Camdown's trustees cited the social relations within the village as a key element of their pleasure in living there. These residents loosely described the social character of locality as a benevolent set of relationships that could provide mutual assistance and goodwill.

'*supportive village…lovely atmosphere…I wouldn't want to live anywhere else…whatever you want you can go and ask someone and they'll help you…people are so friendly and so helpful'* (Mary).

'*this great enthusiasm in this village for doing community things…It spreads right through the whole village, its not just the Millennium Green thing and it's a remarkable characteristic of the village'* (Peter, FG)

The majority of Camdown's actives were in-migrants, few originating from the village. However, the restructuring of the local population during the later part of the last century and arrival of substantial numbers of in-comers were only occasionally referred to in descriptions of local society.

'*It hasn't really changed very much in the thirty years I've been* [back] *here, only just the occupants'* (Will).

'*there are a lot of people who have eh, moved here from the city, some who commute, some who have sort of second homes here…there's a genuine reduction* [in the] *amount of local people who are actually working locally' (*Robert).

Its more recent status as a dormitory settlement, however, was understood by some to have had a significant influence upon its cultures. Certain actives referred to new patterns in Camdown's social structures and associated divisions within the village's 'level/s' of collective

identification.

'Lot of new folks in the village. I find it, there hasn't been the mix that I would of liked or would of expected between the newcomers and the old folks. Um, fortunately, I have a foot in both camps, so eh, I have the best of both the social levels in the village' (Will).

'there are basically two groups of people who live here. People who've lived here all their lives…perhaps for several generations and people who've moved here…And, at a certain social level there's a lot of interchange and interaction between those groups…at another level there isn't so much' (Peter).

For Will, one of two actives who had spent their youth in Camdown, the day to day social texture of life in the village appeared to have been changed in subtle ways by in-migration and associated lifestyles. He described his mental map of the village as characterised by memories of families who had lived in certain areas for generations: a map that could now only be shared with *'old timers'*.

'I was very much involved with the residents as a newspaper boy and eh, latterly helping out with the post office, delivering mail…I got to know everywhere in the village um, yeah, virtually everyone and even today some of the places I know by the folks who lived there when I knew them, fifty years ago' (Will).

In this boyhood memory of village life, as in other childhood recollections that will be explored later, the divide between past and present and the differences that appear to divide the two is pervasive. This tendency to situate the weight of significant change somewhere between the respondent's youth and present adulthood was a recurring feature at Camdown.

For Will, some of the material and social changes that occurred as Camdown became a commuter settlement had altered the *'community life'* or *'spirit'* of locality (Will). Changes associated with physical patterns of presence within and collective use of the village were understood to have altered Camdown's social character with residents no longer inhabiting Camdown in the same way.

'… most of the new folks in…I get on very well with, some I haven't met. They keep themselves in their, presumably they're only in here…when they're not working…coming in at different times, different levels…all the folks who used to essentially be part of this village, are now non-existent, you know, they are down for holidays…you're really lacking the community. They are people that come and go in the night, virtually, here, gone, then they're gone' (Will).

Will describes certain cultural patterns of collective social life as having been reordered and weakened by recent change. However, Will also suggested that the existing local cultural institutions of the area had become dominated by incomers, a view which indicates a continued

significance of such collective social sites to both established and newer residents. Will suggests that 'community' has moved to organised locations.

*A:

'So, the sense, the sense of community has changed, there's still a sense of community but it's changed in someway?'

*W:

'Oh yes, it is, what I've found is that virtually everything in the village now is organised and run by the newcomers rather than the old folks' .

When discussing the fact that he felt that some residents go unnoticed by others, Peter affirmed that one of the main locations of 'community' in Camdown seemed to have become its communally arranged associations.

'…if you keep yourself, themselves to themselves, um and don't get involved in the village activities then, they won't get noticed…there's a quite a strong sense of community here um, but it is amongst those people who are as it were 'involved' in the community. If you live in your, if you came and lived in a house here on your own and didn't go out much, or didn't go to see people much, um, you wouldn't see much of them and they wouldn't see much of you, if you know what I mean' (Peter).

These accounts suggest that some of the established collective patterns that have previously connected place and social networks in Camdown are being reordered in the wake of late modernity. Will identified the village's most active citizens as relative incomers to the community and this idea was supported by the dominance of such residents in the role of Millennium Green Trustees. It was also suggested by actives that incomers are less materially present within the village than during the past due to their lifestyles. Older patterns of occupation and use of its spaces were felt by some to be altering. Inhabiting the material space of locality was not sufficient to qualify residents for membership of local collectivity, as Will suggests it might once have been. These respondents indicate that current local sites of collective identification require active attempts at membership and equally may be formally instituted groups.

These identifications of change in patterns of local collectivity were in a minority however, with in-migrants tending to focus on the more idyllic aspects of local social patterns. Taken together these descriptions suggest that spaces of collective identification are part of local social process, but that these may not be rooted in past referents of their existence, such as long-term residence, the occurrence of certain patterns of behaviour or the physical sharing of local space.

5.2.2 *Actives' mobilisation of symbolic resources of collective identification*

The manner in which collective identification was mobilised by actives in the context of late

modernity becomes clearer through examination of their understandings of socio-spatial aspects of the locality. First, actives' collective identification with cultures of locality and second, the use of such resources in defining the boundaries of collective identity, each process connected to the other and taking place in relation to perceived threats of modern change.

<u>Collective identification with and through cultures of locality</u>
Frequently voiced in tandem with the appeal of local community, the most often cited draw of the Camdown's valleys for actives was its rural environment.

'…the valley is full of glorious footpaths, so one can escape from the village very easily in all directions and walk to all points of the compass, for miles….The fact that its open countryside, I think that is the value, um, but particularly I suppose the site where I live, that's got family connotations, with wonderful, beautiful directions, so one can sit back here and eh, and feel relaxed' (Will).

One trustee spoke of the *'availability of the countryside'* and the proximity and accessibility of the rural landscape was widely appreciated (Liz). The visual dominance of the countryside and the rustic, village scale of the settlement also appeared especially valued by most of the actives. What was notable about such expressions of attachment to the rural surroundings and physical architecture of the village was their frequent appearance in the context of respondents describing a sense of withstanding a threat to their continuance.

'*It's reasonably unspoilt, as much as you can be unspoilt in England now. Not masses of new development or factories or new roads everywhere…I can't really see it changing that much, because of the position. It's too hilly and wooded and being a small valley there's not much that can change. I'd be very sorry if it changed an awful lot…It's isolation in a way'* (Veronica).

This sense of Camdown's beneficial isolation, its topographical enclosure within valley walls that prevented it from easy development, was echoed by many actives. Its significance was understood variously, however, as located in an undeveloped spatial aesthetic, secluded social landscape and/or a protected natural world.

'Everywhere you go, what you see is green, you see fields and trees and [it] *isn't somewhere like* [nearby market town]*, which is very pretty, but it's got houses built up, all up the valley, hasn't it?'* (Liz).

'It's not in the…'honeypots' of the Cotswolds…it's just on the edge…unspoilt comes to mind…we're not commercialised…but…what we want, uh, which is peace, tranquillity and to be left alone basically' (Tom).

'…I don't think you can be too sweeping in your statement calling…the Camdown Valley eh, the subject of mono-culture. I think we fortunately, in the whole topography of the Valley, are

protected from that' (Robert, Focus Group).

Actives regularly articulated their attraction toward locality in the context of its perceived robustness in the face of change. They differed in their identification of what elements of, and how much, the rural locale was threatened by development, nevertheless sensitivity toward and distrust of such alterations was conspicuous.

'It has changed quite a bit, in that people have come in who want things like, paddocks to keep horses in and llamas [laughs] and um, horse training things. So it's changed from actually fields all round us to…from being an absolutely natural village to being more like suburbia…it's sterilising the place really...'Tis a shame, it's like taking down hedgerows. You find people do that when they come here, take down old hedgerows' (Mary).

Mary's description of Camdown as previously an *'absolutely natural village'* is of interest: her attribution of naturalness to the landscape's past agricultural status and spatial practices. This representation of environment appears independent of Camdown's particular material and cultural history, the subject of significant change of use and physical and visual shifts. Other actives, as in the discussion above, identified agricultural practice as an agent of change. Mary however, a resident of twenty-three years, finds the 'natural' state of the village to be a latter 20^(th) century farming landscape. Depending on the interpretation of the characteristic of 'naturalness', all, some or none of the aesthetic and environmental developments that have occurred locally might be deemed 'natural'. Undoubtedly many trustees appreciated the 'natural' landscape of Camdown and found it a motivation for living there: yet perceptions of the exact qualities and values associated with such a setting were varied. Where Mary valued the cultivated rurality of her surroundings for example, fellow active Liz esteemed the undomesticated aspect she found within the same landscape and believed this to be true of many fellow residents.

'It's uncultivated isn't it? I suppose, not entirely, it isn't entirely, that's not true. It's the wildness of the spaces. I dislike 'trim' [laughs]…Yes and I think most people who've contributed [to MG fund] feel like that' (Liz).

Each described and appreciated different ideas and imagery within the same landscape. Due to the symbolic character and inherent imprecision of these ideas of naturalness, however, their viewpoints find points of agreement. Take for example Mary's belief that her landscape is being transformed into *'not quite suburbia'.* It bears comparison with Liz's assertion that she does not wish to live in a town *'park'* or *'trim'* space. Each was able to widely interpret the idea of a valuable natural locale to fit with their individual ideals. They additionally established collective agreement in their rejection of urbanisation and metropolitan domestication of the landscape.

Both respondents and others cited above were able to find their personal ideal reflected within the same 'countryside', suggesting that its interpretation is a matter responsive to the values of

the interpreter. The breadth of ideas suggested by this symbolism, including the converse landscape imagery of development, however, allowed it to become material for collective identification mobilised in a mutual desire to protect the landscape from further modern change. For some Camdown actives the rural space appears a mono-culture, for others identical environs are pleasing in their 'green' aesthetic, but commonalties existed in actives' understanding that each possessed an appreciation of 'natural' rurality and therefore were legitimated in protecting its shape from the threat of aesthetic transformation.

Trustees variously portrayed Camdown's landscape as amongst others: *remaining* small, natural, close to the natural world, remote or isolated in some way, relatively old and unchanged, non-commercial and both naturally protected from development. Emphasis upon and interpretation of individual elements of this picture varied amongst actives. They can, however, be commonly understood as readings of space that invest it with similar themes: a traditional landscape and culture, to some extent naturally protected from change. In this manner the space of Camdown was perceived by actives to be redolent with qualities they could find reflected within themselves: their affinity with their natural surroundings and a desire to prevent it being changed.

Creating the boundaries of collective identity

Such a relationship of ideas were indicative of actives' imagined geographies of Camdown, the symbolic translations of place and culture that facilitate a sense of personal or collective identity and belonging. In these socio-spatial constellations, matters of physical place and personal space are closely aligned and at times entangled. Returning to Mary's idea of a *'natural village'*, it is an environmental idea capable of conveying various images, but also a cultural ideal. Spatially it might for example imply a village or population physically closer to the natural world when adjacent to agriculture. It might also convey an *aesthetic* ideal for a village landscape that seems to Mary less reconciled with the natural world when certain changes occur. It addition it can create an implicit contrast or dualistic relationship with local identities that are *unnatural* and do not belong and as a statement therefore carry the weight of judgement. Interpreting it in any or all of these ways it suggests something about Mary. Though an in-migrant herself, she is confident of her understanding that for Camdown, *naturally* the previous land management regime was superior, whereas the '*people'* who *'have come in'* do not and are creating an inappropriate local countryside, inhabiting local space unsuitably. In her possession of this cultural competency in relation to local space and environment, she contrasted herself with newcomers. Through drawing this distinction Mary seems to position herself as knowing the identity of surrounding place and perhaps in this action establishes her belonging to both local space and society.

At Camdown, many of the key actives articulated this sense of correctly knowing and understanding local environment and coupled it with a keen desire to preserve its space. This can be understood also in terms of a defence of their identity aspirations, the values or ideals they find reflected within the area's landscape. Robert for example, described his vested

interest in conserving the environment he had chosen: small, unchanged rural Camdown. This was a protection of his capital investment as he acknowledged, *'You can see exactly the same house within a couple of miles radius, um, and Camdown village has a premium on it'*, but also a preservation of the satisfactions and values he had discovered in locality. His descriptions of his motivation for investment in Camdown also revealed the symbolic cultures of locality he enjoyed there. Robert, for instance, was one of few that identified the advent of in-migrants, commuters, second-homes and lack of local employment for local people in his descriptions of Camdown's material and social landscapes, however, he also argued that Camdown's physical adherence to an archetypal pastoral settlement somehow preserved a *'simpler way of life'.*

'If you move into somewhere because you like it, it's rather nice if it stays that way and is not changed by intrusion of development or um, by bypasses. These things are just near inevitable progress and if you live in somewhere where…the geographical features aren't conducive to that then it's a bit of in built protection…It's a simpler way of life…I moved out of London and I don't want to be swamped by, um, urbanisation' (Robert).

Robert suggested that the traditional physical dimensions of Camdown had preserved a less complex rural society, whilst moments earlier detailing the recent diverse changes to the village's social networks and accompanying material alterations. This seemingly contradictory view of local social networks and space, as changed, yet somehow remaining consistent with the texture of small-scale village collectivity is a perspective where environment and lifestyle are enmeshed, where physical space holds a direct connection with lived experience. This type of entanglement is perhaps indicative of a respondent's reference to their imagined geography of the locality, their commitment to particular socio-spatial ideas and imagery.

Key actives centred much of their understanding of Camdown's collective identity upon interpretations of local space and society as resistant to aspects of modernity. The advancement of this idea and their collective aspiration was achieved through actives' idyllic imaginings of spaces and society that offered symbolic contrasts with modernity. Whilst individually citing unsatisfactory changes to locality, there was a unity in their continued references to ideals of tranquil, traditional rurality, a life closer to nature and of a slower pace than the outside world: an idyll that has been argued to be one of the most common of various constructions of the UK countryside. Camdown actives can be seen as a collective or an NSM, commonly organised around cultures of locality that sustain symbolic ideas broad enough that each can find within, images or instances of Camdown's divergence from modern change: each locate reflections of their values and/or desires. Further, such socio-spatial resources provided an opportunity in the form of the Millennium Green for these residents to vigorously promote a collective identity representative of re-entrenchment against certain transformations associated with modernity: those that serve to dissociate identity from local spatial and social contexts.

5.2.3 The MG as a location for and promotion of collective identity and cultures of locality
Evidence of actives' use of symbolised cultures of locality in re/investing in and re/shaping

particular conceptions of the village's collective identity can be found within the trajectory taken by Camdown's MG. Actives nurtured an idyllic socio-spatial personality for Camdown through their individual ideas and images of the area, but in addition actively inscribed this identity into the landscape and local socio-spatial system through its incorporation as an objective of their MG project.

Camdown's MG project originated in certain residents' fears that a large field adjacent to the centre of the village would be sold for housing development. Such worries led to the MG scheme's interpretation as an opportunity to secure the land from change. In this manner, actives not only understood the socio-spatial identity of the area as an idyllic unchanging rural place: they sought actively to reinforce such a collective character through capturing opportunities for spatial and social transformation and ensuring that they would reflect this version of locality. Robert for example explained his motivation for being a trustee of the project as a desire to prevent socio-spatial change.

'To ensure that the Millennium Green wasn't used as a tool for changing the character of Camdown…funds were raised so quickly was because the people in Camdown were prepared to pay to preserve what they've got…that particular field has always been, um, a target for development… the opportunity to make sure that never happens was one which was snapped up by an awful lot of people in Camdown…to make sure that it was maintained in that spirit…not changed into either a playground, theme park or anything other than preserving the eh, a lump of countryside… The purpose of the Millennium Greens as a whole principle is something entirely different, something which I confess I have not investigated…or particularly take a great deal of interest in' (Robert).

Actives repeatedly stated that the project not only offered the chance to create an MG, but an opportunity to prevent development. They emphasised that 'villagers' through funding the project in a spirit of preservation required the new space not to take on recreational or commercial aspects or any features resulting in socio-spatial change. Significantly, the MG scheme itself was interpreted as carrying CA 'conditions' that comprehensively restricted alteration and therefore echoed local resident's desires. This particular translation of the terms of the grant allocation can also be seen as indicative of actives' interpretation of potential change in correspondence with the symbolic confines of their imagined geographies. In these understandings it may be rendered either a contrast to such imagery and inappropriate, or in this case suitable for incorporation into collective socio-spatial identity.

'there's a lot of limitations in the conditions of the Green…So there's not a lot we can anyway to it. People were using again the money they said "On condition this stays". Well not so much, well as a field, but not so much as a field, but you don't change it too much' (Martin).

Such tactics make obvious processes of collectivity, constructed through symbolic boundary drawing, that externalise or internalise potential threats to local space and society. As

representatives of local 'community' Camdown's actives placed emphasis on Camdown's distinct character in the face of modernity, imbuing it with broad symbolic qualities that allow change to be assessed for its (in)compatibility with these values. This process is dynamic with opportunities such as the MG project secured and shaped so that they are symbolically resonant with existing cultures of locality. In this manner, local collective identification provides a method of ensuring the continuance, stability and dominance of a particular version of collective identity.

*Martin:
'If you hadn't been in the village for five years and you came and looked and walked across that field you wouldn't, all you'd think was "oh, there's a bench there"…or "they've improved the stile", that's it.'

*Robert:
'That was the idea of it that you shouldn't change it, you know, it's as it was.'

5.3 Imagining Young Relationships with the Spaces and Resources of Collective Identity

The next two sub-sections examine how active adults envisaged young peoples' place within and perspective upon, some of the social and spatial aspects of collective social relations: those that actives utilized as key symbolic resources in their constructions of collective identity. Each section highlights how their ideas of these relationships reflected the priorities of the imagined local geographies in which they were contextualised. First, actives understandings of young peoples' place within aspects of collective identity is explored.

5.3.1 *Young peoples' place in spaces of collective identification*
Many of Camdown's actives were parents of children who had moved out of the family home, so that current contact with young people, and the institutions associated with them, was not primarily through this route. In terms of taking a view upon local young people, relationships with or observations of, the younger generation might have been taken place via various routes; the village primary school; church; various youth orientated associations such as scouts and day-to-day interactions in public places. Notably however, there regularly appeared a lacuna where such types of familiarity might have been expected.

*Alice:
'So how do you think young people do spend their time here?'
*Robert:
'I have to confess I have no idea. I don't spend eh, an awful lot of time in the village myself...I don't see them...I don't think there are many young people…it seems that there are more older people than there used to be in the village.'

Robert suggests that young people are a minority in Camdown, and therefore less visible. His fellow trustee, Peter, suggested that there were more young people than '*you'd think*', but that in

the future the population was *'gradually going to move to an older age spectrum.'* The suggestion that young people make up a larger slice of the populace than might be thought indicates that for some reason other than demography, they do not take up the social space they might. On reflection, several actives felt that the age spread must logically be more even, though their immediate thoughts were of an older populace.

'I should think there are more older people than younger people, but then being old myself I don't know the younger ones...I do know quite a lot of people with children about ten...I see people walking around with prams, so yes there must be quite a lot of babies around too [laughs]! There's a mixture. All villages are' (Veronica).

'Um, my perception is that it's mostly around my kind of age group [laughing], sixties…No, this morning I've walked past the school as they're going in and obviously that's a very thriving school and there are a lot of youngsters around. We personally don't come into contact with many' (Mary).

Liz confirmed that this initial perception was in fact common. She suggested, however, that it was a misconception and indeed, attributed such ideas to the lack of participation by young people in some of the village's main spaces of collectivity.

'a survey was done on the sort of population, the impression of the village by a lot of people was that it was…top heavy, you know, like sixty and over, but that actually proved not to be…there was a lot of, in…younger age groups, than people assumed I think. I suppose [the perception existed] *because a lot of the activities um, that the adults take part in, are for the elderly, which is fair enough because they're less mobile and need activities within the village so...the WI and the Camdown society, Keep Fit'* (Liz).

Actives perceptions are both substantiated and contradicted by statistical evidence. According to estimates from the Office for National Statistics, at the time Camdown did have a slightly different age structure to the other case studies (Tables Eight, Nine, Ten and Eleven, p 92). Whilst the other sites had roughly the same numbers of residents aged over sixty as were under sixteen, Camdown had fewer younger residents and higher amounts of older people (Ibid). If the figures are placed within the local context of the wider district however, the percentage of young people in the village was average but the high amount of those aged sixty plus still presented a contrast (Table Nine, p 92).

Table Eight - Average age range of population at case study sites.

	Age range of population		
	Aged under 16	**Aged 16 to 59**	**Aged 60+**
Camdown	19	55	27
Tincombe	22	55	23
Hillview	23	54	23

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2002)

Table Nine - Age range of population in Camdown, compared with district averages.

	Age range of population		
	Aged under 16	**Aged 16 to 59**	**Aged 60+**
Camdown	19	55	27
District Average	20	58	23

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2002)

Table Ten - Age range of population in Tincombe, compared with district averages.

	Age range of population		
	Aged under 16	**Aged 16 to 59**	**Aged 60+**
Tincombe	22	55	23
District Average	19	54	28

Table Eleven - Age range of population in Hillview, compared with district averages.

	Age range of population		
	Aged under 16	**Aged 16 to 59**	**Aged 60+**
Hillview	23	54	23
District Average	20	61	19

Source: Neighbourhood Statistics (2002)

As Liz suggested, in a local context, average numbers of young people were resident in the village, not necessarily the scattering of many actives first impressions. However, there also were higher numbers of older people than average. What Liz also confirmed, is the impression that in Camdown a great deal of the business of collective identification took place in more organised social networks, often largely aimed at and occupied by, adults. To be absent from such spaces of collectivity is to be perceived as absent from local collective identity, as was the case for young people in the observations of some of the village's most active citizens.

5.3.2 *Young peoples' imagined identification with the symbolic resources of collective identity*
Most actives commented on what were felt to be a lack of local activities or facilities that might include Camdown's young people.

'I'm not sure that if I was a young person living here, I'd enjoy it all that much…there's no social nightlife or anything like that, um it's okay if you're old enough to go to the pub, but if you're not, that's about the only thing there is to do in the evenings… It's obviously also a very attractive place to grow up in, um, it's a safe place. There's a lot of open air, open spaces…so it's a pretty healthy environment for young people, but a bit boring' (Peter).

Actives largely imagined that the qualities of aesthetic attraction that appealed to trustees were unlikely to offer similar satisfaction to young people. With the village understood to provide little social or spatial resource to young people, it was assumed that their affiliations and aspirations would be focused elsewhere.

'If it's a young person who loves the countryside, then [living here,] *super for them. They've got safe places all round. Um, there isn't an awful lot to do, which is the usual moan of young people… I think when you want to be with your mates, who you've been with all day at school, because they go to school in* [Nearest town] *they probably find themselves quite isolated with lack of public transport...unless they really, really love being just in a lovely area, until you get to the age where that is old hat...after that I think probably it's a bit of a drag… Maybe they'd want the bright lights more* [laughs]*, which Camdown just doesn't have, you know and the night club atmosphere, somewhere to go with their friends'* (Mary).

'when one's young, one has different views and opinions than one does at this stage in life. Um, young people of certain interests would have difficulty [in finding] any satisfaction in living in Camdown, if they're gregarious sorts that want, want to be with their various school friends and activities, then there's very little around Camdown for them' (Robert).

'I was lucky in my childhood because I had the benefit of a city. It's very difficult to identity, especially for teenagers, what in hell's name they can do …[later]… *What we give them in Camdown I don't know. I mean I don't think youngsters would be satisfied with the things that I was satisfied with, or my wife…now, young girls of fourteen are women…in my period, uh they were still children…girls of fourteen plus now are young women, and they've got young*

women's aspirations. They want to dress nicely to be attractive to the opposite sex, which I find, actually I find sad. At such a tender age' (Tom).

The focus of young peoples' desires and cultures were imagined as primarily exterior to the village in these understandings. Some perceptions echo debates surrounding young peoples' increased 'individualisation' in the late modern period and the perceived crisis in childhood as adult and child identities blur and the young access non-local, non-traditional cultural resources.

For these actives the countryside's potential to provide a *'trouble-free'* refuge from the difficulties of negotiating pressures often associated with modern change appears to be conceived as socially limiting for, particularly teenage, young people. Though it has been suggested that adults often conceive of childhood's 'natural' sphere as the countryside, amongst Camdown's actives this does not appear to be the case. Actives imagined young people would experience its familiar symbolic qualities of traditional cultural and temporal stability as restrictive. The young are identified as requiring different, perhaps urban, types of social and spatial resource. These perceptions, in addition to ideas of a lack of youth in Camdown and sites of collective identification available to them, positioned young people as unavailable to collective social relations. However, this unavailability is in this instance understood as due to the divergent identity of youth: their lack of identification with the symbolic resources of local collective identity. This conception of disjuncture was contrasted by some with notions of young peoples' local, collective identification in the past. Mary, for example, suggests that it occurs *'even earlier these days'* and Will's memories are of close communality in the village of his boyhood.

A connected assessment made by several actives also emphasised young peoples' social inaccessibility, through imagining that the experience of childhood was now organised and constituted in a manner that would allow young people little time for collective relations outside of their education, after school activities and peer relations. Changes associated with modernity, such as the extended education to work transition or young peoples' affinities with technological change sometimes underpinned such understandings and were again contrasted with actives' childhoods.

'the pressures on youngsters these days and this is right up to sixteen, eighteen...the eh, school curriculum…And their ex-circular activities. There's a lot or pressures on youngsters these days' (Will).

'I quite honestly feel sorry for the youngsters nowadays, because there's so much technological improvement in things that, you know, they, they've got so much pressures on them. I didn't have those pressures; I don't think we had those pressures as youngsters' (Tom).

These ideas situated young peoples' focus upon abstract, external or insular interests rather than upon the local society and space. Will, for example argued that a child with an interest in

local wildlife, for example, would contrast significantly in social attitude, from another absorbed in non-local cultures and associated technologies.

'you have the one [young] *person who wants to know more about wildlife and why things happen and why, what happens to this area…that wildlife in some areas is decreasing and some birds are not so common..."why"? And the other* [young person] *will say, "oh what group was that, oh we must get that disco, oh must get that C.D. and then we can have it blaring in our ears because that's LIFE"* [emphatic]. *And at the two extremes, a concern for the world and a concern for oneself'* (Will).

Will suggests young peoples' enthusiasm for globalised, modern and commercial interests encourages social and spatial disconnection with locality. He perceives connections between an interest in wider cultures and a physiologically interior, 'self' interest: cultures of identification understood to remove young people from participation in local contexts and collectivity.

Strikingly these conjectured relationships between young people, modernity and locality were regularly constructed within a context of relative unfamiliarity with young peoples' participation in local collective relations and use of space amongst actives. Camdown is a small village. In terms of the material locations that young people might spend time publicly or communally, there are the village shop, playground, village green, MG, sports field at the edge of the settlement and the main streets. Where space is limited in this way, young peoples' presence can appear almost magnified, exaggerated in its visibility. Indeed in such confined circumstances attempts by adults to police the use of open space by young people, either through their intervention or continual observation, can rise. Such a pattern of spatial relations might be expected in Camdown. Actives' perceptions challenged such expectation, however.

'You see them playing on the school field, summer evenings…you'll find some of the boys playing, playing football on the field. But that's about all, I don't know what happens at the other end of the village, there's a, a playground…what age that caters for, I don't really know' (Robert).

'I don't notice them hanging around at all, I mean I see them in the shop or something like that. One sees them and you say 'hello' to them and they're perfectly polite…mostly when the school bus gets back' (Veronica).

'you don't see much evidence of them actually out, um, they stand around and chat like most young people do…I would guess that those that can, go somewhere else, in their free time…they're not very much in evidence. Not as much in evidence as you would expect from the numbers of young people that there are. You don't see a huge amount of them. I mean very small children, yes, but sort of teenagers upwards, not a lot' (Peter).

The majority of actives interviewed in Camdown agreed that young peoples' presence in the

village was largely one enacted out of sight. Whilst individual instances and locations of, young peoples' presence and congregation could be recollected (often adjacent to the interviewees home), there appeared to be little of the sense of youth 'hanging around' and the monitoring of such activity by adults, that might have been predicted. Sometimes actives appeared surprised by their assertion of the younger generation's low level of visibility, when they themselves might have expected a higher awareness of their occupancy.   This perceived lack of spatial occupation by young people appeared to tally with the *immediate* sense of some actives that they make up a small percentage of the local community. However it is somewhat at odds with the assessment, sometimes established by actives in *reflection,* that the number of younger residents was about average.

The construction of cultural competency and boundary drawing

The comparative invisibility of young people within local landscape was sometimes attributed by actives to changes in the modern social and spatial cultures of young people.   Whilst theoretically the rural environment remained healthy and safe for young people, actives conjectured that their liberty and desire to experience it had altered. Veronica, for instance imagined that young people in Camdown spent their time in the interior spaces that particular modern cultural interests might require. Such interests were likely to include:

'computers [laughs]*, films and music and television. One would hope books as well!* [continues laughing]. *They're better at television, at computers than I am* [laughs…*they seem to like very loud music*…later…*school work which seems to take up more time than it used too…Um, I don't know that very many of them of that age go out for long country walks. [They're] doing things with their friends, rather than doing things out of doors, just for the pleasure of being out in the open air'* (Veronica).

Like other actives, she understands this as significantly different from her own childhood and in addition, her own children's.

'when I was a young person living in a village in England, um, one could roam, one could do whatever one wanted. You'd just sort of take off, you could walk by railway lines if that's what you wanted to...there were no restrictions. Nowadays there are restrictions on young people doing anything…they don't walk to school, they don't do this, they don't do that, they don't do the other…I'm the wrong generation, you know, I, I don't understand it. I brought my children up that they roamed...there was a flasher in the park, but I mean I didn't stop them from roaming... they had to remain in, within earshot of the church bells. Then they knew when it was six 'o'clock and time to come home for supper... nowadays I don't think children, from what I hear on the radio…don't just say "right, what time do we have to be back" and "is your watch working"...it's a far more eh, sort of organised life' (Veronica).

Veronica's conception of a country childhood contains familiar themes of freedom, familiarity and self-reliance (a well known flasher is no barrier to exploration, for example).   The

countryside is presented as the pastoral preserve of the child, offering a wealth of opportunities for harmless social and spatial experiences. The 'natural' world is the home of an unconstrained and therefore 'natural' youth that is potent and desirable in the idyllic imagery that the two symbolic categories, childhood and countryside, create when conjoined. Part of the power of her description however, is located in its suggestion of an experience now lost. Veronica imagines that the rural sphere no longer provides a safe or desirable location for youth due to the influence of modernity.

She suggests that young peoples' access to free time and the countryside have been constrained by raised parental perceptions of risk, perceptions that have penetrated the rural sphere. Veronica imagines young people no longer able, or willing, to gain the cultural competencies that would allow them to participate in the landscapes that form a central symbolic resource in local collective identity.

Will articulated similar conclusions regarding young peoples' now restricted rural spatiality, but his opinion was organised around recent changes in Camdown's social structures and the influence of in-migrants upon cultures of locality.

'If the parent is a townie the child will not benefit from living in a village as much as if the child has parents who are country people. The one child [of 'townies']*…is it aware of being in the country? I don't know. Is it benefiting from being in the country? I don't know. But, does it take advantage of being in the country? Then the answer's definitely no…whereas the other family who are country-folk…if you showed him* [country child] *once, he's here, there and everywhere in the country. They'll follow their folks, their grandparents, out, walks, you'll see them anywhere around the village and I think they will definitely gain from being in the country'.*

In this narrative the child of in-migrants, now dominating local space and society from Will's perspective, both lacks, nor desires, the cultural competency to participate in local collective culture. This is compared to the country child, who occupies his rural territory through links with kin and their shared culture of rural appreciation. Both Will and Veronica's country childhoods emphasise spatial freedoms and timeless naturalness that have become inaccessible to many of Camdown's young people due to their lack of cultural competence to identify 'correctly' with cultures of locality. For Will, these competencies were generated by *'being exposed and absorbed into country'*, but, for him, the cultural landscape has changed for the young.

Actives' recollections of childhoods past were used to highlight both young peoples' lack of cultural competence and their active desire to participate in non-local cultures and spaces. These aspirations were often imagined as directed at cultural experiences offering intense, interior experiences of light, sound and visual spectacle: the antithesis of the village's idyllic cultures of locality. These perceived contrasts between actives' and young peoples' desired visual and sensual landscapes and their associated cultural competencies were offered by actives as evidence of the young's rejection of dominant cultures of locality. Tom's childhood

memories, though of an urban environment, contrasted his younger self with Camdown's young people who fail to identify with or gain the cultural competence necessary to participate within collective space and society.

'I grew up in the era when scouting was very popular and I loved scouting. We derived pleasure from just going away for the weekend, camping out and lighting a wooden fire, you know. I can understand why a teenager can't see much pleasure in that nowadays. But I don't know what they do want, I really don't…I mean my wife and I met in a youth club, that's where we met, you know. All it was there was tea and coffee, table tennis and billiards…I don't know if that attracts them [young people] *even. My two granddaughters are very up on all the latest pops…they want the latest CD…It just seems sad and in Camdown what are you going to offer them…what do they want?…*[later]…*I grew up in an era that has long since gone…a slum in London…a three bedroom terrace house with a garden, we kept chickens, even kept geese at one stage and we had mature trees in it'* (Tom).

Although Tom grew up in the city, he articulated themes similar to those of actives' rural recalled childhoods: spatial freedoms, self-determination and simple social and natural pleasures each capable of conveying idyllic resonance. In these accounts Tom and other actives, draw various boundaries between their own claims to understand, know and belong to Camdown's cultures of locality and those of modern young people. Tom suggested that *'you may as well be on the moon if you're a youngster who can't drive in Camdown'*, referring to the profound marooning of young non-drivers. In terms of the constructions that he and other actives had mobilised, in situating young peoples' relationship to the symbolic resources of collective identification, it could equally have been an allusion to their being stranded in an alien culture.

5.4 Young Peoples' Place in Spaces of Collective Identification: the MG

This section explores the way in which actives' understandings of young peoples' relationship to the spaces and resources of collective identification were directly translated into their management of the MG scheme. It examines the manner in which actives' constructions of such relationships influenced young peoples' inclusion and exclusion from the scheme and the space it presented for collective identification.

Trustees had not directly involved young people in any aspects of the MG's conception, design or construction. They suggested barriers to their doing so familiar to best practice research focused upon the involvement of young people in intergenerational community participation projects.

'We had time constraints which meant that we had to employ contractors rather than casual labour or even involving youngsters…it was heavy stuff…making up pathways…fixing gates and fences (Martin).

'We didn't have the manpower to be able to oversee youth involvement, because you just

couldn't let them work on their own, so, that was basically our problem (Will).

'I really feel, politically correctly, nowadays we fall over backwards to try and attract youngsters and I can think of a good example of it, the fact that you're doing a thesis on it…I don't know why we have to bend over so much to try and attract them. They should make a bit of effort on their own part, some do, some do' (Tom).

Concerns surrounding the nature of 'young' people and their ability to take on 'adult' responsibilities appeared to underlie some reactions. Sometimes the nature and requirements of the project were located as barriers to youth involvement. A few actives questioned why young peoples' participation should be an issue of particular interest. These and other perceived impediments to young involvement in the MG echoed the literature and did not reveal much that could be considered specific to issues of Camdown's collective identity and young peoples' place within this. Other responses did appear embedded within actives' notions of locality and collectivity however, such as repeated suggestions that it would have been difficult to locate young people to involve in the Scheme.

*Robert:
'How would you make contact?'*
*Peter:
'There's only an infant school...But there are young people in the village, but…there isn't a great deal of activity organised for them. There is no organisation for teenagers, for example, in the village so, where do you go? You have to go up to the individual households presumably, if you want to get hold of the young people.*
*Andrew:
'There's only toddlers at the school and quite a lot of the toddlers come from quite distant places.'*

Conceptions of young peoples uncertain material location were seen as a possible consequence of their generally low profile in Camdown's collective space and society. Without their presence in organised social networks, actives cannot imagine how they might be contacted. This lends evidence to impressions of a shift in local spaces of collective identification towards relationships established via participation in organisations. In combination with young peoples' apparent lack of visibility in collective space, these perceptions were a considerable barrier to actives imaging they might engage young people in the informal manner that other Trustees were co-opted into the scheme, for example.

'Where do you start? Do you go down to the Church and sit on the wall and say [to a young person] *"what would you like to do?" I don't know, honestly don't* know'. (Tom)

Young peoples' inaccessibility was also understood by many actives to be more profound than only their material remoteness. Young people were perceived as culturally removed from this

opportunity to participate in a space of collective identification. This understanding was expressed in relation to ideas about the reorganised shape of childhood in late modernity: so that participation in the scheme's organisation, finance and creation would be *'difficult for them to find sufficient time in their busy school career to eh, fit that in'* (Robert). More pervasive, however, was the impression that young peoples' commitment to non-local, cultural aspirations would render the symbolic resources represented by this site of potential collective identification irrelevant to the young.

*Alice:
'Do you think, um, someone younger might have been interested in being involved or?'
*Veronica:
'*If they were an outdoor person, yes. But I expect, at the same time, that um, they might have sort of thought, 'uh'* [derisory out breath]*, you know, 'load of old codswallop, load of old people, nothing to do with me'* [laughs].

'*There's a element about 'coolness' about things like Millennium Greens, I think that, you know, that, its not seen as a, you know, a 'must' thing to do, I would have thought'* (Peter).

These constructions of young people, which revolved around their relationship with cultural patterns considered indicative of modern change, directly influenced the extent to which actives felt it was logical to engage them in the MG. Actives appeared to feel that there could be little commonality between their own motivation for participating in the scheme and that of the younger generation.

'*how do you attract them… I really don't know…it's not vibrant enough for them is it. You know there's not enough "things" happening. I don't know what things we'd have to make happen to attract them, I can't think of any, anyway, at all'* (Tom).

 *Robert:
'*I must admit, generally there doesn't seem to have been a great deal of interest from younger generations. It's not the thing that interests the young.*
*Peter:
'*Its featureless you see at the moment…it's just a field.*
*Mary:
'*Nothing "happens" there, you're got to be a "happening"'.*

Young people were repeatedly constructed as requiring something beyond the attractions of participating within a space of collective activity. Again, themes of visual spectacle and intense experience were understood as the needs of the young and viewed as incompatible with the social and spatial landscape of the MG project. It is noticeable that whereas actives construed themselves as attracted by the continuity and tradition they found represented in Camdown's place and people, by contrast, they characterised young peoples' desires as directed at change

and events, the opposites of these qualities. In this manner, they symbolically divided the youth community from their own and positioned young people outside of the resources of collective identification embodied within the MG.

Another facet of this construction is that young people are unlikely to take on responsibilities of collective benefit, due to their lack of identification with local collective identity as defined by actives.

*Peter:

'out of the blue trying to say to young teenagers particularly…You know, 'come and get involved in rescuing this plot of land for your village', it would have been, I don't think it would have appealed.

*Robert:

They want far more…

...[later]...

*Alice:

'*Can I ask what makes you feel that they* [young people] *won't be interested?*

*Andrew:

Well there's not, no benefit in it for themselves is there'.

Young people were repeatedly positioned in various ways as unavailable to the MG Scheme due to their lack of identification with cultures of locality and local collective identity. From this perspective an attempt to engage the young in the MG scheme was viewed as largely unachievable and possibly, inappropriate. They were understood by actives as not able or not needing to identify with the symbolic resources signified within the conserved space of the MG, unlike other local residents.

*Peter:

'*it wouldn't have meant anything to them…*

*Andrew:

…they'd say "what's in it for us?" and we'd say "well, nothing really, you can't really do anything"...

*Robert:

They want far more, far more eh, than preserving Cotswold...

*Mary:

Well, they'd have liked some facility wouldn't they?

*Robert:

…They'd want something...more creative…

*Mary:

They'd have wanted something they could "do" on there…

*Robert:

...To produce something tangible, that's either useful or visible…'

Young people were understood to not possess the cultural competence or the desire to participate within the space of collective identification that the MG potentially provided. Instead, their cultural references and spatial needs were understood to be discordant with this space. Robert imagined that the lack of a response from *'younger generations'* might be because it is *'those with the experience that realise the value of preservation?'*. The relevance of such values was seen by several actives as less evident to the young.

'the long term objective of the charity is to [reads from document] *"maintain all existing wildlife habitats and landscape features through appropriate management practice...increase the number of plants and animal species...create new habitats with native species to improve wildlife...encourage use of the level portion of the Millennium Green for community events... if you told that to somebody at fourteen, they'd have of thought "oh well...its got nothing to do with me"...it would have been difficult to find perhaps one that might of thought "yes", that was a good idea... from what I hear on the radio [laughs] I think a lot of um, teenagers are schoolwork...computers, music, um, in towns hanging around street corners...doing things with their friends* (Veronica).

Veronica directly contrasts young cultural and spatial requirements with the objectives of the Millennium Green: an incompatible polarity. An attempt to integrate some of these *perceived* aspirations was regarded by many actives as improbable and actively countering the production of a space of collective value.

*Robert:
'that would be tailoring it to the needs of about ten percent of the village community…
*Will:
Yes, it would be less than that, Graham…
*Andrew:
Yeah, the conditions of the, in the grant was keep it as it is…
*Will:
Yes, it's an area for informal recreation and we meant it to be a conservation area'.

The desires of most young people were *speculatively* understood, as in the instance above, to diverge from both the 'conditions of the grant' and the wishes of the majority of the local population. Through the pervasive perception that young peoples' participation was essentially dependent on actives considering ideas of newly created, youth orientated, formal facilities, the involvement of young people was regularly construed as a challenge to the symbolic and spatial priorities of the MG.

Through various understandings, key actives felt that the childhood that could create young citizens with cultural competencies and aspirations compatible with their project, was a state belonging to the past. The dimensions of youth were imagined by a proportion of actives to

have changed in several significant ways in the late modern era. If the MG project represented actives' conception and requirements of the symbolic socio-spatial aspects of Camdown's collective identity, then currently, young peoples' lives were represented as divergent from these resources of collective identification. The young people constructed and described in this research contest actives' imagined geography of locality. This is not an active contestation, but largely mounted through the younger generations' possession of a childhood that actives believed to be transformed by modernity.

'*it would be nice...if you came up with some ideas of how one could get children lying on their backs watching new birds or you know, things like that...But eh…I suppose also because a lot of us aren't very young that are on the, trustees that are on the committee about it, that one doesn't want the children rushing around laughing and screaming and eating lots of sweets and throwing the wrappers away.*
*Alice:
Uh huh. What, whilst you're trying to involve them?
*Veronica:
…yes they'll be involved and doing that...And playing loud music and drinking beer or...One wants it as a place where they can go and be interested in things and therefore perhaps ones um, a bit cautious about involving children. Which most probably is very unfair but again a way of how the world has changed, that one doesn't think of it as being um, you know, sort of normal, comfortable. One thinks the world has changed and nasty things happen now and...I mean one reads about it and you hear about it and you don't know about how true or not it is, but it all sounds a very different world'.

For some actives, today's childhood embodied the change and ontological insecurity presented by the 'different world' of the late modern period. Actives felt they understood, and identified with, the tradition and continuity represented by Camdown's place and people, values they believed to be, and promoted as, preserved from modern change. Indeed, actives held a position in Camdown society as an NSM of some of the most energetic champions of these values within local space and society. The MG can be regarded as a symbolic and practical tactic of local, collective re-entrenchment of these values, in the context of modernity. The cultural and spatial values, the identity, that actives constructed as belonging to 'modern youth' were understood as outside of the symbolic boundaries of this entrenchment. Young people were perceived regularly to identify beyond the confines of the cultures of locality that some actives wished to characterise local collective identity, and were consequently definable in this context as 'other'.

5.5 Young People, Geographies of Collective Identity and the Millennium Green.

The evidence gathered from young people at the case studies is explored with the MG scheme taking a more central place in the data. This was a community initiated and administered scheme to create a collective space and potentially a space of collective identification. Young peoples' understanding of the MG project and their role and place within it are examined as expression of their sense of and relation to, spaces and resources of local collective identification. The influence of activess actions and perceptions upon young peoples' understanding of themselves and their community, in this crucible of collective identity, are highlighted throughout the discussion.

The young people at Camdown's Millennium Green who participated in this research had not been approached to become involved.

5.5.1 *The MG scheme as a space of local collective identification and local collective identity*
Young respondents tended to feel Camdown had a relatively high proportion of older residents and a small number of young people: a similar understanding of local demography to that of many actives.

*B3[8]:
'That's [older people] the entire population around here, basically.
*G1:
Yeah

'the whole village are sort of like older together and then there's like us which is not that many, but there's quite a few younger children, ain't there, that use the school and everything' (G2).

The Millennium Green was regularly understood by interviewees to be organised by and significantly, for, this older generation.

'I think it should be for both of us, the adults and younger people…It felt like, a bit like it was an adult thing (K1[9]).

*G3:
'It was all the older people, wasn't it?
*B1:
There was about two people organising it…no one, no one asked us or anything. No one went like, no one even suggested anything to us…
*G2:
Yeah, there was quite a lot of, well word of mouth kind of publicity, but that was about it. It was

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[8] B and G participants were secondary school pupils.

[9] K participants were primary school pupils.

more the people living in the Bungalows overlooking the fields 'cos they thought there was a threat of development'.

The scheme was widely perceived as tactical in its operation and an opportunity for adults to achieve particular goals including the prevention of development. Young people understood its tactical nature to be a significant barrier to their participation.

'If I had been told, yeah, that would have been great that, but we weren't, it was just, "oh like, um, here's the village hall door open, and we just, you know, walk in on other people". It's like there were about three people that went. Three people that voted for the Millennium Green' (K2).

*G2:
'We weren't meant to have our own input, it was just two people organising it wasn't it [tongue in cheek]?
*G1:
Three.
*G2:
Three! [pretends to be shocked]'

These young locals understood certain trustees to be adults with a restricted interest in engaging young people in this scheme, due to it's employment in meeting an existing agenda, cynical about its potential as a collective participative opportunity.

*B1:
'some body would have met somebody up the pub, lo and behold, they just would have said "oh there's going to be a meeting about the Millennium Field", they would have just told a few people and they would have been the ones that would have gone...
*B3:
Who they liked.
*B1:
People who would have made a good [financial] *contribution to it...they were the people.*

*B2:
'they come knocking on your doors right, saying "we want your money", but when it comes to the point of "oh we're going to do...", they didn't inform us about that. We're just used for our money...I'm being serious here [laughs in spite of herself]*... they're* [parents] *going out and earning money, and they* [trustees] *knock on the door, say 'have you got this spare' whatever... to help us with the Millennium Green, but then when it comes to things going on* [development of the MG] *okay, we never, ever got to do anything... we're not informed to say you know, 'would you like to come and put your point of view across, what would you like', so basically money...*

*B3:

Yeah, like that's what, money is it's all about.'

Actives' non-involvement of young people in the MG scheme contributed to a specific view amongst youth and of their place within local collectivity. It was suggested repeatedly by young people, that in the MG context, Camdown's local social networks were politic in their operation: including those members of the locality considered by actives able to contribute appropriately (financially or in terms of an agreed agenda) and excluding those not guaranteed to participate in this manner (young people). Camdown's actives assembled trustees in a self-selecting and informal manner and some young people interpreted this method of gathering participants as a methodology of active omission. They identified their lack of involvement in the project to be a reflection of actives' view of them as unfavourably different from adults, in resources and attitude. This status within the MG project was sometimes understood as demonstrative of the general nature of young peoples' position within local collectivity.

B1:

'it's like [Camdown community] *a bit different sections, it's like sections of people, I mean, um, all the people that were involved, that get involved* [in the MG], *they didn't ask anyone else if they wanted to join or anything, they just do their own thing...*
G2:

Um, yeah, as far as things go though, it is a very small community, everyone knows each other...You always say hello when you see someone and stuff like that...
B3:

I think, I suppose community is something where everyone is involved...And you can't really call it a community if you're not...If the people who are running it are choosing who gets involved, you know?'

For these young people, some of Camdown's spaces of collective identification were tactical, self-selecting and potentially exclusive in nature. Some found it hard to locate the values they imagined should be associated with local collectivity, such as generalised inclusion, within these particular sites of social relation.

Young interpretations of the symbolic resources and boundaries of local collectivity
Young people also associated local collectivity with values and attributes that they did find present and available within the village, however. These ideas were akin to the symbolic dimensions that certain trustees understood as defining Camdown's cultures of locality, including its small size, tranquillity and relaxing social and spatial stability.

*G1:

'everyone knows each other really.
*G2:

You say hello to everyone…you've got to try and maintain villages like Camdown as they are I

think…if you change it…you lose Camdown.

*G3:

…Camdown's quiet and it's nice for that. I mean I can go to bed and I don't have to worry about someone throwing a brick through my door, I not saying that [adjacent town] *is all like that, but Camdown hasn't got any rough areas.*

*G2:

Everyone knows everyone so there's hardly any burglaries round here…you feel safe.'

As with actives, Camdown's younger generation appeared to understand that facets of collective identity were intimately bound up with symbolic values they associated with rurality. So, for example, certain young people understood themselves, as rural residents, to possess cultural competencies in relation to collectivity, that urban youth might not.

*B2:

'Um a lot of people our age don't have any interest [in projects such as the MG]*, but they're usually up in towns and cities.*

*G1:

Yeah, they do normally.

*G3:

Yeah, it's a bit different isn't it.

*B1:

You want to do something that's constructive, just not mess about and stuff.

*G2:

There's not much else to do…most of them [actives] *grew up around here so they should realise what it's like, so...*

*A:

What is it like, what makes it different from a city or...?

*B3:

They call it, they call it a close community really…

*B2:

It doesn't always feel like it'.

In common with certain trustees, these young people drew the boundaries between their collective identity and that of others, along symbolic, socio-spatial divides. In being rural they understood themselves to possess different cultural competencies, *'constructive'* behaviours and ambitions than those of urban young people. Further, this rural status and boundary to identity was understood as a point of commonality with trustees. Young people felt that this commonality should provide actives with an understanding of how their rural competency made Camdown's young residents accessible participants for the scheme. However, although some of the younger generation in Camdown used similar tactics to those of actives in defining their sense of belonging to the village's collective identity, they also understood that certain members of the adult populace saw them rather differently. When asked why actives might not have

approached them to be involved in the MG project for example, some suggested it was due to perceptions of young identities within the village.

*G1:

'They think we're all, the young people know best, but around here they think all the young people are into drugs, drink and sex . resigned tone].

*B3:

'Yeah.

*B1:

'Bad people.

*G1:

'Yeah. They think we're all bad people.

*A:

'Who thinks that then?

 *G1:

'Everyone around Camdown. That's how everybody else sees us I 'reckon, I don't see it myself' [Asks for confirmation of anonymity and group laugh, suggesting anonymity might not offer much in this small place].

Some young people construed their exclusion from the scheme as a confirmation of adult perceptions of their undesirable identity. They understood trustees to perceive them as identifying with and indulging in excessive behaviours and perhaps immoral identities that defined them as unfavourable candidates for participation in certain spaces of collective identification. The lifestyle choices that these young people identify as being so undesirable to fellow residents are ways of being that for much of the twentieth century were associated with adult life. The sensitive relationship of these conducts to 'adultness' can be placed in the context of the *'crisis'* in the way childhood is understood and generational distinctions are defined. A wish to drink and be sexual for example, are adult cultures that the individualising effects of modernity have ostensibly made accessible and attractive to youth, where once they stood clearly marking the way into grown-up identities. Some actives did describe ways in which they understood the boundaries between adult and childhood to be altering and the experience of childhood transforming in the conditions of late by modernity. Trustees did suggest that young people would not wish to engage with the MG due to their identification with non-local cultural experiences, identities and spaces. Several described a growing preoccupation amongst young people with adult or externally originating influences that would diminish the attraction of the MG and communality.

Actives repeatedly understood the younger generation to be significantly disembedded from locality, focused beyond local and collective cultures and occupying a life context significantly altered from their recollected childhoods. In these ways, young people were repeatedly constructed as unlikely and possibly illogical participants in local collective identification and identity. Camdown's young people seemed to conceive of themselves as tainted by the modern

childhood they believed adults saw them as experiencing. They imagined that adults no longer considered them inoffensive children but as 'bad people', some understanding adoption of this status to occur around puberty.

*G3:
'Yeah. Well when you're younger they used to go "oh look at her" (cooing noise)…when you were younger.
*G2:
Yeah, but we're talking about older [young] people.
*A:
So they liked you when you were younger?
*Group:
All talk together affirming this statement.
*G1:
'Yeah with the younger children it's like 'ahhh' [cooing]...
*G2:
Yeah, but then teenagers, "uhhhh"[negative sound, eyes lowered and hands waved in a forward, discarding motion].

Some teenage respondents surmised that modern child-adult hybridity made them almost viscerally discrepant within the cultures of locality, symbolically emphatic of protection from modernity, which actives and other adults appeared to favour.

*G2:
'I think it's because most of the people who are older are likely to be the "children should be seen and not heard", kind of thing.
*G1:
Yeah, they living in the...
*G2:
Twenties!
*G3:
Especially as they've lived here most of their life, so they've always seen it as a quiet, peaceful village'.

This consignment of actives' judgement to that of a past era may reflect young peoples' awareness that older adults in their community were seeking to sustain values that they also located in a previous historical context: a tranquil and temporally stable social and spatial environment.

Although older adolescent young people in Camdown understood exclusion from spaces of local collective identification as reflecting the adult communities' tactical and bounded use of local collective relations and disdain for modern childhood, younger children conjectured that it

was representative of their diminutive physical and social presence. So for example, some emphasised the problem of making their voices heard, in contrast to those of older children and trustees.

*K1:
'Well, it sort of like "we thought that"…but they were like bigger than us…
*K2:
there's like big words they can say, like the bigger words, like and we can only say the little ones* [said in mouse like squeak] *because we don't know the big ones like they do'.

Younger children referred to the limited access they had to spaces of collective identification, with descriptions and demonstrations of their lack of verbal dexterity, their quiet voices and small stature and the fact that consequently their ideas had little audibility and consequence in a collective context.

*K1:
'I'd be scared that we were there [participating in the MG*]!*
*K2:
It would be like 'ohhhh, ohhhh' [wobbly mouse again]…
*K1:
If there was like adults and people like that there…I would be like "bye".
*K2:
'I'd be with you!'
*K1:
'No, it would be like "well what should I say?" and "how should I think?" and "what if they like, take it seriously?"…Because if you came out with something like, "well I really want this" [quiet, questioning voice] *and they'd be like "WELL YOU CAN'T HAVE THAT"* [loud strong voice] *and "WHY DO YOU WANT THAT?.."*
*K2:
I'd be like "because I'm a kid and I want it" [small, but assertive voice]*…they're adults…they wouldn't, like, really want the kids to come because …*
*K1:
Like kids like us, like, come out with all these, you know like when you tell your parents what you need to get "umm, I want this" [said in very whispery voice] *and she like, well she…*
*K2:
My mum would say, my mum would go "bugger off" [said in equally whispery voice, followed by laughter]'.

For some younger children at Camdown their exclusion from the MG agreed with the way they felt themselves to be understood by certain adults and actives, as of small-scale significance in the context of collectivity. In the context of this research, they expressed themselves eloquently enough and at times loudly and physically, yet they understood themselves to be reflected as

insignificant in the estimation of certain sections of their community, including trustees. For some actives, the impression made by the younger population was indeed hard to recall, their presence in local sites of collective identification, difficult to trace.

5.6 The Spatialisation of Young Peoples' Place Within Local Collective Identity and Identification.

This section explores the manner in which young people perceived their place within local collective identity and identification to have spatial dimensions and expression.

By contrast with the dominant perception of actives, that young people featured little in local landscapes, young people understood themselves as inhabiting both indoor and outdoor, public, local environments. It was claimed variously that they spent time out in local *'fields'*, *'streets'*, the public *'square'*, the '*post-office'*, the *'primary school'*, the adjacent *'steps'* and *'outside pubs'* [Group Interview].

*A:
'So are you outside quite a lot?
*B -all
Yeah.
*B1:
Well, when we can… Some of us stay outside all night!' [Laughter directed at one participant].

Although it was suggested by some actives that certain local youths' cultural identifications were expressed as non-local spatial identifications and practices, young people clearly constructed themselves as significant presences within outdoor, local spaces. Indeed, young people were prepared to contest their access to such sites as necessary locations for their activities. For example, they argued, that although many fields were in private ownership, limited spatial resources dictated their use of such locales -, '*you can't do anything about it' (Group interview).* The issues of limited spatial access also led to contestation of outdoor public spaces amongst peers, particularly for younger children.

*K2:
'The older kids like swear at you when you're playing on something like…"get off" and like, hitting you and everything…they call you names and everything…And its like "ohh fine" [said in mouse voice]'…[later]…people are coming from [name of street]…they're making trouble and my mum says "I don't reckon it's that fair, if people come from other places and they just like wreck it for us"… We've got some swingy things…which are really cool to play with and the man that lives across from the park…he's like "get off of there, you shouldn't be on there, get off"…One person, um complained because they were playing football, she said "well excuse me this is so dangerous"…she was on about they were slipping…they were wrecking the grass, they were vandalising in the park'.

Young people made casual references to their participation in an animated politics of local spatial practice and systems. They articulated a role in negotiating and managing collective social relationships and competing spatial interests, which was embedded in locality. No young respondents saw their relationship to the MG process and site as influenced by their disinterest in or disconnection with, local society and space, as some actives appeared to imagine. Indeed some suggested that their occupation of local, social sites should perhaps have prompted actives to involve them in the MG and thus remove them from less appropriate collective places.

*B1:
'You want to do something that's constructive [like the MG]…
*G2:
There's not much else to do…
*B3:
Yeah, you would have thought 'cos we're milling about the streets all the time, 'cos none of us have got anywhere to go, it might get us off the streets [smiles, said with tongue firmly in cheek]! *Get us off the streets and somewhere else!'*

Young people articulated their impression that actives would perceive them as too visible within local spatial systems, yet the obverse appeared to be true. It is difficult to account for the variance between each generation's understanding of young peoples' place in local spatial relations and practices in the village. Obvious differences existed between the images that young people had of their status in local space and actives' descriptions of a lack of young peoples' presence, commitment to or interest in, collective places. In the context of this research, it could be hypothesised that actives constructed young people out of sight so that they could explain why they had been out of mind, in the MG process.

Certain young people did also explain their lack of involvement in the MG scheme in terms of cultural responses to local space, the response of actives however, not their own. They understood that the tactical manner in which they perceived the MG to have been operated originated in actives' commitment to certain cultures of locality and spatial practice.

*G2:
'It [The MG] *was more* [about] *the people living in the Bungalows overlooking the fields cos' they thought there was a threat of development…*
*G1:
Yeah, but you wouldn't have got planning permission on it, sorry.
*G3:
No, you wouldn't.
*G1:
You need access on there or you can't get planning permission for anything.'

These teenagers were familiar with and literate in the language and concepts of the planning process, a system they believed to be a strategic tool in achieving local spatial change or stability. They understood it as a tactic employed by actives and other adults in strategies for shaping locality and spatial practice. In addition, they anticipated how their socio-spatial identity and aspirations might relate to these strategies.

*A:

'Do you think what you'd want for the Millennium Green would necessarily be different to what they [actives] *wanted?*

*B3:

Probably.

*G1:

Definitely.

*G2:

Not, not entirely.

*G3:

Would they [actives] *say "oh yeah, you can have a skateboard ramp or"? …*

*G2:

Not necessarily, but is the Millennium Field the best place to have a skateboard ramp?…

*G1:

You know down the far end, as you go in, you know down to the right, far away from my house [laughs]*…down the far, far end you couldn't see a skateboard park so you could keep it there…*

*A:

Is that important that you can't see these things?

*B1:

I would have thought so, yeah.

*G1:

Yeah, that's why, like, they're [actives are] *saying…with buildings they* [actives] *would have all those people complaining 'cos it's blocking their view…'cos they like the view, older people, like mum and dad "oh that view, it's lovely"* [miming looking out at view]*, you know? So if you put a skateboard ramp there, it's going to block their view...'*

These young people believed that a strong influence upon the operation and inclusiveness of Camdown's MG was the need to preserve its existing aesthetic and spatial contours. They understood some of their own desires as potentially inappropriate in the context of these requirements of local space. In this way, they regularly constructed themselves within and identified with, the cultural confines of a collective identity of the village.

'There's not that much to do but if you built something, like an attraction in Camdown, it would probably spoil Camdown, so it's probably better not to have anything to do' (G1).

Not all young people appreciated the constrictions that maintenance of Camdown's dominant

cultures of locality demanded, all of the time. The youngest participants knew that the likelihood of achieving something to do was sometimes minimised by landscape and found this frustrating.

*K2:

'There's like loads of hills, hills and it's like…there's no use for them…if you think, if we moved the hills we'd have much more room for more stuff.'

*G4:

'You can't move the hills!'

*K2:

Unless you get a big chainsaw and 'mmhhhwwwwwwwwwnnnnnnnn' [Two girls mime in tandem chainsaw sweeping from left to right].

Some of Camdown's older, young people believed that an appreciation of Camdown's landscape was something that came through experience of life in the village. This is a similar observation to that made by certain actives when arguing that young people, due to their limited experience, were unlikely to appreciate a culture of preservation for locality. Certain young people, who conversely understood themselves to be in possession of such perspectives, were prepared to modify their behaviours in line with these cultures and preserve the village from development pressures.

*G1:

'I wanted that when I was young [swimming pool desired by primary age child], but when you get older you appreciate the damage that would do to how Camdown is now.'

*G2:

'We've got [nearest town], swimming pool so.'

*G1:

Exactly'.

A number of young people brought readily to mind and identified with, cultural values whose spatial manifestations and logic contrasted with the 'visible' and 'tangible' developments (Robert), which actives assumed youth would require. Many of the younger generation grasped and sometimes wished to perpetuate the spatial priorities that actives' cultures of locality demanded. The youngest respondents in this research were aware that if certain types of local development occurred the area would no longer 'be quaint' (G4).

Sometimes the younger generations understanding and/or affiliation with these cultures of locality allowed them to anticipate the ways in which some of their spatial practices might be inappropriate in this dominant symbolic context that they felt would be influencing the MG.

G1:

'Like when we put our music, we put our music on "ohh you've got your music on again" [imitation of high pitched complaint in an old codger sort of voice]…

B3:

I was outside revising and I had my music on, I could only just hear it outside and the blimin' neighbours came down the road, complained to my parents!

G1:

Yeah, my next-door neighbour knocked on the door, "who is sixteen years of age in here, you can't listen to music" [sarcastic tone]…*it's just a normal thing for us to put our music on…to go out*[side] *and have a laugh and...I'm just saying that if we do something...*

B1:

We do it wrong.

G1:

Yeah, we do it wrong, so if were trying to put in our input in like the Millennium Green then like [spreads palms out and upwards and raises eyebrows, presumably suggesting that likewise, it stands to reason that this 'input' would be 'wrong']'.

Young people portrayed this inter-generational interaction as dynamic and encompassing contest, in contrast to actives' perceptions of their profile in local, collective space. Some understood adults to perceive certain of their public behaviours as outside of the boundaries of accepted local cultural norms and aspirations and therefore inappropriate. By contrast, they suggested, that such practices were the cultural competencies of a young identity. These young respondents portrayed a clash of generational attitudes that led adults to construct everyday public actions of youth as 'wrong' and hypothesised further that any young participation in the MG scheme would be understood similarly. They claimed that some adult residents way of seeing (or hearing!) young people constructed them as out of place in local space: their cultural affiliations and spatial practices the material with which they cannot help but transgress adult requirements of local environment. Certain young people in Camdown appeared to understand themselves construed by actives as inevitably contrasting and contesting dominant cultures of locality.

5.7 The MG as a Location for and Promotion of, Cultures of Locality.

This section explores young peoples' perceptions of the space of the Millennium Green as a site of collective identification and identity and its relationship to cultures of locality, in order to examine the interplay of actives' management of the scheme and young peoples' perceptions of such matters.

When young people described their perceptions of the established MG, the majority seemed to suggest that its physical spatial and social character were very little altered.

'It's not used any differently to how it was used before, except the grass is allowed to grow long because no one's going to cut it [for hay]' (G1).

'I think everyone uses the field for the same purposes without feeling you've got it, that the

community have got it' (G2).

*B1:
'Just because it's called the Millennium Field... they* [actives] *wouldn't change it…*
*B3:
That's all that's changed, It's just called the Millennium Field. There's like a few rocks and a few benches'.

Its preserved appearance suggested to some young people that it was intended to retain what they saw as its main use within Camdown's collective spatial practices: its footpaths leading into the surrounding hills useful for adult recreation, particularly dog walking. A proportion of young people additionally understood that their social and spatial priorities for the MG would necessarily come after adults and dogs.

'it's more for older people and people with dogs, you can't really use it.'
(B4)

*K2:
'A load of rubbish* [the MG]. *Adults this, adults that....*
*K1:
Adults, dogs, adults, dogs, dogs, there.'

Without significant physical change to the MG, the majority of young people in Camdown interpreted it as retaining the adult-determined socio-spatial identity of much of the privately owned landscape surrounding the village and therefore found it difficult to perceive the MG as having a collective character.

'We've got a lot of that round here anyway, so, like fields and people don't care whether it belongs to the community or a farmer, they're still going to do the same on it' (G2).

Some felt that if change had occurred, it was located in the tenure of the site being transferred from the former owner, a farmer, to the most visible of it's new adult Trustees. It retained a sense of being out of bounds to these young respondents.

G2:
'the people who live in the bungalows who actually ran the campaign [actives] *were old people.*
G1:
…basically we feel like it's "their [actives] *field". It's like their land and you're on it, you're trespassing on it'.*

Others, mainly boys, more confident about using local fields for recreation felt the site gave the impression that it belonged to no-one.

B1:

'just feel like it's no-ones field, it's still like, a field. It doesn't feel like a "special field", it just feels like a field…

B2:

Go on anyone's fields (laughing)!…

G3:

It's not a field though is it. It's a dogs field, it's a field though isn't it?

G2:

What, "a field is not a field?"' [tone of mock philosophical enquiry].

With few material clues as to how the MG site had altered from its former existence as a privately owned field, it was difficult for the young to interpret its landscape as collectively accessible and one that embraced new cultures of use and user. With little tangible signposting of a change in ownership, it was conjectured that particular interest groups, with longstanding interests in determining its future (actives fearing development and dog walkers), currently delimited its role in local spatial practices. Just as young people appeared to feel themselves being excluded from various socio-spatial agendas embodied within the MG process, they likewise appeared to feel their presence at the MG to be largely uninvited, at worst a kind of trespass. This may be a reflection of young peoples' awareness of their construction by adult actives in relation to the cultures of locality embodied by Camdown Millennium Green. The village's young people were not necessarily alienated from the social and spatial ideals the MG reflected. In fact, they identified it as a typical local space that some felt should be protected from certain types of development that could affect its local cultural value, just as its symbolisms require. However, understanding themselves to be represented by certain actives as socially and spatially inappropriate within such collective ideals, they also believed this to be the reason they were not often invited to participate within its space. In certain circumstances, such as the MG scheme, they perceived that they were trespassing within the symbolic ideas and imagery of actives' cultures of locality.

5.8 Summary of Chapter Five

This section summarises the key findings of this chapter.

This chapter has established that in Camdown, NSMs were experiencing an increased significance as spaces of collective identification with, and through, locality. It suggests that sites where opportunities for local collective identification may have been expected to reside in the past had become less central to such processes. However, the evidence at Camdown suggests that cultures of locality continued to provide a significant resource and tactic of constructing local collectivity.

Actives were found to identity with and through a symbolically significant culture of locality.

Each active articulated varying ideas surrounding the nature of locality, but these found accommodation in the symbolic content of their shared socio-spatial geography of the area. In addition, actives understood themselves as possessing particular cultural competencies in their appreciations of local space and society. Actives coupled this understanding of their affinity with locality with a strong desire to protect the values they located within it. Camdown actives commonly identified aspects of their cultures of locality as resisting pressures associated with modernity and they aspired to re/embedding and protecting these features through the MG scheme.

Actives understood local young people to have a low-key presence in the village which might partially be explained through the younger generation's absence from many of the organised locations of collective identification. This contributed toward perceptions that it would be difficult to locate young people to participate in the MG scheme. Young peoples' cultural affiliations and aspirations were interpreted as being largely unmet by locality. Actives understood that the cultures of locality, which facilitated their collective identification with the area, would offer little of relevance, or fulfilment, to local young people. In addition, young people were sometimes found to lack the correct cultural competencies with which to find such affinity with locality. Young people were believed to require and participate within spaces and cultures associable with the influence of modernity, and the changes that actives understood it to have effected within childhood. For all of these reasons young people were felt to be largely unavailable to the MG scheme in its function as a space and resource of local collective identification with the cultures of locality that actives favoured.

The research encountered a perception amongst young people that the MG scheme was tactical in its operation, and an opportunity for adults to achieve particular goals, including the prevention of development. Young people understood its role in these strategies as a barrier to adults engaging them within it. Young people suggested this political operation of collective social relations to be representative of the pattern within the wider community.

Camdown's younger generation shared a sense of identification with the cultures of locality that actives understood to define it. They also perceived themselves to possess social and spatial cultural competencies with which to identify and engage with such cultures appropriately. Some young people believed this to be a point of commonality between themselves and actives, but felt that actives did not perceive it as such.

Young people at this case study felt they had a significant presence within locality and illustrated this with examples of their position in local social and spatial politics. They imagined that actives might have been motivated to engage them in the collective endeavour of the MG as a method of diminishing their inappropriate presence elsewhere. They felt adult residents' found young peoples' cultural affiliations and spatial practices a persistent challenge to adult requirements of local environment: as out of place in local space. They understood exclusion from the MG scheme to be a confirmation of this understanding of them as socially and spatially

inappropriate or insignificant identities.

Chapter Six - Tincombe

6.1 Introduction

This is the second of the three results chapters in which the empirical data is presented. It broadly follows the structure described in section 4.7.

6.2 Actives' Construction of Spaces of Local Collective Identification and Sense of Local Collective identity in Late Modernity

This section explores actives' awareness and management of spaces of local collective identification and their status in late modernity. It explores the use of cultures of locality as symbolic material within such identification. These relationships are considered so that actives' role in negotiating young peoples' access to such spaces and symbolic resources can be understood.

6.2.1 Tincombe's cultures of locality and spaces of local collective identification.
Tincombe, like Camdown, had undergone recent demographic and environmental change as it has developed into a popular dormitory settlement, attractive to commuters and retirees. Again, in common with Camdown, the majority of local actives were incomers to the area, most of whom were sensitive to effects they understood to accompany this increased in-migration. They primarily expressed concerns about restraining increased development pressures and the growth of the settlement. Some doubted the ability of the area to accommodate local young families as the disparity between house values and local wages grew. However, only Richard directly articulated a particular awareness of his social distinction as a relative newcomer.

'I am of course an "outsider", who's been involved heavily in the village, but I'm still an outsider and I always will be' (Richard, resident of 15 years).

The subject of cultures of locality can be seen to be particularly problematic in Cornwall. For example, a Cornish 'Celtic' identity and nationalism has been asserted at times that is historically defined through contrasts with Englishness (Westland, 2002). Currently, for instance, Cornwall's character, culture and well-being is represented by the ethno-regional movement as under threat from governance originating in central England that fails to recognise the unique cultural status of the area (Mebyon Kernow, 2006). At the same time, Cornwall has been subject, since the 1960s, to a higher number of incomers than any other area of the UK, with consequences that have created both cultural and material polarities (Payne et al. 1996, Williams, 2003).

In these circumstances, observation suggests that comments regarding insider/outsider dichotomies and potential cultural disparities were seldom articulated when opportunities arose, precisely because the subject was so delicate. Other types of division within the village were expressed, geographic, economic and social. However, rather than drawing contrasts between

new and old members of the community, varying claims to regional or local affiliation tended to be made or the issue passed over. For the majority of actives, the existence of a fairly receptive and dynamic 'community' of which to take up membership was actually regarded as a key quality and attraction of Tincombe.

'We've got a good community spirit um, via various organisations we kind of look out for each other' (Joan, resident of 25 years).

'*Nice community on the whole…certainly better than Falmouth, having lived there for nine years and certainly better than the outskirts of London, where you were a non-entity totally. Here, because you get involved with various things in the area it's a nice place to put something back, rather than just take'* (Richard).

The emphasis placed upon the value of Tincombe's social networks in actives' understanding of locality (as at Camdown) challenges the thesis that change associated with late modernity diminishes attachments to local collectivity. As at Camdown, following so much socio-spatial transformation, spaces of local collective identification did not appear primarily located in the patterns of existence that may have signalled their presence in the past. The familiarity and continuity of generations of villagers attending to livelihoods and existences focused upon local spaces, reflecting local timescales and priorities or participation in neighbourhood customs, were perhaps no longer part of the texture of everyday life in late modernity. However, in Tincombe, there were social networks and types of communal engagement that signified benevolent and significant spaces of collective identification to some of its most active citizens. Discussing life in Tincombe, for example, several trustees located values they associated with community in the villages many voluntary activities and amenity groups. Joan, as in the quote above, described the pleasure derived from her participation in multiple, organised social networks and sites of collectivity.

'very much community sprit and when one organisation organises something, people who are not members of that organisation turn up to support them, other organisations will support them' (Joan).

Joan understood experiences she connected with local 'community spirit' such as altruism, co-operation and shared consideration, to reside in the relationships she established and practiced through local voluntary activism and believed this to be the case for other residents. She further described her contributions to local collective life as having significant affective value.

'what you put into life, you also get out. Which is why I do quite a lot for the community, because I enjoy it, therefore I get pleasure out of it. I also like to see pleasure on other people's faces…I do things because I like to see other people feeling pleasure' (Joan).

Duncan similarly described the lack of self-interest and desire for profit he believed characterised involvement in such groups. For Duncan locality appeared a small but significant

space where the potential to affect change was realisable, again contesting notions of the dislocating influence of globalisation and diminishment in the significance of neighbourhood cultures. He literally reversed such an equation with his belief that dissatisfaction with events on a broader geographic and social scale could be ameliorated to some extent by attempts to shape locality.

'*you can't just moan about the way that life is going and not do anything about it yourself….[we're] all through history, always teetering on the edge of total societal collapse and we never quite seem to get there. But, it's sensible to, if you think something is wrong, to try do something about it, try and address the problems that you see in a small, small way…"think globally and act locally"…not new as you doubtless know, very old, older than me that one*' (Duncan).

The location of these types of values and rewards within local voluntarism at Tincombe, suggests such local associations act as key spaces of local collective identification. For these actives such NSMs appeared to offer significant ontological rewards through active forms of investment in locality.

6.2.2 *Actives' mobilisation of symbolic resources of collective identification*
Tincombe's actives not only felt such spaces of collective identification to be accessible and significant to them. They also actively participated in constructing and mobilising socio-spatial symbolic interpretations of locality within such spaces that consolidated their sense of local belonging. In this section, first, actives' collective identification with particular cultures of locality are further explored and second, the use of such resources in creating the boundaries of collective identity are examined. Both processes connected to each other and taking place in relation to perceived threats of modern change.

<u>Collective identification with and through cultures of locality</u>
For some the strength of Tincombe's spaces of local collective identification formed a central symbolic ingredient of their interpretations of locality. Some sense of the broad and hazy symbolic nature of such ideas can be found in the quote below, where a local resident portrays the village of Tincombe *as collectively* liking its residents to participate in local voluntarism. Though he originates from a city, Richard understood this to offer continuities with how village life '*used to be*'.

'*It* [Tincombe] *will probably finish up the same as* [the adjacent village], *which has no identity at all…You get the various satellites of a big town, like Truro, but eventually the small, little satellites grow and grow and grow, until they merge, which urban sprawl I can see happening…I would hate that to happen…*[later]…*The village appears to me…Um, it seems to like to do things and some people will join in and others won't, but um, it's as, it's village life as I think village life used to be, years ago…I think that's the only thing I can explain, its difficult to explain something like that, it really is…And I think it would be very, very sad if we lost this identity*'

(Richard).

Such statements suggested that, as at Camdown, Tincombe's collective identity was understood by actives as resistant to change. Collective relations felt to Richard stable and continuous, familiar and traditional, despite contrasting evidence of significant local socio-spatial transformation. For Richard communality was at present proving impervious to late modernity through his idea that it belonged to the sphere of 'doing things' and people '*joining in*'. It could be maintained through local residents opting into its values. The notion that the village's preferred collective '*life*' was accessible as a process or activity that can be joined, or not, actually appears to describe its very modernity, as what appear to be under discussion are local NSMs or new sociations as spaces of collective identification. Subscribing to, and participating within, such notions of 'community' appear to have allowed in-migrants, such as Richard, to experience seemingly unproblematic inclusion within spaces of local collective identification, though for previous residents their exact dimensions are likely to have been significantly different.

Richard's entwining of space and society in his description of Tincombe's identity and threats to it, suggest an imagined geography of the village. Richard was aware that he alluded to a sequence of ideas connecting notions of physical and social development that he could not fully articulate in the confines of the interview situation. A conflation of place and people are discernable in his feeling that '*the village*' '*seems to like to do things*'. He was probably referring to a social mass bound into collectively by locality, but it sounds as if he describes an individual material place in possession of its own logic. It may be his imagined geography of locality and the symbolic substance of local collective identity that he values and fears losing. His view of a locality's character chimes with symbolic themes common to idyllic notions of countryside space, such as a particular type of close-knit communality, cultural stability and affinity with the past.

Others articulated similar geographies of the locality that made socio-spatial connection between Tincombe's rurality and collectivity. Joan, for example, suggested that an adjacent village lost its character though becoming '*engulfed*' by urban sprawl and that this danger was a threat to Tincombe's collective identity.

'the rural aspect of the, you know, self-sufficiency that it has and community. Because you become part of a larger community, you lose that…It's a bit like um, when you're a child…at home, when you're a little…with your family, you know your family… your aunts, uncles, perhaps cousins and then you go out and you become a member [of] *a primary school, and you think "Wow this is big, there are hundreds and thousands of children here!". But gradually you realise, you know, there's not that many children actually, you actually become known to virtually everybody, the head-teacher greets you by name and so on. But then you move and you go to secondary school and from that time on you are not known individually to all the children or the teachers. The only sort of child who is known individually to all the teachers are*

the naughty ones or the very clever ones…And you can sort of swan your way through school and never feel part of it…not really. You can take part in a little bit of it, you can all get together perhaps with the school production or with sport or with music. But not with the whole and in primary school you are, your part of the whole school' (Joan).

Joan connects the physical nature of Tincombe with the character of its spaces for collective identification, suggesting that their rural nature will be lost through material change. Her analogy offers insights into the potential and potent source of belonging that a collective identity, constructed around symbolised cultures of locality, might be. Like a primary school child in their small school, one can be comfortably at home within a rural place and its people: that it offers shared familiarity, security and recognisable and comfortable interaction. By contrast, the spaces and sources of collective identification within villages that have become connected to the urban world through their expansion are compared to the pupil transferring to Secondary School. All of these qualities of local collectivity stand to be lost due to the sheer numbers of children who surround you, so that you may *'never feel a part of it'*: never again perhaps experience a sense of collective identification, but only participate in small elements of isolated sociability.

Perhaps this metaphorical understanding represents Joan's ontological anxieties as disembedding and individualising pressures associated with the progression of late modernity impinge upon local collective identity. Joan's sense of the threat to local, collective 'character' posed by urbanisation can be located in a symbolic re/imbuing of elements of rurality with values of stability and tradition and likewise, aspects of urban development with qualities of modernity and flux.

In her school story she suggests that the only well known or familiar identity at the larger school is the child that misbehaves or achieves highly. This part of the narrative can be turned about and applied to Joan herself. She was a very active force in shaping local collectivity: a parish councillor, MG trustee, member of the local dramatic society and editor of the local newsletter and website amongst other activities. In common with some of the other actives with multiple voluntary roles in local organisations, Joan might be regarded as bearing some similarities with the highly achieving pupil amongst the wider assembly who is one of the few recognisable faces. Her level of activity and recognition within locality might be seen as an achievement of local familiarity in the face of disembedding change. Likewise some of her voluntary activities represent attempts to promote cultures of locality with which she can identify, in the face of such alteration.

<u>Creating the boundaries of collective identity</u>
Appreciation of Tincombe's cultures of locality and sense of collective identity were frequently articulated in contrasts made with other localities and collectivities.

'Well, in the first place I like the rural atmosphere. I don't like being enclosed in a town. So I

really wanted to live in the countryside and that to me, means a village' (Joan).

'I'm not one for certainly big cities, I find Truro enough of a strain, even though I trade from here. I just like peace and quiet really...I like wildlife being around me when I'm at home. I like to, hearing the owl in the winter and the dawn chorus in the Spring. Um, and I would miss that in town' (Duncan).

For trustees the identity of Tincombe as rural was associated with the widely favourable qualities that the literature suggests are regularly allied with the countryside: a certain type of social and physical ambience, tranquillity and closeness to the natural world. However, appreciation of locality did not tend to emerge in elegiac descriptions of its physical beauty or individual material features. Most often, esteem of local space and society emerged in stories of what it was not: in contrasts drawn between the village and other places. Thus for Duncan and Joan, Tincombe's merit is that it is *not* a City or town. Likewise the sense that there existed a stable and active rural communality was most keenly mobilised through the drawing of contrasts with other settlements. It was often in terms of this perceived social uniqueness that the personality of rural place was most cherished. One recurrent articulation of this was the impression that the rural scale of Tincombe profoundly influenced the character of its communality. This sometimes emerged in ideas that the village was of the 'right' size for a sense of collectivity to be viable.

'I didn't want to live in a tiny, tiny village with nothing else going on, so Tincombe is the kind of right sized village for me, there's enough of it to be able to do things. You know, to get, to have a drama group for example, which you couldn't do in a tiny, tiny village, there just wouldn't be enough people' (Joan).

'Well I think its a very, very nice place to live…a village that's neither too small nor too big. It's got, um, all the facilities that you need for a village really... it's big enough in population to have enough interesting, like minded people around to eh, to make it a friendly little place to live' (Duncan).

These imagined geographies of locality positioned Tincombe as of the right size with the right sort of material spaces. This rightness was illustrated through frequent contrast with settlements that were the wrong size with inappropriate physical places: with various social and spatial consequences of this unfitness suggested.

*A:
'how would you define 'identity', what does that mean, how can it be lost?*
*R:
…personally as far as I'm concerned Truro is a business area, which I feel has no real identity of its own. It's a shopping area, it's grey, um, the car parking there doesn't encourage you or it doesn't encourage you to actually go in there and when you go in there I feel we are*

overcharged for so many things, where this is a very, very poor area'.

Descriptions of Tincombe's appropriate materiality in contrast to other sorts of place were suggestive of boundary drawing by actives, where the symbolic qualities of the 'rural' were clustered around interpretations of Tincombe and urban symbolisms heaped upon comparative localities. Certain types of change were perceived as potentially threatening the village's symbolic associations with the rural and making the village an unsuitable mass, an out of place sort of space. This sensitivity toward the potential socio-spatial hazards of tipping Tincombe into the urban and an accompanying struggle to preserve and enhance rural characteristics of the village produce concrete struggles for the settlement. Duncan described a conundrum emanating from this precarious balancing act, where threats to the village's cultures of locality originate from the value of their particular characteristics.

'we do tend to draw in a few people from other places who rather fancy retiring to a nice rural village...its very, very hard to see how younger families can afford small houses in Tincombe...the inevitable problem of where do our young people live, why do they have to move away, why can't we provide houses for them?' (Duncan).

Duncan's thoughts indicate the network of tensions surrounding Tincombe's cultures of locality. The village's recently acquired rural character originated in the social and spatial transformations that followed the decline of industry and jobs and that has forced many local residents to move or possibly remain in low paid employment. Yet this rural socio-spatial identity is so desirable that it attracts in-migrants who, by competing with locals for housing, increase these socio-economic strains and therefore exert pressures for expansion. Answering these tensions through the village's growth however, would ultimately threaten its attractive rural status. Although rural symbolic values offered the ability to re-entrench belonging in locality in the face of modernity, their heightened desirability in this context, also brought with it the seeds of their devaluation through compelling transformation. The symbolic content of locality has therefore been understood by actives to require tactical defence, despite the local socio-economic situation, through opportunities to prevent further development of the settlement.

The sense amongst certain actives that Tincombe's cultures of locality were under siege from pressures to urbanise is similar in some ways to that at Camdown. The particular material and psychological concerns of sustaining the areas' rural status' exacerbated the need to draw symbolic boundaries between local identity and inappropriate non-local urbanisation. This emphasising of difference and contrast may have in turn intensified collective identification amongst actives.

6.2.3 The MG as a location for and promotion of collective identity and cultures of locality
The MG project at Tincombe can be explored as a collective space of and repository for, ideas and tactics that reflect a re-entrenchment of symbolically significant cultures of locality. As at Camdown, a motivation for actives in creating the MG was the opportunity to prevent any future

expansion of the village into the site. This defence of space against the threat of development reflected some of trustees' concerns regarding the socio-spatial consequences of growth, *'we now know that providing everything being equal it cannot be built on for nine hundred and ninety nine years which as far as a lot of people in the village think, that's brilliant'* (Richard). Connected with this resistance to encroaching urban spread was the attraction of creating a natural and collective space for particular types of recreational use. Broadly speaking, actives took pleasure in the enhancement of these elements at the MG and in certain types of appreciation of them by the community.

'Uh, we get quite a lot of elderly people up here who will just sit around, quietly, contemplating life, contemplating the scenery and just the tranquil area, which is what it was designed to be…I've got to say that it is tranquil up there, it's very peaceful' (Richard).

'somewhere for the carnival to spill over into and if the eh, we have one of those "Golden Jubilee" celebrations, "things", this summer…it will be out on the Millennium Green because its such an appropriate place to do it. A nice place to gather' (Duncan).

'the young married mothers, you see them up behind the there, with the prams, having a bit of lunch, one of the girls from the 'Happy Shopper' twice a week has her lunch up there with her daughter…her granddaughter and you know, this is a quiet little routine…this Green has only been around about eighteen months, but little routines are developing within the community of people's habitual use of the thing' (Andrew)

These descriptions emphasised particular values for the MG: a place that was natural, tranquil, communal and a space of respite. They also underscored certain types of behaviour seen as particularly appropriate to the space: appreciation of the landscape, quiet contemplation and the pursuit of communality. Actives invested, in this formally agricultural space, rural idyllic symbolic values through various means. This took place conspicuously through for example, the creation of a 'natural' environment at the MG and organisation of specific communal events. It also was communicated more subtly, through the offering of encouragement and legitimacy to certain behaviours at the site. In this manner shaping such a socio-spatial identity for the MG prevented a potential loss of countryside space, so significant to Tincombe's status as rural. It also aided production of a space that offered a concentrated reflection of particular cultures of locality as integral to Tincombe's collective identity. Tincombe's MG opening event, held at the site, can be explored in this context.

*Joan:
'we wanted something typically Cornish, so we decided to have a Cornish Tea Treat, which was absolutely lovely…
*Richard:
We had, we had one hundred and fifty people in the Green, sitting down…
*Andrew:

If you could have had a sepia photograph it could have been one hundred years ago...people and old enemies sitting not too far from each other, you know it was wonderful.
*Joan:
It was really lovely (Focus Group).

Symbolism associated with the rural idyll is here located by actives in the newly made space of the MG. For example, they identified the event as having a cultural and material affinity with the past (it looked or felt like a sepia-toned photograph from *'one hundred years ago'*). They also described a related impression of a robust, rural communality that remains animated, but not overwhelmed, by change (*'old enemies'* sat side by side). Within this particular exchange and other observations above, the MG provides a space or stage upon which events and scenes unfold that are rich repositories of symbols. This event could be read by actives for symbolic versions of locality through which to collectively identify. Such material may provide resources with which to shape a sense of belonging, but additionally was able to position areas of village society and place as spaces of refuge from aspects of modern change. The opening event, for instance, in its rural imagery of close knit and traditional communality in a timeless natural space offered an antidote to ontological concerns regarding a decline in local collectivity and culture.

At Tincombe, actives were clear that not all local residents had regarded the development of the MG as a necessity to the village. Some conflict had arisen over this use of the site, some arguing that it could more productively have been operated as a car-park, adjacent to the primary school and town. Trustees were taken aback that such employment of the site could be deemed logical or appropriate to this space. The discussion surrounding this contesting of the space lends weight to assertions that Trustees were active in shaping the MG to reflect particular cultures of locality and act as a site of collective identification and further, that other members of the community were aware of these constructions.

*Joan:
'those people who in the first place thought that we were a load of idiots have actually come round and have said "how lovely the green is"…certain people who what can you say, certain people who have got plenty of land themselves so they didn't need the space for recreation. Live on the outskirts of the village, and they haven't got to worry about, you know, a nuisance from kids going up and down the road on a skateboard....[Later]...There's one particular person…that has offered to do something…Who was very against it, thought it was totally unnecessary, and has come right round and he's not the only one, there are several people. People who sort of thought "well"…
*Richard:
We're all "twee"'.

The trustees reported that certain residents of Tincombe felt that those promoting and creating the MG were *'twee'* and the MG itself was not needed. Actives identified such sentiments as tending to originate from those who had at their disposal ample resources of rural land at the

outskirts of the settlement. Trustees understood such views to be derived from these residents recreational use of this space and resulting lack of requirement for the MG and ability to award precedence to parking needs. However, when these material facts are coupled with trustees' sense that detractors saw their activities as 'twee' and 'unnecessary', such responses can be interpreted as possessing an additional dimension. To be *twee* can be defined as *'excessively or affectedly quaint, pretty, or sentimental'*[10]. Such a characterisation is a sceptical comment upon actives' drive to construct an idyllic socio-spatial identity for an area of Tincombe village. Residents with ample rural space and symbolic resources themselves would perhaps not desire or require participation within such a collective character for the *village*. Their need for parking opportunities may prioritise the urban characteristics of the settlement over its idyllic possibilities.

6.3 Imagining Young Relationships with the Spaces and Resources of Collective Identification

This section examines how active adults envisaged young peoples' place within and perspective upon, some of the social and spatial aspects of collective social relations: those utilized by actives as central symbolic resources in their constructions of collective identity. It highlights how their ideas of these relationships reflected the priorities of the imagined local geographies in which they were contextualised. First, actives' understandings of young peoples' place within aspects of collective identity is explored.

6.3.1 *The spaces and symbolic resources of collective identification and young people.*
Tincombe's actives held various impressions of young peoples' demographic status. Several of these can be linked to socio-economic issues current in the region concerning lack of local employment and migration in and out of the area. Certain actives, for example, felt the upper age range of the younger generation, tended to move out of the community and some attributed this to the lack of affordable housing. Others felt that there was currently a drift in the age of the population towards the *'grey end'*, as increasing amounts of retirees moved into the village (Duncan). The majority agreed, however, that young people still made up a healthy percentage of the population (See Tables Eight and Ten, p 92).

The amount and kinds of contact that Tincombe's actives had with young people also varied. Actives' observation of and relationships with the younger generation were established through a number of routes including grandchildren, participation in community events, groups and day-to-day transactions in the village.

'*because I belong to the Tincombe Players I meet them* [young people] *through...drama. Because I take my grandson to school I meet his friends. Um and because I go up and speak to his friends, I also see the children who come to Tincombe Players and see them in the*

10

'Twee' - mimicking child's pronunciation of sweet, available at http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/twee, [accessed February 05 2006].

School' (Joan).

In comparison to Camdown, the majority of actives felt that young people evidently occupied various places in local collective relations and environments, both at an organised and less formal level, as above.

'...in this village there is probably something like twenty to twenty-five different organisations which they can join. From the Players, which we go from eight years to eighty...the Horticultural Society where kids can grow things, they can do their drawing,…cooking...there's carnival... you know if they like to dress up in Carnival Queens. Bingo and all the other bits and pieces which they can do and Disco's…there's a lot going on in the village that the kids can join, if they wish. Some do, some don't. You know, as usual in a village like this there's always a few who which are a pain in the whatsit. Um, but you try and talk to them and hopefully they're not so destructive as they could be (Richard)'.

Young people are represented in Richard's portrait of Tincombe's local, organised society as a heterogeneous group, with potentially diverse interests and inclinations toward collective engagement. His description allows for some young people to focus upon accessing certain spaces of local collective identification, whilst others may not. However, some actives' sense of the relative potential for the inclusion of the village's young people in such spaces also appeared to lend comparative clarity to occasions of social and spatial transgression and disengagement, such as Richard describes. While Camdown actives made more generalised descriptions of the social and spatial choices of young people, Tincombe's ranged between the impressionistic and particular. A consistent theme in actives' descriptions of young peoples' relation with local collectivity was the manner in which matters of age and development influenced such issues.

'most of the very young people go to school in Tincombe if they're younger than eleven and uh, I think that makes them feel very tied to the village and they're very aware of the village and certainly with the Players…an awful lot of the very young kids are from the school.…they feel very much part of the village, because that's their school, that's their village hall and um, that's the place they know best and is very much home for them. I think once they get above eleven and go to Richard Lander school or one of the other secondary schools, that is dissipated to some extent ' (Duncan).

Duncan describes 'very young' people's social and spatial worlds as localised and integrated into collective social contexts and spaces, whilst they attend the school and access collective locations such as the village hall or amateur dramatics group. His understanding is that this connection is weakened with the physical movement of young people outside of these local cultures and spaces to the Secondary Schools. It is not only the spatial shift of youth that loosens their social ties with local community but also the corresponding shift in their cultural aspirations.

'I don't think necessarily the connection with Tincombe is as strong, because obviously the lure of the big city erm, comes in then and the sort of fun that you can have, with cinemas and so on, em, is an attraction. And inevitably then you get into the moans about the bad bus service in the evenings' (Duncan).

Here again is a premise that young people are comparatively unavailable to local collective identification due to their focus upon external cultures and spaces. Again this externality is identified with gravitation toward urban desires. Yet in contrast with its presence amongst actives at Camdown, it is arguably described with more intimacy: a mixture of the broad (*'once they get to eleven'*) and the specific (*'certainly with the players'*). Mark described a similar impression of young peoples' connection with, and availability to, local community diminishing with the move to secondary school.

'children at the [primary] *school…they all know each other, they all belong there, you know, they all know each other, put it that way. But for secondary schools most go to* [Main Secondary] *School, a few go to Redruth or Truro...but they tend to go their own way. They* [primary age children] *make their friends in the same village, as people do and so immediately that cohesive group is broken and…their more individual...because there's no other organisations in the village, there's no youth groups in the village, so you tend to have individuals to deal with, I guess…although their are a few in the Players...say twenty maximum'* (Mark).

Mark's understanding, that without institutions aimed specifically at young people, most teenagers become 'individuals', untied from the spaces of collective identification that ensure that primary children *'all belong'* in local social space, is significant. It confirms the understanding amongst actives (also observed at Camdown) that a large part of the business of collective identification is located in more organised, formal social networks. Though it was suggested at times that these were available to young people if they wished, at others it was imagined that few would offer attractive engagement to the younger generation. Without such points of intergenerational contact as the school, young people were perceived as reachable only as individuals rather than as integrated members of a collective identity.

Joan's school based allegory of Tincombe's community possessing fragility related to its size, previously discussed, can be examined in this context. Joan compared a child's experience of moving from the space and social nature of family, then primary and then secondary school, with the loss of collective identification and social intimacy that a village might undergo with physical expansion. From the young child who is familiar with its family members, to the primary aged child (or village resident) who is *'known to virtually everybody, the head-teacher greets you by name'*, to secondary school (or an urban town) where *'you are not known individually…you can sort of swan your way through school and never feel part of it'.* Joan argued that young people do not only change their cultural affiliations from the local when they change school. She also suggested, along with Duncan and Mark, that in entering a new,

larger social world they inevitably loosen their local collective affiliations and their access to the ontological security of communality. If Joan imagined that growth to urban status would signal the loss of rural cultures of locality, and collective identification with these, at Tincombe, then in employing the metaphor of youth she equally identified the secondary school years as the point at which young people lose much of their identification with locality.

The onset of adolescence often signalled for actives a shift in young peoples' cultural affiliation and way of being. From local collective identification to some of the external, abstract and what seemed to be regarded as in some way internal or 'insular' (i.e. youth specific) attachments and behaviours, that were also perceived by actives at Camdown.

*'they're frequently bogged down with homework and as I say, the eh, attractions of the opposite sex…an awful lot of them actually go to college. We lose a lot of our young people like that…we don't find we get many people between the ages of eighteen and mid-twenties.…*later…*The ones who are still here are frequently…are the layabouts, you know, who won't do anything for anybody. And yet, if only you could persuade them to, they would probably be the most useful* (Joan).

'it must be a bit of a strange place to be in that gap between being able to get yourself around…and moaning on at mum and dad to drive you around which of course is inevitably what a lot of kids do…trying to have fun in the village and there's not actually in all honesty, very much for children to do in the village. I suppose that must…a bit of an odd time for them. I think they mainly get out of the village really…all the normal youth culture things really' (Duncan).

In comparison to Camdown, actives' accounts were detailed and individualised in their application of such ideas. Joan, for example, identified a distinctive group of young people, those who do not leave the village, as conspicuously disconnected from collectivity. However there was also, there was a sense of fluidity between actives more particularised notions of the participation of young people in local collective identification and references to broader notions of youths' reorientation toward less local, cultures. Mark distinguished, like Joan, a certain group of *'individuals'* as especially detached from spaces of local collective identification, engaged primarily, with interest in the self.

'There is a group of young people who are patently bored, you know, there is nothing to do, nothing that interests them...probably it's the same everywhere, you get a group who cannot be interested or won't be interested, you could probably organise stuff, but that's not enough. These people are not interested in joining an organisation...And also of course these are the same individuals who haven't got money...so there's nothing free or cheap that's available or isn't a drag. They become the problem ones. (Mark).

The tone of Mark's account suggests that these young people, who are disinterested in

engaging with locality, are making an *active* choice. It is not solely that Tincombe's spaces of collective identification offered little of interest to them, it is that they actively *'won't'* engage and would not be tempted to participate in such situations if you created new social opportunities for their benefit. For Mark, such youth have opted out of local collective identification. He goes further in suggesting that this disengagement results in these young people becoming a social issue for the rest of the community.

This attribution of agency to individual, or groups of, young people in choosing the level of their engagement in local social relations seemed to result in less polarised views of young people than at Camdown. The notion that youth's interest in self negates collective regard and that abstract and extra-local cultures override cultures of locality, did not emerge so strongly. Young people seemed less anchored in binaries where engagement with 'youth culture' was always seen to supersede engagement with locality. However, membership of certain groups of young people and the onset of teenage years appeared to increase the likelihood of the occurrence of such equations for many actives.

<u>Spatial interpretations of young peoples place in spaces of collective identification</u>
These perceptions of young peoples' affiliation with locality had noticeably spatial dimensions at Tincombe. Generally, actives held young people to be visible and frequent users of local collective, material space.

'I think they mainly get out of the village...some of them hang around the village and the pubs are very good nowadays...none of them sell alcohol to underage children, but they will at least, erm, welcome them in, erm, in groups...a lot of them go round from house to house as young children do' (Duncan).

Actives identified young people as making use of several types of local space: both informal and more organised communal places and some specialised youth oriented locations. It was noticeable that many of the sites were public, outdoor locales. Strikingly, actives' descriptions often included young peoples' use of such settings as social places. A consequence of such high visibility can be increased scrutiny of young peoples' social and physical transgressions of (adult) expectations for suitable behaviour, and less focus on appropriate conduct. One active suggested that this was sometimes the case in Tincombe, and others regularly retreated from or tempered their descriptions of young behaviours that might be viewed negatively, indicating awareness of a temptation to focus upon the subject.

'I forget we've got them [majority of young people]*, I don't know what the others* [majority] *do...I mean 'they'* [minority of young people] *just spring to the mind, purely because they're noticed more. There must be, there are hundreds of other kids, generally, who you're able to forget about...So the one or two who make themselves noticed are troublemakers...They're all nice kids. It seems sad that it's these sort of yobbos we're talking about, it's really sad.* (Mark).

Trustees closely associated certain types of spatial activities in public spaces with certain groups of young people and, at times, particular types of attitude toward collective identification. Joan for instance describes a certain 'type' of young person, uninterested in participating in collective endeavours, as tending to inhabit 'street corners'.

'[they] *won't do anything for anybody... A particular type...the youngsters who, I mean we're talking mainly young men, the sort who hang around on street corners...If only they could unbend enough to actually say, you know, they would do something for nothing and not because they've been told they've got to'.*

Use of the 'street corner' by young people was also referred to at Camdown and was sometimes a neutral description of spatial conduct, but at others a signifier of something more unfavourable. At Tincombe occupation of public spaces by certain young people and their use of them for purposes deemed inappropriate were also associated with certain attitudes toward collectivity

'*They skateboard down the road. That's very popular, as ever really. There's a skateboarding park over there but it's more fun on the roads, you can get up more speed. I've no idea, my guess is you can get up more speed and also eh, well "we" don't like it, so it's more fun isn't it?'* (Mark).

These associations of particular public places with particular socio-spatial behaviours and attitudes of young people can be seen as transitory geographies of recalcitrance. The street corner or road for example, is not always a place of transgression but when combined with the presence of particular young people can become expressive of other values. When occupied by such youths, these sites appear for active adults to be less replete with the symbolic values of their cultures of locality. In addition, they become places where young people are themselves sometimes considered actively less representative of, and available to, rural collective identification. It has been argued earlier that actives are attempting to shape and understand local landscapes as symbolic of particular socio-spatial symbolic ideas. When a less influential group, such as young people, change that space it may be experienced by actives as a challenge to their prevailing symbolic culture. Such youths are understood as declining to identify collectively with these cultures. Again, however, actives emphasised that young actors in these socio-spatial events belonged to a minority.

Actives had various understandings of young peoples' spatial presence in the village. Commonly, however, young people were recognised as most likely to frequent space within the village's physical confines in spite of any perceived reorientation away from the locality. Whilst at Camdown actives associated young peoples' imagined disinterest in collective identification with a disengagement with local spaces, Tincombe's young people were understood by several trustees as still requiring something from the village's rural environs. Indeed trustees had, through the consultation processes they had adopted for the MG, come to the conclusion that

young people did not have access to the types of recreational public spaces that they aspired to in the village.

'If I was young in Tincombe I would want various sorts of entertainment. And that's one of the reasons why, the youngsters have been asking for updated play equipment, skateboarding equipment and so on' (Brenda).

Tincombe Projects had replaced playground equipment and created a skateboard park for young people, as a response to what they understood the local spatial desires of the younger generation to be. Duncan, for example, believed that young people must have been thinking along the lines of, *'well why is the play equipment so horrible and the recreation ground. We need something better, we want a, you know, climbing frame and a..." something or other'*. Actives' response to these and other perceptions of young peoples' aspirations for local space will be explored now in the context of the MG Project.

6.4 Young Peoples' Place in Spaces of Collective Identification: the MG

This section explores the way in which actives' understandings of young peoples' relationship to the spaces and resources of collective identification were directly translated into their management of the MG scheme. It examines the manner in which actives' constructions of such relationships influenced young peoples' inclusion and exclusion from the scheme and space it presented for collective identification.

Trustees of Tincombe's MG had directly engaged young people in aspects of its design and construction. All actives suggested that they generally approached involving young people in aspects of the MG's design and construction as members of local community.

'We did, we'd had a bit of a fairly broad…broad based approach to consultation with everyone. Not excluding anyone, but not specifically going with the kids' (Duncan).

[Trustees] *try to involve everybody, rather than "well what we want you to do here"…Because they are, we didn't want to sort of just pick out one particular type of person, we wanted the whole community to be involved…we said that in the stuff that we sent around. We had some teenie weenies to old, old wrinklies'* (Joan).

'either by word of mouth or by [Parish Magazine]*…we always said "we are going to do so and so, this day, anybody want to come and help?" and it was surprising how many did, especially because we had three year olds up to people considerably older than I am and I'm getting on* (Richard).

Tincombe's actives, in this context, perceived young people as free to involve themselves in collective participative involvement if they chose to be and reachable as participants, via the same formal and informal means as adults.

*Alice:

'the young people that attended, where did, how did they know about [it]*..?*

*Richard:

They read it in our [parish] *magazine…*

*Andrew:

…In Tincombe, you know once it starts. Plus the fact that we did the radio.

*Duncan:

As far as I'm aware, it's quite a small village and people…

*Andrew:

You just have to say that its a secret.

*Joan:

And everybody knows….

In this context, young people were described as part of local collective social networks, able to obtain information through both formal methods, but also via informal social webs of communication. In addition, they were understood as having the agency to choose to take up or decline participation in this local collective endeavour. The younger generation were positioned in these reflections as able to influence the creation of a new local, collective space on terms equal to the rest of local community. Duncan was unique in suggesting that young people might find generalised processes of community participation less appropriate than adults.

'it is highly formalised…publicly accountable…all your actions have to be audited, minuted and audited…nothing can happen [clicks fingers]*, just like that …you've got to recommend something and make sure people agree with it and then go ahead and do it…I suppose that would just be a bit of a problem for children, who inevitably are spontaneous, more spontaneous in the way they do things.'* (Duncan).

Actives' impressions of a generalised inclusiveness, constructing young people as relatively integrated within Tincombe's social networks echoed their statements concerning the accessibility of local organisations to young people. They do not, however, reflect their ideas concerning the relative dislocation and social and cultural fragmentation perceived to occur as young people gain in years. On closer reflection, however, some trustees did return to such ideas to explain why some young people might not or had not taken up this opportunity to shape locality.

'we tried to get some of the youth interested, but usually they're more interested in the other sex…They go through that period of being very insular, don't they. And em, not really wanting to, it might not be very 'cool' to be seen to be doing things for the community…a lot of the time, when we see them up there enjoying the Green we've spoken to them and said, you know, "its lovely to see you up here", "do you like it", "is there anything else you'd like to see" and "of

course, do come and get involved". And they all say sort of "ummph" [non-committal sound], they've never actually volunteered, in general, to come and help and work in the Green'. (Joan).

Joan suggested that young people were choosing not to participate in this or other forms of collective action due to an individualised focus upon the development of a self-identity that she understood to characterise 'that period'. A concern for cultures and imagery of the self amongst the young, were seen to prevent their focus upon cultures of locality and collective identification. This understanding, together with other actives' more general reflections concerning young people and collectivity, constructs youth as a time of difference and disconnection from wider constituencies of local space and society. Such perceptions were widespread amongst actives, in the context of the MG as the following quotes reveal:

'it's a general open invitation, of come and have a good time. But my theory would be that [there's] a lack of younger people who would think of it as fun. Thinking of my own two lads um, they wouldn't anyway because they've got better things to do. The people that do the voluntary work [actives], these are old people…our theory, being old…is that youngsters now, they haven't got the time or just don't want to be involved in any voluntary kind of work, none what's so ever…I think it's just age, ages and stages of life' (Mark).

'I know what it's like, I mean with the best will in world, when I was their age I wouldn't do it, I wouldn't do it then. It's more the sort of thing that my parents generation did then and then you sort of had the benefit of it and it's the generational thing really…I would love it to happen' (Duncan).

'to actually get them to sort of take part, it's very difficult and yet we have just recently appointed a new trustee who's a young man who a few years ago wouldn't have been seen dead doing anything, but now he's that little bit older, he's got interested in all sorts of things and he's just become a trustee. We've got to have young people who come and take-over and do things for themselves. And do things for the community, you know, not just be, feel like 'huw' [non-committal, verbal shrug], old people like me do it all for them'. (Joan).

Actives' application of their understandings of young 'difference' follows interesting patterns. In one instance, actives imagined that the structures through which community participation for the MG operated, such as informal social networks, existing local organisations and media, would be accessible to the majority of local residents, despite socio-cultural divides like generation. In another example (albeit within the same context) actives supposed it must be the socio-cultural difference of young people that lead them to abstain from such participation. Ideas about young peoples' cultural separation that were applied by actives more specifically in other contexts, appeared to become less coherent and more inconsistently employed. In constructing their community engagement as successfully inclusive in aim and operation, actives were able to reason that young peoples' lack of engagement was explained by the exclusivity of their

behaviours and attitudes to locality. Older young people were repeatedly imagined not as dissenting from the methods, concept or principles of the MG, but from the cultures of locality that actives wished to re-embed: rural communality and collective citizenship. This interpretation may have influenced the targeting of primary age children through age specific participative methods, whilst the secondary school age group were not similarly engaged.

'one hundred and twenty plus, young people, toddling around the place who need to understand what the Green's all about and that it's there for them…some of them, the very young ones um, [who] *are aware of the Green, probably think its always been there, really…that's quite an interesting thought, to think that you know, another couple of years and they'll be that sort of rising generation who just know that it's the "Village Green"* (Duncan).

<u>Young Participation at Tincombe</u>
Primary school classes were involved by actives in a project where they designed their own MG, undertook planting and were encouraged to use the MG as an educational facility.

'We arranged to buy the wildflowers in, something like eight different species… each child in the school came, they came in little groups and planted a couple. And we're keeping that area a sort of fallow part of the Green and the children will be able to see that "their" wildflowers as it were, are growing up…even though it was an arranged thing it had an easy side to it and the children took to it really well '(Andrew).

Trustees were particularly positive about the participative engagement of the villages very young and the potential results.

'I would put money on the fact that they thoroughly enjoyed that and felt very important. I think it's probably a really wonderful thing to do and that needs to be maintained of course'. (Mark).

I want to continue to involve the school, because primary school children grow up to be teenagers (laughs) and in the hope that we can encourage teenagers as they grow up, you know, to have an interest in the Green and in Wildlife (Joan).

The decision to involve younger children can be partly attributed to the convenience of having the school adjacent to the MG and the head teacher as one of the trustees. Actives had felt less comfortable with the idea of having to forge links with non-local schools, outside of their local connections. Richard, for example, suggested that if the main secondary school had been the one his wife had previously worked for, it would have been *'a different kettle of fish'*, as he knew the staff *'extremely well'*.

As Duncan explained, however, despite the *'serendipity'* of actives' close connections with the Primary school, *'we would have definitely tried to make that contact because there's a great big chunk of Tincombe Youth there'*. This difference in attitude could also originate in how

responsive to particular cultures of locality and collective identification actives considered particular age groups to be.

Yet, as described above, actives *did* engage with teenage young people in two projects that ran in tandem with the MG and arose out of the process of establishing the scheme. Trustees described a local girl's attendance at a Parish Council meeting at which the MG was being discussed and her suggestion that young people would like play equipment and skateboarding facilities and that the MG might act as the location for these.

'At that point, we said "well we don't think its going to be possible to have it on the MG, but tell us more, we'll set up a proper meeting with the young people of the village, to discuss it"...we had a full on well advertised, um, discussion process with the kids, specifically about what they wanted in terms of play equipment and skateboarding equipment mainly...when we came to the second meeting, we made it very clear that it simply wasn't going to happen [at the MG], *but that the two schemes would go along in parallel, side by side and hopefully get completed within twelve months of each another, which in fact they were able to do'* (Duncan).

These projects were quickly established as something separate from the MG scheme: young peoples' spatial aspirations were understood by actives as something that could not be combined with their requirements of the project. Actives took satisfaction in their response to young peoples' stated desires and their creation of a consultative process unique to establishing the younger generations requirements of a youth orientated public space[11].

'it took a long time, but we got there and they've got a first class play area and for a small village, not bad um, skateboard ramp', totally with conjunction with them. We hadn't told them what they needed, they told us what they wanted and we tried to get, for the money that we got, as best equipment as we could get'* (Roy).

It is interesting to examine explanations for the difference in tone and impression between these responses and actives' attitudes toward young people in the context of the MG. Within the circumstances of the play and skateboard parks, actives emphasised the development of collective co-operation and understanding between themselves and younger residents. In terms of the MG, young people were constructed as unlikely to commit to this collective activity and investment. One explanation may lie in the types of public space being established: youth oriented spaces on the one hand and on the other, the collective use envisaged at the MG. This may underlie the difference in actives' attitudes in several respects.

For example, actives may have believed young people were able to engage with collective co-operation over the creation and design of play and skateboard spaces because the outcome

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[11] This included two youth oriented events where young people were invited to put forward their ideas and preferences for the play and skateboard parks and some ongoing informal contact with users through one particular active visiting the sites.

responded to young peoples' specific interests. Tincombe's young people were repeatedly positioned by actives as finding little of attraction in the process of achieving the collective outcome embodied within the MG, and sometimes as requiring personal gain through communal engagement.

'It's the commitment... it wouldn't interest them...I'd love to get some of those lads involved, that hang around on street corners. But...they'd want the earth, you know, we're not talking minimum wage here, we would be talking a lot, to make them sort of say "oh yeah, I'd do that" (Joan).

Actives perhaps saw the prospect of creating a youth specific location in the village as of such benefit to young people that it would be able to motivate the young to become involved in a collective, participative process.

Another interpretation of the variance in expectation, of older young peoples' potential to participate in collective decision making, can be located in the above quote: specifically the types of socio-spatial reference it contains. This explanation also revolves around the culture of the location being created, but revolves around actives' enhanced ability to commit to young peoples' involvement in the creation of a youth orientated space, as opposed to a collective one.

It was notable that young people were seen by actives, as participating within communal spaces, but also as sometimes occupying them and changing their use and status (i.e. Joan's street corner where young men appear to resist collective identification). Such events perhaps alter the perceived imagined geography of the locale, threatening its established socio-spatial vocabulary. Actives may have been more able to engage young people in creating a space particular to the cultural values they associated with youth, rather than involving them in establishing a location of collective symbolic significance: a significance youth were sometimes seen as diminishing through their presence and behaviour. The project of the MG can be seen as a crucible of cultures of locality. Via the creation and function of the MG, certain adults may seek to re/embed, locally, values suggestive of particular socio-spatial identities, systems and spatial practices. The incorporation into this project of the aesthetics and ideals of a group sometimes seen to threaten such cultural content may have been found inappropriate amongst actives.

These tensions can be illustrated through actives' views of young peoples' spatial practices at the MG:

*Andrew:
'as a statement, we've had no vandalism, to be concerned about…one or two incidents of high spirits, but no concerted effort like there have been in neighbouring townships for example, to destroy the benches…the kids themselves, you know…who cares why they're up

there?…sitting, talking.
*Joan:
They're socialising.
*Andrew:
Yes and they're not vandalising.
*Joan:
They hang around at certain, these particular seats that they go to…And the only thing I would wish, [next said in a whisper] *is that they would pick up their cans and…*
*Andrew:
Oh well, miracles take a little longer.
*Joan:
They do. But, they have not been vandalising it, they've just been enjoying it, so that's great. I think we're talking here the youth of the village, rather than the children'.

These accounts represent a precarious attempt to interpret young peoples' presence and behaviours at the site as consistent with the socio-spatial values and corresponding spatial practices that actives understand as appropriate to the MG. There was palpable relief that unlike surrounding villages Tincombe's youth were not altering the space with anti-social acts of vandalism. They were in fact enacting behaviours of 'sitting', 'talking', 'socialising': practices compatible with the village's imagined geography. As such, actives felt young people did not pose a significant threat to the dominant culture of the space as naturally, tranquilly collective, other than through a small amount of littering. However, older young peoples' behaviour at the MG was significantly scrutinized by certain actives and in several instances they divulged a detailed knowledge of youth's practices on site. This was sometimes gained through indirect detection: *'The kids do come in here of an evening…hence the lots of beer cans and that sort of thing… plenty of that evidence round the Green, that it's been well used overnight'* (Richard). In other instances through observation: *'Most summer evenings, when I go up past it, you hear these sort of voices from within eh, obviously kids having a good time'* (Duncan).

There was a tangible sense of strain in some actives' desire for young people to make use of the site as integrated members of the rural collective identity they so valued and the need to ensure that such use corresponded with the cultures of locality they understood were reproduced by the MG.

'they're [young people] *using the Green how I feel people should, informal recreation, um and it's great we're getting known, that the Greens here. Us, eh, other people who look after it are not going to have a go at them, whereas when I was growing up um, the parks and things around London used to be rigidly looked after by the Park Keeper with his brown leather hat, who was a complete and utter little Hitler to us youngsters, we're now encouraging…If I'm there I will always make a point of speaking to people. If they don't want to speak, you know, you can usually sense and you just carry on with what your doing, but it's important, it's important for people when they're coming in to the Green to know A. what the Green represents and B. what*

they can do. And basically they can do anything as long as they don't do any damage as far as I'm concerned and encourage people to go in, you know. When the youngsters go up there, okay. When they were carving up one of the seats, I'm sorry but I'm going to have a go…it's only happened once' (Richard).

Richard asserts his need for young people to refrain from altering the space in several ways. He asks that they do not damage its physical aspect, but also that they do not resist collective identification within its boundaries: he wants them to respond to the culture of the space in a manner that allows and encourages fellow residents to engage with it. Certain trustees expressed a similar desire that young peoples' spatial practices at the MG be influenced by the natural and communal values it represented.

'a place where we can actually encourage, especially I think the young people, to just go and lie around in the sun. Um, wake up and smell the grass and eh, that's what it's all about really. So they've got somewhere that's very pleasant to go and it's as much theirs as anyone else's, nobody's going to tell them to "clear off out of it" and they can just be there, with their chums, have a chat, have some fun and it can be a place that is set aside for that. It's not a sort of muddy bit by the side of a football pitch or um, a smelly old bus shelter, something like that, it's a reasonably pleasant place that is definitely better than that for them. Not somewhere where they go by default' (Duncan).

Duncan recognises a tendency for young people in the village to inhabit its marginal, poor quality spaces. He indicates that the MG can act as a place where they can be brought back into the centre of collective, social space rather than excluded from it. The types of spatial practice he envisages for them at the MG are, however, again quite clearly specified as those of the natural, communal, tranquil place of respite.

Though Tincombe's actives suggested on several occasions that they would enjoy older young peoples' use of the MG, this enjoyment was situated within fairly prescribed requirements for ways of being in and appreciating the MG. Young peoples' ability to challenge such clearly defined cultures of using the MG through their spatial practice, combined with their perceived disinterest, made them doubtful participants in its design and creation. Again, it might have appeared contrary to take special steps to invite input from individuals whose perceived cultures of locality potentially put them at variance with the objectives of the project. Actives at Tincombe struggled with a general desire to, on the one hand understand young people and acknowledge their individual agency and, on the other hand the need, in the case of the MG, to construct youth as outside cultures of locality in order to avoid their influence within them.

6.5 Young People, Geographies of Collective Identity and the Millennium Green

In this section, young peoples' understanding of the MG project and their role and place within it are explored as a vehicle for examining their sense of local collective identification and relationship with the spaces of local collective identity. The influence of actives' actions towards, and perceptions of, the young upon young peoples' understanding of themselves, and their community, are given particular attention.

Some of the primary school age group at Tincombe's Millennium Green interviewed for this research had been involved in the MG project. Others had attended the creation of the pond on the MG. A number of the secondary school age group had no formal involvement with the MG but had taken part in the consultation for the Skateboard Park and renewal of playground equipment. Young peoples' responses to their community and local space are divided into these age groups and contrasted on this basis.

<u>Primary Pupils</u>

Tincombe's younger children varied in their perceptions of where the need for a local MG originated. Of primary age, several suggested that it was most likely to have emerged from the desires of the wider community, others that it was the province of some local authority. Some felt it was something related to the desires of an older generation and certain young people closely associated its creation with a particularly visible trustee, Joan Mead.

*L2:
'I think it was because they, bit of a mix…the older adults wanted somewhere to rest in the summer.
*L1:
Um and I think it was because they [older people] *wanted something in Tincombe because it's quite a small village and there's not much there, just something a bit more special in it…*
*L2:
The villagers [wanted it] *really'.*

Many of these young people understood that whatever its origin, the MG was part of a benevolent, local impulse toward meeting collective aspirations. The creation of the MG was typically considered as stimulated from their village's requirements, although the exact nature of this need was generally unclear.

Young peoples' memories of their involvement in MG consultation and creation suggested that a number had, to varying degrees, felt included in these processes though memories were again sometimes unclear. So for example, when asked if they had been involved in the MG many recalled the wildflower bulb planting activity that they remembered for being *'fun '*(*K1), *'good…because we got our hands all messy'* (K3), and making them feel *'happy'* (N1). Others recalled the main participatory activity organised by trustees at the Primary School, where ideas

for the MG were modelled in 3-D.

What was significant about young peoples' recollections of this project was that almost none of them felt that any of their ideas had actually been incorporated at the MG. Various explanations were offered to explain this. Some conjectured that their designs were not included because it was likely to be an imaginary exercise or that the scale of their wishes could not be incorporated at the MG. A striking aspect of these perceptions of consultative outcomes is the how young people chose to understand this lack of implementation. When participants offered a rationalisation of events they tended to suggest that they represented issues with the nature of the consultative exercise or MG Scheme itself, rather than corresponding with a rejection of young peoples' ideas or young identities, as inappropriate to the agenda of trustees.

*L1:
'No we didn't end up with anything changed…I think it would have been a bit too much money really, like levelling out the ground and the equipment...
*L2:
And um, I think it was just like, if you, if you wanted to build it, more than asking them to put it in'.

This can be contrasted with the manner in which some of Camdown's young people understood their exclusion from the project. For many of that village's younger generation, their lack of involvement was interpreted as representative of actives' tactical use of the MG in relation to particular cultures of locality. It was further believed that this took place in a context where actives' constructions of young people caused them to understand that difference between generational social and spatial agendas was inevitable.

The two situations cannot be made into a definitive comparison as each context influencing young peoples' perception of their involvement in the MG was slightly different. However, with relatively little formal involvement the primary school children in Tincombe were less likely to immediately interpret a lack of response to their ideas in terms of their social or spatial inappropriateness or diminutive status.

Secondary Pupils
Older young people in Tincombe, by contrast with the youngest, commented little upon the origins of the local MG scheme: its progression and process of creation. Recollections of these developments were largely confined to respondents who had recently made the transition from the primary school to secondary school.

*S1:
'when we went to Tincombe [Primary School] *they used to do loads about it…class three used to always go out there, because I remember my brother going.*
*S2:

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…I saw, they had like at Tincombe [Primary School]*…suspended posters and they drew what the village hall was going to be like…they built the Millennium Green…We* [older primary pupils] *were asked about the park I think'.*

Older young people spoke mainly of their experience of involvement in the projects to renew the park and create a skateboarding area that actives ran concurrently with the MG scheme. Their attention had been focused upon their participation within these separate ventures, to the exclusion of engagement with events at the MG. As at Camdown, Tincombe's older youth explained their absence within this potential space of collective identification in terms of actives' attitudes toward themselves.

*V3:
they [adults] *get asked to do it* [participate at the MG]…
*V6:
They get more trusted.
*V2:
Yeah, [actives] *trust them more and feel that they can be more committed, maybe…*
*V5:
[Actives think] *They'll turn up every time, because they might think that children don't.*
*V6:
…And they might think that children will be coming up with silly ideas.
*V3:
…And like [think adults] *stay sensible when they're doing it, as well.*
*V5:
Yeah, and [young people are] *a bit slap-dash…*
*V3:
Because they think that we're rebels, [laughs]…
*V5:
Some people don't trust children….

Again as at Camdown, older young people construed their lack of involvement in the MG project a result of actives' general conceptions of themselves and their practices. They imagined they were not asked to participate due to actives' anticipation of a likely failure amongst young people to engage with and take seriously a collective determination of locality. They conjectured that their identities might be dismissed as inappropriate to such a forum and described themselves perceived as 'rebels' within this collective context. Young people understood actives to construct them as outsider figures, as identities located at the margins of collective activity whose inclusion threatened its stability. Young peoples' perceptions of youths' outsider status amongst actives in the MG context, were drawn from their wider understanding of adult attitudes toward difference in the young community.

*A:

'why would they [actives] *think of you in that way?*

*V2:

Because there's other children that do stuff like that.

*V3:

…there's other people that wreck it for us [Sounds of general agreement].

*V4:

Yeah, and then when they [actives] *see people doing it they think everybody's like that.*

*V3:

But, I think that's a bit ignorant [laughs]. *Getting bitchy now!*

Young peoples' understandings of their status amongst actives contained elements that did echo some trustee observations. Certain actives did imagine that young people were unlikely to be 'committed' to collective endeavour. Likewise, some trustees did admit that their view of young people had been influenced by the highly visible and undesirable activities of a minority, whose behaviours were at times considered deliberately provocative. Certainly, some of the young people interviewed felt that they were being rejected from this space of collective identification through such adult constructions. However, they challenged actives' image of themselves, reclaiming an identity as legitimate shapers of the local society and space that would also accommodate their future adult selves.

*T4:

'we can help them do everything, but they just don't want us!…They're a bit scared of us I 'reckon, because they think we're really troublesome, but we're not.

*T2:

Yeah they see you, it's like all teenagers are [troublesome]*, instead of a couple of them are.*

*T4:

Yeah and on the committee it's like all these old people, but actually we're the next generation.

*T3:

…they don't know what we wanted.

*T1:

We're the next generation of the carnival committee!

*T3:

They're a bit snobby...

*T4:

Yeah, they don't really want us.

*T1:

Because we're cool and they're not'.

Actives description as 'snobby' suggests that they were sometimes socially exclusive in their attitude towards young people, positioning themselves as collectively superior to the village's teenagers. Equally, it could be interpreted as a tendency to *'patronise, rebuff or ignore[12]'* those

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[12]'snobby' , available at http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/snobby [accessed: October, 01, 2006].

considered socially inferior. Young people asserted an alternative conception of themselves by describing themselves as 'cool', and as part of a culture to which actives have little access. In so doing they produced their own form of social exclusivity. Young people suggested that the exclusive attitude of trustees had led them to actively exclude other groups within the community.

'*T4:

'everyone's probably got ideas and not just the older...they haven't even like, put a like, petition together saying …Like putting one up on the door and saying "what would you like?"…they've just done it for themselves. It's like we had no information about whether to go to any meetings or anything.
A:
…they put things in that [parish newsletter] *and that's why I asked you if you'd look at it...*
*T4:
Oh, like that's gonna help!
*T2:
…a little tiny thing in the [parish magazine] *saying, "come to a meeting".*
*T3:
Well, when we had the…Fair, to raise money for the skate park, like a lot of people went to that, so that's loads of kids all having stalls and stuff.
*T4:
Yeah, that was quite good. Like, posters and letters through people's doors. Like, get people to go… actually motivate them to go…so they don't [say] "oh I can't be bothered to go"…Tell people!
*T3:
Did something exciting.
*T2:
Yeah and…actually put that "we would get a say", because I think most people think "oh well, we can't go [to MG participative events] 'cos we're not going to be welcome"…'

These young people suggested that actives had tactically failed to encourage wider participation and that this exclusivity belonged to the agenda of the MG as opposed to the other concurrent projects. This sense of contradictory attitudes amongst adults emerged from young peoples' experience of variable inclusion and exclusion from spaces of collective identification and co-operation. Some found that although their identities belonged to certain social and spatial agendas, others were held quite separate from them.

One particular trustee, Joan Mead, was clearly associated by the majority of primary and secondary aged pupils with the MG project. For some older young people she appeared to embody the contradictions of their involvement in local collectivity: she had engaged them in some types of spatial and social change and yet appeared to have retained control over the nature of their influence.

*V2:

'Ahh, Joan Mead.

*V's all:

[Laugh].

*V3:

…she's like one of the people on the committee or whatever. Joan Mead like, she's a bit snobby and she's...

*V4:

Joan's not snobby. [They continue to insult her and laugh]…*everyone blames it on Joan, but I don't actually think it's her fault* [general laughter]…*she tries her best. She has done so much for our village…if it wasn't for her we wouldn't have anything.*

*V1:

Yeah. Because she does do a lot, she thinks of other people like kids.

*V4:

Yeah! [Laughs].

*V1:

"The younger generation" [said in pompous voice]'.

Young people interpreted Joan's vacillation, between engaging with young people yet at the same time excluding them from certain areas and aspects of collective identification, within their construct of 'snobby' adult exclusivity. Joan was the subject of both admiration and ridicule. Whilst young people appreciated her extensive influence for local change, they resented that in certain circumstances, what appeared to be, pursuit of her exclusive agenda precluded or limited their involvement.

*T3:

'They [actives] *asked us about the skate ramp, but we told them and then they just did what they wanted to. Loads of skaters like, went on the net and got designs for ramps and all and they just didn't take any notice of it…it was about three years ago, they like asked us what we wanted and then…they just like built like, one ramp.*

*T4:

…it's better than nothing.

*T2:

Yeah…And it gives like, the old ones something to do…

*T2:

I don't think they had enough money to do like...

*T4:

…and also, they did want to do, like their own thing kind of thing didn't they?

*T3:

"Joan Mead" [quoted like a brand name].

*T1:

"Asked them once, get on with it" [impersonation of Joan]!'

Joan's high visibility within these projects resulted in her becoming the target of some of young peopless frustration at their perceived lack of influence over adult cultures of locality. This had culminated in young people etching their frustration with Joan upon a bench at the MG. Trustees were extremely reticent in mentioning this graffiti, which had caricatured and criticised Joan, referring to it obliquely. The choice of the MG, a statement of the cultures of locality that actives positioned at the core of local collective identity and from which young people seemed to feel most actively excluded, as the object of this comment and perhaps redefinition of said cultures, was significant in itself.

6.6 The Spatialisation of Young Peoples' Place Within Local Collective Identity and Identification.

This section explores young peopless experience of the spatial dimensions and expression of their place within local collective identity and identification. These dimensions can be explored through young peoples' mental mapping of locality

<u>Primary pupils interpretations of the symbolic resources and boundaries of local collectivity</u>
Primary aged children were largely pragmatic and content with their engagement in the MG and this sense of relative comfort was reflected in primary pupils' view of their relationship with locality.

*K1:
'Um, it's just like really, it's just so fun because I live really close to the school and the park and every place where you can play and I can go...
*K2:
It's really fun...and you can go wherever you like because it's quite a small village. So you don't, you don't get lost because it's really small and you know where you are all the time…
*K1:
…I go to Brownies and so, so um I go to the shops to get my magazine and some sweets every so often and um, I, after school I sometimes go down to the park…
*K2:
…I find it quite fun because um, my mum would let me walk up to the playing area then and I could see Sarah and Jack, and then that would be fun because I'd be with my friends'.

*A:
'what's the nice thing about living somewhere like this? [pause for answer] *I mean how about if you're living somewhere else like Redruth or somewhere like that, how would you feel about that?*
*O2:
It's a bit big.
*O1:

It's a lot bigger.
*O3:

It's so crowded…Where I live…it's really nice…there's no road going through the countryside so like you've got the countryside and I've got horses out there, so I feel quite peaceful and it is very pretty because there's only like, there's only four houses going along on road…so its not like really busy.
*O2:

'Tincombe, it's very friendly. You know most of the people because like, there's the Churches, we've got two Churches and the village hall and you meet people at school, so we know lots of people, yeah'.

Themes familiar to trustees emerged concerning the shape and culture of locality, where the rurality of Tincombe was understood to influence its social characteristics. These young people were appreciative of the familiarity and tranquillity of the local social scene in comparison with a relatively urban settlement that was understood as 'big' and 'crowded'. These contrasts in the values located in neighbourhood were a recurrent theme within this age group.

*'it [*Redruth] *would be too busy. I don't like big cities or anything, um, like my mum said, I would like, I wouldn't mind just living in a caravan in the countryside'* (K2).

*N3:
'I like it [in Tincombe], *there* [Redruth] *it's just like houses and houses just chucked anywhere and garages and cars...*[In Tincombe] *there's not much traffic around.*
*N1:

…I wouldn't like to live in Redruth, I must admit…it's just all the traffic and if you live like in a main road, at night loads of people would come all drunk from the bars and things…there's all the street lights around you, but there's not in where [I live]*, it stops for some reason'.*

Larger conurbations were associated with physical difference but also, for some, with the possibility of unfamiliar and unrestrained identities. Many of these primary aged children were relatively content with their situation in collective space and culture, moving within well-known places and communal networks and further, appeared to feel a degree of distrust in the landscapes and cultures of larger settlements. This sense of comparative security was reflected within some children's fears that participation in Tincombe's usually secure collectivity might be threatened by individuals bringing inappropriate conduct to the villages social spaces. Young people mentioned various fears of 'stranger danger', so for example, some felt *'you've got to be careful because there's this man…in a white van around'* (M1), others were wary of *'gypsies…hanging out…and taking like, those little needles around'* (M3) and some of particular locations in darkness because of abduction worries (N1). The known locality also sometimes brought challenging negotiations of social and cultural difference, such as *'some people on the estate'* who *'are a bit loony'* (O2) and the behaviours of groups of teenagers. Both the location of unfamiliar sources of environmental and social discomfort and home-grown anxieties were

recorded in children's minds.

*N3:

We all go home…just before tea and it gets dark, we go normally…for a cycle ride and up this really big hill, then you come down it and you fly through the air because you hit loads of rocks.
*N1:

…I don't normally go down there because a few months ago um, one of our friends, that lives there, nearly got kidnapped.

Local fears seemed particularly embedded in locality: specific, potentially avoidable, shared spaces and associated types of people.

*O1:

'They [teenagers]*…on the skateboard park they, they put a filing cabinet.*
*O2:

Yeah, they took out the drawers and put the filing cabinet in the skateboard park and they put, they smash glasses.
*O3:

And they smoke, yeah.
*O3:

Yeah they smashed the telephone box and they smash glasses as well'.

These mappings of the spatial location of various freedoms and constraints upon young people can be understood as a way of appreciating place in terms of its social possibilities. Such mapping can be examined as part of a tendency amongst the young to internalise an interpretation of the material world through charting its social and cultural opportunities and restrictions. This might be conceived of as a personal geography of locality. Primary pupils combined understandings of their position in local society with their experiences of, and the culture of, its inhabitants and places. A brief exploration of some of these geographies suggests that some of its younger members' understanding and embedding in locality allowed them to create maps to protect their ontological and physical security. Tincombe's cultures of locality were regularly interpreted as providing familiar, small-scaled physical and social environments in which both known and unknown anxieties might be negotiated and at this stage in their lives offered symbolic and material resources with which to realise a sense of inclusion and secure social identity.

Secondary Pupils interpretations of the symbolic resources and boundaries of local collectivity
Older young peoples' appreciation of their position within the social and spatial environment can similarly be explored in terms of personal, socio-spatial maps of locality, where place is experienced and understood through its social and cultural significance and one's sense of inclusion and exclusion recorded.

*A:

'So if I was to ask you the sort of best thing about living in Tincombe, what would it be?

*S1:

Um, I think knowing people is really nice, because it's...

*S2:

…you don't live too far away from your friends.

*S1:

…it's nice 'cos you can, like if something happened or, like, you can just go and see, I'm quite, my family know my next door neighbours quite well and they've said that it's fine if like we have a problem we can like, go round or something. Just 'cos I sometimes, I'm at home on my own, 'cos my mums working or something...I don't worry because um, I know I can go next door.

*S2:

…there's like, people who you can just, they know you just from like walking around or from school plays or anything, but then you kind of chat to them, if you see what I mean'.

For these teenagers, much like the younger children, their embeddedness in Tincombe's culture and space was a source of security.

*V2:

'[Tincombe's] Quite nice actually.

*V1:

There's lots of things to do and there's quite a few friendly people...

*V2:

…Smiley people.

*V3:

Yeah, they're not, like, horrible and like it's not a rough place...

*V1:

Ignorant people and that.

*V4 (M):

Tincombe's got that 'villagey' feeling about it.

*V's all:

[Laughter].

*V3:

Everyone says 'hello' when they pass each other.

*V4:

…I don't know, like, if you compare Tincombe to [adjacent village] or something, like Tincombe's like got something about it, than [adjacent village] has...

*V1:

[The adjacent village is] *like a bigger place though isn't it...*

*V2:

But like, we've just got a little village so like, like everyone knows each other'.

Some of these older young people discerned connections between Tincombe's physical qualities and the character of its collective relations. That it possessed a 'villagey' quality suggested a way of describing this equation, a balance where rural dimensions indicate a particular type of collectivity (as compared to a nearby semi-urban settlement). This understanding of Tincombe's cultures of locality was similar to that of both younger and older residents. There were striking congruities between the ingredients and relationships that all age groups appeared to feel were significant aspects of its collective identity. Some of each generation were particularly conscious of the boundaries and margins of this identity or 'villagey'ness, in this case unfavourable comparisons being made with the adjacent village.

In addition, as did trustees and primary pupils, some older young people were able to identify particular public open spaces that sometimes became the location of inappropriate socio-spatial events, challenging dominant cultures of locality.

*T3:

'Yeah, a lot of times, like up a skate ramp, loads of like all the [older] teenagers like smoking...a lot of them aren't from Tincombe that go there.

*T4:

And there's a few people that aren't that nice, up there.

*T3:

…There are a few naughty kids in Tincombe.

*Ts all:

General agreement.

*T1:

They all live in the Council Estate…'

These young people affirmed their affinity with Tincombe's cultures of locality by suggesting that inappropriate spatial and social relations and events often originated from other communities or 'other' social and spatial locations (the Council Estate). This kind of evidence suggested that these teenagers were able to read and conform to the socio-spatial identity and spatial systems and practices of the village, if required. In certain circumstances, however, young people located themselves at the periphery of appropriate belonging and indicated the fluidity of the boundaries of collective belonging.

*T1:

'…the new village hall there [adjacent to the MG]...

*T4:

It's very posh.

*T2:

Yeah, it's very posh…It's the posh side of the village.

*T4:

Yeah, and then there's a rough side which is where we go!'

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In this example, young people utilise a language that characterised their discussions of the village's cultures of locality and spaces of collective identification. Young peoples' role in these areas was often described in a vocabulary emphasising socio-cultural division: so that there are *'snobby'* attitudes and *'posh'* places, *'rough'* spaces and *'troublesome'* behaviours. Although these young people did not perceive the village as a *'rough'* place, in this instance they located themselves as residing within the *'rough side'* of the settlement. It was also suggested that actives were 'snobby' and it is striking that some of the villages newly constructed spaces of collective identification, such as the MG or village hall, occupy the 'posh' environs of the village in which young people claimed to spend little time. This spatialised construction and reproduction of generational difference is now explored further in the specific context of the MG.

6.7 The MG as a Location for and Promotion of, Cultures of Locality

This section explores young peoples' perceptions of the space of the Millennium Green as a site of collective identification and identity and its relationship to cultures of locality, in order to examine the relationship between actives' management of the scheme and young peoples' perceptions of such matters.

Young people of all ages were broadly supportive of the concept of the MG as a new space within their village. Indeed in some instances they responded to the MG more as a cultural presence than as a physical place: using it relatively little for example, but feeling its existence to be significant and agreeable.

*N2:

'I think it's [the MG] *brilliant.*

*N3:

…We went down there and planted some plants…when it was opened they had a firework display and that was really good.

…[later…

*A:

When do you go there?

*N3:

I've only been there once, because my mum can't get in, it's too jammed.

*N1:

If I'm lucky and if the cars right down in the car park I just like, run round'.

Positive reactions to the MG were often couched in relation to its wider context as a part of Tincombe's recent period of volunteer driven socio-spatial change. The MG was sometimes appreciated not as a material site for young recreation but as part of wider rearrangements of local space. Its influence within the village's cultures of locality arguably had a more significant effect upon some young people than its material influence[13].

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[13]An element of this enthusiasm was possibly interviewer effect. Young people were asked to focus upon

*O2:

'*I think we did need it* [the MG] *because we needed more of a public area.*

*O3:

…it was done before the um, park and when…we just had that old park, I thought Tincombe was really boring…really, really boring. So it's like now they've done it all and its really good…

*A:

How would it have been if you'd just had the Millennium Green and you hadn't had the um, park and the skating area?

*O3:

I think it would still have been a bit, sort of a bit boring…

*O2:

We've got a new village hall and that's been built again…

*O1:

Month's ago…it makes us feel more modern, 'cos all the other stuff was all old stuff'.

For some young people the influence of these new 'modern' cultures of locality had consequences for the manner in which they constituted themselves (*'it makes us feel more modern'*), in relation to them.

When young people did not make more use of the site, this was not fully explained by a lack of spatial freedoms or paucity of enthusiasm for open, collective public spaces. So for example, the interviewees variously spoke of regularly visiting local shops, cycling and walking in the area, visiting streams, beaches and using the park.

*L1:

'*Sometimes I go up to the park which is opposite Safeway's or I go along to this lane… but mainly just up and down my road and in my Garden.*

*L3:

I play in one of the fields and stuff, near me, but sometimes I come down to the skate park and things.

*L1:

…it's [the MG] *got a nice place to like, sit in the summer...*

*L2:

Quiet. It's [the MG] *more quiet.*

*L1:

It's quite peaceful, in the summer when you can just go and be left on your own there. It's not really a place to 'play', it's just somewhere to just sit and not make loads of noise really'.

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describing and discussing a specific experience and so possibly gave it heightened significance, in contrast to their everyday attitude toward it, to please the interviewer. However, its repetition as a sentiment was too widespread to be explained by this phenomenon alone.

This exchange describes qualities the MG possessed that made it less likely to be a location for their recreation: that distinguish it from *'play'* space. It is described as *'peaceful'*, a place for more solitary reflection undisturbed by noisy activities. Younger children repeatedly suggested a connection between the way in which they valued its landscape and the way in which they behaved there.

*N3:
*'…you can just walk around it and...
*N1:
*You can just like sunbathe and things…
*N3:
*…sit and watch all the animals.
*N2:
*You can have picnics and it's a bit more for relaxing, down there I think'.

*O1:
*'You're not really allowed to ride your bike around and your not allowed to like, I don't know, make a mess and stuff, but you allowed to have...
*O2:
*Have a picnic…I go, I go quite a bit and we go and have like picnics or you know um, read a book.
*O1:
*Or sunbathe and your just with like, the peace and quiet, it's out of the village 'cos there's like horns beeping and everyone's shouting like 'get out of the way'! And you just go in and bird watch or something'.

'Um, there's loads of benches in there and it's really fun because um, me and my friends actually go in there, even though it's for, for things like walking round, we go and play in there as long as we don't make it messy and everything. So its quite fun to play in, but your just not allowed to really get it messy' (K2).

These young people appreciated and enjoyed the primacy of the MG's rural and natural aesthetic, but were also substantially influenced in their spatial practices by this socio-spatial identity. Many young people understood that the space was governed by rules they associated with its spatial and cultural character. This response indicated the extent of actives' inscription of certain socio-spatial priorities into the backcloth of a field that become the MG. So for example, trustees' creation of an environment of rural tranquillity, collectivity and aesthetic stability, was commonly understood by young people in terms of a culture of quiet, reflective, physically restrained, tidy conduct: a cultivated participation in shared space. Teenage young people also located such values in the MG in their use of it for recreation.

*T1:

'The Millennium Green is like a cool place to get away from the park and...

*T2:

Yeah we eat our chips up there.

*T4:

Yeah, like if there's anyone there [the park] *who you don't like then you can go to the Millennium Green.*

*T3:

Yeah, we play bike races round the paths, sometimes.

*T's all:

[Laughter]

*T2:

You probably don't want to say that!…

*T3:

We just sit on the benches and stuff.

*T1:

And just chat about [pause] *life.*

*T4:

…it's social…

*T2:

And there's not usually that many people around, so you sort of talk and eat.

*T4:

…yeah, I do feel that I have to "behave" in there'.

In the example above, young peoples' attitudes toward the MG were ambivalent. Some appreciated the way in which its socio-spatial cultures seemed to compel certain types of behaviour and encourage participation in a certain type of collective social experience (discussing *'life'*, away from the busier society of the park). However, this culture of demeanour was also found to constrain social and spatial practices (having to *'behave'*) and create inappropriateness *(bike racing!).* These exchanges suggested that young people had, fairly soon after its inception, mapped a cultural content to the MG *and* their position in relation to it. On occasions it appeared inclusive of them and some of their aspirations, on others it proved incompatible and excluding.

The MG's postion within young peoples' framing of space and its cultural dimensions in terms of socio-cultural division, it's 'poshness' or 'roughness' for example, had also been quickly established.

*T4:

'…It's like, quite scary because if there's other people up there [MG]*, um you have to sort of...*

*T1:

'Play'.

*T4:

Be quiet, yeah, you can't like, muck around...
*T4:
Well that's why like on the 'recreational ground', it's alright 'cos we can just muck around up there.
*T2:
...there's so many different things to do up there, like compared with the Green...
*T3:
Yeah, we muck around like, the skaters go. It's quite popular...
*T1:
Yeah. But in the Melly G [MG]*, we're restricted in what we can do...*
*T2:
It's the posh side of the village.
*T4:
Yeah, and then there's a rough side which is where we go!...Well, to a certain degree. We don't usually go there [MG] *because you have to behave there and like, well you don't have to but we feel we do'.*

Young people of all ages commonly spoke of where they felt able to 'muck around' and 'mess around' suggesting an unstructured, unpremeditated quality to their recreation. Messing around could not take place at the MG due to the visual, physical, social and spontaneous disorder of it as an activity. 'Mucking around' took place in 'rough' locations or youth specific locations such as the park. In these instances, young people were aware of a potential for their behaviour to be perceived of as disruptive of the socio-spatial criteria and imagery of the MG and this knowledge sometimes confined young people to less 'posh' sites within the village. Young people therefore drew boundaries between the cultures of spaces they found themselves inhabiting and other collective places.

*V2:
'There is like the park and stuff, but the thing is that's where everyone [in the younger generation] goes and...it should be a bit spread around a bit, instead of everyone goes to the one place.
*V4:
If you want a bit of quality, like, the Millennium Green "is the place to go" [said in ironic slogan voice]'.

The MG was contrasted with the outdoor, public spaces commonly used by the young, as representing a superior space and culture. Running through this socio-spatial dividing of space was a perception that any such 'quality' or qualities were maintained by the absence of young peoples' disorderly or disordering, behaviours and identities.

*V3:
'Usually we just go up the rec...occasionally we go to the Millennium Green, but...

*V1:

We go up there to muck around, at the rec usually.

*V4:

Yeah, but old people like, they won't want to go up the park with all the 'bloomin'' kids up there…They want a bit of peace and quiet, a little stroll.

*V3:

…I hope this isn't true but I think it probably is. I think they [adults] think that the Millennium Green is for like the older people and then the rec and stuff is for the younger people, in our 'youth''.

In the context of the MG, the language used by young people to describe themselves, their spaces, and their behaviours, is robust and unrefined. It contrasts with the characterizations, often suggestive of cultivation, that they apply to spaces, attitudes, and behaviours, belonging to others. This terminology indicates a sense amongst some young people that their cultures of locality might be corrupting this collective, adult aestheticism: a potential disruption of the dominant social-spatial system of the MG and other landscapes of collective identification. This understanding was often gained through social and spatial clues and cues embedded within the MG's culture and space. Such understandings may have significant consequences for the ability of young people to access these spaces of collective identification, with potential consequences therefore for their sense of collective identity.

*L3:

'the adults seem to, [in voice of authority] *'get off the grass' at the Green, don't they? There's a sort of a thing where they stare at you and...*

*L1:

They sometimes just look at you…

*L3:

Yeah [impression of look]*, like that.*

*L1:

They just think it should just be a peaceful place, not with kids running around and playing in it.

*A:

…which are your places in the village that you know you can go and you can do what you want?

*L2:

The park.

*L1 & *L3:

The skate park.

*A:

…who would you say the Millennium Greens...

*L1:

Mainly for like, the adults…they think "right, fair enough, you've got your field and park and skateboard, down there, so there should be somewhere for us to go to sit and get away from all the"...no-one's exactly said that you mustn't run around…

*L3:

…you can tell what their thinking "why, why should they be allowed to have this, why should they be allowed to play here"…

*L1:

Well we can do what we like as long as we're not disturbing others, like if it's just deserted and it's just you, you can run around and do what you like, if it's just other children there.

*L3:

But it's strange because as soon you start running on the grass there seems to be an adult there'.

6.8 Summary of Chapter Six

This section summarises the findings of this chapter.

Within this research, Tincombe actives were found to frequently identify local NSMs as the defining spaces of local collective identification within their village. In addition, such NSMs appeared to offer significant ontological rewards through active forms of investment in locality. The strength of such spaces was understood to be a defining characteristic of the area and was symbolically significant in actives' cultures of locality, alongside notions of rurality, in representing Tincombe's resistance to modernity and change.

Notions of this resistance existed in dynamic tension with actives' perceptions of the persistent threat posed to it by pressures associated with modern development. Actives' cultures of locality positioned Tincombe as of the *right* size with the right sort of material and cultural spaces. This rightness was illustrated through frequent contrast with places that were the *wrong* size with inappropriate physical places and cultural practices.

A motivation for actives in creating the MG was the opportunity to defend local space against the threat of development and reflected some of this symbolic content located within their cultures of locality. In addition however, actives sought to create a space that offered a concentrated reflection and resource of these cultures and signalled their centrality within Tincombe's collective identity. The MG was understood to reproduce the symbolic values with which actives shaped a sense of belonging and additionally positioned areas of village society and place as spaces of refuge from aspects of modern change.

Actives understood young people as a relatively heterogeneous group and significant presence in local space and culture. A recurrent theme in actives' descriptions of young peoples' relation with local collectivity was that age and development influenced their cultural aspirations and actions. For actives, the onset of adolescence often signalled a shift in young peoples' cultural affiliation and way of being: from local collective identification to attachment to non-local or locally inappropriate, cultures and behaviours. Similarly trustees closely associated certain types of non- appropriate spatial practices in public spaces and a related non-appropriate

attitude toward collective identification, with these groups of young people. When certain village public space was occupied by such youths, these sites appeared less replete with the symbolic values of actives' cultures of locality. In addition, they become places where young people were themselves less representative of, and available to, rural collective identification.

These understandings were reflected in actives' engagement of young people at the MG. Primary school children participated in age appropriate consultations and activities at the MG and actives welcomed their involvement. Actives felt that older young people could access inter-generational invitations to participation. At the same time as making this claim, however, actives identified the 'difference' of this age group as leading young people to decline this collective opportunity. Ideas about young peoples' social and cultural separation that were applied by actives more specifically in other contexts appeared to become less coherent and consistent in the case of the MG. Evidence located in actives engagement of these young people in participatory projects with youth specific outcomes offered an alternative explanation. It suggested that actives may have found inappropriate the incorporation of the aesthetics and ideals of a group, sometimes seen to threaten cultures of locality embedded within and reproduced by the MG.

Tincombe's primary age group largely felt that the MG met community aspirations, including their own. They felt their participatory involvement had not resulted in any identifiable outcomes but did not tend to interpret this as having a relationship with their social or spatial in/appropriateness. Tincombe's older youth, by contrast, explained their absence in terms of actives' attitudes toward themselves. These young people understood actives to construct them as outsider figures, located at the margins of collective activity and whose inclusion threatened its stability. They understood such constructions to relate particularly to the social and spatial agenda of the MG. They challenged any such perceptions, however and understood themselves as legitimate shapers of locality.

An exploration of primary pupils' mental maps of Tincombe suggested that they identified with cultures of locality, shared by actives, and found within them symbolic and material resources with which to realize a sense of inclusion and secure social identity. Older young people also were able to associate themselves with such cultures and draw security from them. They suggested that inappropriate spatial and social relations and events often originated from other communities or social and spatial locations however, in certain circumstances young people also located themselves at the periphery of appropriate belonging.

This was particularly the case in the material space of the MG, which many young people understood to be governed by rules they associated with its spatial and cultural character. This response indicated the extent of actives inscription of certain socio-spatial priorities into its landscape. Young peoples' attitudes toward the MG were ambivalent. Some appreciated the way its socio-spatial cultures compelled certain types of behaviour and encouraged participation in particular collective social experiences. However, this culture was also found to constrain

social and spatial practices and create inappropriate and marginal identities for them.

Chapter Seven - Hillview

7.1 Introduction

This is the final of the three results chapters in which the empirical data is presented. It broadly follows the structure described in section 4.7. However the tone and pace of the chapter feels slightly different due to first, the need to fully elucidate the strong contrast these findings make with those at the rural case studies and second, the inclusion of more textual sources.

7.2 Actives' Construction of Spaces of Local Collective Identification and Sense of Local Collective Identity in Late Modernity

This section explores Actives' awareness and management of spaces for local collective identification and their status in late modernity. The use of cultures of locality as symbolic material within such identification is examined. As at Camdown and Tincombe, these relationships are considered so that actives' role in negotiating young peoples' access to such spaces and symbolic resources can be understood.

7.2.1 *Hillview's cultures of locality and spaces of local collective identification.*

Hillview, as Camdown and Tincombe, had undergone recent and rapid socio-spatial transformation, though of a different sort with sharply contrasting outcomes from those at other sites (see section 4.6). Hillview contrasted with the rural case studies in terms of historical origin, geography and levels of affluence, but its collective networks and cultures of locality also offered significant contrasts. In comparison to the two rural case studies, the estate was regularly described in terms of what it *did not* possess as resources of collective identification, rather than the appeal and robustness of local society. A trustee recalling one of Hillview's bids for *City Challenge* funding paraphrased the campaigns slogan as *'putting heart into the community'* and this use of language is perhaps demonstrative of the widespread acceptance that local collective identification is lacking in some of its *'spirit'* (Don).

It has been suggested that the locality possesses multiple distinctive social groupings. A study conducted locally described residents of the estate as defining its identity primarily through markers of difference. These included generation, ethnicity, gender and probity (Anonomised, 2003: 121). Such perceived socio-cultural distinctions were in turn mapped out upon the locality as spatial systems and territorial markers.

'*In-depth study has revealed some complex dimensions to neighbourhood life, which professionals may not usually encounter. Most importantly, although the estate does function as a single neighbourhood, residents also regard the area as divided into distinct sub-localities, each with their own identity – some "rough", others "respectable"'* (Anonomised, 2000: 7).

To establish that Hillview was subject to active cultural and spatial division, producing *local* collectivities on a micro-scale, is not to offer a straightforward distinction from the other case

studies. As described in Chapters 5 and 6, there were significant socio-cultural differences within the changing communities of the rural case studies. Hillview, however, was also marked out by the widespread acknowledgement of its lack of collective cohesion by its most active citizens. For example Hillview Project set out its aims for the future as achieving both material change and attaining increased collective identification: *'social interaction and that illusive sense of "community"'* (HVP, 2000, p 23). The achievement of community in this instance was understood by actives as gained through a type of *'social interaction'* or perhaps space of collective identification. The use of the term 'illusive' is intriguing in the context of this study. It was presumably used in error instead of 'elusive' meaning *'difficult to catch'* (Hanks, 1989, p 363). This word would suggest the difficulties the area has in generating collective identification or identity. 'Illusive' however, refers to *'producing or based on illusion; deceptive or unreal'* (Hanks, 1989, p 363). This terminology might suggest a model of collective identity as located in the previous case study, in some ways a collective illusion of commonality, generated by members with divergent individual identities and experiences. HVP were most likely not referring to such an idea, but did establish a *'sense of "community"'* as something they understood to be lost or missing, something that could be recaptured through collective social interaction.

Hillview's active citizens were literate in the discourse of urban regeneration, a product of their awareness of, and involvement in, local attempts to capture funding from initiatives such as SRB and City Challenge. Trustees subscribed to notions of collective identification as a process that could be actively re-initiated and re-embedded in locality through involving residents in creating change, an ideal and understanding of communal relations situated within regeneration discourse. Hillview's collectivity was regularly described by actives in ways that highlighted a perceived lacuna where they might have supposed its characteristics to be present. This gap was attributed to various factors. Local youth-worker Nick, a trustee of HVP, described his sense of geographical and economic circumstances cultivating a *'high dependence on Local Authority intervention…there are real issues there for the longevity of an estate based on people being dependent, to service their needs'* (Nick).

Nick's reference to the socio-economic sustainability of the estate recognises material wants amongst residents, but reflects that reliance on external service providers may discourage collective cultures of self-governance amongst them. Hillview's processes of collective identification were described by actives in ways that suggested that socio-economic deficits had damaged the collective fabric that generated or sustained communal identification and activity. Such discussion suggested that certain mechanisms of collectivity required repair or perhaps assistance.

'We have a fantastic resource that's been put in [the Millennium Green], …it needs to be managed it needs to be maintained and looked after and it's unrealistic to expect a local community to come together spontaneously to do that. Particularly when you're dealing with a community that lives here in Hillview, in terms of it's a deprived urban community and you know

there needs to be support, there needs to be encouragement to get people to take on that aim, for them to take on that role' (Emma).

Some actives represented local residents as finding it difficult to perceive of localised collective capability sufficient to determine the future of local place and identity. Literature produced by Trustees to encourage participation attempted to reawaken some dormant sense of collective identification and empowerment.

'All the things we've been promised but NEVER had!!, Don't leave it for someone else to decide what happens in Hillview....YOU live here - YOU say what is needed, YOUR IDEAS COUNT'. *(HVP Poster, 1996).*

For key actives, involvement in collective participative action such as the MG was seen to instruct the community about the potential of communality: re-introducing an awareness of local collective identification and activity.

'why not use um, the Millennium Green as a, a springboard to improve other areas, you know. As almost a showcase, to say "this is what we can achieve"..."with co-operation and help between people and between groups and with involvement, you know, as long as that happens"…it could be, ideally a demonstration of success if you like. And for that to spread else where, I mean that would be the ideal scenario'. (Chris).

The idea of re/instilling 'ownership' of locality amongst the community is a concept familiar to the discourse of urban regeneration. Notions concerning the dynamics of collectivity permeated both professional and lay actives' opinions. As discursive practices, shared amongst the trustees at Hillview, they tended to create a close communality of ideas and imagery and produced less diversity in individual interpretations of the nature of collective identification and locality, than was present at the other case studies[14]. The estate was viewed by key actives as in some way disowned, its residents unable to aspire towards shaping their locality or collective identity. Much of trustees' use of the term, 'ownership' suggests they understood it to be a necessary precursor to establishing the capacity of residents to create or sustain positive change and collective imagination. Through community participation and owning decision-making processes, it was hoped that residents would take ownership of the products of these decisions. Consequently a shared benevolence toward locality might be established.

'it is that thing about ownership. That, um, if something just happens and people don't respect, respect it full stop, you know, they've got to "Well, oh blimey", you know "we've been working for

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[14] Some of this effect may be due to the difference in research methods employed at this case study, including increased emphasis upon analysis of literature produced by actives and a smaller number of trustees available for individual interview. However participant observation appeared to confirm this impression (see methodology).

this for ten years" or "this is because of". So it's actually all about ownership, getting people to realise that eh, you know, things don't just appear, um and, it's probably what we all regard as what community should be about' (Don).

Don suggested that as well a lack of collective cohesion at Hillview was due to their being little sense of the community having influenced the shape of locality and little shared appreciation of the shape that had been created. He and other actives identified a lack of cultural appreciations and affinities with locality with which residents might resource collective identification. In the terms of this research, Hillview can be seen be significantly different from the rural case studies. However, the understanding amongst trustees, at each case site, that an affinity with locality can potentially be developed through participation in organised spaces of collective identification, such as the MG scheme, is one point of comparison. At the other sites, however, this tended to be a rather shapeless aspiration in comparison with its articulation at Hillview.

Problematically, however, a further source of the community's failure to engage in determining its identity and development had been identified by some actives and external research, to be the very regeneration initiatives that might be expected to help repair such holes in the collective fabric. Don described some startling consequences of the disappointment associated with projects that promised change, but brought little. From his perspective it appeared that a failed regeneration bid had spurred local residents into violent protest.

'the last real lot of broken promises was something called 'City Challenge', which was Thatcher's Government…this community was twice um, up there at the top for City Challenge…the last time…we came twenty-first and it was the top twenty got through…After the last time that it was kicked out that's when they had the riots… the first night it was, it was just basic anger, because everybody was so frustrated because there'd been so much work, with all the community development workers, all the youth workers and schools working with, you know, people, saying "well we can do better and if we had twenty million pounds this is what we want". And people were saying 'yeah, yeah, yeah [enthusiastic voice]', you know, and suddenly central government said 'no' um, so we had three nights of um [pause], burnt out shops, burnt out cars, burnt out, well just riots in the streets. It was pretty dreadful. So then we had, you know, really [pause] frightened children, frightened parents and people just felt "well its not worth it", you know, "Our long term aspirations must be to try and move away from the area, instead of make better what we've got here" (Don).

A number of trustees felt that a significant part of Hillview's local residents failing to own their locality was that their cultural affinities lay outside of the locality. Due to the social, economic and environmental problems of the estate there existed a long history of looking to other geographic areas for opportunity. Failed local initiatives were seen by some to compound this. HVP identified the *'common complaint in the area'* as being, *'we always have to travel away from Hillview to do anything and no one ever comes here for anything good'* (HVP, 2000). This tendency for residents to look beyond the local to fulfil their needs was seen as contributing to

the lack of embedded, collective identification. Dislocation from local culture and space were understood by certain actives as a serious threat to the formation of active collective identification and positive cultures of locality.

'we have to have people with roots in their community, people who want to stay here…We don't [want] people whose aspirations are that 'we've got to get out of this community', otherwise you're condemned aren't you?…if you think of Eastern Europe refugees, that we're getting now, why, why are they so desperate to get away? Because they think there's something better the other side of the hill. So all their energies are spent collecting what it needs to get them the other side of the hill, well it would be much better if we could have a community that's actually saying 'Okay, you know, six out of ten, lets work on the four out of ten, as opposed to put all our energy into getting out'. So it is about, you know, building a sustainable community' (Don).

In considerable contrast to trustees' experience at the other case studies, it was understood amongst actives that people regularly desired to leave Hillview to realise their aspirations, rather than desiring to live there for its socio-spatial character. Such observations again identified a corresponding lack of identification with local space and society: central symbolic resources of collective affiliation to locality. Trustees' identification of: residents' over-dependency on external services; a need to return the gaze of locals towards the estate; and creation of ownership, are all measures aimed at regenerating collective identification with locality. Actives' understanding of such issues as key, underlay a logic which suggested that if local residents could be persuaded that they could collectively participate in re/shaping cultures of locality, then they might in turn experience an enhanced sense of collective identification in the spaces of these practices. It may be the sense of belonging and ontological security potentially derived from processes of shared identification with locality that key actives at Hillview felt was so elusive. What actives can be seen to offer is an alternative culture of locality to replace the damaged fabric of existing attitudes to local space and society: an alternative set of perspectives with which to re/view Hillview's potential and possibly resource collective identification.

7.2.2 Actives' mobilisation of symbolic resources of collective identification
This section follows a slightly different logic to the preceding chapters. It explores actives' aim to construct an alternative culture of locality, with which to resource collective identification. through mobilisation of certain socio-spatial and symbolic features of locality.

<u>Collective identification with and through cultures of locality</u>
The urban scene of the Hillview estate was considered by most actives to have grown *'isolated, forgotten'* as the influences of the late twentieth century moved it away from *the 'plans and promises'* of it's origin in the 1950s (HVP, 2000:11). There was a general consensus that the urban environment now offered so little to residents that it played a significant role in focusing many people's cultural and spatial aspirations outside of the area.

'we haven't got um, a mixture of housing stock, so if you've got a large family, you've got to move them somewhere else…there's no shop, there's no real shop on the estate, so you've got to go off the estate for your shopping. There's no, you know, and so when you come down your list, there's no swimming pool, there's no quality football pitches there's no, there is a youth club, but you know, there's no cinema, there's no amenities…if all the reasons for living here [are] *well, "it's just a roof over my head"* (Don)

Though part of an urban conurbation, the locality has a number of quite sizeable areas of green space. Several of these, together with adjoining streets and educational institutions, created a large, fairly open site that had become the focus for action and change in the community. Part of this parcel of land and buildings was developed as Hillview's MG. Its landscape was frequently described as having the same limited social and spatial worth as the more built up areas of the estate.

'We have lots of green open spaces around flats, a lot of green space, but nobody uses it, it's like a green desert' (HVP, Local Paper).

This lack of merit was articulated by several actives in terms of ideas of 'quality'. The open terrain that existed around the MG and pre-dated it was felt by some to be of *low* quality for example.

'…less than twenty trees on sixty acres. There was um, three poor quality educational buildings and lots of scrubland, wasteland, no clearly defined boundaries, nothing…it was the most poor quality land you could, unbelievable! (Don).

An HVP summation of the area offers the opinion that, *'The majority of the site as it exists at the moment is a "green wasteland", with little enclosure or quality spaces'* (HVP, 2000: 23).

These notions of a lack of quality seemed to reflect responses to an open space without the material or cultural features that might be associated with a distinct sense of locality. There was a lack of: a vernacular; or notable natural; or built aesthetic to, land use or any distinctive characteristics that might distinguish one location from another. The Countryside Agency advisor, involved with actives at the 1.3 ha MG site, described its situation in an area of *'bland openness'* (Haygarth, 2000, p 30). For some trustees this type of spatial barrenness was associated with a parallel social bleakness.

'There was nothing here…when I first came here listening to parents, talking to kids, everything was about trying to get away from the area, as opposed to anything at all to do within the area. So there were no safe places for the kids to play, so you had an awful lot of isolated families and isolated kids. Um, children whose weekend was often spent in their flat watching a video, because the parents were frightened to let them outside because where it was designated a play area there were motorbikes, there were burnt out cars, there were drug addicts, etc (Don).

Don for example, connected the lack of 'quality' environment with a lack of sites for collective socialising: poor material and cultural surroundings producing an isolating social environment. Later he elaborated on the way in which the open landscape's lack of defining character, and culture of use, encouraged activities that caused its further deterioration and perpetuated its failure as a shared public place.

'it's basic use at the moment is probably abuse, you know its either, you know, dog walkers, motor bikes, some people ride horses over the football pitches, that kind of thing. Um, so because it's all poor quality um, you know, you wouldn't [pause], the area at the back then, you wouldn't see people coming down here in the summer to have a picnic…And it's all about, you know, quality and safety and size.

Don's characterisation of local environment as an opportunity and resource of collective identification and activity, prioritises its provision of a social and cultural landscape and was common amongst actives at Hillview. Key actives rarely discussed material space without reference to its status as a social and cultural resource or obstacle. The HVP report, produced at the time the MG was built, describes the actives' understanding of the contours of this relationship between space and society.

'The environment around and within the site is poor and needs much improvement. Open spaces and green space are places that people should be able to enjoy, to gain pleasure from, somewhere that provides a focal point and source of spatial identity to the neighbourhood. The quality of the open space is critical to its enjoyment' (HVP, 2000: 23).

Actives suggested that the physical environs were currently a faulty resource of cohesive local identity, but had potential to provide a 'focal point' to collective social relations. Actives at Hillview felt that the local environment should be improved and redeveloped as a resource of local collective identification. The HVP report stated that both things would accompany the 'better environment' for which they were striving.

'our aim is offer a lifeline to a better environment, with trees, greenery, play facilities, birds & animals, sports provision, social interaction and that illusive sense of "community" (HVP, 2000: 23).

The concept of increased environmental quality acting to influence the opportunities for quality social interactions and networks permeated both the opinions of actives and the literature produced by them.

'If all the reasons for living here, well "it's just a roof over my head", you know what we have to do is put the reason. So you know, people on a weekend don't spend all their money getting on a bus to go somewhere, but they can actually walk down here and have, you know, quality time,

that's what we have to do, that's what we set out to do anyway' (Don).

This evidence suggests that actives sought to instigate alternative cultures of locality for Hillview through creating resources designed to encourage resident's participation in local collective identification. Environmental poverty was connected with a poverty of occasion for shared identification. Such social-spatial connections were the basis of descriptions of what constitutes a quality environment and the human possibilities it might afford, as in the HVP quote above. Elements of the natural world were ascribed an influence in facilitating this communality, alongside more familiar locales for sociability such as play and sports amenities. Hillview actives understood 'quality' social and spatial environments to play a key role in generating cultures of locality to collectively identity through and with. They also identified the process of this environment's collective participatory creation by neighbourhood residents as playing a major part in such generation.

'The project is here with the objective of involving local community in the future of the site and insuring that the site is redeveloped with the interests of local community at its heart really, to involve them…part of the um, campus aims and objectives right from the beginning when the project was set up was about improving the local environment for local people' (Emma).

This notion that bringing together local people in environmental regeneration would catalyse, a sense of collective ownership of /identification with, and investment in, locality was anchored in the set of discursive ideas associated with regeneration frequently referred to by Hillview's key actives. This viewpoint reframed human interaction with landscape in terms of its potential as a methodology for recasting and reshaping problematic issues of space and society. The MG, as the first locally completed example of communal landscape reclamation and enhancement, provided a particular focus for this understanding.

7.2.3 The MG as a location for and promotion of collective identity and cultures of locality

'Almighty God in Heaven,
We thank You for the evidence of nature here in this part of our city.
We thank You for those who had the vision for these gardens.
We thank You for each person in this community.
We thank You for bringing us together and for this day.

We now ask that Your mighty, sustaining power will be breathed on to this patch of ground, for You alone are the giver of life.
We pray for a "change of heart" among those who act without conscience and would spoil what has been planted here.
We ask that this garden may be a 'haven of peace and enjoyment" for many in the years to come.' (Hillview MG 'Plant a Tree Day' Open Air Service, 1999).

Influential actives viewed the MG as an opportunity to embed alternative cultures of locality in the estate. They also understood it as a place where certain aesthetic qualities and social and spatial practices, reflecting particular ideals and values, could be established. This was held in common with the other case studies. However, the *acknowledged* emphasis upon its space as a focus for engaging residents in particular types of social and spatial relationships was distinctive. For some actives, the MG's presence provided tangible expression of the ways in which encouraging residents into collectivity, through environmental interaction, could alter existing cultures of locality and inspire processes of local collective identification. Chris for example, employed by HVP to manage the MG, and involve local people in this process, described the MG's potential as *'a showcase'*.

'it's [MG] *a multi purpose space…it acts, not so much at the moment, but maybe in incoming years, as an amenity park, to just sit in and enjoy…a bit of quiet maybe, yeah?…at the same time it acts…an attractive space for young people to gather, um and also on this site it's going to act as a kind of gateway to the new campus site...so it almost becomes like a welcoming, you know, a bit of good green, quality green space...I think it will be a mature and quality open space within that campus before even the campus is constructed…so it will almost be like lead... Into what we'd like the campus to look like…I don't think it's a good idea to see it as an isolated space. I mean why not use um, the Millennium Green as a, a springboard to improve other areas, you know…a showcase, to say, "this is what we can achieve"..."with co-operation and help between people and between groups…as long as that happens"…a demonstration of success if you like… And for that to spread else where, I mean that would be the ideal scenario'* (Chris).

The MG was regularly envisaged by actives as a space through which the cultures of locality they understood to be embedded within its existence, and wished to reproduce, could be promoted and in turn, collectively identified with and through. At Hillview, the potential influence of its emblematic and symbolic values in stimulating collective identification was widely embraced and understood as tactical by actives. The MG and adjoining play area were understood as providing *'a clear visual message'* and acting as a vehicle that can *'send the right message',* concerning the resources and processes of collective change to residents and users (HVP, 2000: 23). The participative element of the MG's creation and maintenance was understood as stimulating missing elements of collective identification, such as communal co-operation and collective pride. This is how many appeared to regard, for example, the local consultation that was a prominent component of the MG's creation. It was viewed as an opportunity for local residents to re-connect with virtues of self-determination, sufficiency and collective belonging, of locals to locality, locality to locals. The development of such cultures of collectivity were again indicated by the frequent deployment by actives of the term 'ownership'.

'The development of ideas for the park & garden [MG] *area involved local school children, parents and other local residents…Our key aim is to encourage local ownership of the park and garden* [MG]*'* (HVP, 2000: 23).

Ownership however, appeared to be an attribute that could, in addition to its encouragement through consultative participation, be nurtured on a longer-term basis through physical interaction with the resources of the site.

'I line manage the Millennium Green worker and his role is to try and involve local people in the Millennium Green. So that in terms of long term sustainability the MG will be self sustaining if you like through a bank of local volunteers and groups and a group from the school perhaps and just local residents getting involved doing projects, taking ownership of the Green' (Emma).

Actives understood 'ownership' as a quality or process that could not be forced upon local residents or immediately expected in this particular arena. It was something that needed nurturing to grow organically, in tandem with the physical flourishing of the MG.

'You know. What we had to create was something which had local ownership. And as far as we're concerned, you cannot impose ownership you have to bring it up. So um, you know, one of the trustees is a guy who used to just come down on his own um, you know we'd have painting weekends and he'd come down on a Monday and finish off the bits that people hadn't. Um, you know it began to take on ownership. We had other people who, um, you know, would bring along flowers or bulbs and that kind of thing, so it is about people regarding it as [pause] 'theirs', 'theirs' that they can say 'can we do this?' (Don).

Some actives considered the evolution of ownership, and other beneficial perspectives toward locality, through resident's involvement in environmental management at the MG to be a method of social and cultural resolution. Issues felt to be tied to disaffection with the area, such as a general lack of interest and care for the collective neighbourhood, could be addressed through the growth of this form of collective identification with locality. Don, for example, suggested that ownership might allow people to believe that the landscape was collectively 'theirs', providing the motivation for policing its cultures of locality: *' "theirs", that, you know, if they see something going on that they don't think is appropriate, then they can at least pass it on to somebody'*. Likewise, the establishment of a sense of collective ownership/identification with locality might lead to self-regulation and prevent the urge to vandalise the MG. Although such misuse of locality was often associated with young people, the collective bringing together of young and old in shaping and maintaining the MG, Chris suggested, might even lessen mutual distrust between the generations.

We set up a bit of a gardening group here, they're all adults, no, there's one young girl Claire, who comes as well. Now there are some things which they want to do, like constructing compost bins, which would be good projects, which we've already identified for a certain group of young people, the BTCV project, at Hillview school…it would be ideal maybe to get them to construct those compost bins and put them in when the adults are there. Um, so you kind of start of with that separation, yeah, with a view to bringing it in eventually…I think just to develop

a mutual respect if you like...You know…any kind of misuse of the Green, it gets picked up on by adults, you know, its, its seeing another perspective, um, I think its important to let those young people, um, have another perspective on the Green.

Actives regularly viewed the MG as a potential tool of social repair that could enhance collectivity, providing a space of collective identification through and with locality, by offering social groups new environmental perspectives *and* views of one another. The MG offered the potential to both represent a particular socio-spatial ideal and provide a landscape within which to address social issues, through processes of collective interaction and identification with the environment. It symbolised the renewal of collective values, attributed in the discourse of urban regeneration to active citizens and their cultures of locality.

'Um and of course we had nothing here and nor did the community and then you know, the idea of Millennium Greens came along and it just seemed to be perfect' (Don).

7.3 Imagining Young Relationships within the Spaces and Resources of Collective Identity

This section examines how active adults envisaged young peoples' place within, and perspective upon, some of the social and spatial aspects of collective social relations: those which actives at Hillview understood to be key symbolic resources in constructing collective identity. This section highlights how their ideas of these relationships reflected the priorities of the regenerative culture of locality to which they were responding. Some comparisons are drawn with the Camdown and Tincombe case studies in order to recognise any contrasts and continuities between the three sites.

7.3.1 *Young peoples' place in spaces of collective identification*

Young peoples' presence in Hillview's potential spaces of collective identification appeared to be registered quite acutely by actives. This can be associated with the assortment of educational institutions (a primary and secondary school and HE college), sports pitches and playing fields which at that time provided definition to the area being targeted for regeneration and the focus for much of actives' attempts to shape locality. The 57 acre site at the centre of the Hillview estate was often in use by both local and non-local young people for curricular and leisure activities. Actives' contact with young people in the area varied from that of parents to professionals, several working specifically with this age group. For the purposes of this research, most respondents framed their experiences within the context of their formal contact with the estate's younger generation.

Hillview's youth were regarded by many actives as subject to similar agents of social and cultural change as those affecting local adults, again contrasting this case study quite significantly from the other two. Whereas young people at Tincombe and Camdown were repeatedly construed by some trustees as more open and orientated toward divergent social stimuli and cultural influences, than those to which older residents responded, Hillview's actives

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saw continuity between the effects of socio-cultural change upon the attitudes toward locality of the estate's adults and their younger counterparts. So for example, research suggested that up to a quarter of Hillview's population (figures combined with that of the adjacent estate), *'lack previous connections to the area and often move on after a short time'* (Anonymised, 2000: 7)*.* Certain actives perceived a want of local ties; combined with a paucity of amenities and limited housing stock, to fuel this short-term residency. These material factors were understood by actives as having implications for all sections of the community, including the young.

'we have to have people with roots in their community, people who want to stay here, people who are...[pause]*...we've got many kids who, you know, may be eight years old and this is the sixth, seventh school they've been too. Um, you know, that's a transient population, and we don't want that. We don't* [want] *people whose aspirations are that "we've got to get out of this community"'* (Don).

At Hillview, actives understood both young and older generations to be externally focused rather concerned with local collective identification with and through cultures of locality. Some perceived the younger generation to be particularly affected by the circumstances felt to drive this externality. Despite the large numbers of young people in the local area and their relatively high visibility, for example, the youngest residents of the estate were regularly understood to be at high risk of relative social seclusion due to the social and spatial deficiencies of their environment.

'*there were no safe places for the kids to play, so you had an awful lot of isolated families and isolated kids... children whose weekend was often spent in their flat watching a video, because the parents were frightened to let them outside because where it was designated a play area there were motorbikes, there were burnt out cars, there were drug addicts, etc.'* (Don).

In such accounts, Hillview's young people were portrayed as increasingly socially excluded from the collective life of the estate, due to family fears of the poor quality of surrounding social, cultural and physical landscape. In a report by HVP, for example, *'Life in Hillview'* was illustrated with the inclusion of a Sunday Telegraph article that described the content of these fears.

'Twenty years ago, as children themselves, they had happily roamed the streets or the estate and hills beyond. Now they keep their children under close observation. They see danger everywhere. Drug-users drop their needles in doorways; joyriders use the roads as racetracks; mugging (even of children) is common place' (Anonymised, 1997, cited HVP, 1999).

The same report further acknowledged the primacy of actives' perception of the influence of these circumstances, upon the younger generation's ability to take part in day-to-day collective and peer socialisation, through the use of a nine-year old's description of her life.

'I have lived here four years now. Hillview is tough, some of the people take drugs, they get out of order, and people get attacked…Sometimes robbers steal things from people too. I am scared living here…bad things are always happening here. I have not been out for a long time to play, I don't have many friends near me and I am scared of the lifts in my flats. Sometimes we get strange men in the stairs so we can't use them either…I wish I lived in the olden days, because there was no murderers then' (Girl, aged nine, 1997,cited HVP, 1999).

As a community of opinion, actives characterised young peoples' access to spaces and resources of collective identification as increasingly constrained by fears, shared by themselves and their families, of the risks presented by prevalent cultures of locality. These anxieties were articulated in their relationship to the influence of the modern era, i.e. they were not perceived to be present in the 'olden days' or 'childhoods' of twenty years ago. Actives understood the younger generation to have lost access to spaces of collective identification following a withdrawal of the young from the public sphere.

What is also striking is the centrality of this understanding, of the social and environmental world of the child, to actives' perception and comprehension of the general spatial and social situation of the estate. The two previous quotes, for example, were designed to preface and finish a report produced by actives. The report suggests that '*Hillview is poorly served by parks and gardens, despite its' setting'* and that *'the area has long been neglected and is mainly council housing, with high unemployment…and limited local facilities'* (HVP, 1999). It continues;

'The extent to which the above is true and felt very much by local residents is highlighted in the two quotes set out at the beginning and end of this report. There is a feel of desperation amongst local people and one of long term neglect' (HVP, 1999).

The image of the child, protected from danger only through the constraint of its own social or/and spatial liberty, is central to these narratives, employed to evidence the bleak collective identity of the locality. In this way children, childhood and the inhibition of its explorative freedoms stand for the social and spatial exclusion of many local residents: an expressive shorthand. This is not to suggest that the isolation of young people in Hillview was any less real, rather it had wider connotations for particular actives and the manner in which they chose to articulate Hillview's collective difficulties. The symbolic weight of the estate's failure to fulfil childhood's potential was significant within these descriptions.

Symbolism associated with various actives' constructions of childhood's relationship with cultures of locality, and the influence of modernity upon these, was reflected to various degrees within each of the case studies. At Camdown and Tincombe there were similarities in the way that the difference of youth was associated with, or representative of, cultures of modernity from which actives wished to defend socio-spatial symbolic values they associated with their locality. At Hillview, by contrast, modernity was perceived as having wrought vivid change upon the locality, and for some actives a certain type of childhood was symbolic of the nature of this

experience amongst the wider community.

As at Tincombe, some actives perceived the social and spatial world of certain young people as changing quite significantly, when they became older. Once they achieved access to the public space of the estate, the social aspirations of some of the younger generation led them to occupy neighbourhood places in fairly arresting ways.

'there's a group of young people, um, twelve to sixteen year olds, who regard it…it's their park and they meet there…unfortunately that then brings in associated behaviours…the group who are meeting here actually come from about four or five different communities and that's part of the problem…what seems to be happening is that we've got a group of local girls who attract then a group of lads…those lads may be coming from a different community…it's a bit like 'Westside Story'. If you came from [adjacent area of the city] *across here one night, you wouldn't come here on your own, you'd bring four or five of your mates… But, the groups are always changing their dynamics…And the age groups and who's the leader and that kind of thing, so, um, you will often find a kind of central group and then these little groups who want to get involved or who are semi-attracted to them'* (Don).

Several suggested that as they grew, some young peoples' behaviours and aspirations moved from an experience limited by other people's inappropriate behaviours within, and use of, shared spaces to one that could take place on a imposing spatial scale and was sometimes perceived to limit the freedom of others. At this point, actives understood that the way that young people occupied spaces of collective identification became particularly inseparable from the manner in which their material spatial existence was organised upon the estate.

Spatial interpretations of young peoples place in spaces of collective identification
In terms of some of the very young, actives commonly articulated their presence in the urban collective landscapes of Hillview as extremely limited, although their presence or rather, absence, appeared to be widely felt. This situation was understood by several to change dramatically for certain groups of older youth, many of which were understood to embark on occupations of public spaces on a sometimes, grand scale.

'It's what happens when you get a build up of young people. You know, anyone that has forty, sometimes as many as fifty young people on their street corner or a shop keeper with that number of young people around, irrespective of whether they're, ninety percent of those young people are, are law abiding…the fact is that it kicks off, because people aren't ready to accept that young people, behave like young people' (Nick).

The use of public space by adolescent young people was intermittently a subject of both social and spatial magnitude for other residents of the estate. Young peoples highly visible presence within particular shared spaces in the area was an issue generating some concern and complaint amongst other members of the community, as Nick described. He further suggested,

however, that the lack of appropriate locations for young peoples' recreation embodied a message concerning adult perceptions of young peoples significance in local collective relations: a message concerning the esteem in which they were held.

*N:
'there are masses of young people on the estate…All through last winter, major disturbances and problems and kickback from the community, because you weren't talking fifty young people, on occasions you were talking in excess of a hundred kids, outside the shops at [local road]. Most of whom are just there being young people and hanging out, because that's all there was, you know. And people say, "oh well why aren't they using the youth centre", the capacity of this place in the Winter is 50-60 young people maximum and it's always full. But you can't put all the eggs of young peoples' needs into one local authority response or voluntary sector youth provision's response... Young people deserve much more than that in terms of a variety of semi-commercial, commercial, local authority space or just space where they're welcome to be, with facilities that actually say something to them, like well "we actually respect you"...'

Several actives suggested that older young people were often subject to many of the fears concerning local space that preoccupied other sections of the local population and thus sought to socialise in particular, public spaces with other users which they perceived as safe. This contributed to the sense of contest over what and who were considered legitimate or desirable users of such open places.

'the play park…was provided almost first and it was the only facility so therefore the under-fives aren't going to stand up to the under-tens and the under-tens don't stand up to the under-fifteens. So, you know, there's this …a strong group of people who regard this as a safe, secure place where they meet in the evenings…actually, it's fascinating, here they are big, tough fourteen year-olds, but "they don't like going down there, because it's too dark" and "they don't like going down there because, well if there's any trouble, they can't find the care-taker". In a way they're desperately clinging on to the apron strings, but they don't want you to know that they it is about giving them space' (Don).

'the [Primary] *school didn't want, lots of young people on the site…In fact when there were young people meeting there, they were meeting there because there were places, you know, walled this side of the wind…security lighting which was great for sitting late at night and skinning up and keeping out the wind and so on. But the school didn't want to promote that…'* (Nick).

Don describes the evidence that young people on the estate not only competed to occupy spaces shared with adult users, but also that contestation occurred amongst young people themselves. Again this was seen by some to highlight the lack of available, quality collective resources. Within all these descriptions is a strong sense of young peoples' occupation of public place to provide shelter and safe, peer socialising. Another connected and recurrent

theme, however, is young peoples' recourse to near colonisation of marginal urban locations. Street corners and shop exteriors, children's play parks and facilities closed for the night, became the setting for young peoples' social interaction and peer identification.

It was suggested that this occupation of space by one generation was perceived as a significant threat by some of the estate's adult population: a sense of risk that certain actives believed had resulted in older young people becoming subject to further social and spatial segregation from spaces and resources of collective identification.

'There was an awful lot of police 'move on' going on…police going in heavy handed, responding to nuisance [reporting] *phone-calls from adults, moving young people on. All they were doing was just dispersing kids out of their own neighbourhoods, into other areas of the* city…[later]…*I mean they're coming back into Hillview but they were made so unwelcome, for so many years, that you could walk the estate of Hillview and not see young people at night…They're all, they're either in Bishopsworth or Withywood or migrating to Whitchurch. And Whitchurch has experienced exactly the same problems* (Nick)'.

Research carried out on the estate, published in 2003, came to the conclusion that this contestation over public space formed a significant element of *'generational conflicts'* by which Hillview *'has been riven'* (Anonymised, 2000: 120).

'To the adult residents it seems like some groups of young people are out of control. Public space, particularly at night, is seen as unsafe; vehicles are regarded as fair game to be driven away by young men and trashed; open spaces, schools, youth clubs and community centres are subject to constant vandalism, and so on…Clearly the conflict between generations is partly built upon real differences of interest. Young people feel that there is nothing for them to do, no one is interested in them or understands them, people simply want to "slag us off"; adults feel that their property is insecure, women and older people in particular feel that the area has been made unsafe' (Anonymised, 2003: 120).

This research emphasises that older young people were clearly associated, by a proportion of the estate's residents, with principal elements of the social and spatial isolation and deprivation that characterised areas of Hillview. If for actives the absence of younger children from collective landscapes was at times indicative of neighbourhood disadvantage, then for other sections of the community the presence of congregations of older youth in the same settings, sometimes signified the same. In these instances, youth in any great number were viewed by certain members of the community as potential transgressors of collective places and relations, and therefore felt to be particularly undesirable. For some residents, groups of older young people embodied a part of the *'disillusionment and negativeness of the community as a whole'*: one that could be removed with a phone call to the police (HVP, 1997). One active whose work concerned the area's older youth, suggested that a desire to remove young people from shared locales had escalated to the extent where their very presence was perceived as socially and

spatially disruptive.

'Young people were being harassed by adults. Young people were being basically told "you can't meet in this park area because your noisy and because there's more [than] *ten of you" you know, "you're causing an affray"'* (Nick)*.*

The 2003 study, cited above, asserts that this territorial conflict between young and old is also grounded in the exclusion that young people experience. This interpretation again suggests that local spatial dispute between the generations is a social and cultural manifestation of Hillview's lack of material resources. This perspective was shared by many of the actives at Hillview who regularly translated and understood young peoples' behaviours and actions, including those that suggested a lack of collective identification with locality such as vandalism, in terms of the shared disenfranchisement of the community. This again forms a contrast with the other case studies, where many of the differences between generational responses to place and people were attributed by actives to variations in cultural and spatial affiliations. At Hillview, whilst the particular reactions of young people to the estate's disadvantages had their own shape, one that contrasted with that of adults, they were considered by most actives as derived from the same local, collective circumstance. In this way actives regularly constructed older youth as part of a collective identity that reflected existing cultures of locality, whilst wider sections of the neighbourhood attempted to physically situate young people outside of such structures and remove any such this reflection. These themes are now explored further in the particular case of the MG.

7.4 Young Peoples' Place in Spaces of Collective Identification: the MG

This section examines the way in which actives understandings of young peoples' relationship to the spaces and resources of collective identification were directly translated into their management of the MG scheme. It examines the manner in which actives constructions of such relationships influenced young peoples' inclusion and exclusion from the scheme and the space it presented for collective identification.

Trustees of the Hillview MG had consulted young people about its design and construction and involved them in some practical maintenance. There were plans amongst actives to continue rolling out participative involvement as the site developed. From the start of their project, young people were considered a significant target for involvement in the scheme.

'Our key aim is to encourage local ownership of the park and garden and to involve local residents and school children in designing the area…Much of the planting on the Green so far has been carried out by local children and volunteers and is looked after by Hillview Community School pupils working with local volunteer groups and the City of Bristol College students' (HVP, 2000: 23).

Young people were expected to participate in events and activities at the MG as members of

the wider community, but were also approached separately via young peoples' institutions and organisations including local schools and the Youth Service. The consultation and engagement of young people were perceived as sometimes requiring specific youth orientated methods.

'young people were involved in consultation on the Green and so on, it was predominantly done through school. I suppose the way that we try to engage with young people…is to try and offer them something that's attractive and interesting and fun from their point of view, but also that gives us a way to start finding out from them what they want as well… And so it's a two way process really, they enjoy it, it's good fun for them, but we actually manage to glean a bit of information about what they need and what they want at the same time' (Emma).

Actives understood young people to be interested parties in many of the stages of creating and managing the MG and further felt them to be accessible and capable. It is likely that the careers of several key actives, within young peoples' institutions and organisations, influenced these perceptions and responses.

'I mean [involving young people] *that's the easy thing, because you just say "look, what would you like here?"…the kids have all got ideas…it was then, you know, working with them about um, what actually they wanted and making it realistic and giving them some idea of time scales and costings… generally when we talk about young people, we talk about our involvement with our group of children…each of us having our own group of children that we, you know, were comfortable with it'* (Don).

The readiness with which certain actives at Hillview approached young peoples' participation in the project reflected the influence of their occupational experience with youth, but also their wider attitude toward young peoples' position in the estate's spaces and collective social relations. From the perspective of certain actives, as articulated above, young peoples' spatial practices within, and attitudes toward, local environment, including the MG, were associated with local social and spatial deprivation.

'If things go wrong or whatever, which in this kind of site, things do on a regular basis [laughs]! *Well they go wrong because this is a deprived area with all its kind of you know, social problems that go along with that, and especially with the young people, which is why we need to involve them in the Green's management. We do get problems, small fires and stuff you've got a lot of the time…you kind of notice um, who uses the Green and who potentially misuses the Green as well. And they become almost your target audience if you like'* (Chris).

Chris's argument suggested that the playing out of social and cultural issues upon the landscape of the MG, by youth, could potentially be addressed through certain types of engagement with the environment of the MG. This constellation of relationships positions young people as a group dislocated from collective space and society, but potentially open to a restoration of identification with, and care for, locality, through involvement in the MG. This

perception formed an element of actives' wider conceptions of the potential of residents to commit to certain aspects of collective identification, through involvement with the welfare and future of the site. In the case of young people, community participation and environmental action at the MG were understood as a tool for initiating a new understanding of locality and local collective identity, which would reduce transgression upon, and aggression toward, neighbourhood.

'there are some issues that really do need addressing on the Green, because of the way it's being used at the moment and we need to understand why it's being used the way it's being used and how we could maybe try and influence what's happening and try and encourage particularly young people to use it a different way' (Emma).

The construction of cultural competency and boundary drawing

The attitudes of some of Hillview's actives towards young peoples' participation in the MG scheme created some interesting comparisons with the evidence from the other case studies. For example, certain trustees at Camdown articulated notions of differing socio-spatial cultures in understanding why young peoples' involvement was unnecessary or improbable. Some of Tincombe's actives appeared to utilise similar references in understanding why the involvement of certain age groups was desirable or unlikely. Although actives at Hillview tended not to refer to divergent socio-spatial cultural orientations as influencing young peoples' attitude toward cultures of locality, some touched upon these ideas in the context of understanding young peoples' participation in the MG.

'we did some work with the children from the beginning about "what would you like to do" and one of the startling facts was a four year girl called Eloise, who actually said 'I want some flowers'. And we suddenly, you know, we then started thinking and talking to people and they had no idea about the kind of growth cycle of plants or anything like that [emphatic]. They didn't have, you know, "trees?" Well trees were" just there" and they were things that we vandalised or you know, we tried to make dens in' (Don).

Here young people are not necessarily understood to move in a separate culture of locality to the rest of the community, but are perceived to be situated outside of the cultural competencies that this active, and some of his colleagues, possess toward local space. This is another interpretation connecting the poor quality of local, material space with poor quality cultures of locality amongst the young. Don understands local young people to display a lack of correct understanding of the natural world, due to their environmental deprivation, suggesting that they have been excluded from cultures of appreciation. In such instances, the MG is again understood by actives to be a space of beneficial ecological identification with locality, a site in which to establish a socio-spatial relationship that might influence young peoples' current disregard for the local scene. In this manner, actives' understanding of young peoples' relationship to, and use of, the MG resembled those at other case studies, where young people were understood as situated outside of particular ways of seeing and being within collective

landscapes: spaces correctly identified with by actives. The consequences of this perception were quite different in this instance, however. Young people's 'outsider' status at Hillview appeared to provide a motivation for actives to attempt to bring youth back inside certain types of social and environmental competency.

In terms of motivating collective identification with locality, the MG scheme was seen as having an influence beyond the stimulus of its material resources. Certain actives, as with local adults, saw engaging young people in processes of managing and planning its space as initiating the development of particular competencies of collective identification. Projects that drew together members of the community, such as young people and adults, were considered tactics by which positive relationships between generations, and new viewpoints of collective potential, might be embedded (Chris). Don described how the MG scheme and its products might enable the establishment of a more trusting and responsive relationship between adult actives (as representatives of Hillview's wider adult world) and younger people.

'I think…they [young people] *do feel that they are taken seriously and therefore…it is a hopefully in a balanced equation. You know if they've got ideas and we listen to them, and if we can help, we will…and similarly they view us, that we, we do want to listen and we do want to put something in there to be used, as opposed to something that's in there and, you know, that's "don't touch, don't come near it"* (Don)

Ideas surrounding the potential of the MG project as a method of gaining competencies in identification with locality and collectivity, particularly in relation to young people, were well established at Hillview. Certain groups of youth were positioned by actives as, through involvement with the MG project, capable of gaining the skills with which to take an active role in re-constructing their cultures of locality for example.

'a project with the school which is next door...targeting certain people which we know use the Green, to try and do projects…like planting and maybe kind of street furniture…It's structured in terms of we want them to evaluate their own process, you know, their own kind of work etc...Their own thoughts along the line, so although we get some visual benefit on the Green we also get some kind of mental, you know, process going on when they, and when they come out they can see their work that sort of thing' (Chris).

The MG was perceived by certain actives as a locale where young people could potentially develop their understandings of society and space. Their interaction with the site and scheme was understood as a trigger for changes in their perception of their social and environmental transactions and processes of identification. Actives' comprehension of Hillview's MG and its relationship to young people were distinguished by an acknowledgement of the opportunities of process, in addition to product. So for example, Chris described another undertaking at the MG where certain young people with difficulties in formal learning settings would have the opportunity to change the way in which they appraised themselves, their achievements, and

their view of inter-generational relationships: involvement in the scheme was seen as a chance to reorganise their attitudinal landscapes.

'a group of young lads…are working with what are called 'learning mentors' with the school. The learning mentors are there to eh, help those who are kind of struggling with formal lessons…to get involved in other activities or to see their work in a different way. Uh, to gain…their own kind of confidence, to make them see why it is they're having problems, why it is they might be having a problem with staff. Getting them to work with other, um, adults such as myself, so that they are able to identify the role of a teacher, you know, as much as identify the role of an external teacher. So it's almost like, for them, learning that the teacher does have a certain role to perform and that's why a teacher is as a teacher is, if you like' (Chris).

In establishing young peoples' involvement with the MG project through these types of initiative, trustees aimed to institute particularly dynamic interactions for youth with the site and scheme. Such projects envisaged excluded groups of the younger generation as capable of redefining themselves as active and included citizens through their involvement with the scheme. In the social and spatial vacuum created by the deprivation of the estate, where young people were perceived by much of the community as residing outside of collective identification, the MG was understood as a space where young people could participate in redrawing the boundaries of collective identification with, and through, locality.

'Because they all want, once you [young people] *use something* [the MG], *they, they are encouraged, you know, to be active citizens and say "this would be great, why can't we add this to it" or "why can't we do that"'*(Don).

'so they're (young people) coming out with me, um and we've done an application…and we've received seven hundred and fifty pounds…to carry on with our project…that means they got involved in the big hand over of the cheque with seven hundred and fifty pounds on, which they've now put up in the school in this big display…And those, those young people use it as a spring board 'cos they just want to get involved in other things. And they tell their mates and their mates come along and say "oh well, I wanna do this" ' (Chris).

The MG was viewed by several actives as a locale for educating the young into new cultures of locality and collective identification.

'it's obvious that it has potential to provide an educational resource…I think in terms of long term sustainable management, I think that's very important, to try and develop that…to make sure there are eh, natural spaces erm, that can be used in the curriculum... So, for young people from those schools, I think it's important to try and build those in. For example…if you'd plant a length of hedgerow or something…on this Green…It would be important therefore to include maybe species that would berry or fruit…in the autumn, that you can go and collect and make dyes from or stuff like that. It would be important to try and build in useful plants

with...maybe medicinal, historically, purposes... Things that you can actually grab hold of and use...as well as look good...I would certainly like to see a genuine wildlife area on this Green, uh, and designed as such...and to use that to pass that knowledge on through the schools' (Chris).

Chris interpreted the education that the MG could provide as beyond that of discovering the natural world. In addition, it was the consequences of that learning process that were understood as significant and the engendering of particular cultural attitudes toward, and identification with, the MG. Chris suggested that through developing an ecological relation between youth and the MG, some of the younger generation might be brought back inside spatial cultures and practices desirable to actives. Other actives spoke in a similar vein of its educational role.

'we ran a very successful project...groups of young people doing pond dipping and learning about, you know, the habitats and the types of plants and animals that live in the pond and there were other children doing activities like making nesting boxes, which will be put up somewhere on the site...young children looking at all the insects in the long grass area...we had a variety of environmental projects like that...it's about raising the awareness of not only the children themselves, but also the teachers, that they've got this resource on their doorstep and they can use it for part of the school work really, to deliver the school curriculum, that you don't have to go a long way, away to actually look at [the natural world]' (Emma).

In this instance, Emma suggested that ecological interaction with the MG might relocate young peoples' focus toward their locality. The presence of this resource in the surrounding urban landscape will provide a reason for them to not look elsewhere. Statements about the educational purpose of the MG reinforce its status as a landscape in which to address the missing ingredients in processes of identification with locality. Young people were regularly contextualised by actives within understandings of deprived access to the reasons and resources with which to construct identification with locality, and many aspects of the MG were interpreted as opportunities to provide these. This tendency can also be located within certain actives' understandings of the benefit of providing material space for young people to occupy.

'I was lucky, I was brought up in a country environment, on a farm...we just made our own dens and we made [emphatic] and that's what we wanted for the children here, so that they could be imaginative, as opposed to what was, we found was, that most kids...almost had their play enclosed upon them, you know? It was very structured, they couldn't develop it themselves...it had to be football, it had to be basketball...whereas...to give them trees that they can climb or a tree that they can put a rope swing in, they could have hours of fun from that. If we provided them with a swing then they'd be bored about it. It's about making their own...it's not prescribed...it's a thing about ownership, it's about their space, their territory, as opposed to "this is where we want you to be" and that's that bit about zoning, we've got to create it that they feel "well this is our, this is where we can graffiti and it's actually, um, appreciated and we can

share it", as opposed to do graffiti everywhere and then it becoming the battle of "well you put it up there, we'll wash it off"… So it's about giving them [pause], just giving them their own space' (Don).

Don articulates a number of the ideas recurrent in actives' constructions of young people in relation to Hillview's cultures of locality. He understands, for example, that young people are excluded from a certain culture of, and competencies in, appreciating space, ones that he himself has accessed, in this case self-determined exploratory play. That the deprivation of local public space has played a role in this situation is highlighted by his suggestion that these knowledges of, and interactions with, place could be established through the space of the MG. These perceptions, as was commonly the case at Hillview, are submitted in the context of the need for young people to establish ownership of or identification with, locality. Lastly, Don touches upon a social value that he associates with the achievement of beneficial cultures of locality: a sense of the qualities and responsibilities of collective ownership or identification.

What unites these various interpretations is the understanding that young peoples' social identity and attitude toward locality could be shaped through spatial provision. This conception is similar to some of the perceptions of trustees at the other case studies, though its dimensions at Hillview were considerably more defined. At the rural sites, the MG was understood by actives as a site offering resistance to current pressures for social and spatial change. At both Camdown and Tincombe, to varying degrees, actives aspired to influence young peoples' relationship with the MG through comprehension of, and responsiveness to, its socio-spatial characteristics: values indicative of a stable identity in a transforming world. However, young peoples' access to certain non-local and non-collective cultures and relations were often seen as competing or eclipsing influences, in terms of these hopes. At Hillview, very nearly the obverse of this was the case. The experiences of young people were perceived to embody the problems of transformed local and collective social and spatial relations and identification. Attempts to involve them in refreshing the resources, and redrawing the boundaries, of collective identity and to bring them inside of alternative cultures of locality, were confident and prominent. The MG was positioned by some actives as a space where young people might be able to resist or manage pressures within their identity.

Whilst directing young peoples' social and spatial practices and aspirations towards an acknowledgement of collective needs was an aim of Hillview's actives, it was acknowledged that the task of integrating various socio-cultural divisions within one site, the MG, was a significant undertaking.

'it's this whole thing of like, young people will not see it as "oh that's the Millennium Green", they will see the little [parts] *and people generally will see parts of what they want to see and use, within it, rather than it being a complete thing. And that I think is the challenge…to start to draw it all together into one big site that is, that balances the varying needs'* (Nick).

Whilst Hillview's actives aspired for young peoples' interaction with the MG site and process to provide a set of methods with which to influence their social and spatial identity, the current dimensions of youth transactions with the MG were acknowledged.

'I don't know whether they particularly identify the Millennium Green as different to any other local green space, to be honest…whether they have any more regard for it than any other space I couldn't tell you… I have had conversations with young people during my work that have suggested otherwise, you know, that they maybe don't have that much respect for it. But I don't think that's anything to do particularly to with the Millennium Green. I think it's just um, a social problem in this area' (Chris).

Certain trustees were also willing however, to interpret what might be seen as inappropriate use of the MG as young people gaining ownership the site. Sharon understood young peoples' misuse of an area of the MG as youth registering its reorganisation and regeneration and striving to make their influence felt within this change. They were *'stamping their authority'* on the space, some by wanting to use it *'properly'*, some by breaking glass (Sharon). Chris similarly viewed optimistically practices that might be understood as spatially transgressive. Young peoples' litter for instance, was a demonstration of their lunch-time presence within the site. Using the MG as somewhere to bunk off school was a demonstration that *'they don't go elsewhere'.* So too was their use of natural features such as the willow to hide themselves in, *'Now I see that as a positive thing, that they're using the space'* (Chris). What appeared to matter most was that young people were engaging with the resources of the MG and by doing so were closer to investing in its cultural dimensions.

The MG and its employment as a space in which to shape the collective identification of young people with alternative cultures of locality were viewed by most actives as part of wider and long-term objectives and interventions upon the estate. However the MG remained for actives tactical in its role as a display and proof of local change: a *'showpiece'* (Sharon) or *'showcase'* (Chris) of the challenge presented by actives to existing responses toward locality and collectivity. For Sharon for example, *'whatever happens on this campus, the Millennium Green will be the key to that'.*

Actives regularly understood young people as capable of developing and growing into new perspectives toward self, others and place, through the influence of the MG project. This could be equated with the process that the collective social and spatial identity of the wider estate was also anticipated in undertaking. For certain actives, Hillview's existing cultures of locality embodied patterns of behaviour and thought that might be slowly transformed under the influence of urban regeneration: a process of change that like young people, might start small but would come of age.

'There is a definitely different climate and I wouldn't say it's because of the Millennium Green, I would say it's a climate that's shifting right across the estate and part of that is about having

regeneration running on the estate, from people having been forced to consult and communicate. Whereas a few years back it was in its infancy and that's you know, that's a developmental process that we're going through.' (Nick).

7.5 Young People, Geographies of Collective Identity and the Millennium Green

In this section young peoples' understanding of the MG project, and their role and place within it, are examined as a vehicle for exploring their sense of, and relation to, spaces of local collective identification and local collective identity. The influence of actives' actions and perceptions upon young peoples' understanding of themselves and their community are highlighted throughout the discussion.

HVP displayed an ongoing commitment to consultation with and involvement of, young people in the future of the MG. Young people of all ages had participated in aspects of the MG's design, creation and ongoing management. Actives acknowledged that this engagement had been intermittent for various reasons. Pupils at the adjacent primary school had experienced the most regular and consistent involvement and for these reasons, young peoples' responses are divided into those of Primary and Secondary school age groups.

Primary Pupils

*A:
Who asked you [about the MG]?
*B2:
Three men.
*A:
Three men?
*B's:
Yeah! [laugh].
*A:
Do you know who they were?
*B1:
No…We drawed some [ideas]*, on a board…*

The majority of primary school interviewees were involved in MG consultation through engagement by HVP, teachers or 'School Councillors' (peers with a role in communicating between teachers and pupils). Some had also participated in creating the MG. Memories of this consultation and participation were often rather hazy amongst the younger age group. Some of the inexactness in this recall can be attributed to the young age of consultees. In addition, it may reflect the diversity of the consultation and the plurality of sources from which it originated. The majority of younger children interviewed remembered, in some form, someone asking their opinion on a matter related to the MG and this gave an indication of the extent to which consultation had permeated within the school context. Many also suggested that this experience had an affective significance for them.

'I felt a little bit um, silly, because I thought they were just, just asking like. I just thought of ideas like swings…' (C1).

*E1:

'It makes me nervous, 'cos I get quite…

*E2:

It makes me feel like, happy, cos they're asking me a question and not anybody else, like. It makes me feel alright…'

*D1

'It's quite exciting.

*D2:

Sometimes, it's like you're um, using a magic pen…Cos sometimes the stuff that your drawing, it comes, it comes when you finish'.

Some were uncomfortable making a contribution when they were unsure of its purpose, but others seemed pleased to be identified as an appropriate consultee. Some responded happily to the thought that they were adding to the creation of something new for themselves and their peers, whilst others directly linked their personal participation to the altered landscape at the MG.

*A:

'And when you gave your opinion how did it make you feel?

*F2:

Much better when she said, wrote it down it on the board…'Cos, it was just a plain field, really boring.

*A:

Did you feel you could change the way it looked?

*F2:

Yeah.

*F1:

It was exciting and it looks much better now than then'.

These young people appeared relatively confident with their participative involvement in this collective endeavour. The significance of this uncomplicated acceptance can only be appreciated when contrasted with the response of older young people to similar issues.

Secondary Pupils

Older young people had as a whole experienced less involvement in the MG than younger children, although several specific groups of teenagers had been recently engaged in the MGs management. Young peoples' descriptions of any potential role within the MG or concurrent HVP projects, contrasted significantly with those at the other case studies. For example, certain young people experienced and understood these collective projects without attaching them to the particular profile and actions of the Trustees instigating them. Young people did not

speculate upon the precise identity of actives driving the project or their particular motivations. Instead they appeared to construct a broader, ambiguous, adult 'them' with the power to create social and spatial change and a peer group 'us' who were unlikely to be devolved it. This way of identifying the source of local change emphasised a sense of its relative inaccessibility.

*B1:

'We get promised stuff and nothing happens. Hillview is a place where you can get promised and nothing happens.
*A:

How does it make you feel..?
*B1:

Gutted…They don't do nothing'.

The notion amongst these young people that the potential of their participative involvement was unfulfilled also arose at Camdown and Tincombe. In these instances, young people tended to locate the explanation in several areas. These included material issues such as the criteria of the project, tactical agendas on the part of actives or the obstacle presented by themselves as an antithesis of or threat toward, actives' socio-spatial agendas. At Hillview, a failure to achieve worthwhile participation in collective decision-making appeared, for some, more a foregone conclusion than related to any particular individuals, motivation or barrier.

*A:

'Why do you think your friends weren't interested in coming along to say what they wanted?
*B1:

Because they don't think they['ll] *get it.*
*A:

Why don't you ask your friends if they'd like to come along and say what they want?
*B1:

The reason we don't tell our friends is because they think like us, they won't get it…We don't expect big massive things…''

*A:

'Has anyone ever asked you what you would like on the Campus site before?
*G1:

Yes, but we've never got what we wanted.
*G2:

We could 'ave a youth club?
*G3:

You en't gonna get it.
*G2:

Yeah, we're always asking for stuff, we never get it…
*G3:

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They can't be bothered to spend the money'.

In this last instance, a generalised lack of care for local young people is understood to lie behind their unmet needs. These articulations of disillusionment with the potential for youth involvement in determining localised change went beyond younger people's disquiet at the other sites. At the previous two case studies, many young people remained attached to local cultures and collective relationships, despite perceptions of a lack of influence within them. At Hillview however, detachment from locality sometimes precluded involvement with projects such as the MG, in addition to the sense of powerlessness some expressed.

'I won't be here' (B11).

'we're not going to be here, there's no point is there' (B10).

'we'll be gone by then' (B9).

*B12:
'No point me doing it, I'm leaving.
*H:
But what about school?
*B12:
I'll be out of this place, thank god!'

This detachment from involvement in locality was perhaps emphasised by the MG's proximity to the secondary school and a sense, in the final years of their education, of physically and psychologically moving beyond the educational establishment. Young peoples' indifference in being consulted, or discussing consultation however, again contrasted with secondary school pupils at the other case studies, most of who appeared to remain interested in determining the future of locality despite any intentions to leave it.

*B12:
'I wish this had happened in year seven.
*A:
Would that have made you feel differently about it?
*B12:
Yes…why did they have to wait so long? Mind you the year seven's shouldn't get their hopes up, it might not happen for five years [laughs]'.

The two quotes immediately above, made by the same respondent, illustrate how a failure to become engaged with participative involvement did not necessarily preclude a desire for it. This young man expressed a mixture of aspiration and cynicism. The cynicism of experience (*'it might not happen for five years'*) and his wish to move on (*'No point me doing it, I'm leaving'*)

appear to have submerged his motivation to become involved in change, which surfaces only in his subsequent wish that the opportunity to shape locality had arisen before this became his reality. He warned, based on the exclusion from influence he had experienced, that younger pupils should temper their expectations as he had done. This kind of scepticism over the limitations of youth's participative influence did not appear to specifically equate it with adult responses to youth, more generally, as might have been the case at the rural sites. This may be partially attributed to it being a familiar, cross-generational understanding upon the estate.

'residents have been consulted many times, but the time taken for consultation to turn into action can be lengthy, leading to a feeling that 'nothing really happens' (Anonymised, 2000: 7).

Another facet of young peoples' understanding of the MG process which highlighted a belief that the power to make change remained out of young hands, was a suggestion from some teenagers that participation was intended for exclusive use by particular groups of young people.

*B11:
'It's basically Hillview's [adjacent primary school]'.

*B1:
'Only the naughty kids get to do that [examining the photos of the consultation at the MG]'.

These comments reflected respondents' observations of the young people who were currently engaged at the MG, mainly the youngest and sometimes those experiencing problems at the secondary school. However, they may also relate to the reoccurring assumption on the part of respondents that they will remain outside of the boundaries of opportunities to shape an identification with locality: part of 'us' without access to these.

The teenage shelter project
A project to provide a teenage shelter at the MG was the element of its development resulting in the most consistent involvement of a group of older, local young people. It had originated in a search for a solution to the issues posed by the large-scale occupation by young people of local collective, open spaces. Initially driven by Youth Workers with SRB funding, the project migrated to the MG when it was proposed as an acceptable location for the shelter and was experiencing its own problems with large numbers of youth converging on the site. The progress of this project highlights the cultural landscape within which the Hillview MG operated and young peoples' experience in its context. For example, the youth shelter project occurred against the background of local authorities searching for urban regeneration styled solutions to youth issues. When they showed an interest in the project however, some local residents responded by arguing that such shelters were inappropriate in their area.

'before we knew it was taken completely out of the hands of the young people…within months it

was a political football. You know, people were stamping…their careers on the development of these [shelters] *things…suddenly there was a kick back* [by local residents] *and there was "not in my backyard, no way"'*(Nick).

Young peoples' participation eventually took place in a network of influences representing both local and extra-local cultures of locality. The particular problems posed by these various forces however, appeared to remain largely opaque to these young consultees so that limitations to their participative influence were regularly attributed to, again, a geographically non-specific 'them' with the power to control change.

*A:
'So why do you think that you ended up with having something different to what [shelters] *you'd seen and liked?*
*T1
Because they didn't take [on board] *our opinion as much as I thought they did…we made our opinions clear but they just didn't seem to, somehow take it in, like, use it as much as we thought that they might. They just, just* [took the idea of] *the shelter and nothing else really, not the surrounding Millennium* [Green]'.

Though these young people had achieved some of their goals in establishing a local shelter, the lack of visible chains of cause and effect they observed in their own participation affirmed their perception of belonging to a relatively powerless group within locality.

*A:
'Okay, um, do you think that young people should be involved in this sort of thing?
*T2 & T1:
Yeah.
*T2:
I think they'll probably say what their opinions is and then it ain't gonna turn out the way they wants it and they won't show up [again]'.

Some young people at Hillview constructed themselves as outside of boundaries of collective change and identification, in the manner that adults at the other case studies imagined might be the case within their MG and community. However, the tone of young peoples' contributions in Camdown and Tincombe were very different. In Hillview, talking of a non-specific 'them' may just have been a habit of speech, but it served to pinpoint the difficulties experienced by young people in locating any accessible collectives with which they might identify. More often, spatially and socially diffuse influences appeared to be understood as the originators of change. If any shared resources of identification could be located within these, they were not described. In addition, identification with the shifting agents of local change, the 'them', was perceived as risking ridicule from the 'us' collective identification provided by peers.

*A:

'Would you lot have been interested in sort of looking after it [shelter at the MG]*, at all…*

*T3:

No.

*T2:

No [Laughs]. *'Cos like, our tutor group, they'd all be there… You'd look stupid trying to look after it and everyone would be like "ah, sad"…*

*T3:

We'd get the Mick taken out of us and that, in school.

*T2:

And then people would just wreck it more, just to get on our...'

The young people involved with the Shelter at the MG, had revealed their participation in the project to few of their peers.

*A:

'What do people think about you being involved with it in the first place?

*T1:

They don't think...

T2:

They don't hardly know.

*T3:

No one except for our like, mates, an that…

*A:

Would you tell anyone, would you tell people that you'd been involved with it or.?

*T1:

Yeah, I wouldn't care but...

*T2:

No.

*T1:

Their just gonna, again they're just gonna break it more [laughs]…*Just to get on your nerves and that. You get mad'.*

In this instance, young people experienced pressures associated with the maintenance of a strong identification with peer group culture that restrained opportunities to associate themselves with cultures of locality beyond this sphere. Although the geographically removed influence of late modernity and globalisation had profoundly influenced the environment around them and the opportunities available to them, conversely, part of this shift may have contributed to confining elements of their social world to extremely local contexts. Broadly, the mistrust and cynicism associated with a sense of isolation across the estate, seemed for some young people to have encouraged a culture of locality associated with futurity, non-local influences and primacy of identification with local peers. This situation conformed to the apprehensions of

trustees at the other case sites, yet the differences in circumstances at Hillview were profound. Many young people at Camdown and Tincombe were animated about the cultures of locality they saw displayed in particular NSMs and could identify through them, with both their peers and actives, in the context of this research. There are likely to be circumstances at Hillview where young people would also do this, however the MG did not appear to be established as one of those during the gathering of these results.

7.6 The Spatialisation of Young Peoples' Place Within Local Collective Identity and Identification.

This section explores young peoples' experience of the spatial dimensions and expression of their place within local collective identity and identification. These dimensions can be explored through young peoples' mental mapping of locality

Younger children's mapping of space and its cultures often consisted of detailed social and spatial bubbles of familiarity, within the wider geography of the estate. Often referenced were: their home; garden; street; then those locations where friends and family lived and then their school. Such mental maps made little mention of local, outdoor, recreational locations other than the MG which was immediately adjacent to their school. This pattern of description was perhaps partially attributable to their age and relative spatial range. Additionally, it can be explored through actives' understanding that young children's spatial freedoms were constrained due to parental fears regarding the poor quality of public, open places on the estate. Primary pupils indirectly referenced the influence that spatial constraint has upon their lives in some descriptions of the newly established MG's relative spatial liberties (explored later, in this context). So for example, one child described liking Hillview because though *'it used to be a wasteland'*, now they had made new spaces where he could be *'free'*.

Older teenagers were much more likely to include a wider range of outdoor collective places in their mental maps of the locality. Physical descriptions of the area surrounding the MG from teenage shelter project participants often centred upon the use value of outdoor public spaces, particularly in terms of their potential as dry, warm or relatively clean spaces in which to sit and congregate.

*T1:
'if no people don't use it [teenage shelter], *what you've done feels stupid, like, for all that work and all that, comes to all the meetings and then people don't use it, you feel, like so stupid 'cos...they're just using the* [under five's] *park rather than something what's made for them, for teenagers to hang about…*
*T2:
That's only 'cos there's places to sit, in'it?,, They don't go there and run around and go 'oh yeah, look at this, like, ohhh there's the swings''.

*T2:

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'in winter...
*T1:
Everyone's got all their clothes on then [laughs]. *There ain't nothing we can do in the winter to warm yourself up, well some people make fires…They do!*
*T3:
Like in the bins there and stuff like that'.

A prosaic use value for space is emphasised over its aesthetic and cultural content in these descriptions. The fact that a place's shape was defined with their particular spatial practices in mind, or designated for a younger age group, or at risk of fire damage, was given low priority besides the benefit of the facility it might offer these teenagers. With some similarities a proportion of young people at the other case studies described the creation of social spaces in outdoor, public and private spaces such as fields, streets or parks: 'thirdspaces'. However, many remained aware of, and responsive to, the collective socio-spatial system in which they were creating such space (although reference was occasionally made to those youth who might not be). At Hillview, by contrast, the collective culture of certain areas was less influential in the face of young peoples' aspirations for a place in which to engage with peers.

The desire for something as straightforward as dry and sheltered areas in which to sit, however, was high amongst the estate's young people. A survey taken at Hillview secondary school asked pupils *'What facilities should be provided for you & your friends?'* The question was entirely open-ended[15]. From those that answered, by far the most common aspiration (33%) described was a sports facility, from skateboard parks to indoor tennis courts and swimming pools. Other answers were fairly diverse, such as increased outdoor play facilities of varying types (9%) and food related facilities (5%). Some (6%) specifically desired a '*funfair*', yet, given the nature of this question and the possibility for imaginative request, the everyday nature of many of respondent's desires was striking. By far the most frequent request after sport amenities, was '*'seat/ing'* or '*bench/es*' (18%). Likewise, a proportion (13%) explicitly described their need for shelter/s, a request recorded apart from their wishes for indoor facilities*.* This need for these rudimentary requirements for time spent regularly outdoors in shared spaces contextualises young peoples' repeated contestation of the social and spatial function of certain spaces that met these aspirations.

'more seating, more shelter, more things to do'

A lack of responsiveness to newly embedded socio-spatial systems did not necessarily indicate a deficit of sensitivity toward cultures of locality. Some young people were particularly conscious, for example, of the aesthetic dilapidation of local environments in which they spent time and their demonstration of dominant spatial practices of misuse.

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[15] The question was to be filled in by the respondent in a blank space and did not limit the number or range of facilities that could be mentioned by each individual.

*T2:

‘Yeah, that, that court's been knocked down now…That was just crap anyway…

*T3:

Litter all over it.

*T2:

…litter all over it...Like, in each of the corners’.

*T3:

‘And on that like Graffiti wall thing, there's a metal tube, you can't sit down on that, there's like mud everywhere and like, burger grease on there when you sit down on it…

*T2:

There's a Tec block down there that they've, oh and there's a sports hall thing and, they've boarded it up where people's breaking into it. So there's like, there's burger grease all on that and where people's like trying to get it all off and all that, then, like they wipe it with a stick and then carry the stick 'round with them and bang it on things, and then it's on there’.

*T2:

‘There's glass that's by like, the sports field.

*T1:

Yeah, and that's like, one of the main ways to get out, there ain't' it?   'Cos people smashes bottles...

*T2:

Well, it's been there for like, years...

*T1:

It's been there for like, well, since I can remember’.

Although this mental map of the ways in which the decay of local space inhibited, sheltering in, and moving around, the area is in some ways utilitarian, the experience of such conditions produced visceral discomfort. Indeed descriptions of local public, shared place regularly focused upon areas of distaste and fear. Though young peoples' cultural sensibilities did not necessarily correspond with those of actives (an issue explored in the next section), responsiveness to the defining character of locality appeared to remain acute for some.

7.7 The MG as a Location for and Promotion of, Cultures of Locality.

This section explores young peoples' perceptions of the space of the Millennium Green as a site of collective identification and identity and its relationship to cultures of locality, in order to examine the interplay of actives' management of the scheme and young peoples' perceptions of such matters.

<u>Primary Pupils</u>

A number of younger children appeared to have a clear impression that significant changes had taken place in the landscape, with the advent of the MG.

'[The Primary School] *was really boring my brother said, 'cos he's in year eight now, so, when he was in nursery it was really plain and boring. There was nothing there and now it's really changed'* (F1)*.*

*C3:
'It was just grass and a little bit of flowers…
*C1:
Boring'.

'it was blank and then they built a park…When it was a blank, there was just grass' (G3).

For these young people a featureless, uneventful landscape had become something of visual and material interest to them. The bleak turf of the previous environment had so little spatial and cultural significance that for some it registered as 'blank'. It was described as having been *'a wasteland'* (V1). The new space that young people now responded to was appreciated variously, for its youth orientated equipment and play areas, but also its provision of mutable aesthetic and social spectacle.

*G2:
'Um, it's got two parks. One that's made out of sticks and one park that's made out of plastic and metal…
*G3:
There are lots of pretty flowers and sometimes little helicopters [sycamore seeds]'.

*F2:
'*Its* [the pond] *like got all oil in it and all that…pollution.*
*F1:
It needs doing up…Horrible!…by the pond I look for insects and all that. I puts them in little jars and when I gets them I put them in my pond in the back garden'.

The pond was of particular interest in the new landscape. Pupils were regularly engaged by its wildlife, its material nature as *'smelly'*, *'muddy' 'wet'*, because *'some fish died in it'*, because they liked *'throwing rocks in'* or they knew someone who had *'dived in'*. It was changable, irregular, sometimes a pleasant space, sometimes not. It provided material for both contemplative and corporeal experience. Its short existence had inspired a catalogue of tales. These youngest children were particularly adept at this prompt enculturing of new space. From a material or cultural 'blank' these young members of the community participated in collectively constructing a nascent local character for parts of the MG, abetted by its most flexible, interactive aspects, such as natural features. They were beginning to tell stories about the MG, repeat particular

habits upon its spaces: include it in their day-to-day behaviours and the less everyday.

'I goes to the park, when I'm sad I goes to the park and I just sits with the flowers, like where the flowers are in the ground' (*A1).

This process could also have been occurring at the other case studies. What made Hillview's striking was its comparative variety, freedom and imaginativeness. These young responses to the MG's developing cultural shape sometimes resonated with actives' aspirations for the site, though on other occasions were cheerfully random, exploratory and original.

*F1:
'it's [the MG] *really open and free'.*

In contrast to the other case studies, the MGs lack of relation to surrounding cultures of locality appeared to allow more flexibility in these primary pupils growing relationship with it. Whereas at Camdown and Hillview some young people experienced the site as reinforcing and reproducing certain social and spatial expectations of their identity, the difference between the MG and adjacent neighbourhood allowed these youngest children to respond to the socio-spatial priorities embedded within the site, whilst also engaging in spontaneous interpretations. However the creation of this socio-spatial island was also the main impediment to primary pupils participating within and producing its place, as existing cultures of locality regularly impinged upon its spaces. So for example, teenagers ongoing search for dry, safe, relatively comfortable social spaces caused competition over areas of the site, resulting in conflict within the young community. Teenagers were repeatedly accused of throwing stones at primary pupils trying to use the toddler playground which, as the name suggests, neither group were entitled to enter.

*A1
'I was…going down the park and the senior children got stones and started chucking them at me, cut my eye…I shouted at that'.

*F1:
'Everyone hangs out there [teenage shelter] and in tuck and dinnertime and in the morning. Everyone's always there so you can't get a chance to go there. 'Cos they're older.
*F2:
They like, be nasty and all that…'

Younger children also regarded them as instigating vandalism and misuse of the site and some understood teenagers as not identifying collectively with the cultures of correct spatial practice and appreciation that they understood the MG to prompt.

*E2:
'They'd [secondary school pupils] *been dropping litter in there* [MG]…

*E1:

Graffiti, some people had broke all the, the slides…

*A:

How does it make you feel about it?

*E2:

Very mad and upset, yeah…if we'd done that to theirs, they'd get mad with us…'

*H2:

'People just chuck their rubbish in the pond and that…

*H1:

…because there's a little den for them up there [youth shelter] *and they comes near by it, walks down and throws their rubbish and walk back up there…it's a bit disgusting…and it might be like killing all the animals in there'.*

'*at the bottom, you had to bring a letter home and take it back into school to plant trees, some of those has just been stepped on…I made sure I planted mine at the bottom and it ain't there anymore…Like,* [I'm] *angry at 'em* [secondary school pupils]*, 'cos they hang around at the bottom and mine was kind of like in the middle, suddenly it just has gone* (A1).

Primary pupils' articulation of these conflicts, the objections made and frustrations felt, describe identification with the cultures of locality they are collectively shaping at the MG. Furthermore, teenagers' territorialism and apparent lack of responsiveness to the site's social and spatial priorities were sometimes attributed by the youngest children, to older young peoples' lack of engagement with processes that might produce a similar investment in local space.

*A:

'…Why should anyone ask you what you want?

*A2:

Because then it will be what we want, not the adults. We'll have a better place to play…you should ask the teenagers as well, 'cos they're the ones that's gonna be over there at tuck time and dinner time…they're the one's that's ruined everything else really…if they're the ones that want it, they wouldn't ruin it. That's what they'd want'.

<u>Secondary School Pupils</u>

An explanation of older young peoples' lack of responsiveness to aspects of the MG's establishment as a space of collective identification, with particular cultures of locality, could be a multi-stranded study in itself. However, several themes emerged clearly in the comments of older respondents that can be discussed profitably here.

To participants within the Teen Shelter project the status of the MG, as a bubble of alternative socio-spatial cultures in a wider geography of relative deprivation, had significant consequences. Some of the MG's symbolic resources for example, understood by actives as

signs of, and cues to, local collective potential, appeared to be experienced as frustratingly symbolic by these young people. The MG's establishment prior to regeneration initiatives aimed at the wider area meant that it encountered the collective weight of teenage desires for an accommodation of their unrealised material and cultural aspirations. Meeting such requirements, though often relatively unexceptional, challenged the socio-spatial agenda of the MG. So, for example, teen shelter participants regularly described the pond, that younger children responded so strongly to, as an impediment to their agenda for sheltered social space.

*A:

'What are, what are the good things about that shelter, what's worked out how you wanted it to?
*T1:

Just that it's there...
*T3:

Somewhere to sit down. Walk around the place and have a sit down really.
*T2:

It's in the wrong area, its right next to a lake [pond] *and there's obviously sort of people gonna be there and chuck people in it…*
*T3:

And that little pond thing is just stupid…No fish or nothing.
*T2:

There's a few sticks in it and all that'.

The lack of amenities for older young people to socialise or be active outside, with any comfort, impeded their appreciation of the socio-spatial priorities of the MG. Natural features, in particular, were regularly experienced as relatively futile in the context of certain young peoples' utilitarian requirements.

*T2:

'Even if it is a pond it's still a thing, a thing that like...our age kids aren't gonna wanna look at.
*T3:

The fish 'll be killed anyway...People will throw stones at 'em and all that.
*T1:

People said that's for, for the kids that hang about the place. It's for adults really 'cos what are we gonna do with a pond…we're gonna look at a pond all day? We'd rather 'ave a like a, a sports...
*T2:

Well, just things like the wall really...
*T1:

Like a wall there to play football [against] *or anything.'*

These teenagers, though they contended that adults portrayed such priorities as a necessity for young people, understood the MG to respond primarily to actives' spatial values. These

opinions contrast significantly with those of some younger children, for whom the MG represented the fulfilment of some of their requirements of locality. The influence of older young peoples' strong sense of their unmet aspirations upon their interpretation of the MG, the lens created by their desires, produced a view that was very different to those of their younger counterparts.

*A:
'are you interested in it [MG] as a space at all? Does it interest you or?
*T2:
Well, not really, not...there ain't much stuff there, all it is, is a pond and you just can't...
*T1:
Yeah, its got black seating stuff and our shelter, which is, and then the pond which is over the other side. But, there are just rocks and stupid little viney things [rockery] *that are obviously gonna get ripped apart'.*

Strikingly, young people repeatedly prefaced their forecasts of disaffection and dissatisfaction with suggestions of the obviousness of such outcomes. They supposed it was perfectly apparent that this sequestered landscape would have wider issues and behaviours spelt out upon its spaces.

*T2:
'They built it [teenage shelter] *right by the thing* [disused school buildings]*…that used to be there...where that's like, smashed up…*[previous vandalism] *stuff from that's still there really...*
*A:
So…its quite difficult having stuff going on by the Green...
*T1:
Definitely…obviously, if your gonna build a place for youths to hang down there, then they'll go and smash up the school, get on the school roofs it's...obvious'.

*T3:
'First of all they wasted a lot of money because they 'ad like rubber floors [on MG youth shelter] *and everyone just ripped it up and burnt it and all that.*
*A:
Why did, why did everyone rip it up and burn it?
*T3:
Cos, it was something to do.
*T1:
Because they could lift it straight up.
*T3:
If they're bored and everything, its like…[Group laughs]'.

They surmised that new spaces, redolent for actives with the potential of collective identification

with locality, were fragile and transient both materially and symbolically: the MG had been encroached upon by the 'obvious' realities of external cultures of locality.

*T1:
'people aren't, they're just interested at the time… as soon as the start dates have been for the Millennium, [they] *seems to just want nothing to do with it really. It's just for people to take their dogs and there's glass everywhere'.*

This situation perhaps realised the scenarios that Camdown and Timcombe's actives conjectured for young peoples', particularly teenagers', involvement and experience of MGs. The deprivation of local social and spatial environments, a consequence of changes associated with modernity, appeared to have dislocated the focus of some young people from aspects of local collective engagement and identification and increased their affinity with peer and extra local cultures. Whilst primary pupils were able to participate within the space of the MG in expected and exploratory ways, for older youth its socio-spatial contours appeared obscured to some extent by existing cultures of locality. At the rural case studies, older young people remained able to identify with the dominant socio-spatial values embedded within the MG: their sense of identity still enmeshed with that being promoted by actives as belonging to the wider community. At Hillview older young people responded to many of the repercussions of recent social and spatial change with the understanding that they were excluded from influencing, and identifying with, developments in both spheres. It was notable, however, that younger children, less embedded in existing cultures of place and people, were relatively eager to be engaged within the version of locality represented by the MG.

7.8 Summary of Chapter Seven

This section summarises the key findings of this chapter.

Actives at Hillview were marked in their acknowledgement of locality's lack of collective cohesion and valued cultural identity, in the context of change associated with late modernity. They understood collective identification to be damaged and missing vital cultural resources and practices for its proper function. Trustees subscribed to notions of local collective identification as a process that could be actively repaired and re-embedded through the involvement of residents in creating change: an ideal and understanding of communal relations situated within regeneration discourse.

The MG scheme was understood in this context as a tool of repairing collective mutuality and affiliation with locality. Actives identified a lack of the appropriate cultural appreciations and affinities with locality with which residents might resource collective identification. The MG was identified as a location where these might be established and generated. Actives understood the participative process of creating the site as capable of regenerating collective regard and the finished landscape as a place in which to display 'quality' cultural, social and spatial values

and invite their reproduction by local residents.

The youth of Hillview were regarded by many actives as subject to similar agents of social and cultural change as those affecting local adults. Some saw the younger generation, however, to be particularly affected by these circumstances and further, that their plight was symbolically representative it. The social and spatial seclusion and anxieties experienced by Hillview's youngest residents, due to the deficiencies of their environment, were articulated by actives to communicate the *'desperation'* and *'neglect'* of the wider community.

By contrast, highly visible, presence of older young people within local collective space in the area had symbolic resonance for the wider community. Older youth appeared to embody, for a proportion of the estate's residents, principal elements of the social and spatial isolation and deprivation that characterised areas of Hillview. Actives suggested that this had resulted in a heightened desire to remove young people from shared locales: a situation where their very presence was perceived as socially and spatially disruptive. However, actives again, interpreted such behaviours as representative of the collective disenfranchisement of the community.

Actives understood young peoples' participation within the space and process of the MG to be a strategy of bringing them *appropriately* back inside spaces and processes, of collective identification with, and through, particular appreciations and affiliations with locality. Young people would be educated, on the space of the MG, into certain cultural competencies in relation to space, society and themselves, which would facilitate such processes.

The majority of primary school aged respondents had been involved in MG consultation through engagement in some form and this experience had affective results. Many were confident in their participation and felt their involvement had directly resulted in the present shape of the MG. By contrast older, young respondents felt there was little point in trying to engage with participation at the MG. They understood that a lack of response by 'them' (those with the power to effect change) to any contribution by 'us' (young people) would be a foregone conclusion and this appeared to create a substantial barrier to attempts to motivate youth involvement. This understanding probably reflected sentiments towards, and experience of, the wider social and cultural context they shared with other local residents. These circumstances seem to have informed much of older young peoples' participation within the MG project and space and may have caused their repeated construction of themselves as belonging outside of the sites where locality was being shaped. Further, to associate with those with the power to make change was to risk disenfranchisement from their established collective identification as 'us'.

Young peoples' mental maps of locality revealed a landscape of contest over, limited and often impoverished, resources. For younger children the MG was, by contrast, a new space that they could richly enculture. It both represented cultures of locality understood as appropriate by

actives, and provided material for young people to shape their own relations with its space. These youngest children demonstrated a desire to prevent it becoming the subject of contestation and disregard: the qualities that so often appeared to characterise other local public spaces. Some older young people, by comparison, found the MG to represent a bubble of alternative socio-spatial cultures, in a wider geography of relative deprivation and believed that it would *'obviously'* be trespassed upon by the realities of these external cultures of locality.

Chapter Eight - Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This research set out to explore young peoples' place in (the creation and maintenance of) spaces of collective identification, in late modernity. This aim was broken down into five research objectives.

1. To explore adult constructions of spaces of local collective identification and their status in relation to late modernity.

2. To examine how young people are constructed by adults in relation to spaces of collective identification.

3. To understand how these constructions may influence young peoples' inclusion/exclusion from the process of creating/using a communal place and the space it presented for local collective identification.

4. To explore young peoples' sense of spaces of local collective identification and their understanding of their place within them.

5. To identify young peoples' awareness of how they are perceived amongst adults in relation to local collective identification and identity.

8.1.1 *Summary of results*

The results of this exploration are summarised here in relation to each research question, before their discussion in the remainder of the chapter.

1. At the rural case studies, local voluntary networks were significant sites of local collective identification for those able to participate within them. Most rural actives also collectively identified with and through, often idyllic, ideas and images of nearby space and society. These cultures of locality were regularly understood in relation to the threat of modernity to their continence. Participation in them, however, facilitated actives' senses of belonging to, and stability within, local place and people.

Urban actives also shared a particular arrangement of ideas and images of local place and people, those of urban regeneration. These similarly supported actives' beliefs that their perspectives both understood, and were required by. the locality. These understandings were also activated in relation to modernity's perceived influence on local spatial and social environment.

The research established that the MG provided opportunities for actives, at each case

study, to create sites which reflected, and further established, these understandings of locality, whilst potentially ameliorating or obstructing trends they associated with modernity.

2.   At each case study actives regularly understood young people and their identification with, and commitment to, locality in relation to their own (that described above) and the ideas of modernity it contained. This tendency was often expressed through actives' connection of young people with behaviours and attitudes attributable to modern change.

    Many rural actives found their perceptions of young people as orientated toward ideas and conduct they connected with modern, extra-local change, suggested the young were unlikely candidates for participation within the cultures of locality facilitating their own collective identification. At the urban site, actives understood these impressions to reflect damaged processes of local collective identification amongst and between generations.

3.   In the instance of MGs, Trustees at each case study responded to the opportunity to ensure that this new space reflected and entrenched their priorities for locality, as opposed to those enacted by modern pressures. In correspondence with this agenda, young peoples' associations with and embodiment of cultures of modernity appear to have become a key rationale in actives' decisions to include or exclude them from MG project.

    Rural actives largely appear to have judged young peoples' reflection of modernity to be inconsistent with this aim and limited young peoples' potential engagement with the scheme on this basis. By contrast, most urban actives understood a young persons' embodying of modernity to be both representative and metaphoric: both reflection of, and comment upon, recent social and spatial trends. This perspective correspondingly assumed that the young would be as responsive to, and desirable targets of, actives' MG priorities, as their wider community.

4.   At both the rural case studies, whilst young peoples' sense of local collective identification did vary, they also commonly identified with the ideas, images and environments that actives felt defined local communality and space. Rural young people felt this understanding should prompt actives to perceive them as allied in their relationships with locality. Most appeared to find minimal conflict between their extra-local or youth orientated experiences and attachment to these cultures of locality.

    At the urban case study, many young people shared aspects of trustees' perceptions of locality, as well as participating in other perspectives. However there were significant elements of actives' understandings of its potential, to alter and regenerate, that were

not so accessible to them: ideas and imagery that contrasted with much of their, and their wider communities, experiences.

These findings established that young people were able to, and did, identify with the interpretations of locality prioritised by actives, and/or central to local collective perspectives. This shared identification appeared to exist alongside other forms of communal affiliation.

5. At the rural case studies a significant number of young people felt they were sometimes thought not to fit adult social and spatial ideals. Some young people believed they were associated by adults, on these occasions, with inappropriate and non-rural cultures that conferred an outsider status upon them. This was confirmed for some by their inclusion/exclusion in the MG scheme and their sense of not matching adults' strategic promotion of material and cultural priorities through the project. These perceptions were reinforced through experiences of using the MG, and other local spaces, with a sense that their presence should conform to adult expectations or else be unwelcome.

At the urban case study, many younger children were comfortable with actives' priorities for locality and their current opportunities to share in achieving these, possibly reflecting their broad involvement in the MG process and environment. By contrast, many older young people appeared to have little sense of, or limited expectations for, a role in shaping locality. This was reflected in their attitude towards involvement in their MG and appeared to match prevalent perceptions in their wider community.

The following section discusses these results further. The findings are placed in the context of the relevant literature and the relationships between the two considered. Where appropriate, analysis of the results has again been divided between the rural and urban case studies. The section concludes by identifying areas of the study that suggest a need for further research.

8.2. Collective Identification and Late Modernity

This study explored actives sense of local collective identification and its status in relation to late modernity. This was undertaken as part of a process of understanding how young people are constructed by actives in relation to collective identification. The rural, then urban findings are discussed below, first in terms of the relationship between local collective identification and NSMs and second, the role of cultures of locality in collective identification.

8.2.1 *Local collective identification and NSMs: the rural cases*
The research suggested that one facet of actives sense of collective identification at the rural case studies, could be located in their participation in local voluntary social networks and organisations. This echoes the literature that suggests that NSMs or new sociations have increased significance as a space of collective identification in the context of societal changes associated with late modernity (Hetherington, 1998, Urry, 1995). Rural trustees identified their

local voluntary networks and social organisations as both a key location of communality within the area and a source of satisfying desires to act in a way that had collective benefits. This perception extended to actives sometimes suggesting that not to participate within these new sites of social interaction was to be largely excluded from contributing to local, collective social life. The awareness of the significance of local NSMs in the rural case studies was striking.

This role for NSMs in rural areas both echoes and resists research that suggests that social networks have become disembedded from locality in late modernity (Giddens, 2001, 1991, 1990) Some respondents' descriptions and ideas do contain a sense that the significance of place, as an anchor of collective identification, is transformed. As rural populations and social structures have altered in response to developments associated with globalisation, no doubt some of the shape and texture of local collectivity has shifted. In the terms of this study, communality seemed less rooted in everyday, familiar local transactions, than in the arguably more strategic relationships arising from participation in the NSM. What these particular case studies contested however, was the contention that cultures of locality, necessarily, play any lesser role in such collective formations. The significance of local space can be seen as central to the concerns of particular social networks, including the MG. This centrality ties in with research that suggests that in the context of the 'risk society' the importance of 'place' can actually increase, as certain cultural landscapes are increasingly seen as under threat from modern society and thus in need of protection by concerned individuals and collectives (Massey & Jess, 1995, Urry, 1995).

This finding confirms that desires to represent and safeguard particular places by an NSM can clearly represent increased investment in the environment in the context of spatial and societal change and does so, in the context of the *local*. Respondents in rural areas variously described the ways in which they felt the nature of locality remained largely untroubled by cultural and spatial shifts being wrought by modernity upon other social and material landscapes. This perceived stability and resistance were qualities that many appreciated and actively wished to enhance, through tools such as NSMs and in this instance the MG scheme. What this study emphasises also, however, is that locality was experienced as having both material and social dimensions. Its characteristics were repeatedly defined in terms of an interrelated arrangement of space and society.

The research thus locates another aspect of rural actives sense of collective identification within these cultures of locality: ideas and behaviours that correlate notions of local society with ideas of local space. These attachments were probably significantly different to those of people and place in previous historical contexts. However, a sense of connection with the local, experienced as an empathy with aspects of nearby space and society, was clearly present amongst many actives at the rural research sites. This type of attachment toward place and people can be regarded as one of culturally symbolic significance. Much of the content of rural respondents' descriptions conformed to what has been explored as idyllic ideas and imagery, potentially open to broad interpretation and association (Cloke et al, 1997, Halfacree, 1995,

Halfacree, 1996, Jones, 1995). These imagined geographies of the local, were regularly articulated by actives in relation to issues of belonging and exclusion. They surrounded actives' views of the types of landscape and community considered characteristic of the area and therefore that, which should be prevented or discouraged.

The extent and particulars of these cultures of locality varied between sites and actives, but can commonly be seen to lend conviction to actives' sense of their capacity to achieve appropriate outcomes for local society and space, through their actions as an NSM. This type of evidence is consistent with a model of dynamic, place-affiliated collective identification as a process of symbolic boundary drawing, taking place to externalise or internalise potential threats to local space and society (Cohen, 1985). Various actives in the rural case imbued their sense of locality with broad symbolic cultural and spatial ideals that social and physical change seemed to be measured against. In this way, people, behaviours, environments and values could be understood as consonant and compatible or dissonant and defended against. The rural evidence assessed in this study was descriptive of strategic and dynamic social networks capturing opportunities such as the MG scheme, so that change might be contested, prevented or rendered symbolically appropriate to existing socio-spatial ideals. In so doing, actives as a group can be seen to play a significant role in shaping and controlling the dimensions of local collective identity and order.

The engagement of actives in such patterns of behaviour and action highlights the potential of this type of response to locality, in the context of a threat from modernity, to provide a source of ontological security. This finding can be explored in relation to suggestions that in the context of late modernity, we are becoming less externally referent to traditional, local, markers of collective ordering in the establishment of a secure self (Giddens, 1991, p 147). In the context of the rural social networks investigated in this research, groups may cluster around symbolic values that allow a sense of continuity with those that are diminishing in influence: cultural markers that let individuals share in a sense of knowing, understanding and belonging to locality. Certain respondents, despite often being immigrants to the study sites, privileged values from their imagined geographies of locality that facilitated their belonging to what they constructed as relatively stable, traditional and ordered local collective identity. The risk that this situation might be overturned by modern change, arguably led them to engage in securing their claim to belong, through promoting the maintenance and enhancement of these values via activism such as the MG.

This evidence suggests that rural cultures of locality and sources of collective identification can exist in dynamic tension with some of the changes associated with modernity. Modernity and change create a source of threat to the stability of such symbolic landscapes, yet at the same time may provide the stimulus to social networks/NSMs to seek, reinforce and enhance the influence of these socio-spatial geographies and increase their status as ingredients of local collective identity. This interpretation agrees with previous research in this area and reinforces the continued relevance of understandings of local collective identification, that locate issues of

space and society at the heart of communality, in this instance with particular debt to Cohen (Cohen, 1985, Tyler, 2003, Cloke et al., 1997). That the MG, an NSM, awarded the remit of acting for 'local community', can represent collectives that identify with and through cultures of locality they understand to be under threat from modernity and consequently may wish to re-embed or strengthen reinforced the research agenda of this study. First, this particular NSM would be significant in determining which ideas, cultures and identities can influence or participate within the MG scheme. Second, if NSMs were functioning as the location of communality in these villages, then such inclusions and exclusions played a key role in determining who could participate in local, collective identification.

8.2.2 *Local collective identification and NSMs: the urban case*

Hillview's actives were positioned differently in relation to local collective identification than those at the rural sites; first, in terms of their social backgrounds; second, in the culture of locality they brought to events. As members of an NSM, some were non-professional local residents, but many were drawn from neighbourhood organisations or bodies with a wider geographic or/and social remit. As an NSM therefore, they appeared less of a significant location for *local* social relations, than at the other sites. As a collective however, they did share the discursive field of urban regeneration influencing their interpretation of local collective identity and locality. It has also been suggested that this discourse *'attempts to create the authoritative context within which urban regeneration partnerships operate'* (Atkinson, 1999, p 62). This research supports this contention. The data suggests that this discourse functioned as a culture of locality, a set of social and spatial ideas that the NSM drew upon, much as idyllic socio-spatial symbolism functioned at the rural sites. It provided a perspective from which to judge and initiate change and provided a context for collective understandings within the NSM. In each case study, cultures of locality, fusing both social and spatial understandings can be seen to provide a basis for collective action in relation to changes associated with late modernity.

For example, Hillview's actives expressed concerns over the lack of cohesive collective identity at Hillview. Rather than identifying a local collective identity resistant to modern change, as at the rural sites, actives described a fractured communality attributable to the wake of modern structural change. Echoing academic explorations of the influence of late modernity upon locality (Giddens, 1990, 1991, 1994), actives depicted the dislocation of social relations from local space, time and context. Spatially, for instance, residents were felt to identify positively with locations outside of the estate, with local environment the subject of neglect and disdain. Likewise, elements of the community were considered by actives to have become disembedded from local time and context, such as the failure of generation to act as a cultural framework for affiliation to locality. The MG scheme was understood from this perspective as an opportunity to repair and develop collective identity through the wider community's involvement in its process and outcomes. This logic of actives' culture of locality, can be understood as similarly influential to those explored above, in determining the opportunities for particular ideas and individuals to participate in the forms of collective identification it sought to progress.

8.2.3 *Millennium Greens and local collective identity*

There are similarities in the way that cultures of locality, idyllic or regenerative, respectively, caused the MG scheme to be understood as a way of enhancing and re-embedding local collective identity in relation to the dangers posed or enacted by modernity. The collaborative creation of an open, communal space was embraced by actives at each site, as a method of re/inscribing a culture of locality into neighbourhood environmental and social relations: a significant tool in shaping local collective identity. How young people were understood in relation to that shape appeared to guide outcomes for their involvement at the sites.

8.3. Young Peoples' Construction by Actives in Relation to Collective Identification

Examining how young people were constructed by actives in the context of understandings of local collective identity was a key objective of this research. Actives involved in the MG scheme drew much of their sense of local collective identity from particular cultures of locality, assembled to an extent in response to changes associated with late modernity. The data further suggested that in the context of creating a new, local communal space, actives at each site regularly constituted particular ideas of young people in relation to these tensions. This tendency was expressed at each case study through the connection, by actives, of young people with themes that sometimes they and/or others have associated with responses to late modernity. These are characterised here for purposes of discussion into two groups, idyllic associations of young people and environment and anti-idyllic associations of young people with modernity.

8.3.1 *Anti-idyllic associations of young people with modernity*

For example, a number of Camdown actives referred to the boundary between adult and child as increasingly destabilised by the penetration of the local sphere by external cultural influences and pressures (Büchner, 1990, Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998, Wyness, 1997 & Valentine, 2000 for example). Likewise, many imagined young peoples' relationship with the local dissipating in the context of globalised influences and peer cultures (Giddens, 2001, 1991, 1990, Massey, 1998, Valentine, 2000) and the consequences of changing biographical choices associated with increased individualisation (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998). Actives regularly suggested that little within local space and society, that they so valued, was of appeal to such young people. Research has suggested that an element of adult idyllic geographies can be the construction of the rural sphere as a potential refuge for youth from modernity, though little evidence of such an understanding amongst rural actives emerged in the parameters of this study (Jones, 1997, 2000, Matthews et al, 2000a, p 145, Valentine, 1997b). More commonly, the countryside was construed by rural actives as a spatial and social constraint on young people orientated toward extra-local interests and cultures.

Confirmation of this viewpoint amongst Camdown actives could be located in their perception

that young people *physically* featured little in local social and environmental landscapes, though on reflection many decided this was a misconception and could not reflect youths' material presence in the village. Statements regarding young peoples' likely disconnection with locality and communality contrasted with actives' own memories of childhood that conceptualised it in relation to idyllic geographies of locality and agreed with findings suggesting that the recalled location of childhood is often a symbolically idyllic locale (Williams, 1985, Holland, 1992). This disparity between current and their own childhood experiences was articulated by actives to varying extents, at each site. Some of these contrasts positioned actives youthful selves as having possessed cultural competences in relation to locality, appropriate ways of seeing and being in idyllic space, that local young people were perceived as lacking (Cloke et al., 1997). Phantom children of the past were brought into the present, in order to compare socio-spatial identities.

In Tincombe, similar ideas were associated in particular with older young people, who were more likely to be understood as demurring from communality in favour of identification with non-local or age specific, concerns and behaviours. Though young people here were viewed as having more varied and visible roles in local collective social and spatial relations than at Camdown, perceptions of teenagers' dislocation from cultures of locality were regularly articulated. Comparable themes arose, specifically associating teenage local residents with modern change, such as the influence of transformed life choices upon youth responses to communality and the potential of locality to constrain young peoples' access to preferred external and youth focused cultures. Again, there appears to have been little interpretation of rural space as providing a possible shelter for the young from the pressures actives identified with modern change.

Some associations of young people with non-collective cultures could be discerned in actives' descriptions of the contesting of local spatial resources at Tincombe. Their relative familiarity with young peoples' presence within and transgressions of, local place contrast with Camdown and lend more agreement to research that suggests that young people in rural spaces are often the subject of adult scrutiny (Matthews et al. 2000). Some actives felt themselves acutely aware of the inappropriate presence in or use of space by, certain groups of young people and suggested that this acuity magnified the significance of the actions of such Youth. Young peoples' contravention of what actives understood as the collective norms and values expressed by village public open spaces, was associated with a perceived loosening of their affiliation to local community. Some experienced these incidences as a rejection or subversion of cultures of locality by youth disinterested in the rural idyllic geographies that actives positioned as central to Tincombe's collective identity.

These understandings of local youth by actives at the rural sites emphasised their shift in attachment to traditional, stable, rural communality and space toward more developed, modern urban locales and globalised, peer group cultures. In constructing their orientation to social and spatial cultures of locality in this manner, the young were often positioned outside the symbolic

boundaries of the geographies of collective identification that actives shared and wished to promote.

At Hillview, young people were similarly associated with the influence of modernity and a related lack of attachment to cultures of locality. The main difference, between this interpretation and those at the other sites however, is that young peoples' position in relation to modern change was interpreted by actives as indicative of the *wider* state of local collective identity. The younger age group were understood to be particularly vulnerable, for example, to social seclusion, as parents tried to protect them from the rundown, outdoor public environments of the estate. This evidence shares some commonalities with the literature that explores the connection between social and spatial isolation, in the context of US urban environments (Katz, 1998, Hart et al., 1997, Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992).

Parallels might be drawn for example, between circumstances in Hillview and suggestions that in the US there has been a disinvestment in social welfare by the state following the socio-economic shifts of late modernity, that has extended to the management of safe public spaces (Katz, 1998, p 134). As such sites deteriorate they are perceived as unsuitable and unsafe for use by certain groups, such as the very young and are increasingly abandoned to less desirable users, increasing their apparent risks (Lennard & Crowhurst Lennard, 1992, p 38). The emphasis within this research upon the potential loss of social and cultural opportunities and isolation that may follow young peoples' withdrawal from public space, a diminishment of informal peer and intergenerational contact, is also echoed in actives' representation of the situation at Hillview. In this respect, the absence of children from the estate's public landscapes was understood by some actives as symbolic of the threat posed by the decline of local space and social networks to the neighbourhood's processes of collective identification.

By contrast, the wider community often viewed older young people, who experienced greater spatial freedom on the estate, as transgressors of communality. The actions of certain groups of young people were associated with the social and spatial decline fuelling social fragmentation upon the estate. Such perceptions surrounded a situation where young peoples' very presence in public landscapes had become socially and spatially disruptive to some local residents. By contrast, however, actives viewed the conduct of such youth as again, indicative of both their, and their communities, disenfranchisement from collective space and society. Their behaviours were regularly interpreted within the context of their lack of social and spatial resources: their cultural and material disempowerment in the wake of recent socio-economic change. Teenagers' overt and often controversial presence upon the estate appeared understood by certain actives as just as representative of the influence of changes, to the estate's social and spatial fabric, associated with late modernity, as younger children's absence. In contrast to the rural sites, their lack of immersion in collective local cultures was not interpreted as the result of their particular receptiveness to modernity, but of their particular vulnerability to its social and spatial rearrangements. Young people of all ages appeared in different ways to embody for key actives the fragile and vulnerable state of local collective identification.

8.3 2 *Idyllic associations of young people with nature*

What is notable about the construction of young people in relation to notions of nature and naturalness is the infrequency with which such notions were deployed by actives. The cultural practice in the West of connecting conceptions of young people and environment as 'natural' seemed of relatively modest influence in these case studies. The enduring correspondence between ideas of youth and nature that have been established as conditioning many of our understandings of and actions toward young people emerged much less frequently than constructions of young people in relation to modernity (Gittins, 1998, Jones, 1997, 2000, Holland, 1992, Matthews et al, 2000a, Valentine, 1997b). When such constructs did occur, primarily in relation to the younger age group and memories of actives' childhoods, they rarely appeared of comparable potency to anti-idyllic perceptions of youth. This finding departs from evidence (Jones, 1999, 2000, Matthews et al, 2000a) suggesting that the 'crisis' in modern childhood, notions of its dissolving boundaries with adulthood or its requirement for increased protection and seclusion, has not yet significantly penetrated the '*imaginary spaces of the rural idyll'* and the mythic relationship between young people and nature (Jones, 1999, p 123).

'Such constructions of childhoods are perhaps becoming the last strongholds of Apollonian images of childhood, if not children (Jones, 1999, p 123)'.

8.3.3 *Locating the significance of actives constructions of youth in relation to modernity.*

These findings identify rural actives exclusion of forms of young identity from the symbolic imagery and cultures of locality that facilitate their own engagement in local collective identification. At the urban site they distinguish actives' understanding of young people as indicative of the wider state of the estates processes of shared collective identification with locality in late modernity. In order to explore further the substance of these results, they need to be placed firmly in relation to their specific context: the opportunity to create a new, open, communal space, the Millennium MG Scheme.

8.4. Understanding the Construction of Young People in Relation to Collective Identity and Their Inclusion/Exclusion From the Process of Creating/Using a Communal Space.

Idyllic constructions of young people in relation to locality may remain a mode of conceiving of them at the case study locations in circumstances other than those explored here. What can be seen to be particularly influential in determining the shape of actives' understandings of young people in this instance, however, is the context in which these constructions took place: that of a collective, creating a new communal space. Actives emerge as collectives utilising opportunities to inscribe their symbolic constructions of locality into local space and society (Cohen, 1985, Tyler, 2003, Cloke et al. 1997): the MG scheme was a chance to add substance to the values they wished to resource local collective identification. The MG could provide such a tool via actives' imbuing its process and/or result with the symbolic qualities that helped define the boundaries and nature of this identity. Such practices presumably strengthen their cultures

of locality in the face of the pressures for change, associated with modernity.

In order to achieve such outcomes, actives' attitude towards the MG project can be seen as necessarily strategic, including the way in which they constituted young people in relation to it. This relationship is explored below in terms of its features at the rural and urban sites.

8.4.1 *Young people, collective identity and the MG: the rural cases*

Groups of young people at the rural case sites were constructed by actives as orientated toward behaviours and aspirations they associated with modernity, youth cultures characterised as particularly receptive to its influence. In the context of the MG, actives emphasised the homogeneity of this relationship and this can be understood as a response to the perceived threat posed by the changes they associated with modernity, to the values and character of the locality that they wished to protect and develop.

A good example of this was evident in Tincombe, in the case of the creation of local open spaces developed specifically for youth. In this instance, trustees were keen to emphasise the co-operative approach that had developed between themselves and young people in establishing and delivering the project. Such collective understanding and accommodation chimed with elements of their imagined geography of Tincombe, the values of communality that many credited to the place's unique collective identity. In this way young peoples' involvement in these projects and the spaces themselves were accommodated by actives within the symbolic boundaries of their cultures of locality and their interpretation of these events dictated by that cultures logic. This contrasted significantly, however, with the way in which young peoples' ability to participate in local social networks was understood by actives in the context of the MG. In this case, actives conceived of older young people in particular, as unlikely to commit to communal endeavour due to their individualism, unlikely to wish to shape locality due to their focus upon less geographically specific cultures.

In the case of the creation of youth orientated place, young peoples' affiliations with modern change were accommodated within the NSMs perspective of and understanding of Tincombe's socio-spatial environment. In the case of the laden, idyllic symbolism of the MG, this appears to have become an inappropriate accommodation: the MG perhaps too valuable a material and emblematic resource to risk diluting. This assessment explains why young people were constructed outside of cultures of locality and spaces of collective identification in one case, but not the other. Strikingly, at the rural sites, the symbolic potency of the idyllic construction of childhood did not appear to greatly motivate actives to attempt to reengage young people with its imagery through engagement with the MG. In the particular context of adult active citizens defending and strengthening their idyllic geography of the countryside, the rural and natural was not considered the place of young people. Childhood was regularly constructed as 'dislocated': orientated outside of rural cultures of locality with urban, modern territory more often seen as its 'natural' home.

8.4.2 *Young people, collective identity and the MG: the urban cases*

If the MG project can be understood as a tool for enhancing and re-embedding particular cultures of locality and resourcing local collective identification, then it is in relation to this aim that actives' understanding of young people was constituted. What appears to have been key, in terms of achieving young peoples' participation in the Millennium Green scheme, is how these ideas about youth contrasted with actives' cultures of locality and sense of collective identity.

As at the other sites, Hillview's young people were interpreted by actives in terms of their relationship to late modernity. However, the contrast this made with actives' culture of locality, provided the motivation for them to attempt to draw youth inside such comprehension through the medium of the MG. The ideas of space and society that actives were operating in relation to, those of urban regeneration, appear to have possessed an alternate logic to that of the idyllic understandings of space and society that preoccupied rural actives. The notions of urban regeneration that actives referred to, understood Hillview as lacking certain collective dynamics and resources within it's local social and spatial relations which the participative elements of the MG scheme would empower local residents to reclaim (Rose, 1996, Selman & Parker, 1997).

Young people were understood by key actives as particularly vulnerable to the social and spatial dislocation that changes tied to modernity had effected. The MG was seen as a space in which to facilitate their collective identification with the cultures of locality that certain actives subscribed to. As at the rural sites, young people were also understood by actives as potentially disruptive of the spatial and social priorities of the MG. Rather than seeking to exclude their participation on this basis however, actives identified the involvement of youth in the process and outcome of the MG as an opportunity to draw them inside of the cultures of locality and processes of shared identification which once included within, they may be less likely to destabilise. 'Dislocated' childhood could in this way be reengaged.

This finding, that youths symbolic resonance played a significant role in determining actives' understanding of young people in relation to their priorities for local collective identity, echoes Jenk's (1996) understanding that adult images of and relationships to youth are permeated with reflections of our cultural responses to wider contexts and circumstances. Young peoples positioning by actives, as the social category most responsive/vulnerable to change associated with late modernity, appeared to dictate the way in which they were understood in relation to adult attempts to manage such changes, in this instance via the MG scheme. As Jenks (1996, p 97) argues, the adult-formulated child has long been iconic '*of the condition of the social structure at any particular time*' and as such, is currently representative of '*our collective responses to the impact of late-modernity*'. What this research suggests is that such formulations may directly influence the opportunities for of young people to become engaged by adults in forms of communality and collective identification that also provide a means of managing the influence of late modernity.

8.5. Young Peoples' Sense of Collective Identification and Their Understanding of Their Place Within it

This research found that young peoples' sense of local collective identity and their understanding of their role within this identity varied at each site, but again particularly between the two rural and the urban cases, in which contexts they are explored here.

8.5.1 *Young peoples' relationship with collective identification: the rural cases*

The findings of this research demonstrate clearly, at both the rural case studies, that young people identified with elements of the cultures of locality that actives understood as defining characteristics of local communality and space. At both sites young people of various ages described understandings and appreciations of space and society that echoed actives' own. It is likely that they participated too in more youth-orientated, local and extra local cultures that also influenced their relationships with their village. However, in the context of this research they regularly drew on idyllic interpretations of the area's people, social networks and place that might equally have been articulated by trustees.

This affiliation with locality could also be observed in the desires of many rural youth to be allowed the opportunity to participate in collective endeavours that sought to further embed such understandings. For some, a motivation for these aspirations appeared to be the chance to participate in local communality, through the process of the MG. Many shared with actives the ambition to be allowed to influence local spatial and social concerns through the product of the scheme. Some wished to create a platform for what might be considered youth priorities. Many declared an interest in shaping a collective, inter-generational basis for action.

A high proportion of young people at the rural sites however, appeared to feel that despite their affiliation with local collective identity, significant members of the community were, to various extents, actively excluding young identities from this communal character. They however, saw little conflict between the non-local cultures in which they participated and their interest in and attachment to locality.

8.5.2 *Young peoples' relationship with collective identification: the urban case*

At the urban case study, the understandings that young people had of their locality, as a fragmented social context and poor quality environment, were not significantly different from those of actives. In addition, younger children, just as actives, also seemed responsive to the idea that the character of the local environment could be altered through their participation in collective attempts at inducing change. This age group appeared relatively confident of their ability and entitlement to contribute to communal endeavours shaping the area, perhaps due to their experience of inclusion in such projects.

By contrast, many older young people did not possess the same inclinations to understand local culture and space as having the potential for increased communal input and character. The ideology of regeneration that influenced key actives appeared, at the time of the research, to

have little penetrated their attitudes toward and observations of, local space and society. It appeared conceivable in these instances that the influence of late modernity upon the estate had truly dislocated young people from their neighbourhood's space and social relations. Certainly, a detachment from the possibilities of creating change within their locality seemed dominant amongst these older young people. The attraction of moving beyond the limitations of the local seemed more achievable than such participation, for some.

Most of these young people did not feel excluded from engaging in participating in shaping cultures of locality or within local collective identity due to their status as young people. Rather, an understanding that the power to effect such change resided firmly outside of the means of local community, seemed the source of much of their sense of the improbability of such influence. Indeed, in this way young people can be seen to belong firmly to the culture of locality that many actives understood as indigenous to the area.

8.5.3 *Exploring the particularities and commonalities of young peoples' relationship to the late modern context*

Exploring these findings in the context of the literature is constructive. Certain research exploring young peoples' relationship with late modernity understands it as a category of being, in various manners, very exposed to the disembedding and individualising influences of this era (Büchner, 1990, Furlong and Cartmel, 1997, Massey, 1998, Meyrowitz, 1985, Postman, 1982). Furthermore, this perceived vulnerability to/affinity with, such effects has led some to question young peoples' desire or ability to participate in certain forms of collective identification (Büchner, 1990, Buckingham 2000, Delli Carpini, 2000, Valentine, 2000, Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998).

The findings of this research situate young peoples' experiences of the influence of late modernity upon their abilities or desires to participate in local, collective identification, as both different and similar to those of their wider communities. Many of the resources with which they identify with locality and their desire to do so possessed commonalities with those of other local residents: compatible or at least comparable, with the conduct of adult members of their localities. Whilst young people possess their own cultures and geographies of place and people, in the context of this research, such difference did not appear to necessitate dislocation from other perhaps more collective forms of local identification. However, in the instances where cultures of collective identification were more difficult to access, such as at Hillview, the young appeared more likely to identify with other localities, as did their wider community, and with peer cultures.

Where modernity appeared to exercise most influence in young peoples' accessing of spaces and resources of local collective identification, was in shaping the social and cultural context in which it was negotiated: particular to, but experienced heterogeneously by, young people.

There has been a shift associated with the cultural turn, toward research focusing on the

difference and marginality of young peoples' experience. This has been a necessary adjustment and recognition of the significance of young experience: an experience requiring its own theoretical and methodological approaches. However, it is important to situate the status and experience of young people *within* the contexts of the wider social and cultural relations and contexts that are crucial in shaping their lives: these circumstances also require explanation. The next section continues to explore young peoples' understanding of the influence of such contexts.

8.6 Young Peoples' Awareness of any Construction of Themselves in Relation to Local Collective Identities.

Young peoples' knowledge of actives' constructions of youth identity are explored below in the rural, then urban context. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between such awareness and young peoples' perceptions of their possible place in the material and social spaces of local collective identification.

8.6.1 Young peoples' awareness of constructions of youth in relation to local collective identities: The rural cases.

At Camdown, certain young people understood themselves as excluded from the MG project because of their lack of correspondence with or value to, the strategy of social and spatial preservation that trustees sought to achieve. They suggested that they offered little material resource to actives and additionally that they were construed by the *'people…running'* local *'community'* as *'bad people'*. The characteristics, which they identified as attributed to them as 'bad people', appeared to be indulgence in the experiences that mark the boundary between adulthood and youth: the apparent erosion of which, during the late modern era, has contributed to the perceived crisis in childhood (Valentine, 2000, Wyness, 1997). Camdown's young people, in the context of this research, understood 'bad people' as being older youth who prematurely interested themselves in sexuality, drinking and illicit drug taking and hence gave themselves a symbolically inappropriate and perhaps 'loud' presence in the village. Bad people would naturally be excluded from local collectivity due to their clash with its idyllic values, whereas the youngest, 'innocent' children would continue to be cooed over and their symbolically appropriate and 'quieter' presences embraced within collective identity. As established above, however, young people remained able to construct their identity in relation to their *own* understandings of the relationship between the area's cultures of locality and their behaviour and aspirations.

Similarly, at Tincombe older young people showed an awareness of their possible construction by adult actives. Some understood themselves construed by these adult members of their community as unlikely to award the social and spatial priorities of the MG appropriate attention or be willing to commit to the collective process. They imagined that they were positioned by actives as *'rebels'* and this added to their status as *'untrustworthy'* socio-cultural identities: unable to gain the trust to participate in furthering the particular agenda that actives subscribed

too. A number of older young people felt themselves excluded from contributing to the collective shaping of local place and society due to adult conceptions of them as aspiring to social and spatial behaviours outside of the area's cultural norms. However, some clearly understood themselves as being both entitled and able to, achieve such goals.

Young peoples' understanding of their position in relation to local collectivity had a very clear spatial dimension at Tincombe. This echoes research suggesting that notions of and anxieties concerning their position within social relations can clearly influence young peoples' attitudes toward open public spaces (Matthews et al., 2000, p 146-147, Thomas & Thompson, 2004, p 7, Wolpole, 2003, p 15). Both younger and older children seemed to feel themselves excluded from certain types of symbolically 'loud' behaviours in local spaces, including the MG, due to the threat these identities appeared to represent to the collective priorities of such spaces. This led some to prefer inhabiting places that allowed them to express their own sense of identity more freely. Research has suggested that young people are keen to occupy locations where a 'Third-space' can be created, a place where social norms and conventions can be overwritten and less conformist social identities tested (Mathews et al., 2000b, p 69).

What is striking at Tincombe is that such space was described, particularly by older young people as socially and spatially inferior to those places where adults were able to participate in aspects of the village's collective identity. This raises several questions. First, of whether such 'Third-space' is always an environment of choice for young people or whether is it is sometimes a default location, where the dominant socio-spatial values are weaker and can be rearranged, challenged or destabilised. Second, if young people prefer to spend significant amounts of time in non-collectively symbolic third spaces, then this may have significant implications for their *ability* to feel included in local communality, if shared public places are indeed the multifaceted elements of young peoples' sense of collective identification the research suggests (Depeau, 2001, Panelli et al., 2002).

These are interesting results. It is in relation to the research conducted with rural actives, however, that they begin to have further resonance. They suggest that these actives' constructions of young people as representative of modernity and perhaps a 'dislocated' childhood experience, influenced not only these adults' understanding of young peoples' place in spaces of collective identification, but also shaped young peoples' interpretations of the spaces available to participate in such processes and spaces. Young people at the rural sites, although independent architects of their relationships with locality to some extent, perceived actives' possible constructions of themselves as both social and spatial exclusions from the resources of collective identification.

8.6.2 *Young peoples' awareness of constructions of youth in relation to local collective identities: the urban case.*

As has been suggested, younger children at Hillview, largely accepted and often embraced the participatory role in shaping collectivity that actives understood them to require. This role as

active citizens was accommodated within their understandings of local space and society. There was little sense of this positioning belonging to any particular set of cultural expectations. This easy reception of actives' priorities contrasted significantly with the experience of older young people taking part in the Hillview research. A notable proportion of these regularly supposed that little or nothing was expected of them in terms of participation within collectivity: the power to effect change being regularly attributed to forces outside of locality. Actives' understandings of their potential role in shaping local social and spatial environments and participating in collective identification seemed to have little influenced their perceptions of themselves as of yet. Older young peoples' lack of response to actives' attempts to engender local collective identification are perhaps indicative of their continued negotiation of such resources from within the wider social and cultural context of their socially excluded environment: a habit developed in response to their long-term experience of the blunt impact modern change has had upon their wider community.

What this contrast also highlights is the way in which young people at the rural sites had so clearly not been substantially disembedded by the influence of modernity from the area's dominant cultures of locality and collective identification. Rural youth, through contrast with the relative detachment exhibited by participants in the urban case study, can be seen to remain firmly exposed to and aware of, the influence of the social and spatial priorities of those most active in shaping local character and values. They appeared to remain sensitive to, and enmeshed within, the relationships shaping local identities and governing their inclusion or exclusion from such local collective identification.

8.7 Wider Reflection and Further Research Possibilities.

Existing research exploring young peoples' constructions of identity in the context of late modernity has under emphasised the continued significance of local collective identification as a tactic in, and context of, this experience. This research has sought to contribute to this area through its approach to understanding collective identification as a dynamic and defining context within which young people negotiate their biographical choices.

This thesis adds to research concerned with the continuing significance of local collective identification as a relevant biographical choice in the context of late modernity. It explores the particular construction of this potential source of ontological security in order to assess the context it provides for young peoples' potential life path decisions, and achievement of a secure sense of belonging. This research has gained access to this context through an approach rarely employed in this area, by engaging with both young respondents and the adults particularly active in defining their local, social and cultural contexts.

The findings show that young people can continue to draw upon locality and collective identification as a resource for constructing their self in the context of late modernity, or reject such influences, in context-dependent strategies. However, they also assert the central

significance of the local, social, cultural, and often adult-defined, contexts provided by the circumstances of local collective identification, in directing both young peoples' control over, and aspiration toward, gaining access to these spaces and resources.

The results help elucidate the dynamic relationship between the manner in which prominent adults may defend and shape the spaces and resources of local collective identification in the context of late modernity, and young peoples', actual and perceived, barriers to gaining access to these. In this way the research contributes to an understanding of the way in which cultural contexts and constructs continue to act in defining the shape of appropriate and inappropriate young identities. Particularly, this research has demonstrated that adults at both the rural and urban sites constructed young people as representative of modernity. Young identity symbolised affinity with/vulnerability to wider sets of social and spatial relations belonging to contexts beyond the locality. This representation, of 'dislocated' childhood, was then understood as an appropriate/inappropriate element of local collectivity in explicit relation to adult understandings of the broader relationship of modernity to the symbolic cultures of locality that informed, and resourced, their own collective identification. This contrasting of dislocated childhood with the logic dictated by adult cultures of locality, in this instance idyllic or regenerative, either resulted in young peoples' general exclusion, as at the rural sites, or attempts at their inclusion, as in the urban case. In these terms, this construction of young people can be understood as part of a project of governing the socio-spatial dimensions of locality

At the rural sites, in particular, this makes a contribution to understanding the extent to which constructions of young people in relation to naturalness may now have shifted. The rural sphere is no longer found to be the last bastion of appropriate 'childhood', in the cases explored in this research. Adult rural actives, who identified collectively with idyllic cultures of locality, appeared to be shaping the identity of childhood as they would that of aspects of modernity: often by constructing it as 'other', and excluding it from the symbolic values utilised in their representations of local space and society.

Rural young people were aware of these attempts to construct them as out of place in locality and argued against the wholesale application of such representations of their age group. Local young residents in rural areas asserted their possession of the correct cultural competencies for participation within the spaces and resources of local collective identification, and contested adult constructions. However research found evidence that their spatial practices were shaped by these cultural contexts, and that young rural people could literally become out of place in rurality.

This aspect of the results suggests an agenda for further research. It would be valuable to further trace the particular dimensions of representations of 'dislocated' childhood in the rural sphere and test its embodiment of adult reactions to modernity, and position on the dependent/deviant continuum of cultural constructions of childhood. Likewise it is important to

establish how rural young people may resist or be influenced by such representations. The rural idyll can no longer be viewed as uniting with 'childhood' to provide a symbolic refuge from modernity, outside of recollections of the past.

It would equally be significant to fully ascertain the implications of this construct for the participative involvement of young people in projects that seek to shape their localities. In the context of adult active citizen's roles in constructing and policing the boundaries of local collective identification, questions need to be asked about their accountability in, and capacity to, involve young people in local collective participative endeavour. In addition, measures might need to be taken to address the defining nature of cultural constructions of childhood within localities, before devolving power to these constituencies.

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The Appendices

Appendix 1

Address

11 January 2002

Telephone 01111 222222

agoodenough@glos.ac.uk

Dear Trustee,

I am currently carrying out PhD research into Millennium Greens, in collaboration with the Countryside Agency. The research focuses upon the ways in which young people have been involved in Millennium Greens, how they could be involved in the future and young peoples' attitudes towards the scheme. An important part of my research is establishing how Millennium Green Trustees have approached young peoples' participation.

During February, I am carrying out this research in Case Study Site and am writing to ask if, in your role as a Trustee, you would take part in this project. This would involve attending a group discussion, lasting an hour and a half and taking part in an individual interview, lasting about the same time and to be arranged at your convenience.

I have discussed arranging the above with your project organiser, --------, who has kindly agreed to find a location, date and time for the group discussion, suitable for yourself and your fellow Trustees.

I will, if I may, write to you again about the individual interview. In the meantime, please do not hesitate to contact me for further details of this research.

Yours faithfully,

Alice Goodenough

Research Student
CCRU

Appendix 2

Address

By post and e-mail

24 January 2002

<div align="right">
01974 831008
mobile: 07712774511
agoodenough@glos.ac.uk
</div>

Dear,

I recently discussed with you on the telephone some research I am carrying out in Case Study Site, during February. I am writing to describe in more detail my research and how and why I would welcome any assistance with it you might be able to provide.

The research focuses on 'Millennium Greens', and is being undertaken in collaboration with the Countryside Agency. The Millennium Greens scheme encouraged communities to bid for funds with which to create a new green space. My research focuses on the ways in which young people have been involved with these projects and how they feel about the scheme. I am undertaking this work with the trustees of Case Study Site Millennium Green and Case Study Site Primary School. As I described to you, it has proved difficult, however, to locate older children of secondary school age within the village who have either participated in the scheme or live adjacent to the site. It would be invaluable, therefore, if I could attempt to contact this age group with the assistance of Youth Services.

In the other two case studies in this research, I worked alongside Youth Workers. I understand, as you mentioned, that District Youth Workers have no direct contact with young people from the Case Study Site area, but was wondering whether the Youth Service would be interested in attempting to reach them through collaboration with this research.

The work I wish to carry out with young people explores general issues about living in the area, any involvement they have had in their Millennium Green project, how they view this scheme. It can touch upon issues of social and cultural inclusion, community, and local identity.

Previously, at one of the case studies where Youth Services had no contact established with that areas young people, we collaborated. This meant that when we contacted research participants, I benefited from the Services reputation and Youth Workers experience and they were able to make these young people aware of the Youth Services work.

This contact was achieved through a Rural Outreach Youth Worker and I agreeing to advertise, locally, a place, date and time where young people could find us. This meeting was publicised by my distribution of leaflets and posters that also explained the research questions I wanted to discuss with young people. In this case, we subsequently arranged several further meetings to talk to young people in their peer groups, as both primary and secondary school ages attended the initial date. The Youth Worker took the opportunity at each of these sessions to distribute information and engage the young people in conversation after the main discussion.

I feel that it might be possible to reach young people in Case Study Site in a similar way and would like to discuss with you any possibilities. With this in mind, I will contact you in the next few days. In the meantime, please don't hesitate to contact me for further information.

Yours faithfully,

Alice Goodenough
Research Student
Countryside and Community Research Unit

Further information about the Millennium Greens scheme
www.countryside.gov.uk/millenniumgreens

Appendix 3

Address

24 January 2002
01974 831008
mobile: 07712774511

agoodenough@glos.ac.uk

Re: Research with Young people at Millennium Green sites

Dear,

Following my recent conversation with your secretary, I am writing to describe in more detail my research and how and why I would welcome your assistance with it. The research focuses on 'Millennium Greens', and is being undertaken in collaboration with the Countryside Agency. The Millennium Greens scheme encouraged communities to bid for funds with which to create a new green space. My research focuses on the ways in which young people have been involved with these projects and how they feel about the scheme.

I am currently undertaking this work in Case Study site throughout February, with the trustees of Case Study Millennium Green and Case Study Primary School. It has proved difficult, however, to locate older children of secondary school age within the village who have either participated in the scheme or live adjacent to the site. In the other two case studies in this research I have worked with Youth Services, but District Youth Workers have no direct contact with young people from the Case Study Site area. It would be invaluable, therefore, if I could attempt to contact this age group through your school.

The research with young people explores with them general issues about living in the area, any involvement they have had in their Millennium Green project, how they view this scheme and how young people, such as themselves, could be encouraged to be involved in similar projects in the future. It can touch upon social and cultural ideas of citizenship, community, participation and local identity.

Previously, this work has been achieved in several ways, including the following:

- Younger (Primary School) children have been asked if they wish to talk to me by their tutor and we have met during a lesson or break period. Typically, children have talked to me in pairs or small groups.

- Older children (Secondary School) have been involved in group discussions with myself and peers from their home area. Arranged in advance, these have taken place during lunchtime or after school hours. If pupils with a Case Study Site address can not be traced by the school then contact could be made at a 'drop in location' (see next point).

- A 'drop in' location has been found within the school that has then been publicised through assembly, on notice boards and by tutors. Pupils from the Millennium Green area have dropped in and discussed their views with me during lunchtimes and immediately after school hours. Young people can then join a fuller group discussion at an agreed time and date, if they wish.

Of course, any participation in the research by pupils would be entirely voluntary.

I will contact you in the next few days to discuss the possibilities. In the meantime, please don't hesitate to contact me for further information.

Yours faithfully,

Alice Goodenough

Further information about the Millennium Greens scheme
www.countryside.gov.uk/millenniumgreens

Research with Young People in

I'm a researcher interested in finding out how young people were involved in Millennium Green Projects around the country and how they could be involved in similar projects in the future. In —— I'd like to find out some things about young people's lives,

* **What its like to live in ——**
* **What do young people think of the —— Millennium Green?**
* **How can projects like this involve them next time?**

The first part of this research, locally, could be for young people to make a video about what its like to live in —— what young people do, where they go, what they think about the village...
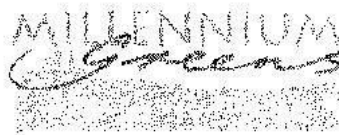
This research needs young people! So if you or a family member or a friend would like to get involved...

We are meeting up by the —— District Youth Services Minibus, which will be parked in:

the Car Park of the

on Wednesday, 23rd May **at** 7:00 p.m.

Further info:
The research is being carried out in collaboration with the Countryside Agency (who ran the Millennium Greens scheme) by Alice Goodenough, a PhD research student from the Countryside and Community research unit at Cheltenham and Gloucester College. Alice can be contacted on ——————
The —— research is being carried out with assistance from —— District's Youth & Community Service. Rural Youth Worker —————— can be contacted on ——————

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Research with Young People from Case Study

Come and help me research young peoples' lives in Case Study

If you live in or spend time in Case Study could you come and tell me what its like, what young people do, where they go, what they think of the village and the Millennium Green?

If you would like to let me know what you think, you can come and have a chat by dropping by,

Room:

On: Wednesday (27 September)

From: Anytime between 12:15 and 1:15

Further Info:
The research is being carried out in collaboration with the Countryside Agency (who ran the Millennium Green scheme) by Alice Goodenough, a PhD research student from the Countryside and Community Research Unit at the University of Gloucestershire. Alice can be contacted on 01111 222222

Appendix 6

Focus Group

1. **INTRODUCTION**, Who I am, (introduce assistant) What I'm doing, Why I'm holding discussion group. Length of focus group, anonymity of discussion, why discussion taped, summary of discussion to be sent to participants.

- Ask participants to introduce themselves to me, and briefly describe how long they have been involved as a trustee.

2. **GENERAL DISCUSSION OF MG PROJECT**, establish context and what participants see as key events.

- Grand tour question – How did the idea of creating a Millennium Green in Camdown first come about?

- What kind of experience was it, being involved in the Millennium Green scheme?

Prompts,
- What is it like, setting up a Millennium Green scheme in Camdown?
- Has anyone here been involved in similar projects?   -other voluntary organisations or societies?
- What kind of aims did the Camdown project have?

3. **DISCUSSION OF OTHERS INVOLVEMENT**, explore how group felt about and approached participation and wider involvement in scheme in general.

- How do you think people outside of this group, felt about the Millennium Greens Scheme?

Prompts,
- What other people or organisations were involved in the MG process beside yourselves?

4. **DISCUSSION OF YOUNG PEOPLES' INVOLVEMENT AND OPINION OF THE PROJECT,** explore how the group felt about this issue, how significant it was?

- What do you think about the issue of young peoples' involvement in Millennium Green Projects?

Prompts,
- How did you approach involving young people in the MG process?
- At what stages of the project do you think young people could have been involved?
- Do you think it is be appropriate to involve young people in the MG process?

- When we talk about young people who do we mean by that?

5. **DISCUSSION OF ANY FUTURE ACTIVITY WITH YOUNG PEOPLE**, ascertain how the group feel about any possible future involvement of young people at their Green.

- Does anyone picture young people being involved at the Millennium Green in the future?

Prompts,
- Which young people might be involved in the Camdown MG – where would you draw them from?
- What type of involvement might young people have in the Camdown MG?

Appendix 7

Individual interview schedule
Confirm that the interview is anonymous.

SECTION ONE – **CASE STUDY SITE**

∗ I'd like to discuss some of your feelings about living in case study, if we could. Perhaps you could briefly describe what it's like living here?

Prompts.
∗ How long have you lived here?
∗ What kind of place do you think case study will be in the future?

SECTION TWO – **VOLUNTEERING**
(We talked a little about this at the focus group, but perhaps we could recap)

∗ Could you perhaps talk a little bit about why you agreed to be a Trustee of the MG scheme?

Prompts.
∗ How long have you been a Trustee?
∗ What motivated you to agree to be involved?
∗ What other voluntary activity have you been involved in before this?

SECTION THREE – **THE MILLENNIUM GREEN**

∗ Could you talk a bit about what you feel was or is the purpose of the Green?

Prompts.
∗ How do you think the Green should be used?

SECTION FOUR – **YOUNG PEOPLE**

∗ Perhaps you could reflect a little about what it is like to be a young person in case study?

Prompts.
∗ How do young people spend their time here?
∗ What sort of interests do you think young people have here?
∗ What type of contact do you have with young people in case study?
∗ How would you like young people to be involved in community projects here?
∗ What type of volunteer do young people make?

Some interview questions about living in case study site

* What's your name and how old are you?

* Where do you go to school and how do you get there?

* How many young people your age are there in the village?

* What is there to do in case study site, for people your age?

* What do you do and where do you go in your spare time?

* Do you feel involved in the things (like the Millennium Green) that happen in case study site?

Appendix 9

Discussion Group questions

- You mentioned last time we met that involvement in the Millennium Green was open to everyone, yet no young people became involved.

Prompt - Why was that?

- I'm going to read you the description of a Millennium Green that the Trustees of your Green would have received when they applied for funding and ask for your comments.

'A Millennium Green is an area of open space, to be enjoyed permanently by the local community. A Millennium Green may be located in or on the edge of a city, town, suburb, village or hamlet. It may be very small or perhaps as large as 30 acres and is within easy walking distance of people's homes. Each Millennium Green has its own character – there may be trees, bushes, ponds, streams, paths. It is a place where people can relax, children can play and everyone can enjoy nature. Millennium Greens are permanent 'breathing spaces' for people of all ages' (pass around sheets with quote on).

Prompt - What do you think, is it something that sounds interesting to you?
        - Do you have any questions about the scheme?

- Last time I spoke with you, one of you mentioned the idea of a recycling project here, or building a skateboard ramp for the boys. Do you think that a different community project would appeal to you more than the MG scheme

Prompt - What sort of project?

- Imagine you are the trustees of the Millennium Green Project and you need to ensure that:

There are positive measures to involve children in the design and management of the site, particularly through links with local schools'

Prompt - What do you think, how could this be achieved?

- You mentioned last time we met, that the use of the site would never have changed from its use prior becoming a Millennium Green

Prompt - Why do you think that is?

- You referred last time to the fact that the MG project seemed to be for older people

Prompt - Why did it seem that way?
        - What would make it seem a project for young people?

- You mentioned last time we met, that older people might be justified in feeling that local young people aren't interested in projects like Millennium Greens because of the way you treat the environment (you mentioned litter)

Prompt - Do you feel that's an impression young people give out?

- When we met last, some suggested that if you had gone to one of the public meetings, you probably wouldn't have been listened too.

Prompt - Why don't you think you would have been listened too?
- How could young people be listened too, when they want to be involved in the Millennium Green scheme?

- Some mentioned last time that you were too busy to be involved in the Millennium Green.

Prompt - Could involvement fit in with the way you spend your time?

- What parts of carrying out the Millennium Green project do you think you might have been interested in?

Appendix 10

Alice Goodenough, Countryside and Community Research Unit, University of Gloucestershire.

Involving Young People in Environmental Community Development Initiatives: a Case Study of Millennium Greens – **Research with Case Study Millennium Green Trustees**

This note details the aims of my research and the methods that have been used with Millennium Green Trustees, previously.

The Research Aims

I am currently carrying out research into Millennium Greens, in collaboration with Countryside Agency and contributing towards my PhD. The research focuses on the ways in which young people have been involved in Millennium Greens and their attitudes towards the scheme. An important part of this research, however, is establishing how Millennium Green Trustees have approached young peoples' participation and their feelings toward it.

Research with Trustees

This research is being carried out at three locations in the Southwest of the UK, including case study. At each site, Millennium Green Trustees have been asked to take part in a group discussion, lasting approximately one and half-hours and an individual interview lasting about the same time. The discussion group has concentrated on looking at the history of the site being discussed, how young people were involved at the site in question and the place of young peoples' participation within that scheme. The interviews have focused on the individual trustees feelings about the area and their role as a trustee and has asked them to explore how they believe young people in the area might feel about living there.

The aim of the research with Trustees is to provide all those involved a chance to offer their viewpoint and illuminate how and why the Millennium Green scheme, in practice, has involved young people.

Due to the nature of the Trustees commitments in that role, it is understood that time is often at a premium and for this reason, the research is operated as flexibly as possible in terms of dates and times. The discussion group aims to bring together as many of the Trustees as available and therefore takes place at a set time and location, guided by my contact within the Trustee group. The individual interviews, however, can be arranged at the convenience of the individual Trustee.

Details of Research at CASE STUDY

- Research to take place in MONTH

- **Group discussion** - Location of group discussion to be CASE STUDY Village Hall. Date of group discussion to be arranged amongst Trustees, possibly a DAY, during THESE WEEKS of THIS MONTH.

- **Individual interviews** – Date, time and location to be arranged at convenience of individual trustees.