

Table of Contents

<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	<u>7</u>
1.1 Context to the research	7
1.2 Research aims and objectives	9
1.3 Chapter structure	11
<u>Chapter 2: Understanding social mix</u>	<u>17</u>
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Difference.....	17
2.2.1 Understandings and engagement with ‘difference’	18
2.3 Diversity and the challenges of difference	22
2.3.1 Multiculturalism.....	23
2.3.2 The right to the city.....	24
2.4 New Labour’s social exclusion and policy agenda	27
2.4.1 Social exclusion	27
2.4.2 New Labour’s urban policy	29
2.4.3 Community, social capital and social mix	30
2.5 The concept of social mix.....	32
2.5.1 The history of social mix	33
2.5.2 The benefits of social mix	33
2.5.3 Social mix and young people	35
2.5.4 Critiques of social mix	36
2.6 Neighbourhood	38
2.6.1 A definition of neighbourhood.....	38
2.6.2 The importance of neighbourhood.....	41
2.7 The design of communities – New Urbanism principles.....	43
2.7.1 Emergence of New Urbanism	44
2.7.2 New Urbanism in practice.....	45
2.7.2.1 Urban Villages	45
2.7.3 Criticisms of New Urbanism.....	47
2.8 Conclusion.....	48

Chapter 3: Identity, place and spatialized behaviour 51

3.1 Introduction.....	51
3.2 Social constructionism.....	51
3.2.1 The social construction of space and place.....	52
3.2.2 The social construction of identity.....	54
3.3 The social construction of young people.....	55
3.3.1 A historical background to the social construction of childhood and young people..	56
3.3.2 Current western social constructions of childhood and young people.....	57
3.3.2.1 ‘Angels’ and ‘Devils’.....	58
3.3.3 The importance of the social construction of young people.....	60
3.4 Young people and space.....	61
3.4.1 Young people’s public space.....	61
3.4.2 Controlling young people in public space.....	64
3.4.2.1 Anti-social behaviour and young people.....	67
3.5 Young people’s appropriation of public space.....	71
3.5.1 Importance of public space.....	71
3.5.2 Young people’s right to the city.....	72
3.5.3 Planning for young people.....	73
3.6 Conclusion.....	75
3.7 Implications for the research and questions.....	77

Chapter 4: Methodology..... 79

4.1 Introduction.....	79
4.2 The research approach.....	79
4.3 Case study approach.....	80
4.3.1 Selecting a case study.....	82
4.3.2 Introducing the case study.....	83
4.3.2.1 Ravenswood Urban Village, Ipswich.....	84
4.4 Research method.....	91
4.4.1 Challenges.....	92
4.4.2 Limitations to the research.....	100
4.4.3 Adopted research methods.....	101
4.4.3.1 Document analysis.....	101

4.4.3.2 Participant observation.....	102
4.4.3.3 Questionnaires.....	104
4.4.3.4 Interviews.....	105
4.4.3.5 Focus groups	106
4.4.4 Research analysis	108
4.5 Positionality.....	109
4.5.1 My role as a researcher.....	109
4.5.2 Working in a team.....	110
4.6 Ethical considerations	110
4.7 Conclusion.....	112

Chapter 5: The use and fight for neighbourhood public space..... 113

5.1.0 Introduction	113
5.2.0 Policy context.....	114
5.2.1 Public space for community use	114
5.2.2 Neighbourhood spaces for young people.....	117
5.3.0 Young people's use of space in their neighbourhood	119
5.3.1 Play areas	119
5.3.2 Community spaces	126
5.4.0 Young people as 'angels' and 'devils'.....	137
5.4.1 The social construction of young people as 'devils'.....	138
5.4.2 The social construction of young people as 'angels'	140
5.4.3 Young people's own perceptions of 'angels' and 'devils'	142
5.5 Securing space against 'devils'	146
5.5.1 Direct action against young people's use of public space	146
5.5.1.1 Police.....	146
5.5.1.2 Residents confront 'devils'.....	149
5.5.1.3 Neighbourhood Watch	150
5.5.2 The treatment of space.....	152
5.5.2.1 Removal of existing features.....	153
5.5.2.2 Alterations to existing features.....	155
5.5.2.3 Reaction against future design features	157
5.5.3 Diversion tactics	159
5.5.4 Young people's resistance	162

5.6 Conclusion 163

Chapter 6: Schooling choices for Ravenswood residents 167

6.1 Introduction..... 167
6.2 Policy context 168
6.3 Schools in the Ravenswood area 170
 6.3.1 Primary schools..... 170
 6.3.2 Secondary schools 172
6.4 Ravenswood residents’ use of schools 173
6.5 Rationale for use of schools 175
 6.5.1 Socio-economic status 176
 6.5.2 Academic results..... 180
 6.5.3 School reputation and image 185
6.6 Consequences of school use..... 189
 6.6.1 Housing market 190
 6.6.2 Ravenswood ‘community’ 191
 6.6.3 Impact on local schools 194
6.7 Conclusion 195

Chapter 7: Boundaries and the scale of social mix 199

7.1 Introduction..... 199
7.2 The scale of social mix policy..... 200
7.3 Social mix and integration in the wider context..... 206
 7.3.1 Social boundaries and perceptions 206
 7.3.2 Physical boundaries between neighbourhoods 211
 7.3.3 Boundaries of facility use 222
7.4 Social mix integration within Ravenswood 227
 7.4.1 Social boundaries and perceptions within Ravenswood..... 227
 7.4.2 Physical boundaries within Ravenswood 232
7.5 Young people’s perceptions of integration 238
7.6 Conclusion 241

<u>Chapter 8: Conclusion</u>	<u>245</u>
8.1 Introduction	245
8.2 Research aim and objectives	245
8.3 Existing debates	246
8.4 Addressing the research questions.....	249
8.5 Evaluating the study.....	255
8.5.1 Issues for further research.....	255
8.5.2 Contribution to the discipline	257
<u>Appendix 1: List of all policy and guidance documents analysed.....</u>	<u>259</u>
<u>Appendix 2: Possible case studies</u>	<u>261</u>
<u>Appendix 3: Newspaper article, Ipswich Evening Star</u>	<u>265</u>
<u>Appendix 4: Questionnaire for adults</u>	<u>267</u>
<u>Appendix 5: Questionnaire for young people.....</u>	<u>271</u>
<u>Appendix 6: Professionals interviewed for the research</u>	<u>274</u>
<u>References:.....</u>	<u>277</u>

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context to the research

Debates about how best to build new communities have existed for well over one hundred years. Some ideas have come and gone, whilst other theories have stayed with us. The concept of social mix is one such longstanding idea. Social mix policy supports the development and growth of neighbourhoods with a 'blend' of residents (Arthuson, 2012, p2). Rather than communities containing residents with similar characteristics, interventions are adopted to ensure that communities have 'different' residents, particularly those from different economic backgrounds (Roberts, 2007, p183). This presence of difference, or diversity, is thought to be an important characteristic in ensuring successful communities (e.g. Imrie and Raco, 2003, p13; ODPM, 2004, p4).

In 1997 the New Labour government was elected. Placed straight at the top of their community agenda were policy solutions centring upon 'well-functioning communities' which were believed to overcome the problems associated with social exclusion (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p13; Kearns, 2003, p37). The concept of social exclusion is thought by some to be a spatial phenomenon whereby areas with a high concentration of economically deprived residents will overwhelmingly experience disadvantage (Cars *et al*, 1998, p280). Disadvantages include poor educational attainment, limited job opportunities (Fairclough, 2000, p53) and perhaps most strikingly of all, high indices of ill-health and lower life expectancies (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001, p2278). Against this context the development of strong and diverse communities was identified as a mechanism to address New Labour's concerns of social exclusion. With this in mind, social mix, which advocates the creation of communities with a mix of residents, will ensure the presence of diversity within a community whereby the 'different' individuals live in close proximity to one another. The increased proximity is then imagined to lead to social encounters and social interaction amongst individuals from diverse socio-economic backgrounds (Arthuson, 2012, p4). Crucially, this mixing is argued to generate social capital which the Government proposed as essential in helping those most likely to suffer from disadvantage to participate in mainstream society.

In light of this, the concept of social mix infiltrated a plethora of New Labour policies. In practice this meant that national policy supported the development of mixed-tenure

neighbourhoods. A mixture of tenures, usually social and private housing (Roberts, 2007, p183), was taken as a proxy for the creation of difference, and a basis for ensuring that places contain the desired 'blend' of occupants (Arthuson, 2012, p2). Furthermore, policy advocated that these neighbourhoods should contain a variety of house types, including family homes (DCLG, 2006a, p9) helping to ensure that children and teenagers will be present in these communities. Crucially for this research study, the presence of young people in mixed tenure neighbourhoods is thought to help initiate the desired social interaction amongst residents (Arthuson, 2012, p61). For instance, young people are socially constructed in policy as catalysts for cross-tenure social interaction (Chaskin and Joesph, 2010, p314), and thus support the social mix agenda.

'mix-ing [sic] across social groups occurs between children and it is this interaction, in the street, nurseries, schools and playgrounds, that also provides opportunities for adults to meet and network. Children provide a common ground, a shared interest and pattern of life, between people in different tenures'
(Silverman *et al*, 2005, p12)

Here Silverman, like others (e.g Arthuson, 2012, p61), highlight how young people are perceived to initiate social interaction in their neighbourhoods. Spaces such as play areas and local schools are noted as possible sites for social interaction. However, despite these assertions there is little, if any, empirical evidence to support these ideas. Research assessing this claim is therefore of value.

Despite the belief that young people have the potential to support the social mix agenda, they are often portrayed in the media as deviant and out of control in local neighbourhoods (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p84). Newspaper stories about young people's engagement in their communities typically centres upon accusations of anti-social behaviour and their persistent terrorising of local residents (Millie, 2009, p20), particularly in economically deprived neighbourhoods. It is this mismatch between the roles envisaged by policy for young people compared with the widespread demonising images of young people which form the starting point of this study.

This thesis examines young people's position in the social mix agenda and explores whether young people can be catalysts for social interaction across tenures in a mixed tenure community. Furthermore, the research will explore whether young people's use of spaces such

as play areas and schools provide the necessary opportunities for this desired social interaction. Given the prominence of social mix within policy and the perceived role of young people, this research, like others on social mix, aims to shed light on a longstanding policy initiative by developing a greater understanding of processes that affect the success of social mix. As well as adding to existing debates on social mix present in the academic literature, the focus on young people's role in this policy, which has previously not been explored, ensures that this thesis will add to knowledge on social mix in new ways. Additionally, the focus on young people enables contributions to be made to existing debates in the field of youth studies and children's geographies. There are few, if any, previous empirical studies which have brought social mix and children's geography literatures together.

Given the nature of this research, from a methodological perspective it will be essential to engage with members of a community as well as young people whilst conducting this empirical study. In doing this, this thesis adds to existing knowledge on how to conduct research with communities and young people effectively. Despite increasing calls for children's involvement in planning, young people remain a relatively marginalised group (Frank, 2006, p351; Riggio, 2002, p45). This study will address this oversight by engaging young people in the research process highlighting lessons for similar such research studies.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

This research aims **to develop a new understanding of the role of young people in helping to deliver social mix aspirations, in relation to their social identity as well as their spatial and educational practices**. By doing this, the thesis offers a critical perspective on the assumptions embedded in a prominent policy concept, particularly from the perspective of an underrepresented group – young people. Two research objectives emerge from the research aim;

- To explore policy-assumptions of the role of young people in helping to deliver social mix; and
- To assess the policy-assumptions of social mix against the everyday experiences and practices of young people in a neighbourhood designed for social mix.

The objectives enable a full picture to emerge of how young people are thought to assist with social mix and explore whether they do meet this and in what ways. Crucially, by addressing the

research objectives the thesis will reveal whether a mismatch exists between policy's assumptions surrounding the role of young people in a mixed tenure neighbourhood and how this is experienced in practice. As briefly discussed above, and returned to in further detail in Chapters 2 and 3, young people's use of public space and schools is believed to be essential in the social mix agenda and is therefore reflected in the study's research questions.

In order to address the research aim and objectives, five research questions form the focus of this research investigation;

1. How are young people envisaged to support social mix aspirations in a neighbourhood designed for social mix?
2. Do young people use public space in a mixed tenure neighbourhood in the way policy imagines, and if not how does this differ?
3. What role do schools play in determining young people's engagement with the social mix agenda?
4. Are the practices of residents and other stakeholders at the neighbourhood scale impacting on social mix in the way imagined by policy, and if not, how do they differ?
5. How are the social identities of young people constructed in a socially diverse area, and how does this affect the success of social mix aspirations?

To provide answers to each of the research questions the empirical study centres upon a detailed case study of one mixed tenure neighbourhood. The case selected was Ravenswood Village, a large newly built urban extension on the south-east of Ipswich. Ravenswood, as it is referred to in this thesis, contains a mix of both social and private homes, aimed at a range of household types including families with children. A more detailed rationale for the selection of the case study is outlined in Chapter 4. A qualitative mixed-method approach was used to develop a detailed picture of young people's role in delivering social mix aspirations. Qualitative methods have a strong tradition of studying both experiences (Silverman, 2005, p8) and the everyday life worlds of individuals (Dwyer and Limb, 2001, p3). Given that this research looks at everyday experiences, qualitative methods were thought to be the most appropriate for this study.

To facilitate an understanding of the empirical evidence collected during this research study, and to assist in answering the five research questions, the thesis draws upon a number of

concepts from a range of academic fields. However three theoretical concepts remain central to the discussion throughout this thesis, each of which is used in varying degrees throughout the three analytical chapters. The first of these, 'social constructionism', is used as a means to explore and understand processes associated with ideas of difference. Social constructionism, a post-modernist approach, considers that our understandings of a phenomenon are not based on objective and value-neutral observations but rather are socially manufactured artefacts shaped by our pre-existing understandings of the world (Gergen, 2009, p2). The thesis looks specifically at the social construction of social and spatial identities and, how rather than being independent of each other, are 'co-constructed'. This concept will be of specific use in answering the fifth research question, however social constructionism will also help develop responses to a number of the research questions. The second overarching concept used in this research is that of power. Specifically for this study, how power influences choice and access to space. As shown in this thesis, the social construction of identities, especially social identities, determines the power given to individuals, as social identities are placed in a social hierarchy (p49). As a result, not everyone is afforded the same power to make decisions and choices and to access space as they wish or need (e.g. Lees, 1998, p239; Ruddick, 1996, p135). This is despite social mix policy advocating the benefits afforded from allowing all individuals in a community to access and use community spaces. The final theoretical concept central to this thesis is the operational scale of social processes. Policy often imagines that the social processes associated with one specific policy, such as social mix, happen at one specific scale or within a boundary (Atkinson *et al*, 2009, p2819; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p2167). Rather, the thesis explores how processes associated with social mix operate at varying, often contradictory, scales thereby undermining the aspirations of social mix policy.

1.3 Chapter structure

The following two chapters, Chapters 2 and 3, discuss existing debates in the academic literature. The research aims and objectives have informed, and been informed by, the arguments presented in each of these chapters. As well as analysing existing debates, the chapters explore ideas which are pertinent to the research study's aim and objectives.

Chapter 2, takes the ideas of difference, diversity and social mix policy as its focus. To begin, this chapter explores the varying ways difference is understood. Given that difference is an inevitable feature of society, the consequences of difference are then explored. Specifically how 'different' individuals are afforded varying levels of power, which either facilitate or limit

their full engagement in society. An overview of policy responses to this then follows, particularly social mix policy, which sits at the heart of this research investigation. As noted earlier, social mix policy not only supports the development of communities with a mix of tenures, but also advocates the benefits of young people's presence in mixed neighbourhoods; socially constructing young people as catalysts of social interaction. Young people's presence and use of public space and amenities in mixed communities is seen as crucial in facilitating this desired social interaction. This chapter also begins the thesis' discussions about the scale of social mix policy implementation. Social mix is one of many neighbourhood based policies which has received much critical academic debate and concern. Most notably concerns about neighbourhood based policies centre upon the idea that other processes operating *beyond* the confines of a neighbourhood also influence patterns and processes witnessed within a neighbourhood. On this basis questions are raised about the suitability of neighbourhood based policy initiatives that tend to treat social processes such as social interaction as a bounded neighbourhood activity.

The second literature discussion, Chapter 3, considers social identity, spatial identity and behaviour in space. This discussion opens by looking at how identities in general, and young people's identities in particular, are socially constructed and how these social constructions can be formed through presence and behaviour in space. Moreover, social identities affect the power attributed to an individual. Similarly, spatial identities are also explored, illustrating how their constructions are defined by how they are used and the nature of the individuals using them. The chapter argues that spaces have unwritten codes of conduct associated with them. Therefore individuals can be deemed to be 'in' or 'out' of place according to their behaviour. In light of these concepts, the chapter then turns its focus to young people specifically, examining their use of space, their treatment in space and planning for young people. Here it is highlighted how young people's use of and behaviour in space is often oppressed despite increasing calls for more consideration and involvement of young people in planning.

Chapter 4 introduces the methodological approach used in the research investigation. As noted above, a qualitative mixed-method approach was used. As well as discussing the general approach, this chapter will introduce the case study area of Ravenswood Village. In so doing the rationale for the case study selection is made and general characteristics and features of the case are presented. This chapter also outlines challenges faced during the empirical stage of

the study along with innovative solutions to these. Finally, each of the methods adopted is discussed and relevant ethical considerations are highlighted.

The next three chapters, Chapters 5, 6 and 7, analyse findings from the empirical work and develop the core arguments of the thesis. In so doing, each of the chapters provides a response to a number of the research questions, whilst drawing upon the three central theoretical concepts to this study identified earlier; social constructionism, power, and the operational scale of social processes. The first of these chapters, Chapter 5, focuses on young people's use of neighbourhood public space in the case study area. Initially, the chapter outlines how public space in Ravenswood was designed to be used, and begins to provide a response to the first research question. A comparison between how public spaces are imagined to be used by young people and how space is reportedly used then follows, thereby addressing the second research question. Despite policy advocating young people's use of the public domain, it is argued that young people found occupying Ravenswood's public spaces are socially constructed as 'out' of place and unwanted in neighbourhood public spaces. Drawing on the work of Gill Valentine (e.g. 1996a; 1996b; 2004), through both their presence and reported inappropriate behaviour, young people using public space in Ravenswood are socially constructed as 'devils' by Ravenswood residents. This chapter however extends this argument by arguing that young people occupying public space in Ravenswood are constructed as devils as well as simultaneously belonging to other housing areas, thereby reaffirming notions of them being 'out' of place. This is the first of three chapters which look at how social identities are constructed in relation to the socially diverse nature of case study area, thereby providing a response to the final research question. Given how young people are constructed as 'out' of place, the chapter outlines attempts made to control all young people in Ravenswood's public spaces, thereby illustrating their limited power. This spatial domination is led by adults who seek to restrict young people's access and behaviour public space. That said the chapter also analyses how young people endeavour to resist this domination, thereby adding to existing debates on young people's power to appropriate public space. Throughout this chapter the core implications of these findings for social mix policy are identified, most notably how the domination of young people in Ravenswood's public spaces is in direct conflict with social mix aspirations that see public spaces as a site for positive social encounter.

Chapter 6 focuses on the use of schools and in so doing provides and answer to the third research question. As briefly noted earlier in this introduction, local schools are seen as

important spaces for social interaction to be initiated and maintained amongst young people. Again, the chapter begins by focusing on policy, specifically how policy imagines the role of schools in the social mix agenda. Bearing this in mind, comparisons are drawn between the recorded use of schools in the case study area with the expectations of policy and argues that a contrast exists in Ravenswood. A number of reasons for this are outlined including; the socio-economic status of the school, academic performance, and school reputation and image. Ultimately, it is argued that this contrast between expected and actual use of schools is the result of concerns about *who else* may attend either of the local schools. In order to further understand this, the theoretical approach of social constructionism is revisited to understand how some young people are socially constructed as 'others' within the context of local schools, and become sidelined and identified as to be avoided. Once again it would seem that the social identities of young people in a socially diverse community impinge on the success of the social mix agenda, and provide further evidence to address the final research question. The chapter suggests that processes associated with schools operate in unexpected ways, specifically at a different scale to that imagined by policy. This, crucially, is argued to be to the detriment of social mix policy. Towards the end of this chapter the consequences of school use in the case study are raised, along with the implications this has for social mix policy.

In light of the fourth research question, Chapter 7 looks at the concept of boundaries and scale in relation to social mix policy. It initially analyses the scale at which social mix policy is believed to operate at in both national and local policy. The chapter then argues that the daily lives of Ravenswood residents, especially those from higher economic backgrounds, function and operate at different scales to the local neighbourhood (e.g. Galster, 2001; Hallman, 1984). In so doing they work to socially distance themselves from the local area. A significant finding is that the wider context plays a crucial role in the processes associated with social mix, and specifically that these processes have the capabilities to undermine social mix aspirations. Here, as in the previous two chapters, social construction debates along with the power attributed to such social constructions and social identities are re-examined. The chapter also analyses social mix within the boundaries of the case study area and argues that at this particular scale there is evidence that residents are favourably disposed towards social mix policy.

The final chapter provides an overall conclusion to the thesis by briefly synthesising the main findings. Overall it is suggested that despite policy considering young people as essential

instigators of social interaction in neighbourhoods designed for social mix, there appears to be a number of limitations to such policy-aspirations. Young people are not given full and free access to neighbourhood public space and therefore their opportunities for social interaction are constrained. Furthermore, young people living in areas of social mix do not always attend the nearest school thereby limiting their opportunities for social interaction across tenures. The social construction of young people as 'others', and in the context of public space as 'devils', both of which construct young people as to be feared and avoided, is contended as the explanation for these patterns. Nevertheless young people's unexpected use of public space and schools weakens social mix aspirations. Additionally and as briefly noted above, a further key finding of this research is that processes associated with social mix policy do not all operate at the same scale as policy suggests. Neighbourhoods are not sealed entities. Wider social processes conflict with the aspirations of social mix. The remainder of the final chapter outlines the general contributions of the research to the discipline of planning along with possible areas for future research.

Chapter 2: Understanding social mix

Literature discussion 1

2.1 Introduction

Differences exist amongst each and every one of us. This can range from our age, ethnicity, sexuality and class, to name just a few. For some, these differences are embraced. However, more often than not, difference is seen as a possible source of fear and conflict and therefore something to be resolved. There have been a variety of policy responses to address diversity-related concerns, such as multiculturalism policies and social mix policy. It is the latter of these, social mix policy, which lies at the heart of this research study and this chapter seeks to understand further.

Social mix supports the formation of heterogeneous neighbourhoods, where individuals who come from different socio-economic backgrounds live side-by-side. This is supported by assertions that more diverse neighbourhoods will be successful communities. In this chapter, the first of two chapters exploring existing arguments in the academic literature, I examine debates surrounding a number of key ideas; difference, policy responses to difference, social mix policy, neighbourhoods and urban design. To do this, the chapter draws on a range of themes from a number of academic disciplines; sociology, social policy, planning and geography. Additionally, given that this chapter seeks to understand social mix policy further, Section 2.4 is devoted to exploring social mix specifically within the context of New Labour policy. It should be noted that specific social mix policies are not outlined in this chapter. In order to avoid repetition details of social mix policies are provided at the beginning of Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis. Rather this chapter aims to understand the context and principles of the policy initiative. Furthermore, as well as analysing existing debates in academic and policy literature, the chapter identifies absences and core issues which later arguments will challenge and extend.

2.2 Difference

The idea of difference has been well debated by academics who adopt a range of theoretical approaches, however the idea of difference is generally understood to be 'the quality of being unlike or dissimilar' (Bennett *et al*, 2005, p84) from another. This section explores the concept of 'difference', specifically in relation to the idea of social differences amongst people.

2.2.1 Understandings and engagement with 'difference'

The oldest arguments surrounding difference are often described as essentialist, originating from positivist ideas. Essentialists believe that the truth can be arrived at by studying the key properties of a phenomenon or subject. Furthermore, it is believed that descriptions of phenomena form their definition (Marshall, 1998, p200). On this basis, essentialism sees differences amongst objects and people as observable and natural (*ibid.*). For instance, differences that are claimed to exist between men and women are considered to be innate and exist naturally between the sexes (Valentine, 2001, p18). From this perspective, women's ability to bear children is considered to be responsible for their nurturing characters. This ability to bear children is also believed to place women closer to nature than men, resulting in women's inability to control their emotions and passions (*ibid.*). This essentialist approach has also been used to explain differences between white and black populations (Valentine, 2001, p19) and as explored in the following chapter for a long time understandings of children and childhood also took an essentialist approach. However, despite the prominence of this perspective, essentialist arguments have been heavily criticised due to the way they have helped to justify discriminatory beliefs such as sexism and racism (Valentine, 2001, p21).

By the 1960s essentialist ideas came under attack by the emergence of post-positivist ideas. Post-positivists believe that knowledge and understandings of a phenomenon, whether an object or an individual's social identity, are influenced by the social contexts in which they are formed. On this basis, understandings of phenomena are not unchallengeable but are, rather, open to critique. The 1960s saw the rise of two highly influential perspectives that can be considered as post-positivist: Marxism and Feminism. Both Marxism and Feminism provide a universal theory about how we can understand the world, with Marxism placing capital accumulation and social class at its heart, whilst original Feminist ideas focus on the role of gender. Both of these perspectives emerged not only as a way of understanding the world but also as drivers for change. This recognition of the political significance of difference was a key contribution from this group of theories. Illustrating this, Marxist writers, such as David Harvey, believe that the key way to understand differences between individuals is through a lens that privileges social class. To illustrate his point Harvey tells the tragic story of a fire at a chicken factory in the USA in 1991, where 25 factory workers lost their lives (1996, p338). He recalls how of these 25 workers, a number of them were women, and many were of African American descent. However, the characteristic that they all shared was that they were all working-class (*ibid.*). Whilst acknowledging the presence of various characteristics which can define someone

as different, Harvey suggests that privileging class is crucial to understanding difference that matters. He reminds the reader that although identity must be respected, 'some *others* are more other than *others*' (p362). Furthermore, Harvey suggests that political shifts in the USA during the 1970s, whereby the recognition of multiple identity characteristics was promoted only served to further fragment politics and is ultimately to blame for this tragedy. Instead, Harvey calls for a modernist universal political approach challenging conditions for all workers which he believes would have prevented the fire at the chicken factory in 1991.

The modernist work of Marxist and older Feminist thinkers has not been without criticism. Most notably, these ideas are criticised for their use of singular grand theories (Pratt, 1994, p195). It is suggested that they fail to recognise the true complexity of the world and tend, as shown, to favour one view over another. For example, Marxism focuses on the process of capital accumulation and social class. These critiques resulted in the emergence of what is commonly understood as post-modernist ideas, which grew from the 1970s onwards. Post-modernists understand difference as the possession of 'otherness' (Cloke, 1999, p44). Within this framework, rather than focusing on any one quality or characteristic, emphasis is given to the multiplicities and complexities of the social world and social identities. Moreover, difference and associated identities are seen as fluid, capable of shifting and changing over time. Post-modernist ideas, like other theoretical frameworks such as modernism see the source of difference as a source of inequality. With this in mind some post-modernists not only wish to understand 'otherness' and difference but endeavour to seek ways to challenge difference and move towards a 'just' diversity. For instance, the work of both Iris Marion Young (1990) and Nancy Fraser (2001) are two examples which both work to further understand 'otherness' and how disadvantage caused by difference can be addressed. This is despite taking two somewhat contrasting approaches to this challenge.

The work of the first of these, Young (e.g. 1990) seeks to recognise the plethora of differences that co-exist in a society. However, whilst modernist approaches such as Marxism and Feminism identify groups of individuals – or communities - Young argues against the use of the idea of community or social group (Young, 1990, p300). Young sees community as a normative ideal that results in the grouping together of individuals based on one shared characteristic, such as class or gender while simultaneously denying other characteristics that individuals may possess but not share with other group members (Young, 1990, p302). Additionally, this ideal of community presumes that group members will understand each other like they understand

themselves (*ibid.*). For instance, Young gives the example of the pressures placed on women's groups to share the same understandings on social issues when in reality group members may differ in their opinions (Young, 1990, p311). Lastly, Young's concerns around the idea of community centre on the process of grouping individuals together which inevitably requires the creation of 'borders' and the act of exclusion (Young, 1990, p301). On this basis, Young calls for a politics of difference where differences are recognised and attended to, rather than oppressed in the pursuit of unity through community (*ibid.*).

Another body of post-modernist work associated with the idea of difference is the work of Nancy Fraser. Fraser starts from a critique of popular terms associated with difference; *recognition* and *redistribution*, which traditionally have both been thought as crucial in addressing inequality. Recognition is understood to be the identification of differences amongst individuals and groups, so that specific needs can be met. Redistribution refers to plans to redress disadvantage, for instance the redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor (Fraser, 2001, p21). Whilst both of these terms may seem fair and just, Fraser disagrees and sees both as problematic. Fraser argues that the process of recognition requires judgements to be made often in conjunction with ideas about different groups, thus denying the complexity of individuals' lives (Fraser, 2001, p23). The process also ignores issues of power and social status (Fraser, 2001, p24), which results in social subordination. Moreover, the very, process of recognition opens up the possibility for misrecognition (*ibid.*). In a similar vein, according to Fraser, redistribution is an equally problematic term, despite common understandings typifying it as a process which leads to justice. Redistribution is accused of being outdated in that it does not challenge or seek to abolish root causes of injustices (Fraser and Honneth, 2003, p15). Furthermore, much like recognition, the intention to redistribute can result in mal-distribution, especially when based on misrecognition (Fraser and Honneth, 2003, p3). That said, Fraser does acknowledge that mal-distribution is not always the result of misrecognition. Rather, Fraser (2001) notes the power of capitalist processes in shaping disadvantage in our society (p29). Despite the prevalence of the normative ideas of recognition and redistribution in society, Fraser's critiques of these terms ultimately lead her to call for a 'parity of participation'. For Fraser, this aspiration is for all members of society to be able to interact fully in social life, although she further acknowledges this presupposes that all individuals are given equal worth (*ibid.*). Fraser's idea of parity of participation is useful to introduce the idea of the 'right to the city' which will be explored in Section 2.3.2.

As well as the ideas of recognition and redistribution, there are those who have highlighted the idea of ‘encounter’ as crucial in the pursuit of just diversity. Encounter refers to social interactions amongst individuals in space (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p14). Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson in their book *Planning and Diversity in the City* (2008) note how encounter is a particularly important goal in the field of planning (p145). Unlike the other two previous terms, encounter inherently implicates space and specifically how the spatial proximity of individuals will ensure their social interaction (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p146). For individuals who possess difference, encounter is believed to be a crucial process in not only managing diversity but crafting a just diversity (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p14) by reducing fear amongst individuals from ‘different’ backgrounds.

An influential contribution to academic discussions of difference is the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In understanding difference, Bourdieu centres upon a number of concepts; habitus, field and capital. His concept of *habitus*, is arguably one of the most widely used of his theories (Maton, 2008, p49). As Webb *et al* (2002) assert, habitus is;

‘...a set of durable dispositions that people carry within them and that shapes their attitudes, behaviours and responses to given situations...’ (p115).

These dispositions are not biologically predetermined, but rather are structured by past and present circumstances, such as an individual’s upbringing (Maton, 2008, p50). Moreover, although habitus is considered to be unique for each individual, habitus inherently contains a collective aspect, whereby people who belong to the same social group are likely to share comparable habitus and thus behave in similar ways. With this in mind, it is contended that an individual’s behaviour operates to identify them as belonging to certain social groups.

A further key concept of Bourdieu’s is that of *field*. For Bourdieu the field is a structured social space, with a number of corresponding rules, structures and power hierarchies. In light of this, it is suggested that fields become sites of ‘struggle’ (Maton, 2008, p51) whereby social agents strategically position themselves in order to maximise their power. Those with the most power in a field have greater influence in deciding what happens in the field (Thomson, 2008, p79). Moreover, an individual’s habitus is thought to be crucial in determining their position in a field. Bourdieu has often used these concepts in relation to individuals from different social backgrounds within the context, or field, of a school. Here he suggests that the field of the

school is structured in a way that supports the habitus of middle-class social groups more so than those from working-class backgrounds (*ibid.*).

The third key concept that can be associated with Bourdieu is *capital*. Bourdieu considers there to be four different types of capital: *economic* including income and assets; *cultural* referring to the disposition of body and mind such as education; *social* which highlights the importance of social networks and group memberships; and lastly *symbolic* which is when cultural capital is legitimised by powerful agents such as the media (Moore, 2008). It is to be noted that, Bourdieu believed that an individual's capital, such as cultural capital, can be exchanged in certain contexts to acquire further capital for the benefit of that individual (Webb *et al*, 2002, p109). For instance, a higher wage or greater economic capital could be gained through possessing higher cultural capital in the form of education. For Bourdieu, this possession of capital, along with the other two concepts of habitus and field, are fundamental in understanding why inequalities remain in society. Addressing the challenges associated with difference and the inherent inequalities stemming from difference remain the focus of this chapter.

This thesis places social mix policy at its heart, a policy designed to manage the aforementioned challenges associated with the presence of difference. Despite the multitude of differences that exists between us all, recent social mix policy, as discussed later in this chapter, considers tenure as a proxy for social difference. On this basis, housing tenure will be a key consideration of difference throughout this thesis. That said, it will be important to establish whether other differences existing between individuals influence policy's success in managing difference. Furthermore, social mix policy aims to ensure that social interaction amongst individuals possessing qualities of difference occur, thereby breaking down fears surrounding difference. The idea of social encounter is therefore key in this endeavour and will be explored later in this chapter.

2.3 Diversity and the challenges of difference

The concerns and fears surrounding difference have led to a growing interest in the idea of diversity. Diversity is often best understood as a bird's eye view of differences or a managerial perspective of difference with a view to either control, harmonise or cohere differences in society (Bennett *et al*, 2005, p86). From this base, this section focuses upon diversity and policy responses that attempt to address concerns surrounding the presence of social difference in

society. Importantly, social mix policy, which sits at the heart of this research study, is one such policy. To begin, the section explores the idea of multiculturalism given that this often underpinned recent social mix policy. To follow, two concerns are explored; the right to the city and social exclusion. Although there is little literature which brings these two concepts together, both terms, along with Fraser's idea of 'parity of participation', discuss the inequalities that exist and the impact on some individuals' ability to participate in society. It is not the intention of this literature review to summarise policies that promote or address diversity and difference respectively. Instead, the aim is to highlight and assess the imagined role of policy and the expectations of these policy mechanisms. Later, specific policies that are of relevance to the aspirations of social mix that forms the focus of this research study will be evaluated.

2.3.1 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is by no means a straightforward concept and is well debated and contested (Sandercock, 2004). The term was coined in Canada in 1965 and within a few years had made its way into Canadian and Australian political discourse (Bennett *et al*, 2005, p226). The term was used primarily for the management of ethnic diversity, with the aim of promoting equality, tolerance and inclusiveness of all individuals from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds (*ibid.*). Since its first use, the concept of multiculturalism has been used throughout the world. Crucially, multiculturalism seeks to recognise different cultures (Allen and Cars, 2001, p2203), seeing society as a mosaic of discrete communities, each with their own beliefs and practices (Qadeer, 1997). For many, this is multiculturalism's weakness as it only works to identify difference, rather than tackle issues of racial domination (Bennett *et al*, 2005, p227). This criticism is believed to be the result of the approach's inwards looking, Anglo-centric frame of reference (Parekh, 2006; Wood *et al*, 2006) whereby it constructs any culture as different or 'other' in comparison to the dominant group. Additionally, multiculturalism has been criticised for failing to acknowledge the complexities of social identities by assuming that ethnic and cultural groups are discrete entities. This is much like the critique offered by Young (e.g. 1990) which emphasises the plurality that exists *within* groups as well as between them. As a result of this criticism, a growing body of policy began to emerge promoting inter-culturalism (Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2004, p73). Inter-culturalism, which arguably sits theoretically amongst post-modernist ideas, recognises that individuals may belong to many different social groups and that differences within social groups may exist (Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2004,

p34; Qadeer, 1997, p490). Despite these concerns around multiculturalism, it has remained a popular term in political discourse, including British policy. For instance, when the New Labour government came into power in 1997, one of their key policy aspirations sought to address the problems of social exclusion (Allen and Cars, 2001, p2200). Multicultural ideas about managing difference fed into various policy responses to this challenge, one of these, social mix, is discussed later in this chapter.

2.3.2 *The right to the city*

The concept 'Right to the city' was coined by the French philosopher Lefebvre. The *right* to the city is not a simple visiting right, or access to spaces or information, but instead refers to the right of individuals to fully participate in urban life in its totality regardless of their difference or identity (Marcuse, 2009, p193). In this Marcuse shares many of Fraser's (2001) ideas. For Lefebvre, the right to the city is a critique of the alienating conditions of everyday life (Shields, 2001, p282). In order to support this, Lefebvre argues for a city *oeuvre* (Shields, 2001, p154). This he imagines to be the city of the future whereby individuals are supported to enable their full engagement and participation. The extensive academic work that has surrounded the concept primarily focuses upon what Lefebvre considers to be the alienating character of current urban life. This alienation of individuals or social groups is often illustrated through space but it is believed that the cause of this lies within economic, social and political arenas (Marcuse, 2009, p195). It is particularly relevant for this research study to notes that not everyone experiences the city in the same way. As much of the academic work has shown, certain individuals and groups, especially those deemed as different, deviant or unsuitable, are feared in public space and are therefore excluded from full participation in the public domain. This is in contrast to the popular notion that public space is a site of expression and mixing. Instead, as many have argued (including Lees, 1998, p 239), public space is not a free space but rather a site of control and oppression of the marginalised (Ruddick, 1996, p135). To illustrate this point, there is a wide range of empirical examples including Neil Smith's (1996) work of public space in New York.

In his book *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (1996), Smith describes how from the late 1980s, following on from national scale restructuring, New York city witnessed a period of urban economic change where capitalist interests shifted towards services, recreation and conspicuous consumption (Smith, 1996, p8). Along with this, the

middle-classes who had until then chosen to locate in the suburbs of the city began to move into central areas of the city, displacing those on lower incomes who were unable to compete in the new housing market. This process kick-started a transformation of the built environment (Smith, 1996, p12), often described as gentrification, where the environment was tamed and domesticated (Smith, 1996, p3). Against this back-drop, Smith discusses the story of Tompkins Square Park and how it played a crucial role in the lives of many homeless people in the Lower East Side of New York. This included those who had been made homeless as a direct result of the changes in the housing market. In the late 1980s it was recorded that over fifty-five homeless people had begun to use the park regularly as a place to sleep with this steadily increasing over time (Smith, 1996, p5). However, despite this social crisis the local authority led by the city mayor instigated a regime in and around the park in order to reclaim the park for the middle-classes. The tactics used included gating the park, establishing a curfew, mass clearances of the park and the removal of benches so the homeless could no longer sleep there. All these measures were carried out on the basis that the Tompkins Square Park had been 'stolen' from the community (Smith, 1996, p6). Smith coined these types of processes as *revanchist* or as revenge against those deemed unsuitable, arguably the minorities in society, in this example, the homeless. In a similar vein, Flusty (2001) adopts the idea of *interdictory* space, which, like revanchist ideas, systematically excludes those judged to be unsuitable, thus in turn limiting their engagement in urban life.

The homeless are not the only group to be subjected to fierce controls and restrictions with regards to their access and use of public space. There is work that examines the exclusion of working-class groups (e.g. Flusty, 2001) and significantly for this study, young people's oppression in the public domain. Young people's access to, and treatment in public space will be discussed extensively in the following chapter but one brief example can be given by looking at the work of Lees and Demeritt (1998). In their study of Granville, Vancouver, Lees and Demeritt (1998) examine a number of mechanisms that were adopted in order to 'clean-up' the streets with the aim of supporting regeneration policies (p345). This included the direct removal of young people from public spaces by the police, despite regeneration policies that acknowledged the importance of diversity (Lees and Demeritt, 1998, p348). Instead the original cafes and shops popular with lower income residents and young people gave way to sushi restaurants and expensive coffee shops as the middle-classes were attracted to the redeveloped area (Lees and Demeritt, 1998, p350). Along with other empirical examples (e.g. Flusty, 2001; Lees, 2003; Matthews *et al*, 1999; Smith 1996) this example demonstrates how

individuals can experience the urban environment in different ways, privileging one social group over another (Ruddick, 1998, p345). Stemming from this context, this research study explores the experiences of young people living within an area designed for social mix, and questions whether young people particularly from divergent socio-economic backgrounds, experience public space differently.

What is clear through all of these studies is that those who are deemed to be suitable and legitimate are those with greater consumer power (Van Deusen, 2002, p156). For example, in Smith's (1996) work, the middle-classes who were moving into the city had the power to choose who should, and, of course, who should not, be in the local park. Fyfe and Bannister (1998, p263) agree with this idea of consumer power, especially in relation to the treatment of young people, who, they argue, easily lose their right to the city and have limited political influence because they have lower spending power. Based on this, those working in this field tend to take the perspective that the treatment of public space and *who is* and *who is not* welcome reflects the power differences within society (e.g. Van Deusen, 2002, p157). Furthermore, and of particular relevance to this study, the interests of property owners, or the middle-classes, are secured first and foremost above anyone else (Miller, 2002b, p140). Ultimately, this means that those with the most financial capital have greater access and control in public spaces, giving them the *right* to the city, whereas those who have lower capital, or in some cases who possess no capital at all, are subjected to fierce controls in public spaces. This in turn, limits their right to the city by restraining their potential to fully engage and participate in social life, placing them at considerable disadvantage.

Whilst many of the writers in this field refer to the role of state power to secure the interests of capital, the power of individuals has also been acknowledged. Williams (1997, p8) recalls the work of Matthew Arnold (1993) who writes about protests in Hyde Park in 1866 by the working-classes. For Arnold, such protests are a sign of anarchy in public space and calls for the oppression and reigning in of individual's rights, especially those who are working-class. With this in mind, Williams (1997, p8) suggests that others who see such behaviour in public space as worthy of a similar approach, might be deemed 'little Arnolds'. Given these ideas, when examining the treatment of public space, or indeed an individual's right to the city, it is important to consider *who* has the power to determine access to such spaces, whether it is through direct state power or whether it is driven by individuals or 'little Arnolds'.

An individual's right to the city, or their participation in urban life is never guaranteed or freely given (Mitchell, 2003, p42). As this discussion around the *right* to the city has shown, people experience public space differently according to the power they possess (White, 1996, p38), resulting in the continuous appropriation and re-appropriation of public space (McCann, 2002, p77). Furthermore, it is argued that power is determined by an individual's capacity to consume, or their possession of economic capital (Miller, 2002b, p140). This inequality in access to public space is a concern for some analysts and policy makers who instead argue that public space should be a site of intercultural tolerance and dialogue (Back and Keith, 2004, p60), or a site for encounters between those who may not otherwise meet. Encounter, as discussed in Section 2.2.1, is considered vital in ensuring that social mixing occurs. The following section will examine amongst other ideas, the concept of social exclusion. Although sharing similar concerns to the right to the city, social exclusion has been identified as an issue to be addressed by policy initiatives.

2.4 New Labour's social exclusion and policy agenda

2.4.1 Social exclusion

The idea of social exclusion was pushed onto the political agenda at the same time as the new political leadership in 1997. The New Labour Government was elected against a backdrop of increasing concern regarding poverty and deprivation in Britain (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p3). These concerns emerged from a severe polarisation in wealth, created by previous Conservative Government policies. For example, in 1977 before the Thatcher Government came to power, 6% of the British population was considered to be in poverty, however by the time New Labour government was elected in 1997, twenty years later, that figure had risen to 20% (*ibid.*). Conservative urban policies tended to support business, capital and individual interests on the basis that benefits would 'trickle down' (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, p907). For instance, urban regeneration was promoted by reducing planning 'constraints' and providing tax incentives for developers (*ibid.*). Or more famously the Thatcher government is associated with the promotion of the right to buy scheme, whereby existing local authority housing tenants were given the opportunity to buy their home at a discounted rate. Although the policy proved to be very popular (Forrest, Murie and Williams, 1990), it is considered responsible for the residualisation of social housing in Britain, where the least popular housing areas are occupied by the poorest members of society, thus resulting in communities of high deprivation and social exclusion.

When the term 'social exclusion' was brought onto the political stage by the New Labour government it was a relatively new concept and at times was used interchangeably with terms such as 'social segregation' and 'social marginalisation' (Cars *et al*, 1998, p280). The term provided a move away from previously dominant ideas of poverty or deprivation (Fairclough, 2000, p51) and instead looked at disadvantage in a more holistic and complex way. Earlier, this thesis argued that social exclusion can be seen as the logical opposite of Lefebvre's idea of the *right to the city*, as both terms reflect upon the inability of some to fully participate in mainstream society. Instead of considering disadvantage to be entirely associated with the lack of economic capital, disadvantage began to be seen as the result of individual and wider social concerns, with the effects of social exclusion not being experienced uniformly (Mitchell, 2003, p15). Instead, a combination of powerful factors, including economic, political and cultural issues lead to different individuals being excluded. Moreover it was noted that these factors varied across space. With this in mind, it has been suggested that it is not possible to assume that all individuals who are considered to be in the same social group, such as the working-class, will suffer from the effects of social exclusion (Cars *et al*, 1998, p285). Following this model, disadvantage and deprivation was seen to be the result of individual's exclusion from the labour market as well as their inability to gain access to services, such as education. Ultimately, the election of the New Labour government in 1997 witnessed a shift in the way the problem of deprivation was framed. Instead of seeing deprivation as the result of limited financial resources, social exclusion framed deprivation as a modern problem to do with prospects and opportunities (*ibid.*). Consequently, different policy responses were required. In light of social exclusion concerns one of the first initiatives of the New Labour Government was to set up the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). This was a 'flagship' project dedicated to tackling social exclusion (Levitas, 1998, p114) by co-ordinating the agenda across different policy arenas, with the ultimate aim of narrowing the gap between the wealthiest and poorest individuals (Kearns, 2003, p37), as well as ensuring that no individual was isolated from mainstream society and unable to access services and employment (Kearns, 2003, p38). The Unit produced a range of reports that supported a number of policy programmes and initiatives.

2.4.2 New Labour's urban policy

The change in understanding of deprivation can be seen as part of a wider political shift with the election of the New Labour government. Often dubbed as 'Third Way' politics, New Labour rejected the party's traditional ideological approach of state intervention (Cochrane, 2007, p51; Lepine *et al*, 2007, p6) commonly associated with the political left. Instead New Labour's ideas closely aligned to the values and views of communitarianism (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p9). Community was suddenly seen as an instrument to embrace and empower (Cochrane, 2007, p52; Lepine *et al*, 2007, p7) through policies that supported community structures and mechanisms (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, p919). The state was to be a facilitator, providing 'hand-ups' not 'hand-outs' (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p13). Ultimately communities were to be supported to enhance their capacity to eradicate *their own* problems (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p21). New Labour's social mix policy concept, the focus of this research, was seen as one such community based initiative, seeking to improve a community's 'self-help' capacity whereby community became a resource individuals could 'tap into' for support (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001, p2104). Much like all policy initiatives, New Labour's concept of community was heavily criticised. The promotion of community within urban policy was accused of being a tactical move by government, as it was a concept difficult to dispute given its inherent positive connotations (Taylor, 2003, p221). Furthermore, critics suggested that their community approach turned the emphasis towards self-help rather than direct state provision which in their view was ultimately a neo-liberal cost cutting tactic (*ibid.*)

Despite the criticism, community based initiatives remained a feature of New Labour. Ideas about the value and importance of community filtered through into a plethora of government policy programmes from Business and Investment to Health and Wellbeing. Furthermore, in light of this increasing focus on community, and concerns that social exclusion was a spatial phenomenon, policies targeting specific areas such as neighbourhoods (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, p921) or Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) became a key feature of New Labour's first term in government (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p19). The concept of Area Based Initiatives is revisited briefly later in this chapter. Given this, policy initiatives usually centred upon deprived housing areas (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p2169; Kearns, 2003, p43). In order to support these communities, initiatives were advocated that aspired to develop 'well-functioning' communities with the capabilities to provide residents with the necessary skills and confidence to reduce their poverty (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p13).

2.4.3 Community, social capital and social mix

Central to New Labour's vision for 'well-functioning' communities is the idea of social capital. Despite the term being somewhat ambiguous and contested, the ideas of social capital were quickly adopted in both academic and political discourse (Taylor, 2003, p1), most notably, as a mechanism to address social exclusion (Kearns, 2003, p47), as well as a valuable public good in its own right (Suillivan and Taylor, 2007, p24). The concept of social capital is most famously associated with Robert Putman. Essentially social capital is believed to grow out of social networks established through social interaction. Putman (2000) divided social capital into two distinct categories; *bonding capital* and *bridging capital*. The first of these, bonding capital, refers to the existence of strong social networks between people in similar social and economic situations, therefore reducing the potential of individuals to extend their networks beyond their existing circumstances. In contrast, bridging capital, is believed to be more beneficial in assisting individuals out of their existing situation. Crucially, the existence of such networks is believed to increase an individual's participation in society. The benefit of bridging capital is believed to be particularly crucial in relation to assisting individuals into employment by developing what was termed 'get-work' networks (Cole and Goodchild, 2001, p354). There is, however, much criticism of this approach. Concerns centre on the simplistic nature of the idea and suggest that it fails to acknowledge broader social issues (Gertler, 1995, p10). Furthermore, critics have suggested that New Labour adopted this idea on the basis of its ambiguity making the success of related policies harder to measure (Kearns, 2003, p54). Nevertheless, the concept of social capital infiltrated New Labour's policies, advocated on the basis of reducing social marginalisation and therefore addressing the concerns of social exclusion. Overall, the lack of social capital is thought to be responsible for a community's decline whereas high levels of social capital are thought to ensure social stability and a community's capacity to help itself (SEU, 2000, p24).

Given the value placed on bridging social capital, policy also supported the presence of social mix in communities. It was believed that the spatial proximity of residents from different backgrounds would inevitably lead to their encounter and social interaction which would form bridging social capital, thereby increasing the capacity of communities to support residents and address social exclusion. Moreover and as noted previously in this chapter, social encounters are thought to help bridge social divides by building tolerance and understanding amongst individuals possessing qualities of difference (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p14).

The idea of community based social mix sits at the heart of this thesis, and academic debates surrounding the concept are discussed in further detail in the following section of this chapter. For now, however, it is worth noting how social mix policy is a longstanding urban planning concept in Britain, as well as throughout the world, especially in countries dominated by homeownership (Tunstall, 2003, p153) With the election of the New Labour government however, it re-emerged as a key policy concept and was pushed higher up the political agenda, touted as a 'magic bullet' to the problems of social exclusion (Arthuson, 2012, p49). The concept and policy tool of social mix infiltrated a range of national and local policies during the New Labour Government, many of which are looked at later in this thesis (see also Appendix 1). Ultimately, social mix advocates the presence of difference *in* communities such as differences in age, tenure, class, ethnicity and income (Bond *et al*, 2011, p70; Cole and Goodchild, 2000, p351) and is arguably one of many diversity policies used to manage the challenges and concerns associated with the presence of difference. However, in practice, New Labour's social mix initiatives supported the development, or redevelopment of residential areas with a mixture of tenures; both private and affordable homes (Roberts, 2007, p183). Further details of the mix of properties however has been rarely defined (Tunstall, 2003, p155). In short, housing tenure was seen as a proxy for social difference, therefore mixed tenure housing areas were considered capable of delivering social mix. Ultimately, mixed tenure and social mix initiatives are to counteract the tendency of housing markets to segregate different housing tenures (Lupton and Fuller, 2009, p1014). New Labour repeatedly stated a preference for mixed tenure and socially mixed communities (Bond *et al*, 2011, p70).

This aspiration for a mix of tenures in communities has been applied to both existing communities in need of regeneration, as well as new residential communities (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, p94). With regards to communities undergoing regeneration, the New Labour government saw the application of mixed tenure to these existing deprived communities as essential in securing their long-term transformation (DCLG, 2010a, p20). On the back of this, in 2005 New Labour announced their *Mixed Communities Initiative* (DCLG, 2010a, p9; Lupton and Tunstall, 2008, p105). The life prospects and opportunities of existing residents were thought to be radically improved by attracting new wealthier homeowners into these areas (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010, p3). Interestingly, it has been noted how attempts were never made to alter pre-existing areas dominated by homeownership (Tunstall, 2003, p155).

For new residential developments, especially those constructed during the New Labour government, socially mixed or mixed tenure developments were also heralded as the key idea for new housing areas. Demonstrating this, New Labour's planning policy reflected the emphasis placed on social mix. *Planning Policy Statement 3: Housing* (DCLG, 2006a) specifically promoted mixed communities that contained a 'variety of housing' including 'market and affordable' housing. In order to deliver these aspirations further legislation had been put in place. For example, government acts such as the 1990 *English and Welsh Town and Country Planning Act* as well as the 1997 *Scottish Town and Country Planning Act* gave power to local authorities to request provision for community facilities from the developer. This included the right for local authorities to request financial contribution towards social housing from private housing developers. As a result of this legislation, many local planning authorities requested affordable housing provision to be made on the same development site as the private housing in order to help deliver socially mixed communities.

Furthermore, the desired cross-tenure social interaction anticipated as a result of mixed communities, and considered to be responsible for delivering bridging social capital was thought to be fostered in everyday community settings. Social interaction in the workplace, local community associations and clubs, and even chance encounters in neighbourhood public spaces (Landry, 2006, p111) were thought to be crucial in the pursuit of social capital. With the benefit of this knowledge, in order to support social interaction, New Labour social mix policy initiatives also promoted the provision of local community amenities in neighbourhoods such as public spaces, community centres and schools (Kearns, 2003, p47; SEU, 2000, p53).

2.5 The concept of social mix

Social mix has been described as both an ambiguous (Arthuson, 2012, p2) and a 'slippery concept' (Cole and Goodchild, 2001, p351), in that it is difficult to find one universally accepted definition of the idea. However, the concept is most commonly associated with the idea of community, specifically a community with a 'blend' of residents (Arthuson, 2012, p2). Sometimes the variety of residents refers to ethnic mix and age mix but more typically, especially in planning policy, it refers to a mix of tenure (*ibid.*). Given that the concept of social mix sits at the heart of this research, this section explores the academic concept of social mix in more detail.

2.5.1 The history of social mix

Social mix is often viewed as a recent discovery, but this could not be further from the truth (Arthuson, 2012, p15). Despite the prominence placed on social mix ideas by the New Labour government when they came into power, social mix had been in political discourse for some time, traceable for well over one hundred years (Sarkissian, 1976, p231). However, instead of promoting mixed tenure as New Labour advocated, focus was placed on creating a mix of classes in an area. To cite just one example, in 1849, the philanthropist George Cadbury envisaged a factory town, which although principally housing the working classes, would also be a mixed community (Arthuson, 2012, p18; Hall, 2002, p91; Sarkissian, 1976, p232). The basis for this was that social interaction between the working and middle classes would ensure that the working classes were 'elevated' (p236). This perceived benefit was also associated with the housing reformist Octavia Hill from 1865 who saw the middle-class as role models for the working class (Arthuson, 2012, p19; Clapham, 1997, p25). Later, towards the end of the nineteenth century social mix ideas were also adopted by Ebenezer Howard in his Garden City concept (Arthuson, 2012, p18). Howard's garden city idea was primarily in response to the extensively over populated industrial city (Allen, 1992, p37). Howard's alternative was to build small self-contained towns which would be socially and economically balanced. Although he never used the term social mix in his book which outlined his proposals in detail, one of the aims of the Garden City was to end the separation of social classes (Miller, 2002a, p60). That said, in the two Garden Cities which followed, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, social mix was only achieved within the town as a whole rather than at a neighbourhood level. Nevertheless, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, the designers of Letchworth, did pioneer ideas to promote social interaction through the design of street layouts (Miller, 2002a, p62.). For example, housing was often positioned around a communal open green space (*ibid.*). Similar design ideas have continued to permeate urban design principles, including New Labour's social mix policy which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

2.5.2 The benefits of social mix

Through reducing the concentration of the most disadvantaged in society, social mix initiatives are believed to hold the potential to dilute poverty (Chaskin and Joesph, 2010, p300). A lower concentration of the most disadvantaged members of society is thought to bring about a range of benefits. The most common benefit associated with social mix policy is the idea that the spatial proximity of individuals from different backgrounds in a community will encourage their

social interaction (Arthuson, 2012, p4). In so doing, it is assumed that there will be a cross-fertilisation of ideas, behaviour and aspirations (*ibid.*). As noted earlier in this chapter, this process and the development of bridging capital is thought to be vital in the attack on social exclusion (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, p95). Essentially, those from more affluent backgrounds are thought to be good role models for those living in poverty (Arthuson, 2012, p49) and can provide a link to the world of jobs, education and stable family life (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, p95). Despite this rhetoric of the benefits of social mix, the literature appears to overlook the advantages and disadvantages of the agenda for middle-class groups who are not at risk of social exclusion. Given this absence, questions are raised around what the benefits of living in a socially mixed community are for these more affluent groups. This thesis will contribute towards addressing this concern. Furthermore the study examines not only possible benefits to this group but whether they are 'on board' with social mix policy and keen for its success, or rather see the policy as a burden that homeowners, or the middle-classes, have to bear.

In addition to the possibility of bridging capital, social mix is also believed to assist in the provision of services and opportunities. Not everyone has equal access to services and opportunities such as employment. In deprived areas it is well understood how there can be limited service provision (Arthuson, 2012, p6), along with limited affordable transport options which then prevents access to services further afield. This compounds the difficulties of those living in the most deprived circumstances. However, it is argued that the presence of social mix can address this, as those from more affluent economic backgrounds both demand greater services in an area, and can also afford to use local services which can help to sustain them in an area (Arthuson, 2012, p37). Additionally, the demands of higher income households are also thought to extend to the demands they place on social order, security and policing (Brophy and Smith, 1997, p6; Chaskin and Joesph, 2010, p303). Deprived areas are often stigmatised by high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour, whilst the demands of more affluent residents are believed to combat this (Arthuson, 2012, p60). In the regeneration of communities through mixed tenure schemes, improved area reputations are also thought to be a significant benefit for the existing residents in a community (DCLG, 2010a, p23; Tunstall and Lupton, 2010, p4). The possible area effects of social mix are not believed to end there. For instance, social housing managers consider social mix as beneficial in reducing their management costs and increasing the popularity of their housing stock (Ruming *et al*, 2004, p204; Tunstall, 2003, p156).

As we have seen, central to the success of the social mix agenda is the increased opportunity for encounter and social interaction between community members from different backgrounds. Therefore, questions of ensuring spatial proximity are key to critiquing social mix policy. Central to the question is whether the spatial proximity of people from different backgrounds, particularly economic circumstances, is sufficient to ensure their sustained and positive social interaction.

2.5.3 Social mix and young people

Much of the literature on social mix, refers, albeit briefly, to young people's role in the social mix agenda. As previously noted, social mix policy aspires to foster social encounters and interaction between community members from different socio-economic backgrounds. Young people have been suggested as a key force in this agenda. Their presence is believed to assist in the social interaction that social mix seeks to develop (Arthuson, 2012, p61; Jupp, 1999). Children are perceived as immune to the divisions present in communities between individuals considered to be 'different' (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, p101) which can be responsible for preventing social interaction. Ultimately children and young people are believed to have the potential to form social bridges and overcome social divides (Chaskin and Joesph, 2010, p314). Furthermore, young people's use of local schools and play facilities is believed to assist in this (Arthuson, 2012, p61, p115; DCLG, 2010a, p15). Some have also suggested that young people's use of play facilities is inclusive in that it provides not only a place for young people to interact, but also for the adults who accompany children to play areas (Gill, 2008, p139). Similarly, if housing areas are to become mixed, schools are likely to be mixed spaces too (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008, p105). Despite the popularity of these arguments in the literature, there is little empirical work that has sought to explore whether young people do contribute to the social mix agenda thereby securing the success of such communities (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008, p106; Sautkina *et al*, 2012, p748). Although Atkinson and Kintrea (2000, p98) in an effort to address this deficit, do indicate that schooling is helpful in social mixing agendas, especially primary schools.

As well as the benefits to social interaction that young people are believed to generate in mixed communities, a number of other benefits have also been suggested. Much like adults, it is considered that young people, especially those living in deprived circumstances, will gain from improved services (Chaskin and Joesph, 2010, p311), especially schools. It is assumed that in

areas of mixed tenure, schools will have a mixed intake. Such an intake is considered to benefit pupils who from the most disadvantaged households, as they will no longer be concentrated in the least advantaged schools (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008, p105). It is argued that in mixed schools disadvantaged pupils will benefit from peer effects associated with young people from more affluent backgrounds (p107). Ultimately the aspirations of disadvantaged young people will be raised as they are exposed to different young people who are considered to be role models (Arthuson, 2012, p52; Joseph, 2008, p234). Lastly it is believed that within local schools, social mix has the potential to overcome problems associated with the lack of achievement caused by the social-economic status of the students (Arthuson, 2012, p37). Despite these proclaimed benefits for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, there is little evidence to support these claims (Galster, 2012, p31). Furthermore the impacts on middle-class groups are not explored. This thesis critically engages with the concept of young people's role in socially-mixed communities. In so doing, the thesis recognises 'young people' as a fluid and contested term. For instance in the literature relating to social mix and young people, little distinction is made between younger and older children despite the well-recognised differences in their use of public space. These, and other concerns such as schooling practices and choices are examined in this research. In so doing, contributions will be made to the pre-existing, although limited, literature on young people and social mix. Furthermore, through this interest in young people in the social mix agenda, the research brings together these two literature fields in new ways.

2.5.4 Critiques of social mix

Much effort has been invested in exploring the success of social mix policy (Arthuson, 2012, p69), and the concept is deeply contested. The apparent absence of evidence (Tunstall and Lupton, 2010, p4), especially from longitudinal studies (Sautkina *et al*, 2012, p748) in support of the policy initiative forms the basis of many critiques. Along with concern that policy decisions are made on poor quality evidence reviews which lack critical thought and contain bias (Bond *et al*, 2011). Many critics have suggested that the practical application of social mix policy through the development of mixed tenure areas *is not* an appropriate proxy for a diverse resident population (Musterd and Anderson, 2005, p786), as it is based on the assumption that different 'types' of people live in different housing tenures. When in practice, tenure and income do not coincide (Sautkina *et al*, 2012, p749). Additionally, there is an inherent presumption that those living in private homes are 'better' residents (Joseph *et al*, 2007, p391).

Social mix constructs disadvantaged residents as part of the problem of deprived communities and crucially offers a market based solution (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008, p111). For Tunstall (2003) mixed tenure is seen as a euphemism for privatisation and an absence of state led strategy. As incorporating privately owned properties alongside social housing is proclaimed to resolve, and or prevent all possible neighbourhood challenges. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, social mix related initiatives never seek to change housing areas predominantly in private ownership (Tunstall, 2003, p155). This fails to recognise that individuals from higher income households may still struggle with unemployment, illegal behaviour and addictions; which are all commonly associated with poverty (*ibid.*). Conversely, by no means do all residents living in social housing suffer with such problems.

The capability of social mix policy to foster social interaction between different social groups is founded on little evidence (Musterd and Anderson, 2005, p767). Rather, research indicates that the benefit is more social control (Joesph, 2008, p234), in that higher income residents attempt to enforce codes of behaviour on others living around them, rather than lower income households emulating their higher income neighbours. Furthermore, research into the success of social mix suggests that the policy has little impact on social interaction between different social groups (e.g. Camna and Wood, 2009; Chaskin and Joesph, 2010; Galster, 2007, p19; Galster, 2012, p35). Insurmountable differences are accused of making private homeowners reluctant to encounter and integrate with those living in affordable housing especially social housing (Arthuson, 2012, p111). This desire to segregate is, for some, seen as human nature, making it particularly difficult to overcome (Talen, 2008, p45). Instead it has been suggested that studies show time and time again that people would always rather have neighbours similar to themselves (Cole and Goodchild, 2001, p1952) and therefore live in socially homogenous communities (Tiesdell, 2004, p199). Some have argued that this resentment has even extended to a form of NIMBYism amongst private homeowners (Tiesdell, 2004, p196). There are further concerns that socially mixed communities run the risk of conflict and resentment amongst 'different' residents (Musterd and Anderson, 2005, p766). These worries are specifically relevant for housing developers who, as noted previously, are often obligated to build social housing amongst housing for sale. Aware of the preferences for segregation from social housing, evidence shows developers have at times sought to build social housing away from properties for sale, often on the least desirable part of the site (Tiesdell, 2004, p201). That said, limited evidence does indicate that for social mix to achieve any success, and avoid possible conflict, certain parameters must be met including; an equal proportion of private and social

housing and the distribution of social housing equally throughout the area, parameters which housing developers are unlikely to favour. This thesis poses questions surrounding this concern about the desire of individuals to remain segregated in socially mixed communities. The thesis extends these insights by also pointing to the role played by youth in these broader agendas.

Despite the criticisms of social mix, there is considerable debate over the influence design can have on the success of the policy. Some have suggested that appropriate design has the capability to overcome segregation and pre-existing divides (Arthuson, 2012, p62), however this is heavily contested (e.g. Garshick Kleit, 2002, p97). For example, it is believed by some that 'pepper-potting' social housing throughout a community, rather than allowing social and private housing to be physically separated is key (Garshick Kleit, 2002, p97; Tunstall and Lupton, 2010, p28). Ensuring that the tenure of a property cannot be identified from its physical appearance is also thought to be essential. However, as Tiesdell (2004, p208) noted, social housing properties are rarely built with provisions such as garages unlike their private counterparts, often thought to be a cost-cutting measures. Despite the plethora of criticisms of social mix along with limited evidence in favour of the concept, the concept of social mix remains a well-used policy tool 'based more on faith than fact' (Galster, 2007, p35).

2.6 Neighbourhood

The concept of neighbourhood also received increased attention, both within policy and academic arenas. For New Labour policy, neighbourhood was, and arguably still is, seen as a spatial tool for delivering urban policy that focused on building successful communities. In fact the two terms, neighbourhood and community, have been used so much together that they are often used interchangeably, despite their different meanings (Sullivan and Taylor, 2007, p22). Neighbourhood, and community, remain the main focus of this chapter's discussion due to their perceived importance in addressing concerns around social exclusion through socially mixed communities. This section concentrates on exploring debates surrounding neighbourhood.

2.6.1 A definition of neighbourhood

Notwithstanding the everyday use of the term, neighbourhood has been a well-debated and contested concept. Despite the widespread usage, there is little consensus on an actual definition of neighbourhood (Galster, 1986, p213). This lack of consensus has left some willing

to argue that; ‘people know *it* when they see *it*’ (Galster, 2001, p2111). To complicate matters further, Hallman (1984) suggests that the idea of neighbourhood means different things to different people (p15). One thing is clear, our identification of neighbourhood varies from individual to individual.

Galster (2001), a leading neighbourhood theorist has examined fellow academics’ definitions. Although there appear to be many similarities, Galster highlights shortcomings in these definitions. He acknowledges how many express a degree of spatial extent, despite this rarely being defined. Furthermore, he notes the importance placed on social relationships (Galster, 1986, p231; Jenks and Dempsey, 2007, p155). Given these concerns, Galster (2001) proposes his own definition:

‘Neighbourhood is a bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences sometimes in conjunction with other land uses’ (p2112).

Here the term ‘attributes’ refers to a wide range of different neighbourhood features including, but certainly not limited to; structural characteristics such as buildings and scale; infrastructure, environmental characteristics such as pollution and topographical features, class characteristics of residents, and sentimental characteristics such as residents’ attachment to place (Galster, 2001, p2112). Galster goes on to explain that these attributes exist and function at different scales (*ibid.*). For example, neighbourhood pollution will exist and operate at a different scale to resident’s attachment to a place. Galster argued that it is this issue of scale that makes defining the spatial extent, the boundaries, of a neighbourhood so complicated (*ibid.*).

In contrast, Hallman (1984) begins his book on neighbourhoods by suggesting that they are, in fact, natural phenomenon (p11). For Hallman, the neighbourhood can be conceptualised and examined in a variety of ways; as a personal arena, as a social community, as a physical place, as a political community and as a little economy. Crucially it is all these different aspects combined that give the whole picture of any one neighbourhood (Hallman, 1984, p12).

For some the lack of a concrete definition of neighbourhood has become a preoccupation, as without a clear definition of the concept it is difficult to think about and study neighbourhoods (Galster, 1986, p245). After all, the lack of a clear definition makes setting a boundary around an area claiming to be a neighbourhood difficult (Jenks and Dempsey, 2007, p161), as it is vital

to have a sense of where a neighbourhood may begin and end. Neighbourhood boundaries have therefore been a longstanding concern (Galster, 2001, p2121). Additionally, policy makers, especially those working to address neighbourhood issues through Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) are also faced with deciding where the neighbourhood begins and ends; and so where, and who, benefits from policy interventions. Processes operating at different scales make drawing non-overlapping neighbourhood boundaries across space problematic (Hallman, 1984, p15 and 59). Hallman also suggests a further obstacle in drawing neighbourhood boundaries, by suggesting that residents living in an area will have different perceptions of where the boundary to their neighbourhood lies (Hallman, 1984, p57). Beyond being a concern for policy makers academics wishing to study a neighbourhood are faced with trying to resolve the boundaries around a study area (Jenks and Dempsey, 2007, p161).

Despite the difficulties associated with drawing neighbourhood boundaries, boundaries around areas proclaiming to be a neighbourhood are still drawn. From looking at a variety of empirical studies focusing on neighbourhoods it is clear that this is done in a variety of ways. In research, pre-existing boundaries commonly used include postcode areas and wards. Public administration has always been concerned with the scale and division of space and therefore generated boundaries to facilitate their needs (Atkinson *et al*, 2009, p2817). However, these have primarily been lines drawn on a map, rather than physical boundaries. Some academics have written about physical and visible boundaries (e.g. Keller, 1968), and their role in distinguishing one neighbourhood from another. The New Urbanism movement, which is explored later in this chapter, is keen on the use and creation of neighbourhood boundaries whether they are created naturally, through trees or topography, or man-made by infrastructure (Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 2003, p209). In practice, however, it has been argued that 'official' neighbourhoods boundaries do not exist, but rather arbitrary features such as pathways are adopted as the markers of a boundary (Suttles, 1972, p235). Suttles, who explores the social construction of neighbourhood and community recognises the role of neighbourhood boundaries, whether they are visible or not, in distinguishing one area from another (Suttles, 1972, p234). He also suggests that boundaries which define areas are the work of more than one social group. Boundary definitions are made by groups in order to distinguish themselves from other social groups (*ibid.*).

Overall, it is clear that both the definition and the boundary of neighbourhoods is complex. In this research study, which focuses on the neighbourhood scale policy of social mix, processes

associated with the policy along with the politics of boundary definition are shown to be crucial. Specifically, the study extends debates on neighbourhood boundaries by applying the ideas presented earlier in relation to the application of social mix policy. Inevitable questions will be raised regarding the suitability of any boundary drawn and whether processes associated with such policies operate within, or rather transcend the boundary. Furthermore, the nature of neighbourhood boundaries will also be of interest. Boundaries may be visible and natural or manmade, or indeed not physical but rather entirely social.

2.6.2 The importance of neighbourhood

As noted above, neighbourhoods vary in their nature and scale, but every one of us lives in a neighbourhood emphasising their importance in everyday lives. On this basis, Kearns and Parkinson (2001, p2103) argue that 'neighbourhood matters'. After all there is nothing quite as stark as being told that your life expectancy is influenced, by some extent, by the neighbourhood you live in and that, if you live in one of Britain's poorest neighbourhoods, you are likely to die younger (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001, p2278). Others have also noted the importance of neighbourhoods. Dorling (2001) reflects on his experiences of growing up in Oxford and how from an early age he recognised that where you lived, i.e. which neighbourhood you were from, impacted on your life. Although Dorling recognises the impact of neighbourhoods is by no means a secret, the reasons behind this are little understood (Dorling, 2001, p1337). The importance of neighbourhoods on people's lives has been absorbed into policy. As discussed in Section 2.3.3 of this chapter, the improvement of communities and neighbourhoods is thought to assist in the social exclusion agenda.

The impact of a neighbourhood on an individual is referred to as *neighbourhood* or *area effects*. There has been an extensive array of empirical studies into the effect of neighbourhoods on their population. For example, Dietz (2002) in a paper on neighbourhood effects in the social sciences points towards at least 38 different studies in the field with each addressing a range of different neighbourhood features and characteristics and the impact this has on residents. Furthermore, if neighbourhood effects do exist, then they may be more influential on some people, such as children and the elderly (Forrest, 2008, p135). This is because people who are less independently mobile may well be affected by their neighbourhood to a greater extent than other residents (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p2175). Despite the popularity of this field of academic enquiry, area effects are a controversial topic in the social sciences (Meegan and

Mitchell, 2001, p540). Some have suggested that the theory is flawed by the inability to distinguish the effects between neighbourhood issues and issues at other scales (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001, p2278; Forrest, 2008, p135). For instance, many studies have looked at the impact of neighbourhood on educational achievement. However as Forrest (2008, p135) notes, it is difficult to determine whether the neighbourhood is influential in this, or whether other factors are at play, such as the influence of parents. Area effects may well be influenced by contextual issues which sit beyond the boundaries of the neighbourhood (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001, p2295). Therefore, despite the tendency to treat neighbourhoods as independent jurisdictions, neighbourhoods cannot be considered as discrete entities.

Nevertheless, area effects are considered to impact both positively and negatively on the lives of people. For this reason we can see an array of neighbourhood based policy initiatives aimed at addressing 'problem' neighbourhoods. These are often termed Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) and have covered a range of issues. These policies place neighbourhoods as the primary scale of policy intervention and service delivery (Atkinson *et al*, 2009, p2819; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p2167). These initiatives typically seek to address the concerns of social exclusion and poverty. Yet, despite the popularity of ABIs, they are not without their critics. For instance, Kearns and Parkinson (2001) note how ABIs are thought to be less effective than mainstream national programmes at addressing poverty (p2108). The policy approach is also criticised for its tendency to focus on physical and functional issues of poverty, rather than social issues which ABIs often fail to capture (Jenks and Dempsey, 2007, p157). Lastly, concern has been expressed that neighbourhood scaled policies take the view that a neighbourhood is a 'static social container', failing to recognise that individuals do not solely exist within the boundaries of their neighbourhood (Atkinson *et al*, 2009, p2818). With this in mind, Sautkina *et al* (2012, p777) have suggested that empirical studies investigating social mix must consider the context of the area under investigation. The thesis raises questions about the suitability of neighbourhood boundaries and neighbourhood based policies for social mix, or whether processes beyond the confines of a neighbourhood influence social mixing in neighbourhoods designed for that purpose.

The value attributed to neighbourhoods and associated area effects can be most clearly demonstrated by neighbourhoods being increasingly viewed as a commodity. People are willing to pay substantially more to either buy or rent a property in a more 'desirable' neighbourhood possessing more favourable area effects. In fact, neighbourhoods have become so much of a

commodity that websites are devoted to giving potential residents the ‘ins’ and ‘outs’ of an area. For example *UpMyStreet.com* provides information on a variety of neighbourhood characteristics ranging from schooling options and crime statistics, to what your new neighbours may be like including their newspaper and holiday preferences (Up My Street [online], 2011).

In addition to ABIs which seek to improve existing areas, there continue to be policies which look at how best to develop new neighbourhoods. As previously discussed social mix is a characteristic often believed to be beneficial in helping to improving existing neighbourhoods, as well as an ideal characteristic in the development of new neighbourhoods. The following section will take social mix as its focus.

2.7 The design of communities – New Urbanism principles

As discussed previously in this chapter, the creation of ‘well-functioning’ communities and neighbourhoods formed a key part of New Labour’s attack on social exclusion. In addition to the role of social capital and social mix, as previously discussed, emphasis was also placed on the role of design, specifically how ‘good’ urban design could support the aspirations of social capital and social mixing. The movement called *New Urbanism* tries to address this urban design concern, by providing principles thought to deliver desirable places to live, in other words ‘good’ communities (Grant, 2006). Since the emergence of New Urbanism the principles associated with the movement have been widely used. That said, they have often taken different forms and as a result there is no longer thought to be one form of New Urbanism – but rather a number of New Urbanisms, all containing slight adjustments to the original model (Grant, 2006, p7). Principles common to all forms of New Urbanism include: mixed use development; mixed housing types and tenures; compact built form; pedestrian friendly streets; varying transport options; a compact and attractive public realm; local vernacular architecture and defined centres and edges (Day, 2003, p84; Ellis, 2002, p262; Grant, 2006, p7). It is believed that through the careful design of space and the provision of amenities, aesthetic and moral order will emerge. As Grant (2006, p72) suggests New Urbanism assumes that ‘good design will make people happy’, and that therefore the ultimate aim of New Urbanism – to create a ‘good community’ - will be achieved. With this in mind the movement is firmly based on the theoretical ideas of environmental determinism (Marcuse, 2000, p5). That said, many advocates of New Urbanism do suggest that the design of the built environment cannot be, and is not, solely responsible for ensuring a successful community (CNU [online], 2001; Ellis, 2002,

p277). Rather, design is just one contributing factor, along with other elements such as beliefs, values and economics.

At the heart of the New Urbanism vision is ensuring a strong sense of community. Good design is thought to support and encourage social interaction amongst individuals living in an area (Ellis, 2002, p278) and foster a sense of community. Even the smallest of design elements are considered to be vital in this agenda. It is presumed, for instance, that thoughtfully designed neighbourhood centres, streets and public spaces bring people out of their homes and create opportunities for social interaction (Talen, 1999, p1364). It is also assumed that regular social encounters and interaction help develop social networks (*ibid.*) which may lead to bonding and bridging capital.

As mentioned previously, one of the many New Urbanism principles is to develop mixed tenure communities. Mixed tenure, as mentioned in Section 2.5, is seen as a proxy for delivering mixed income communities. The movement's desire to support such communities is seen as a response to the increased social segregation witnessed by the rise of suburban development (Day, 2003, p84). On this basis, New Urbanism aims to encourage social interaction amongst residents from different socio-economic backgrounds, much like social mix policy (Grant, 2006, p70). In so doing it is suggested by advocates of New Urbanism that the movement seeks to transform difference instead of simply recognising it (Day, 2003, p84), thereby echoing the ambitions of others, including Fraser (2001, p29) who as discussed earlier calls for a parity of participation in society.

2.7.1 Emergence of New Urbanism

The New Urbanism movement emerged in response to concerns over the current form of prevailing development – suburban sprawl - driven by social, economic, technological and political change (Calthorpe, 1994, pxii; Kim and Kaplan, 2004, p313; Talen, 2008, p1). The movement began in the 1970s (Ellis, 2002, p261) but really gained prominence two decades later in the 1990s (Talen, 2008, p1), after an extensive period of suburban growth (Hayden, 1984, p12). Large scale social housing areas had been built quite separately from wealthier suburban enclaves (Grant, 2006, p69). In response to these concerns, New Urbanism provided a 'simple, tangible and marketable recipe for practice' (Grant, 2006, p10), whereby communities could be planned in their entirety supporting the development of mixed

communities. Planners saw the new anti-sprawl movement as a potential way to support vibrant communities (Freeman, 2001, p69). New Urbanism coincided with the birth of Urban Design in the 1960s and by 1993, in light of its growing prominence, a Congress for New Urbanism was established which continues to this day to promote the principles of the movement.

That said, New Urbanism was by no means a completely new and unique phenomenon. Rather, the movement takes its inspiration from historical planning precedents, such as the 'City Beautiful' and the 'Garden City' movement. Furthermore, the central idea to New Urbanism - that through the good holistic design of a settlement a desirable community will emerge - is also not unique. There are a number of examples of the holistic planning of communities, especially from the industrial period. Crucially for the New Urbanism movement, suburbanisation had resulted in social segregation based on income.

2.7.2 New Urbanism in practice

New Urbanism ideas have been adopted throughout the globe, most notably in its country of origin, the United States, but also in Europe, particularly the United Kingdom. However, as a result of the movement's popularity across the world, slightly different strands have emerged. New Urbanism ideas have been used in many different developments, and at varying scales, including urban neighbourhoods, districts or even small towns (Ellis, 2002, p267). In the US, the most famous example of New Urbanism in practice are the small towns of *Seaside* and *Kentlands*, both built towards the end of the 1980s (Grant, 2006, p82). As well as individual developments, New Urbanism has influenced government policy. The *Hope VI* policy in the US and *Urban Village* policy in the United Kingdom are two examples. The latter of these is now explored further, as the initiative informed many large-scale residential developments built during the New Labour government.

2.7.2.1 Urban Villages

Urban Villages adopt many of the principles associated with New Urbanism (Grant, 2006, p61; Murray, 2004, p192); namely mixed use, environmental conservation, the use of focal squares and greens, walkable local amenities and services, open space, connected street patterns, local vernacular architecture and of particular relevance to this study – mixed tenure housing.

The concept of an Urban Village was first developed in the late 1980s by the Urban Village Group (Biddulph *et al*, 2002, p6). The first Urban Village in the UK was Poundbury in Dorset which began in 1993 (Duchy of Cornwall [online], 2006). The village was commissioned by the Prince of Wales and emerged as a result of his book *A Vision for Britain* which was published in 1989 (Prince of Wales HRH). Leon Krier designed the village in response to their joint views on architecture and urban design, which was to echo traditional and intimate patterns of development (Prince of Wales HRH, 1989, p15). Later, towards the end of the late 1990s, the concept of Urban Villages was adopted by government policy and also incorporated related concepts such as *Urban Renaissance* and *Millennium Villages* (Biddulph *et al*, 2002, p6). Arguably, many of the original principles of Urban Villages remained.

As noted previously in this chapter, the late 1990s witnessed a period of growing interest in how best to develop communities (Grant, 2006, p7) and tackle social exclusion. To further this, the Urban Task Force, led by Lord Richard Rogers, had been commissioned to write a report on the challenges facing British towns and cities (Lock, 2003, p60). Recommendations outlined in the report, infiltrated a number of government policies (*ibid.*) including the Urban White Paper *Our Town and Cities: The Future* (DETR, 2000). Within such policy design principles associated with New Urbanism and Urban Villages were seen as a response to the typical monotonous residential development which characterised the 1960s through until the 1980s (Murray, 2004, p194). Employing the new ideas the Greenwich Millennium Community, built on a former industrial area along the River Thames, was the first Urban Village to be initiated by the government (Worpole, 2003, p121). There have since been a number of Urban Villages built throughout the UK.

Despite the popularity of Urban Village ideas there has been relatively little research into the concept and their application in practice (Biddulph *et al*, 2002, p1). It can therefore be argued that any research which explores the impact of design on the ability of communities to be well-functioning is of value. Moreover, given the imagined role of young people in securing successful communities through their use of community spaces, research which explores the design of socially mixed communities is of particular value.

2.7.3 Criticisms of New Urbanism

Despite the popularity of New Urbanism, the movement has received a barrage of criticism. At the very least the movement is accused of being kitsch (Ellis, 2002, p273) and naïve (Grant, 2006, p6). Arguably, one of the most common criticisms levelled against New Urbanism is that the many claims proposed by supporters of the movement are based on little evidence (Talen, 1999, p1362). This is especially the case when it comes to the social benefits which New Urbanism claims to offer (Garshick Kleit, 2005, p1414). New Urbanism theory is based on assumptions (Grant, 2006, p68) about how spaces will be used in a development. For example, community public spaces are thought to be used for civic events such as fiestas, but in reality these spaces are not used in this way (Day, 2003, p90). Therefore, questions are raised about how it is imagined that spaces are used and whether this matches how spaces are used in practice. This is a further key question posed by this research investigation.

Assumptions are also made in New Urbanism about the role of design. Social interaction or neighbouring is thought to be cultivated through good design but in so doing the movement is said to have failed to acknowledge the other factors shown to be significant in ensuring social interaction, many of which are non-spatial (Ellis, 2002, p277). These factors include: the age of a neighbourhood; use of neighbourhood facilities; presence of children; ethnicity; social status; education; tenure and poverty (Freeman, 2001, p72; Garshick Kleit, 2005, p1415; Talen, 1999, p1366). For example, as shown in Section 2.5.3 on social mix, children and young people are often suggested to be vital in establishing links amongst neighbours (e.g. Riger and Lavrakas, 1981, p64). It was also mentioned how residents tend to develop social ties with neighbours whom they see as similar to themselves (e.g. Garshick Kleit, 2005, p1425). With this in mind, Talen (1999, p1369) suggested that advocates of New Urbanism should be more modest in their claims about the role of design in initiating social interaction in neighbourhoods (Talen, 1999, p1369).

Furthermore, New Urbanism aims to ensure the development of a 'good' community and it is assumed that New Urbanism ideals have universal appeal (Talen, 1999, p1362). But critically what one person may consider to be the basis of a good community may not be the same for others (Day, 2003, p89; Grant, 2006, p26). New Urbanism never questions the appropriateness of its goals (Day, 2003, p87). This means that those with the most power inevitably control the New Urbanism vision (Grant, 2006, p103). Grant (*ibid.*) therefore suggests that for the New

Urbanism movement to be socially just, then the middle-classes must not be the only ones that are heard.

New Urbanism also claims to help address segregation, through mixed use and mixed-income developments. However concerns have been raised that it can magnify the problem. Marcuse (2000) accuses many New Urbanism developments of being homogenous in race, income and family composition (p4). Others suggest New Urbanism is guised as supporting an emancipatory society when in reality it just reflects a new and complex articulation of traditional class fractions (Ellis, 2002, p272). It is suggested that this is the result of New Urbanism's failure to recognise the plurality of design ideals (Day, 2003, p87). Concern is also raised to ensure that in New Urbanism projects, care is taken to protect the position of low income households. New Urbanism developments are often accused of being high-end with only a token number of affordable units. This criticism refers to both new greenfield developments as well as regeneration projects (Plas and Lewis, 1996, p118). Some critics have even gone so far to suggest the movement's idea of a 'good community' does not include poor residents at all (Grant, 2006, p100).

The movement has also been criticised for drawing on past urban movements, which in the opinion of many, were themselves flawed. In so doing, New Urbanism is seen to hold onto an imagined past that never truly existed, yet is pursued through design (Ellis, 2002, p266). Other critics suggest that New Urbanism is no more than a package of marketable design principles from which housing developers easily profit (Katz, 2002, p36). In short, the movement justifies increasing housing densities, and includes design elements, that have nostalgic appeal yet no function (Brown *et al*, 1998, p582).

This thesis uses the debates presented around urban design, specifically associated with the New Urbanism movement, to provide critical insights into spatial design and issues of social mix in new-build residential developments. Furthermore, there is little, if any, previous academic work on the role of neighbourhood and public space design in supporting young people's use of public space and their contribution towards social mixing as desired by New Urbanism.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter, which is the first of two chapters examining existing debates in the academic literature has looked at a number of different concerns; difference, policy responses to

difference and the role of neighbourhoods, social mix policy and urban design. The chapter began by highlighting how social differences between us can be theorised in many different ways. In light of this, the post-modernist work of Nancy Fraser (2001) was explored, suggesting that simply recognising differences between people is insufficient. In her view, we should seek to ensure that differences do not adversely affect individual's opportunity to participate in social life; we should request a 'parity of participation' (Fraser, 2001, p21). At the end of this section, attention was briefly paid to the work of Bourdieu, and specifically three of his most important concepts; habitus, field and capital. Together, these concepts provide another way of understanding difference and the emergent inequalities that seem to exist. Given this, Section 2.3, looked at diversity and the challenges associated with difference. Diversity, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is understood to be a managerial perspective of difference. There has consequently been a plethora of policies which seek to address difference. Multiculturalism is one such policy programme. However, it is criticised for simply seeking to acknowledge differences rather than challenge them. Two key concepts of this thesis were then explored; the right to the city and social exclusion. Both concepts, as in the work of Fraser, highlight how difference can result in unequal participation in social life, or more specifically, urban life. Like Fraser, supporters of these two terms suggest we should attempt to challenge this. However, unlike the right to the city, the term social exclusion has been well adopted within political arenas, especially during the first term of the New Labour Government. Given this, discussion centred upon different aspects of New Labour's policy agenda, with specific attention given to their aims to embrace and empower communities. In essence, 'well-functioning' communities were thought to have the capacity to address the challenges of social exclusion. Moreover, it was suggested that successful communities possess high levels of social capital secured through the presence of social mix. As analysed in this chapter, social mix policy seeks to create communities with a blend of residents from different socio-economic backgrounds. This is thought to support social capital which, as previously noted, is believed as essential in the fight against social exclusion. More specifically, young people's role in the social mix agenda has been acknowledged. Their presence is believed to help initiate social interaction; crucial for social capital. As well as the role of young people, good urban design is also thought to be vital in this agenda, being thought necessary to ensure greater opportunities for social interaction to occur through the provision of well-designed public spaces and amenities.

Given the emphasis placed on community as a means to tackle social exclusion, the idea of 'neighbourhood' was then discussed along with urban design principles associated with New Urbanism. Well design and functioning neighbourhoods are seen as the appropriate scale to develop and deliver initiatives that will engender strong communities and foster social capital through social mix.

Given the discussion in this chapter it is clear that simply recognising social differences is thought to be insufficient. Much of the literature and policy aspires to challenge difference and ensure that nobody is marginalised or excluded from participating in social and urban life as the result of differences. As outlined in this chapter, neighbourhoods are believed by many to be at the basis of this endeavour, as neighbourhood effects can work to compound disadvantage. That said, existing academic work has been less useful in identifying how and whether forces beyond the bounds of a neighbourhood are also influential in this. As this chapter has shown, in producing socially mixed 'good' communities or neighbourhoods, questions of scale and boundary definition are key. This thesis interrogates both concepts in order to contribute towards extending these debates. Although there has been research on neighbourhood scaled policies, such as social mix, the existing literature has not sufficiently examined the role of young people in such policy approaches, despite proclaiming their positive contribution to the agenda. For instance, there is limited empirical work into the capabilities of young people to support and initiate social interaction in areas of social mix. Furthermore, numerous assumptions are made, such as whether the necessary facilities, and therefore opportunities, are provided to support social interaction amongst young people. Additionally, the literature on social mix also overlooks the impacts on the middle-classes, as well as their practices, particularly in relation to children and youth. The role of urban design in social mix aspirations is well acknowledged and debated, however the potential of design to support young people's social interaction has often been overlooked. This thesis contributes towards addressing the gaps in these debates.

Chapter 3: Identity, place and spatialized behaviour

Literature discussion 2

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, discussion centres upon a range of academic debates specifically looking at three ideas; identity, place, and behaviour and identity *in* place. The previous chapter began by examining academic debates surrounding the idea of difference. Following this the responding diversity agenda was explored which encapsulates a range of policy initiatives including social mix policy. Given that this research study aims to explore how young people specifically influence the success of this policy through their use of public spaces and amenities, this chapter explores how social and spatial identities are co-constructed, making use of the concept of social constructionism. Furthermore, given the prominence placed on the role of space in the social mix agenda, the chapter also gives significant attention to how identities are treated in space, more specifically how young people, due to their ascribed identity, are controlled and treated in public spaces.

3.2 Social constructionism

Social constructionism is considered to be a postmodernist approach often associated with humanistic traditions. We are often taught to study the world carefully and objectively in order to enable us to predict and understand the world (Gergen, 2009, p1). However, a social constructionist approach takes a different view in that what we take from the world and how we understand it, does not come from objective observation but rather depends on how *we* approach the world. Therefore, words such as 'objective', 'truth' and 'reality' become challenged (Gergen, 2009, p2). This approach is often understood in opposition to *essentialism*, a positivist idea, whereby phenomena are reduced to their essential or 'natural' qualities (Clope *et al*, 1999, p336). Instead social phenomena can be understood as socially manufactured artefacts, or social constructs, created from social relationships, language, narratives and experience. This is not to suggest that there is no reality but rather how we, as human beings, understand our reality relies on a tradition of sense making resulting from social relationships and the social structure of the world (Gergen, 2009, p4; Hacking, 1999, p6). Social constructs, therefore, do not have the exact same meaning to every one of us. Rather, our individual understandings of a social phenomena will be shaped by our social relationships and social group membership. To help explain social constructionist ideas, Gergen (2009, p3) explores the

variety of ways different individuals may look upon anyone of us. For example, biologists who are familiar with scientific discourse may look at us as a mammal, while Christians may see us as a sinner and hairdressers as someone who needs a haircut (*ibid.*). How these individuals see something, and what they see, is rooted in their social relationships.

In addition to this, social constructs, or our understandings of a social phenomenon, are not believed to be static or fixed but rather are being continuously shaped and reproduced as the result of social shifts and changes in our experiences (Gergen, 2009, p3). Additionally it is important to note that our understandings of social phenomena are not value neutral but are full of complex meanings and are often socially constructed as belonging to a hierarchy with some placed as superior to others (Gergen, 2009, p2). Values attached to social constructs are often the result of dominant power structures in society. The process of acknowledging this hierarchy of social constructions is rarely the end point for those working in this framework. Instead, social constructionists often seek to challenge and critique a social construct and even in some cases suggest that social constructs need to be abandoned altogether (Hacking, 1999, p7).

This research study aims to investigate the role of young people in the social mix agenda, hence understandings of specific social phenomena, specifically understandings of space and identity are key. Space is critical in the social mix policy agenda. Spatial and social divisions between people considered *different*, form the driving force behind social mix policy. Furthermore, space and in particular shared neighbourhood spaces are envisaged as vital sites for social mixing between different individuals. Additionally, different social identities, as argued in the previous chapter, form the basis for divisions in society, as individuals choose to align themselves with those they see as similar to themselves. On this basis, it is important that further consideration is given to social identities and their formation in relation to space and place.

3.2.1 The social construction of space and place

As discussed above, from a social constructionist perspective, the understanding of a social phenomenon is no longer considered to be natural, fixed and given. Instead, understandings are fluid, manufactured artefacts created from social relationships. Furthermore, understandings of social constructs are multiple and in some cases contested. This idea is also

true for ideas surrounding space (Valentine, 2001, p4). From this perspective space can no longer be considered as having particular fixed characteristics, or a pre-existing terrain or backdrop upon which social life is played out. Instead spaces are socially constructed with different understandings and meanings. Furthermore social constructs surrounding space do not work in isolation; other social phenomena and their identities work to produce understandings of spaces. Likewise, understandings of space also work to shape and mould perceptions of other social phenomena and identities. So 'space and society do not merely interact with or reflect each other but rather are mutually constituted' (Valentine, 2001, p5). For example spaces inform how we identify and categorise others and ourselves. Valentine gives many examples of how identities of individuals and spaces are co-constructed. However, given the subject matter of this study, I will use her example of the 'urban underclass'. This term has a long history in both Britain and in United States as a reference for those who live in persistent poverty and at the 'bottom rung of the social ladder' (Valentine, 2001, p213). In Britain the 'underclass' is typically concentrated in large scale public housing schemes. These housing areas have gradually come to be understood, and to be socially constructed as places of poverty, crime and anti-social behaviour, to name just a few. At the same time this social construct of such spaces works to socially construct individuals living in these areas as criminals, demons and under-valued members of society (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, as this example illustrates, dominant power structures operate as a smoke screen to the complexity and meanings associated with the social production of particular spaces and social identities. So, in the example above, the social construct of the 'underclass' as a social identity, which is proclaimed as truthful in fact hides the diversity of individuals within that category (Valentine, 2001 p5). Equally the social construction of spaces associated with the 'underclass', such as the large scale municipal housing areas, are not all, or just, sites of poverty, crime and anti-social behaviour. Rather, some municipal built housing areas, especially those built immediately after the Second World War associated with the minister Aneurin Bevan, have become some of the most popular housing built in Britain (Forrest and Murie, 1988, p110).

Along with any social construction of space, there are surrounding discourses about social behaviours and expectations believed to be appropriate for that space. Again, throughout the literature on the social construction of space there are countless examples of behaviour which is deemed as 'inappropriate' for that given space. For instance in suburbia, which is constructed

as a space of order often based on notions of the 'old' English village where the urban aesthetic is highly valued (Valentine, 2001, p179), it is expected that people will behave in a certain manner by being unobtrusive, restrained and respectful of the environment. These ideas about appropriate behaviour are by no means natural but rather are socially manufactured by one social group, in other words are a social construct. Interestingly, when an individual behaves in a manner which contravenes the expected behaviour, they are deemed to be deviant or 'other'. As discussed in the previous chapters 'others', are usually understood as those who possess qualities of difference – 'otherness' (Cloke *et al*, 1999, p339). Quite often this refers to those who are different from the dominant social group.

This research study aims to investigate social mix policy with specific relation to young people and their role in this agenda. As discussed in the previous chapter, social mix policy aims to overcome existing social divides within society, specifically the segregation of individuals according to socio-economic characteristics. The segregation of individuals who are thought to be 'different' can also be understood from a social constructionist perspective. Spaces become constructed as a place for certain types of people – local authority owned housing as a place for the poor and suburbia as a place for the middle-classes. Again, as mentioned above, people are simultaneously constructed through the places they occupy and inhabit. On this basis those living in local authority housing are seen as not respectable, whilst those living in suburbia are seen as respectable. Of course, for people who are seen as lacking respectability, this social construct can be damaging, resulting in their social exclusion. Questions exist as to whether social mix aspirations, specifically through the creation of mixed tenure developments, can challenge and disrupt existing and persistent social constructions of different socio-economic groups living in particular areas. As well as the social construction of space, a consideration of *how* social identities are constructed is crucial for this study, and is now explored in detail.

3.2.2 The social construction of identity

Each of us has our own identity. From a social constructionist approach, however, these are not natural phenomenon but manufactured social artefacts. Just like all social constructions, social identities are the result of social processes determined by the social world (Berger and Luckman, 1966, p194). Identities are the result of how others define us, or construct us. These social constructions occur through other people's conversations, descriptions, explanations and criticisms of us (Gergen, 2009, p51). At the root of all our social identities is the identification

with one or more social groups, such as woman, man, black, white, German, Irish etc. Social group members are constructed and often depicted as possessing certain characteristics. For example, women are often understood as emotional and the Irish as aggressive (*ibid.*). These reputations are commonly shared understandings and taken as truth. Whoever we are, we are implicated in these commonly held social constructions relating to our social identity. Furthermore, it is argued that these understandings of social groups work to inform group members about how to be, reinforcing these social constructions. The media also play a role in this, acting as a mechanism to reinforce social identities, portraying certain groups in particular ways, creating what we might call social stereotypes (*ibid.*).

Yet, despite the overwhelming power given to social constructs, as noted previously, social constructs are not considered to be fixed or static, rather they are continually changing and being reshaped through social processes. Social identities are no different and furthermore it has been examined how we as individuals may work to try and reshape our own and other people's social identities through what is coined 'Identity Activism' (Gergen, 2009, p52) or simply challenging stereotypes. Social mix policy, which was introduced in the previous chapter, may be one mechanism used to challenge these stereotypes. It is thought that by increasing the spatial proximity of people from different social and economic backgrounds, social barriers between these different social groups will be challenged and eroded (Ruming *et al*, 2004, p236). The question is whether simply placing people in closer proximity has the capability of disrupting well established social constructions. The previous chapter outlined criticisms of social mix policy's capacity to achieve this.

3.3 The social construction of young people

One factor that shapes the identity of all of us, is our age. Recent academic attention surrounding young people has settled on the idea that understandings and perceptions of 'children' and 'childhood' are socially constructed, rather than the result of natural characteristics (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p28; James and Jenks, 1996, p317; Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers, 1990, p8). So, although it is a biological fact that a child is smaller and less physically developed than an adult, how we understand this is a result of social relationships (Prout and James, 1990, p7). This section will 'unpick' and analyse the social construct of young people and children.

3.3.1 A historical background to the social construction of childhood and young people

Like all social constructions, the social construct of childhood and young people has and will continue to change over time. Furthermore, these ideas will change between social groups and therefore will alter across space (Valentine, 1996a, p207).

It is only relatively recently that academics working in the field of childhood studies have come to a consensus that concepts and understandings of 'young people' and 'childhood' are socially constructed. This emerged in response to the restrictive positivist approaches of the 1970s (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p26). Prior to this, childhood studies focused primarily on socialisation theory, whereby childhood was assumed to be a natural and universal state experienced by all children, as determined through biological 'facts' (Prout and James, 1990, p11). This approach explored how young people learned to participate in society, and ultimately how they became adults. The approach focused on sites where the socialisation of the child into an adult occurred, specifically emphasising the role of the family and the school. These types of theories remained unquestioned until the growth in interpretive and humanistic approaches (Prout and James, 1990, p15).

The move towards social construction of children and young people and the challenge to previous orthodox ideas emerged from the work of Philippe Aries. In his book, *Centuries of Childhood*, first published in 1962, he traced how children had been represented in art and literature across history. He suggested that in the early Middle Ages children had mixed freely with adults rather than being seen as separate (Gittins, 1998, p26). He highlighted how in medieval art up to the 12th century, children were painted as men, but on a smaller scale, with none of the characteristics that we associate with childhood today (Aries, 1982, p31). Later towards the end of the middle ages there is evidence that children were increasingly separated from adults. Children had different clothing, were educated and had less work responsibilities. Aries' (1982) argument is that such changes support the idea that childhood is a socially manufactured artefact – a social construction - rather than a biological fact. However it should be noted that the work of Aries has been criticised as it focuses primarily on elites throughout history (Neilson, 1994 cited in Gittins, 1998, p28).

3.3.2 Current western social constructions of childhood and young people

Today in the West, it is commonly understood that 'childhood' has been socially constructed as a period of innocence. This is where young people lack knowledge and skills, and have no responsibilities or obligations. A time when they are cared for, all their needs are provided for and they are protected from perceived potential threats (Gittins, 1998, p7). It is, however important to note that these understandings of children and childhood, like all other social constructs, are not universal (Gittins, 1998, p9; Valentine, 1996a, p206). Rather, these ideas are most likely the result of dominant white middle-class ideas of childhood (Valentine, 1996b, p585). In line with this, such socially constructed ideas hold children and young people in opposition to adults, or they are considered to be 'others' (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p4). As mentioned in Section 3.2 of this chapter, the idea of an 'other' is where an individual or social group is socially constructed as different from the dominant group by possessing qualities of 'difference'. Significantly this 'other-ing' of young people places them in an inferior position to adults. That said, as Holloway and Valentine (*ibid.*) acknowledge, that unlike other socially constructed binaries, such as black and white, children are 'othered' in relation to adults but are not universally and publicly loathed. This, they suggest, is because we have all, at some point, been in this category ourselves.

Despite entrenched ideas about 'childhood' and what children and young people are, we do occasionally come across images of childhood and children that contradict these understandings. As social constructs seem so naturalised, conflicting images are often highly emotive and problematic. For example, in the West our understandings of children as vulnerable are well engrained, so when confronted with imagery such as starving children driven to searching through rubbish looking for anything worth salvaging, an image used by charities (e.g. Unicef, 2010) we find this problematic and powerful (James and Jenks, 1996, p320). Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) illustrate this by using a narrative to create a child 'Nema' who does not fit with current Western ideas of children. Nema is not starving like the images portrayed in charity literature, but instead is capable of looking after herself, can drive a car, and has a job all by the age of ten. In their book, they discuss how this is problematic as she cannot be placed as either a child or adult according to current social constructions of childhood and children, making it difficult to know how Nema should be treated.

The presence of contradictory images of childhood and children do not only exist in poorer countries and in fiction. Images of young people which conflict with the dominant narrative of innocence and vulnerability are also present on a daily basis. In 1993, James Bulger, a toddler, was kidnapped, tortured and then murdered by two boys aged ten years old. This case proved to be a turning point in the re-examination of 'childhood'. The James Bulger case initiated much debate about what children are, and their capabilities (James and Jenks, 1996, p315). More recently, in 2009, these debates re-emerged as two brothers aged ten and eleven from Edlington near Doncaster were charged with the attempted murder of another two boys aged nine and eleven (Morrison, 2009, p32). These events highlighted the fact that ideas of children as joyful and innocent are not universal within any given society and can be contradicted with ideas of children as evil (Gittins, 1998, p8). It has been argued, both within academic fields and within the media, that there has been a gradual emergence of a binary conceptualisation of children. Put succinctly young people may be seen either as 'angels' or 'devils' (Valentine, 1996b, p581), thus reflecting the possibility of children and teenagers being angelic and in need of protection, or devilish and a possible threat.

3.3.2.1 'Angels' and 'Devils'

The idea that a child can be either an 'angel' or 'devil' is not a new idea. Usually one of these contrasting images dominates. However, occasionally the opposite conceptualisation is rediscovered in light of an event that challenges the prevailing idea. The James Bulger murder case can be thought as one such event, where the public was presented with an image which conflicted with the prevalent understanding of children and an explanation was needed (Valentine, 1996b, p587). Jenks (1996) traces the history of dualistic views of young people, although from an essentialist approach rather than a social constructionist approach (Holloway and Valentine, 2000, p4). It is suggested that the good child was seen as the *Appollonian* child, who was born innocent, possessing innate goodness but with the potential to be corrupted by the social world and therefore requiring protection (Holloway and Valentine, 2000, p74). On the other hand, the bad child – the *Dionysian* child- was born sinful and possessing animal like instincts. Dionysian children could be 'socialised' into acceptable behaviour - adult behaviour (Valentine, 2004, p2). In light of the move from essentialist ideas towards interpretive approaches, these concepts have been abandoned or perhaps redeveloped, but nevertheless illustrate how ideas of the good and bad child have been in existence for a long time.

The more recent use of the social constructs of 'angel' and 'devil' were reinvented by Gill Valentine who has continued to use these concepts heavily in her work on young people, specifically in relation to their use of space. As discussed in Section 3.2.1 of this chapter, it is believed that space has a vital role to play in the social construction of individuals' identities, and that equally social identities shape understandings of space. This is thought to be no different for young people whose identities are constructed in and through space and perceptions of children shape the understandings and values attached to space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b, p774). With this in mind, it has been suggested that public space is socially constructed as an adult space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p84). After all, in contemporary Britain, middle-class children in particular are introduced to public space slowly and in the presence of an adult, gradually increasing their independence over time. On this basis, young people independently present in public space are deemed to be 'out of place', and therefore liable to be socially constructed as devils. Despite the importance of space in the social construction of young people and especially with reference to the binary idea of young people as either angels or devils, it is also important to recognise that others, including Valentine (2004), have acknowledged the influence of other characteristics on young people's identity such as their gender, ethnicity, class and their specific age (James *et al*, 1998, p49).

The age of young people is thought to be particularly influential in the construction of young people's social identities. Older children, teenagers, are often constructed in contrast to younger children. The idea of a teenager is said to have been invented during the 1950s, as a way to explain the behaviour of older children (Valentine, 2004, p86), presumably aged between twelve and sixteen years old. Despite the popular usage of this term in everyday language to describe young people of a certain age, there has been little research on this age group within the field of children's geographies (Skelton, 2000, p80), with researchers tending to focus on young children aged around 4 years old. This study, however, looks at the influence of children including teenagers on the success of social mix policy in mixed tenure neighbourhoods and thus contributes to this growing field of work. As a social category, the concept of a teenager is seen as a somewhat ambiguous term, as they cannot be placed as either an adult or child according to commonly held social perceptions. Instead, as Skelton argues, teenagers belong to both categories, as being a teenager is a time often associated with transition from childhood to adulthood (Skelton, 2000, p81). However despite this perceived closeness to adults, teenagers are often socially constructed as a threat to moral order (Valentine, 2004, p86). Parents of young children often see teenagers as a potential threat to their child, especially in

public space (Skelton, 2000, p84). With this in mind, teenagers are often constructed as 'devils'. This is in contrast to parents of teenagers who consider them to be *at risk*, rather than being *the risk*. Parents of teenagers worry that their children will come to harm predominately from dangers commonly associated with the street such as violence, drugs and alcohol (*ibid.*), although there is also some evidence that teenagers' parents worry about the potential threats of other teenagers (Valentine, 2004, p94).

Within the public domain teenagers are more likely to be perceived as devils. This is for a variety of reasons but perhaps primarily because teenagers, due to their age, are more likely to be present in public space without an adult. Furthermore, as Valentine (2004) notes, teenagers are more likely to challenge and resist adult dominance and therefore contradict understandings of children. It has been suggested that one of the reasons teenagers are prone to resisting the adult 'rules' of public space is because of the limited provision for them in the public sphere. For instance the design of public spaces for children rarely extends beyond the provision of traditional play spaces, which although are suitable for young children do not meet the needs of teenagers (Valentine, 2004, p84). By contrast, spaces which do appeal to teenagers, such as shopping centres, are often privatised (Valentine, 2004, p100) and as a result they are pushed out of these spaces through a variety of mechanisms. The design of public space for young people and their treatment in these spaces will be revisited later on in this chapter in Sections 3.4 and 3.5. However, the social construction of teenagers in public space may have important implications for this study. As shown in the previous chapter, young people are thought to play an important role in aspirations for social mix policy and this involves their 'mixing' and social interaction in public space. If, however, young people are considered to be 'out of place' in public space and a threat, the thesis questions to what extent young people can be catalysts to social interaction if their access to public space is controlled or even denied.

3.3.3 The importance of the social construction of young people

The study of childhood as a social construction, like the study of other socially constructed ideas is worthy of academic attention for many reasons. It is of paramount importance that socially constructed ideas are not just studied self evidently but rather are deconstructed and unpicked to expose the ideological and rhetorical purposes of the social construct (Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p12). Moreover, if people are asked about 'children', or

even if children are asked about ‘children’, they will not intrinsically speak about children but rather their collective narrative and understanding. For every narrative, therefore, we need to ask questions; what is the function of the social construct, what can be achieved by it and what is being promoted through such ideology? (Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p16). By asking such questions, we are forced to consider who is telling this story and why is it being believed (Gittins, 1998, p45). This research essentially aims to examine a policy which aspires to bring together people who are socially constructed as different, with the overall aim of dismantling these social constructions of difference. Within this context young people are being socially constructed by policy as ambassadors for social mixing, whilst simultaneously being constructed as ‘different’. This thesis questions the purpose of such social constructs in relation to social mix policy agendas.

As well as unpicking social constructs, it is also important to think about the consequences of social constructions to material outcomes (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p5; James and Jenks, 1996, p318; James *et al*, 1998, p28). For instance, as noted previously, public space is socially constructed as an adult space, where young people are deemed to be ‘out of place’ and often constructed as ‘devils’ or at risk. As a result, young people are actively pushed out and excluded from public spaces. This example will be discussed in further detail later on in this chapter but it is worth noting how the active exclusion of young people from public spaces raises issues of social exclusion, equality and even safety as young people are pushed out of traditional community spaces into more marginal public spaces (Valentine, 2004, p103).

3.4 Young people and space

Academic work that focuses upon young people and the places they occupy tends to focus on three spaces; home, school and public space. In line with the focus of this thesis, the following section analyses young people’s use, and treatment in public space.

3.4.1 Young people’s public space

In Section 3.2.1 of this chapter, I looked at how space like social identities are socially constructed. It was suggested that alongside the socially constructed identities of space, places were understood to have particular behavioural codes. In order to demonstrate this, I discussed the example of suburbia where the expected behaviour was to promote aesthetic and social order. Social constructs, including the behavioural expectations of space, are

produced by the most powerful in society, arguably adults and especially those who own property (Simpson, 1997, p916) such as the middle-classes. However young people's understandings of appropriate behaviour in space, including public space, can contrast to adults. Many academics have highlighted this mismatch between adults' and childrens' understandings of space. Ward (1990, p180) uses the example of a children's play area to illustrate this point. He argues how just because a piece of land has been designated and designed for children's play does not mean that it will be used in such a way. In light of this argument, De Connick-Smith and Gutman (2004, p131) recall the use of an adventure playground built in Copenhagen. Instead of providing the traditional play equipment the play area was filled with wooden planks, wooden boxes and building materials for children to build and create their own play. Whilst the children took to this different play facility quite happily, parents were not so keen, again illustrating how adults' and children's perspectives on the understanding of space can differ.

This contrast between adult and children's understandings of space also extends to the spaces they prefer. For example, despite the presence of play areas built for children, children will often opt to play elsewhere. This can often involve making use of what may seem to an adult as arbitrary features in the landscape such as kerbs, gutters and changes in the height of the land (Ward, 1990, p76). It is well argued that the idea that children will only play in play areas designed for them is a common misconception (Simpson, 1997, p920). Of course, that is not to suggest that play areas are a redundant concept, but rather that children will choose complex environments (Jones and Cunningham, 1999, p30) and seek variety in the spaces they use. Furthermore, their sense of aesthetics about what good spaces look like will contrast from adults (Horelli, 1998, p236). For example, for some children, a muddy ditch will look aesthetically more appealing than an immaculate play area.

This interpretation of what a good space looks like extends beyond what play spaces children choose to use but also what sort of neighbourhoods they like to live in. The traditional suburb has been considered a 'child rearing sector of the city' (Ward, 1990, p63). The low density environment is thought of as ideal for the family, giving children space to play. For many children especially those who are younger, the amenities of large gardens etc., afforded by the suburb are appealing. However, some have suggested that for older children, such as teenagers, the suburb is considered to be a place where little happens, characterised by monotony and tedium (Ward, 1990, p69). This view was also supported by a research study

that asked young people about their space preferences, which indicated that they preferred compactly designed urban environments, similar to principles promoted by New Urbanism. This was for a variety of reasons but mainly because such higher density environments provided more opportunities for activities and would support their independent access to space by reducing the travel required (Passon *et al*, 2008, p82). Interestingly, Passon *et al* also believed that higher density environments would support social integration and social cohesion by bringing more people together in closer proximity which young people viewed as a benefit to a neighbourhood (Passon *et al*, 2008, p83).

This distinction between young people and adults' understandings of space has significant implications for formal planning, as there could easily be mismatches between how adults plan space and what young people would like in these spaces (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p9). This misunderstanding by adults can be seen with regards to the formal provisions made for skate parks. Passon *et al* (2008) discuss how adults witnessed the rise and interest in skateboarding, and were keen to provide for young skateboarders. Furthermore skateboarding provision also meant skateboarders would hopefully be drawn away from the pavements; to skate parks. However, Passon *et al* (*ibid.*) argue that in fact these new skate parks were not used as expected. Young people, for instance, also use skateboards as a form of transport and therefore skate parks have limited appeal.

In light of this debate, Rasmussen (2004) discusses two different concepts 'Places for Children' and 'Children's Places' (p161). *Places for children* refers to the spaces that are designed and designated for use by children, the most obvious example being a children's play area. In contrast, *children's places* refer to the spaces that children choose to use and make their own through their use. Children climbing a tree could be one example of such a place. In many cases, children's places can inevitably become a site of conflict, as adults see their appropriation of these spaces as inappropriate (*ibid.*). Although it is worth noting that *children's places* can include *places for children*, if a space which has been designed for them appeals and suits their needs and desires.

Given the possible mismatch between adults and young people's imagined use of public spaces, this raises important questions around the imagined use of space by young people in social mix agenda. As described in the previous chapter, social mix aspirations envisage young people 'mixing' and interacting with one another through their use of public space. However, as

argued, space is not always used by young people in the manner that adults intended. Yet despite the hopes placed upon young people, social mix planning policy does not mention the specific design of space for young people to ensure that they use the public domain as expected, and hence offers little insight into the subsequent tensions. Furthermore, this literature on young people's use of public space does not discuss the implications of other identity characteristics and the impact these may have on the understandings of space. For example, how young people from different socio-economic backgrounds may understand and use spaces and how they are perceived in space is not addressed. These tensions and absences are central to this study which explores young people's potential for initiating social mixing amongst individuals from different social and economic backgrounds.

3.4.2 Controlling young people in public space

As mentioned in Section 3.2.1, public space is socially constructed as an adult space into which young people are gradually allowed independent access as they move towards adulthood. This can range from fears about traffic to worries over strangers potentially preying on them (Gill, 2007, p49). As mentioned in Section 3.3.2, one of the dominant understandings of young people is that of 'angels' who need protecting from possible harm. These narratives of angels along with concerns over the dangers present in public space result in adults, especially parents, controlling their children's access to public space. That said, it has been argued that the idea that public space is dangerous to young people and there is an army of adults preying on children has been created by the media (Valentine, 1996b, p585). Ironically, despite public space being imagined as a dangerous site for children whilst the home is believed to be safe, statistics indicate that children are far more likely to come to harm when at home. Further to this, the perceived idea that children are at potential risk from strangers is also unfounded as more children suffer at the hands of familiar adults rather than strangers (Gill, 2007, p49). Despite this statistic, the social constructions of public space and young people as angels means their access to the public domain is limited. For instance, over the past 30 years there has been a huge decline in number of young people who are allowed to access public space independently. It was recorded that in 1971, 80% of seven and eight year olds walked to school alone compared to only 9% in 1990 (Gill, 2008, p136).

However, not all young people are constructed as angels. As discussed previously, there is a binary conceptualisation of young people as both angels and devils. The social construction of

devils is often made in relation to young people's presence in the public domain, as this directly conflicts with the idea of public space as an adult space. Furthermore, their demonization is the result of their behaviour in these spaces which, as shown in the previous section, often contrasts with adults' understandings of appropriate behaviour. This results in young people being seen as a threat in public space; their presence to be avoided. Children are now thought to be at risk from other children – devils, as well as the familiar dangers of public space. Crucially, the result of perceiving young people as dangerous in public space means that attempts are made to control both their presence and behaviour in this domain. Moreover, this means that even innocuous activities such as young people *hanging out* and *larking around* can be read as dangerous and something to be controlled and removed from public space altogether (Valentine, 1996b, p594).

The way adults try to assert their power in public space - declaring that young people are not welcome - varies. It can involve the use of tactics to keep children indoors through providing leisure activities at home such as video games and personal computers (Valentine, 2004, p64). It has also been recorded that parents have increasingly opened up their homes to their children's friends in an attempt to prevent them from accessing public space (Valentine, 2004, p70). Recent years have also witnessed a rise in young people being chaperoned to and from organised leisure activities and clubs, so shielding children from public space whilst still providing an opportunity for play and socialising (Valentine, 2004, p71). However, diversion tactics to keep young people out of public space are not the only approach used. Mechanisms which are state-led are also being used to control and remove young people from the public domain (Valentine, 1996b, p592).

Skelton (2000) discusses how one of the most popular approaches used, certainly in Britain, to exclude and remove young people from public space is to report their activities, even their very presence, to the police. This coincides with the increasingly widespread concept of anti-social behaviour, which will be explored in further detail later in this chapter. However, it is worth noting that it is a powerful term which helps to legitimise people's concerns about young people's inappropriate behaviour and facilitates the police in removing young people from public space.

As well as the use of police measures which seek to directly remove young people from our streets, a range of arguably more discreet and indirect measures have also been adopted

including the establishment of rules in designated spaces. For example, it is common to see signs on our streets stipulating rules such as 'No Ball Games' or 'Keep Off'. These signs are often erected in places which are attractive to young people, for example on large open fields, ideal for a game of football. This has even extended to the passing of bylaws by some British local authorities which prevent football in some areas altogether, with such edicts rigorously maintained through CCTV systems (Valentine, 2004, p84). There has also been the introduction of anti-truancy campaigns, whereby 'Truant Free Zone' stickers are placed in shop windows thereby encouraging the public policing of young people (James and Jenks, 1996, p328). Although it should be noted that Britain is not alone in their resistance to young people in public spaces, in the United States some cities have introduced curfews for young people under the age of seventeen and if found outside after the curfew time young people are placed in 'care-o-vans' until their parents come and collect them (Valentine, 1996b, p592).

On top of this, there is also a range of adaptations made to the built environment in order to deter young people's presence. Firstly, the design of the built form, especially public space, can be physically modified to deter its use (Passon *et al*, 2008, p75). For example in New York, as noted in Chapter 2, typical public space amenities were removed such as benches, on the basis that individuals who were not wanted in public space, including young people and the homeless were drawn to these places (Katz, 2005,p105; Smith, 1996, p10). This happened at a time when longstanding leisure spaces in deprived areas of New York that were popular with young people were re-designated for future development (Katz, 2005, p105). There is also evidence that public spaces are designed with the aim of deterring young people. For example, in a small open public space called Devonshire Green in Sheffield's city centre, the walls of the raised shrubbery beds have been embedded with small metal fixtures, so deterring skateboarders from skating along the walls. As outlined in the previous chapter, these physical regulatory regimes can be seen as a form of 'revanchism' (Smith, 1996) or 'revenge' against individuals, such as children, who are unwanted in public space. Others exploring the control of young people in public space have drawn similarities between forms of racial segregation found in South Africa, to that witnessed between adults and young people, calling it a 'spatial apartheid' (Wyn and White, 1996, p10). That said, more subtle approaches to control young people through the design of the built environment can also be witnessed. Fincher and Iveson (2008, p107) amongst others suggest that that designation and design of separate play areas for young people also works to control and exclude young people from public space. By claiming a specific space for children, it suggests that young people belong *elsewhere* (Tonucci

and Rissotto, 2001, p410). Furthermore, it is argued that the provision of designated play areas facilitates adult control over young people (*ibid.*). Ultimately security and control is achieved through clear separation of adults and young people (*ibid.*) reinforcing notions of a spatial apartheid between adults and young people in public space.

Other adaptations to the built environment beyond design features used to deter young people from public space have also been noted. Walsh (2008) describes the use of a mechanism called a *mosquito* to gain control in public spaces. The device which emits a high pitched sound is only audible to people under the age of twenty-five, and is so unpleasant it deters young people from staying in a particular area (Walsh, 2008, p127). The device has alarming similarities to pest control devices used for rats. Similar devices have also been used to deter young people from simply *hanging out*, for instance classical music has been played in London's Underground system (Walsh, 2008, p127).

This research explores how young people can support social mix policy through their use of public space. However in order for them to do this, it is important that young people's use of public spaces is supported and not, as demonstrated in this section, prevented through a variety of mechanisms. From this starting point, the research study questions the way young people's use of space is fostered or hindered in a neighbourhood designed for social mix, and more fundamentally questions the implications of this for the social mix agenda. In the meantime it is important to highlight how strict regimes over young people's use of public spaces risks pushing young people into other spaces which, some argue, pose great risk for them (Tonucci and Rissotto, 2001, p409; Valentine, 2004, p103).

3.4.2.1 Anti-social behaviour and young people

As mentioned in the previous section, the concept of anti-social behaviour has become a common part of our vocabulary (Millie, 2008, p379), conjuring up images of youths roaming the streets in hoodies and carrying knives (Millie, 2009, p42). The term is especially popular amongst politicians and journalists; anti-social behaviour has been accused of 'blighting our streets' and damaging our communities (Millie, 2009, p20). A typically British obsession, legislation against anti-social behaviour is assumed to be a phenomenon resulting from the New Labour government, however the concept's roots belong in legislation written by the Conservative government in 1986 (Millie, 2009, p5). The perceived problem of anti-social behaviour has been met with policy responses, most notably the introduction in 1998 of Anti-

Social Behaviour Orders or ASBOs. ASBOs, a term which is now entrenched in the British consciousness, aim to resolve persistent anti-social behaviour issues from an individual which normally would not warrant criminal prosecution (Millie, 2009, p104). ASBOs essentially aim to control and limit the behaviour of individuals, often placing restrictions on their movements and access to public space. As well as ASBOs there has been the introduction of Anti-Social Dispersal Orders in 2003 which operate to support police and community support officers in the removal of a group of individuals from public space prone to anti-social behaviour, if it is believed their presence or behaviour could result in another individual feeling intimidated or distressed (Millie, 2009, p151). As noted briefly in the previous section, anti-social behaviour is used to legitimise requests and actions to control and limit 'unwanted' individuals in public space (Skelton, 2000).

What is actually meant and understood by the concept of anti-social behaviour is well debated. Millie (2009) notes how many writers in the field have suggested that defining anti-social behaviour is a wasteful exercise on the basis that we all 'know it when we see it' (p1). However others have urged that a tight definition is crucial to ensure that a consistent view is taken to what is meant by anti-social behaviour, and to ensure that associated sanctions are equally prescribed (Donoghue, 2007, p418). After all, how one person perceives the same behaviour may be different to someone else (Millie, 2009, p1). With this in mind, the most commonly quoted definition comes from the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act for England and Wales. In this document anti-social behaviour is believed to have taken place when someone has behaved;

'...in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm, or distress to one or more persons not of the same household [as the perpetrator].'

(Crime and Disorder Act 1998 [online])

Yet, despite this definition, the problem of how different people perceive behaviour still remains. For example, as shown, young people perceive behaviour differently to adults. Millie (2008) supports this idea and argues that it is impossible to define what is offensive. Citing the example of the *FCUK* logo for fashion chain French Connection, he notes how some people are happy to wear clothing with this trademark whilst others find it vulgar and crude (Millie, 2008, p386). Instead, it is argued that whether something is offensive, or indeed anti-social is the result of individual tastes and behavioural expectations or as Millie suggests 'social snobbery' (*ibid.*).

As well as the differences in behavioural expectations amongst people, it should also be highlighted that, as explored in Section 3.2.1 of this chapter, different spaces are associated with different behavioural codes. Earlier in this chapter, suburbia was used as an example. It was suggested that associated behavioural codes advocate social order, whilst in inner city areas this will vary. As well as noting how behavioural expectations vary across space, it should also be noted that behavioural expectations also vary over time (Millie, 2009, p35). This can be both over the long term but can also vary across different times of the day. That said, these expectations do vary amongst individuals (Atkinson and Flint, 2004, p339), who are influenced by their personal tastes and values.

Despite the ambiguity over defining anti-social behaviour, specific behaviours have been identified by the public as forms of anti-social behaviour (Millie, 2008, p381). This range of behaviours falls into three categories. The first, *interpersonal anti-social behaviour*, refers to situations where individuals are subjected to harassment, threats or aggressive behaviour from either one or a group of individuals. *Environmental anti-social behaviour* is arguably one of the most common forms of anti-social behaviour and refers to behaviour which is a nuisance, causes excessive noise and causes damage to the environment such as graffiti and littering. The last form of anti-social behaviour is referred to as *restricting access anti-social behaviour*. This is behaviour which inhibits individuals' use of public space such as intimidating behaviour, drug use and street drinking (Millie, 2008, p381). There have been a number of studies that have explored what individuals perceive as anti-social behaviour (e.g. Mackenzie *et al*, 2010), which as well as highlighting the sorts of behaviours mentioned above also note how anti-social behaviour is typically associated with young people (Millie, 2009, p11). However, as mentioned in Section 3.4.1, these perceptions of young people as the perpetrators of anti-social behaviour often tie in with concerns about young people simply being in public space rather than causing any particular disturbances whilst there (Gill, 2007, p40). Through this, young people who *hang out* in public space are criminalised and labelled as 'anti-social' (Millie, 2007, p619). To illustrate this point Gill (2007) uses the example of a boy who was reprimanded for his anti-social behaviour after complaints were made about him playing football and causing a disturbance in a public park in Manchester, despite the boy only being aged three (p40).

As well as exploring what is perceived as anti-social behaviour there has been some research into *who* perceives high levels of anti-social behaviour, or crucially *where* perceptions of anti-

social behaviour are high. In accordance with ideas of class and behavioural expectations as noted previously, anti-social behaviour is commonly associated with deprived neighbourhoods and communities (Millie, 2007, p619). Of course, this link may be overstated as individuals, particularly young people, from deprived backgrounds may simply spend more time in their neighbourhood public spaces rather than be behaving anti-socially (*ibid.*). That said, a study by Mackenzie *et al* (2010) identified a range of factors which correlated with individuals who had high perceptions of anti-social behaviour in their local area. It was found that living in a deprived area was a key factor in high perceptions of anti-social behaviour. On this basis, agencies responsible for tackling anti-social behaviour have focused overwhelmingly on deprived areas, specifically areas of social housing (Millie, 2009, p27). To reinforce this perception Registered Social Landlords have been tasked with the responsibility to tackle anti-social behaviour in their housing developments (Millie, 2009, p46). Along with the influence of deprivation, other factors highlighted as key in increasing awareness to local anti-social behaviour included: low levels of community cohesion in the neighbourhood; previously being a victim to a crime; being aged under 65 years old; and living in the area for three years or more (Mackenzie *et al*, 2010, p3). Amongst these factors other possible issues were also highlighted such as recognition that some places or areas in a neighbourhood may be 'hotspots' for anti-social behaviour, and for those living adjacent to these areas, perceptions of anti-social behaviour may be higher (Mackenzie *et al*, 2010, p6). Additionally, it was acknowledged how the media could be very influential in perceptions about anti-social behaviour, by encouraging people to see behaviour in certain ways (*ibid.*). The media is thus socially constructing social and spatial identities.

It is also worth noting that for residents the cause of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood is often considered to be the result of 'outsiders' (Mackenzie *et al*, 2010, p 10). This can be from new incomers to the residential area or more commonly it is thought to be the result of individuals living elsewhere coming into the area. However this tendency to blame people living elsewhere is thought to be more common in those living in affluent areas (Atkinson and Flint, 2004, p343). Literature on young people and anti-social behaviour emphasises the divisive nature of perceptions of young people, along with their use of public space. These perceptions of young people, anti-social behaviour and public space sit in direct contrast to policy's construction of young people as ambassadors of social mixing and this thesis explores this contradiction.

3.5 Young people's appropriation of public space

In Section 3.4, how young people are viewed and socially constructed in public space has been explored. We have seen how young people can be subjected to fierce controls in public spaces to both deny their access and control their behaviour. This section will examine increasingly strong arguments that support young people's access and appropriation of public space.

3.5.1 Importance of public space

Previous sections have examined how public space and young people are co-constructed, and how this affects the treatment of young people in relation to public space. Yet, despite the efforts to make public spaces adult spaces, it has long been acknowledged that the public sphere has a crucial role to play in the lives of young people, bringing about benefits for them and for society at large. As shown in Section 3.4.1, the public domain provides a space for young people to illustrate their own agency through their appropriation of these spaces. But this is not the only benefit of public space to young people. Public space also plays a significant role in the formation of young people's identities (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b, p765; Katz, 2005, p107; Valentine, 2004, p8), the development of young people's social relationships (Matthews *et al*, 2000, p71) and social values (Bell *et al*, 2003, p88), as well as their development of environmental awareness (Adams and Ingham, 1998, p13; Ward, 1990, p106). The limited access to public space by young people can mean that they pay a high price from social and developmental perspectives (Tonucci and Rissotto, 2001, p409).

The development of social relationships in public space is crucial for this research study. Some have noted the potential of public space use by young people to assist in the social mix agenda (Arthuson, 2012, p61; Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p112; Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p11; Silverman *et al*, 2005, p12), thus supporting the vision outlined in the previous chapter. Essentially public space is considered to be a neutral site where young people from different socio-economic backgrounds can encounter each other and social interaction can take place. With this in mind if public space access is denied to young people the possibility for the formation of social relationships and networks amongst young people will be hindered, seriously limiting the success of social mix policy. Furthermore, neighbourhood success has also been attributed to 'winning over' children (Ward, 1990, p89). Ward gives several examples, of how engaging

young people in neighbourhood public spaces is crucial to ensuring that conflict and vandalism will not occur (Ward, 1990, p91). Additionally, the success of regeneration schemes is often put down to community involvement including the participation of children (Adams and Ingham, 1998, p12). Social mix policy is often applied to new residential areas or to areas undergoing regeneration. This thesis explores whether young people through their use of neighbourhood spaces can play a part in securing the success of a residential area, especially if the development has been built for social mix.

Furthermore, access to the public sphere, such as neighbourhood spaces, takes on extra importance for some young people, with their local street playing a vital role in their everyday lives (Matthews *et al*, 2000, p65). It is acknowledged that many children and young people have very little privacy at home, or at school, whilst public space can potentially be a site where they can be without constant surveillance from adults (Valentine, 2004, p84). This can be even more important for young people who live in lower income households, who are likely to be living in smaller homes and are likely to share their bedroom with siblings (Skelton, 2000, p75). Additionally, for those children who come from deprived backgrounds, public space promises to be a free leisure space, whilst young people from middle-class backgrounds are often taken to controlled supervised leisure spaces which often require an entry fee (Ward, 1990, p3).

3.5.2 Young people's right to the city

As shown, the social construction of young people results in them being treated differently in space. Calls from Urban Geographers and others including advocacy organisations are increasingly being made for the enhancement of young people's access to public space, rather than their control and domination in public space. In the previous chapter, the concept of the 'Right to the city' was introduced as a request for a renewed access to public space for those who often find themselves sidelined. Those working in this field tend to focus on those who are marginalised because of their race, ethnicity or class (e.g. Mitchell, 2003; Smith, 1996), however there are academics who support young people's right to the city acknowledging them as another peripheral social group.

In 2006, in response to raising concerns over young people's limited independent access to public space, *Play England* was established. Play England is a national organisation which forms part of the National Children's Bureau. Funded through grants and charitable donations, the

aim of the organisation is to ensure that children and young people have the space and opportunity to play freely as part of their daily lives and this includes their comprehensive access to public space (Play England [online], 2013). In order to fulfil this aim it is acknowledged that children need to have the same right to use and enjoy public spaces as anyone else (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p10). The work of Ward (1990) echoes this request by highlighting how it is not a call for cities to be built with land set aside for young people but instead a plea for a city where young people live in the same world as everyone else – a shared city (Ward, 1990, p179). Play England's call for children's right to the city emerged against the backdrop of Article 31 of the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p12) which advocated the right of every child to grow up safe, happy and healthy. Given this, the places where children grew up became a key area of concern and later the term 'Child Friendly Cities' emerged as a means to conceptualise the idea of building cities that involved children and encouraged their participation (Riggio, 2002, p45). However, this aspiration is not thought to be straightforward. As shown, the way young people are treated in public space is the result of long established understandings of children and space, which require a change in society's attitudes (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p33; Ward, 1990, p184), including a more fundamental recognition of young people's right to occupy public space (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p33) and the benefits it brings. That said, it is clear that this plea has 'not fallen on deaf ears' as increasingly planners attempt to consider young people in their endeavours.

3.5.3 Planning for young people

'Child Friendly Cities' requires city planners to give greater consideration to young people, as it is believed that traditional planning has and continues to fail young people (Frank, 2006, p351). This does not mean ensuring a greater provision of spaces specifically designated for young people such as play areas, but rather, as previously noted, recognition that children should easily access all spaces in a city like anyone else. This plea also has practical implications for city planners too.

Child Friendly Cities does not propose a blue print for urban development. Instead the concept promotes the involvement of young people in all aspects of city development including service provision, the environment and governance and decision making (Riggio, 2002, p45). More specifically the Child Friendly City agenda lists characteristics which cities throughout the world should possess ranging from clean water and safe shelter to play facilities and child

participation. In the West attention is mainly drawn towards children's right to access public space, along with their right to have no restrictions placed upon their movement around the city (Riggio, 2002, p56). The need to involve young people in city decision making processes is also highlighted in this agenda, for example, in the design of space from the perspective of a child (*ibid.*). Inevitably some countries have embraced these aspirations more than others. Denmark, for example, set up the International Association of the Child's Right to Play which supported the redesign of many public spaces throughout Europe (Riggio, 2002, p57). In addition Denmark has pioneered child friendly highway design (Gill, 2008, p140). With regards to the United Kingdom, the concept of Child Friendly Cities is beginning to filter into planning policy, with many local authorities adopting 'Play Strategies' (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p12). For instance in 2004 the Greater London Authority produced a Child Friendly Planning Agenda (Gill, 2008, p140). However, to date there has been little work on examining the success and impact of such policy initiatives. Nevertheless this policy aimed to ensure child friendliness by developing access to public spaces such as parks and public squares, encouraging walking and cycling as a means of transport, reducing barriers in public space and providing a range of places and activities that would bring adults and young people together in public space (Gill, 2008, p139). Critics of the Child Friendly Cities concept have argued that the idea does nothing to break down public understandings of public space as an adult space and not for children (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p116). However, it has been argued that initiatives that seek to bring adults and young people together in public space may potentially challenge these dominant understandings of public space (Valentine, 2004, p109). Furthermore, as noted in Section 3.5.1, one of the many benefits believed to be secured through the accepted use of public space by young people is the generation of social networks between different individuals. This includes social interaction between young people and adults (*ibid.*) thereby underpinning social mix aspirations.

Some writers in this field have been more specific about how they envisage child friendly cities. The call for cities and towns to be more child friendly extends beyond traditional play provision for children. As discussed previously, children do not only play in spaces officially designed for play but instead incorporate all the features of the built environment into their play. Shacknell *et al* (2008) put forward Play England's vision for 'playable spaces' which are thought to include shared public spaces whether they are town centres, public squares, fountains or neighbourhood streets (p63). With this in mind, Shacknell *et al* (2008) highlight the possible role of Home Zones in this vision. Home Zones are an urban design concept, often associated

with New Urbanism design principles. Instead of following traditional street layouts, no definition between the pavement and the road is made. At its heart, the design is thought to reduce the usual dominance of cars, instead making pedestrian activity, including children's play, a higher priority. Home Zones are often promoted as a vital asset in the social mix agenda, as it is believed they will support social interaction amongst neighbours. Of course, not all mixed tenure neighbourhoods will have Home Zones, yet the design and appropriateness of public space in an area of social mix for use by young people is nevertheless important and this thesis illustrates this through its investigation.

As well as design, a further aspect of Child Friendly Cities requires the involvement of young people in the planning process to assist in decision making about their towns and cities (Horelli, 1998, p225). Historically young people's participation in planning has not been supported as they are socially constructed as 'inferior' to adults. On this basis their 'inferiority' has been understood as limiting their ability to make their own decisions and therefore little value has been placed upon their opinions and ideas (Frank, 2006, p353). However, there is increasing evidence that young people do have the capabilities to engage with challenges facing the built environment and to develop possible solutions (e.g. Frank, 2006; Nagy and Baird, 1978; Plester *et al*, 2002). This will ensure that the places built for young people in our towns and cities do actually meet their aspirations for places (Rasmussen, 2004, p168), reflecting the concerns raised in Section 3.4.1 of this chapter. Aside from this, Adams and Ingham (1998) suggest that young people's participation in planning has a further benefit to children in that it will support their environmental education, potentially sparking their interest in caring for their environment. Despite the pleas for young people's participation in planning decisions, it comes with words of caution. Frank (2006, p360) amongst others (e.g. Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p116; Tonucci and Rissotto, 2001, p418) warns that simply engaging with young people is not sufficient and risks being seen as tokenistic. Like all marginal groups with whom planning is increasingly encouraged to engage, there are fears that if opinions expressed by young people are not acted upon there is in danger of further disengaging young people. On this basis it is essential to ensure that their participation is sought so that opinions expressed by young people are incorporated into planning decisions.

3.6 Conclusion

With social mix at the heart of the thesis, ideas of social difference are of paramount importance for this research study. With this in mind the chapter reviewed a range of literature

focusing on identity, both social and spatial. Towards the end of the chapter attention has primarily focused upon young people, their identity as well as their use, behaviour and acceptance in space. Ultimately this chapter has reviewed concepts which are helpful in addressing a number of the research questions, but specifically research question 5, which asks how the social identities of young people in a mixed tenure neighbourhood are constructed and how this impacts on the success of social mix policy.

The chapter introduced the theoretical approach of social constructionism, which as mentioned in Chapter 1, is a key theoretical concept running throughout this thesis. From this view point, our understanding of different social phenomena, including the identity of individuals, is not considered to be objective, but rather to be a social construct. This is when understandings of phenomenon are not pre-given but are socially manufactured from a collection of narratives. Furthermore these understandings of phenomena are not thought to be value neutral but rather are embedded in power, whereby phenomena are placed in a hierarchy with some considered more superior than others (Gergen, 2009, p2). This can become particularly problematic when thinking about social identities, or the identity of people. Those working within this theoretical framework often refer to the process of 'othering', whereby individuals whose identities appear to be different from the norm are socially constructed as 'other'. This concept is useful for helping to understand the complex nature of identity and power relationships. As the thesis looks at a policy aiming at addressing concerns around difference, specifically social differences, theoretical approaches to help understand such perceptions will be crucial.

Social constructionists have also acknowledged the importance of space on the social construction of social identities. Moreover, it is argued that social and spatial identities are co-constructed. In that a person's identity is shaped by the spaces they occupy and at the same time spatial identities are influenced by the identities of the people who use and occupy that space. This research will not only examine the social perceptions of different people, but crucially, the identities of those living within an area designed to contain social diversity. Given this, how young people are socially constructed in a mixed tenure community and how this supports the aspirations of social mix are a key concern.

Given the emphasis on young people in this research investigation, the social construction of young people specifically formed a significant part of this chapter. As well as the 'othering' of

young people. Here the concepts of 'angels' and 'devils' was introduced. From a social constructionist perspective these concepts try to explain how young people can be understood in relation to the spaces that they occupy. Young people are either constructed as in need of protection as 'angels' or as a threat a 'devil'. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, public space is envisaged as a crucial site for social interaction and mixing to occur, with this in mind, public space and its co-construction with social identities was discussed. Existing literature suggests that public space is considered to be an adult space, where young people in these spaces are considered to be out of place, or 'devils'. Furthermore, young people's behaviour in public space is often thought to be inappropriate. Given the limited power associated with young people's identities, it is recorded how young people's access and behaviour in the public domain and can be subjected to fierce controls. These previous debates in the literature raise important questions for this research study which have not previously been explored. Social mix policy assumes its success on the use of local public spaces by adults but also by young people. If however young people are not given access to public spaces, this may well have implications for the social mix agenda. That said, there are a range of debates, which as discussed, do support young people's access to public space.

3.7 Implications for the research and questions

As outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis, this research aims to **develop a new understanding of the role of young people in helping to deliver social mix aspirations, in relation to their social identity as well as their spatial and educational practices**. In light of this aim, two research objectives were outlined;

- To explore policy-assumptions of the role of young people in helping to deliver social mix; and
- To assess the policy-assumptions of social mix against the everyday experiences and practices of young people in a neighbourhood designed for social mix.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter 2, young people are envisaged as catalysts to social interaction. It was specifically noted how policy sees young people's use of public spaces and local services such as schools as an essential part of this. Bearing this in mind, research questions one, two and three ask whether young people's use of these spaces in mixed tenure communities matches the intentions of policy and, if not, how it differs. This chapter also spoke

at length about the role of neighbourhoods. Social mix policy, like many other policy initiatives, is often implemented at neighbourhood level, despite this there continues to be concern over the relevance of this. Research question four interrogates the appropriateness of neighbourhood based social mix policy, by asking whether the practices of residents impacting on social mix operate solely within the boundary of the neighbourhood.

Chapter 3 looked at social identities but specifically how understandings of young people are socially constructed. There is work which explores how young people are socially constructed in public space, however there is no evidence of work that looks at how young people are constructed in relation to mixed tenure communities. The thesis therefore aims to address this concern through research question five. Furthermore, understanding the social identities of young people in a mixed tenure community may also assist in addressing other research questions, most notably question two. As outlined in Chapter 3, social identities, including those of young people are co-constructed with spatial identities. The thesis will reveal the impact of young people's social identities on their access and treatment in public space.

A number of research questions have both emerged from and informed the literature discussion, all of which help to address both the aim and objectives of this research study. These are restated below;

- 1.) How are young people envisaged to support social mix aspirations in a neighbourhood designed for social mix?
- 2.) Do young people use public space in a mixed tenure neighbourhood in the way policy imagines, and if not how does this differ?
- 3.) What role do schools play in determining young people's engagement with the social mix agenda?
- 4.) Are the practices of residents and other stakeholders at the neighbourhood scale impacting on social mix in the way imagined by policy, and if not, how do they differ?
- 5.) How are the social identities of young people constructed in a socially diverse area, and how does this affect the success of social mix aspirations?

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology underpinning this research study. As highlighted at the beginning of this thesis, the study aims to develop an understanding of the everyday role of young people in the social mix agenda. To this end, an approach which allowed the complexities and nuances of everyday life-worlds to emerge was seen as the most appropriate. Given this, I begin this chapter by outlining and justifying the adopted methodology; that of a post-positivist and qualitative approach. An in-depth case study was chosen as the basis of this study. This chapter outlines the rationale for a case study approach, along with the criteria used in selecting the case. Ravenswood Urban Village, the chosen case study is introduced towards the end of Section 4.3. Section 4.4 focuses on the research methods employed in this study beginning by outlining challenges which I faced in the research field, and crucially how I overcame these by adopting a combination of innovative methods. Data was generated using a mixed-method approach which included the use of community events and online blogs in addition to more traditional research methods including document analysis, participant observation, questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. Each of these methods is outlined and their use justified. The final sections of this chapter look at the idea of positionality and ethical considerations, all of which are paramount in any research investigation but particularly one involving children.

4.2 The research approach

Post-positivist approaches arose from criticisms of positivist research methodologies that viewed the social world as something to be discovered in an objective manner in order to reveal a universal truth (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997, p98). Instead, post-positivist approaches prioritise the study of people's actions, perceptions and emotions about, and meanings they give to, the social world. Many of the theories explored in the two literature discussion chapters, forerunners of this chapter, take a post-positivist stance. For example, theories on children and young people have over recent decades moved from a positivist approach to a post-positivist standpoint (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p28; James and Jenks, 1996, p317; Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers, 1990, p8). In so doing, they recognise that not all children are the same, nor do they experience the world in the same way. Similarly, current ideas of difference focus on the varied and complex ways difference plays out, is perceived and is experienced in the social world. Given the strong focus on post-positivist approaches through

the literature discussion, this research assumes a post-positivist approach both theoretically and methodologically. In so doing, I discount the idea of a single objective reality which can be discovered but rather acknowledge that there are multiple truths to be explored.

In view of the adoption a post-positivist theoretical approach it did not seem appropriate to then use a methodological approach that sought to measure social phenomenon and place them in categories by using quantitative research methods. Instead a qualitative approach was adopted. Qualitative methods have a strong tradition of studying the experiences of people along with the perceptions, meanings and emotions they attribute to these experiences (Silverman, 2005, p9). Specifically, qualitative approaches help us to understand the everyday life worlds of individuals (Dwyer and Limb, 2001, p3), which given the aim of this research, was considered most appropriate. Furthermore, a qualitative approach is thought to be particularly useful in research that looks at marginalised groups in that it allows different interpretations to be revealed (Mason, 1996, p3).

The concept of qualitative research does not refer to a single idea but rather is an overarching term which encompasses enormous variety (Punch, 2005, p134), with a plethora of research methods considered to fall under this umbrella. Taking this into consideration, those adopting qualitative approaches often use a number of methods in conjunction through a mixed-method approach. In order to address the aim of this research study, I used a mixed-method qualitative approach which will be discussed in further detail in Section 4.4 of this chapter.

4.3 Case study approach

Case studies are a common and well used strategy in empirical work. The use of a case study allows researchers to develop a holistic and contextual account that incorporates all meaningful characteristics of the entity being observed (Yin, 2003, p2). Thereby, offering solid context dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p223). Case studies provide knowledge which is closest to real-life (p223) which is particularly suitable for a post-positivist study which recognises the complexity and diversity in everyday life. Not only do case studies enable detailed accounts to be developed of a phenomenon but they also seek to uncover causal relationships between characteristics under investigation (Gray, 2004, p124) rather than provide only descriptive accounts. The discovery of causal relationships through case studies is for some seen as essential in legitimising their use (Silverman, 2005, p128).

According to Silverman (2005, p127) there are three types of case studies: intrinsic case studies; instrumental case studies; and collective case studies. Intrinsic case studies aim to develop a deep understanding of one particular case. Instrumental case studies look at one case which is representative of many other cases, so that insights into a particular issue can be made, whilst collective case studies examine a number of cases with a view to investigating a shared phenomenon. As this research looks at the role of young people in securing the aspirations of social mix policy in mixed tenure neighbourhoods, I chose to use a single instrumental case. For many (e.g. Giddens 1984, p328), the use of a single case study is thought to be problematic, in that it is impossible to generalise from one case, rendering any conclusion drawn from a single case as only applicable to that setting. However others have argued that this is one of many misconceptions about case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p219). Flyvbjerg (2006) considers case studies as crucial in ensuring that competent context-dependent knowledge is developed (p222). In so doing the nuanced reality of everyday life is acknowledged, where human behaviour is not predictable by rules and theory. Flyvbjerg (2006) is not alone in his views about single case studies. Generalisability beyond the case study is thought valid when characteristics are shared between the case study and the general population, or phenomenon under study (Gary, 2004, p137). After all a case study is often chosen to provide an insight into a particular concern or issue (Silverman, 2005, p127). This therefore requires a systematic case study selection (Gary, 2004, p137). As I will discuss in the following section of this chapter, I underwent a case study scoping exercise before choosing my case study. By setting criteria, I was able to ensure I choose a case which was representative of other, albeit not all, mixed tenure neighbourhoods. Furthermore even if a case study is not thought to be formally generalisable to all other cases, methodologies using case studies can still be incorporated into a process of knowledge accumulation (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p227).

By looking at one large scale new mixed tenure neighbourhood, I am able to make insights into the everyday experiences of those living in similar areas of mixed tenure and especially the role of young people. Residents' practices and opinions, although context dependent to the case study, will reveal general practices which will match onto other similar mixed tenure communities. Additionally, in building a picture of a case study it is usual for multiple sources of evidence to be collected in numerous ways (Gray, 2004, p129), helping to ensure both the validity and reliability of the research, a process referred to as 'triangulation' (Silverman, 2005, p212).

4.3.1 *Selecting a case study*

After deciding to use a case study in my investigation of young people and social mix, I then had to select my case. Many authors in this field recognise that this decision can be based on two practical concerns; convenience and accessibility (Silverman, 2005, p129). These two issues were certainly important in selecting the case study for this research. However, by no means did issues of accessibility and convenience outweigh other factors. In addition, I also used a process of *purposive sampling*. This is when a case is selected because it illustrates a feature or process that the research seeks to examine. In this case the characteristic of mixed tenure housing was vital, along with a number of other features which emerged from the literature and guided the case study scoping exercise in Autumn 2008. These characteristics are outlined below.

- The case study needed to be a mixed tenure housing development with a combination of both privately owned and socially rented properties. Furthermore, both housing tenures should have been built on the site simultaneously, as this enabled me to explore assumptions behind the layout and design of the development. This permitted me to define the boundary of the neighbourhood and therefore the case study area.
- Given the role of urban design in the success of the social mix agenda, as previously discussed, I wanted a neighbourhood which had been designed and built following some of the design principles associated with social mix, such as those often advocated by New Urbanism. In Chapter 2, the discussion on urban design and New Urbanism, noted the British programme of Urban Villages. In light of this it was felt that an Urban Village could be a suitable case study for this research investigation.
- When beginning the empirical stage of the research study, I wanted the case study neighbourhood to be at least 5 years old. The completion of a residential development can take a long time and so by ensuring the site had been in development for 5 years, it was felt that it would be sufficiently developed, even if not complete, to conduct the research. Furthermore, it is commonly understood that length of residency influences people's use of their neighbourhood and their social interaction with their neighbours.
- Ideally, I wanted to find a neighbourhood with comparable amounts of private and social housing. Although I recognised that it may be difficult to find a neighbourhood with 50% private and 50% social housing, I felt that if there was only a minimal amount of social housing, I would have limited opportunities to find suitable research participants from one tenure.

- The mixed tenure development should contain a minimum of 500 properties. This was to increase the chances of finding willing research participants. It should be noted that I initially stated a minimum of 100 homes but through my initial scoping activities I realised that 100 properties would still be rather limited.
- Given the focus on young people, I felt it was appropriate to *involve* young people in the research. With this in mind, I wanted a case study which through the provision of youth facilities would assist in accessing young people, as I envisaged that such facilities would be crucial sites to conduct the research with the staff acting as gatekeepers. Additionally, I considered the presence of schools in possible case study areas. I considered this to be a particularly important factor given that young people are regularly considered to be a 'hard to reach' group.
- Finally, following Silverman's (2005, p128) concerns about the convenience aspect of a case study, given my intention to complete a detailed holistic case study, I hoped to find a site that was within easy commuting distance to/from Sheffield, as I intended to spend as much time there as possible. That said, I was aware that this criteria was likely to be compromised if a suitable case study was found further afield, in which case I would temporarily relocate to complete the fieldwork.

4.3.2 Introducing the case study

After a case study scoping exercise in Autumn 2008, I selected my case study, a large mixed tenure neighbourhood in Ipswich, Suffolk called Ravenswood. Admittedly, Ravenswood did not meet all of my search criteria, most notably it was not close to Sheffield and required temporary relocation whilst conducting the empirical stage of the research. It was felt that Ravenswood met more of the criteria considered to be crucial, than other possible case study areas, with the development being held as an exemplar of contemporary residential development. A shortlist of other considered case studies is provided in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

Ravenswood is an Urban Village and has been built as an urban extension to Ipswich. As previously noted in this thesis, Urban Villages also advocate social mix, and furthermore adopt many of the design principles believed to be crucial in the success of social mix. On this basis it was felt that an Urban Village would be appropriate for this research study.

4.3.2.1 Ravenswood Urban Village, Ipswich

Ravenswood Urban Village, or simply Ravenswood as it will be referred to throughout this research study, is located to the south-east of Ipswich (Figure 1). Built on a 216 acre (Geater, 1996a, page unknown) brown-field site, the site is afforded good motorway access due to its proximity to the A14 and junction number 57. Since 1930 the site had been used as an airfield (Geater, 1996b, p6), when it was purchased with a view to becoming a commercial airport. During World War Two the site was renamed *RAF Nacton* and played a significant role in the war effort. Evidence of this is still apparent on the site, as a number of defensive pillboxes have been retained.

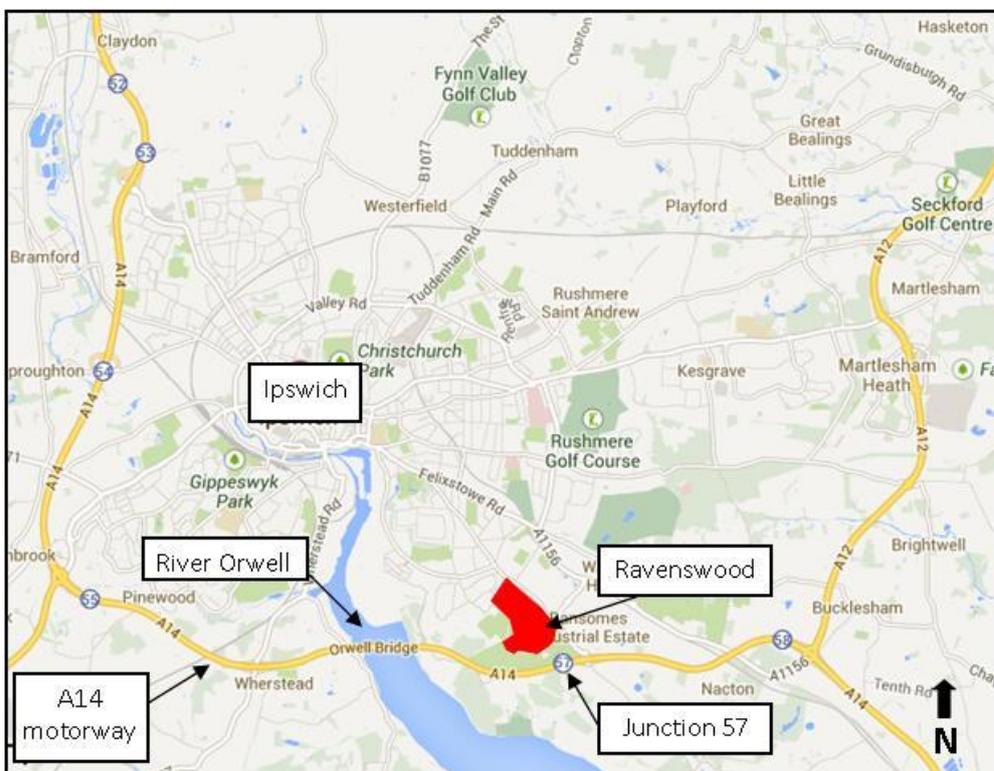


Figure 1: Location map of Ravenswood Urban Village (map adapted from Google maps)

Plans for the closure of the airport began in the 1980s, but it was not until the 1990s that outline planning permission for the development of the airfield site to a residential and mixed used development was granted. This delay in granting permission is often attributed to the strong public objection to the closure of the airfield (Quinton [interview], 2009). Public efforts to stop the airport closure during this time included fighting for listed building status for the former airport terminal building that remained on the site. This request was successful, however it did little to stop the development's progression (Geater, 1998, page unknown), though did ensure that the future developers had to retain and repair the terminal building.

Once outline planning permission had been received for the site, a master plan for the development was drawn up and published towards the end of 1997. As described in the outline planning permission, the former airfield was to be redeveloped to include a large number of residential units. Initially it was anticipated that there would be approximately 1,000 homes on Ravenswood. However, after building work began in 1999, the number of homes to be built on the site increased. This followed a change in national planning policy which supported increased densities and by 2007 there were 1,250 homes with planning permission on the site (Stebbings [interview], 2009). By the time the fieldwork stage of this research study began in 2009, the majority of these homes were complete, and further development was planned in future years (Hart, 2009 [online]). At the time of conducting this fieldwork there were no datasets available on population and housing numbers. However, the 2011 census recorded that there were 1,132 households in Ravenswood (Office for National Statistics [online], 2011) and the population was 2,759 (*ibid.*). Crucially for this research study, a significant proportion of the properties built on the site are social housing units - at the time I conducted the fieldwork this was around 35% (Stebbings [interview], 2009). However, this was expected to increase with new development phases, each containing over 50% social housing (Hart, 2009 [online]).

In addition to the housing, the master plan outlined proposals for a business park on the site. It was intended that this would be built on the south-east of the site closest to the A14 motorway junction (Junction 57). In initially developing the site, this area was left until investment was secured. To date there has been no business park development and the land remains vacant, apart from a small post-operative care unit. Despite the intention to secure business development, a planning and project officer from Ipswich Borough Council noted that once the rest of the site was completed, the council would consider using the land for further residential development (Stebbings [interview], 2009).

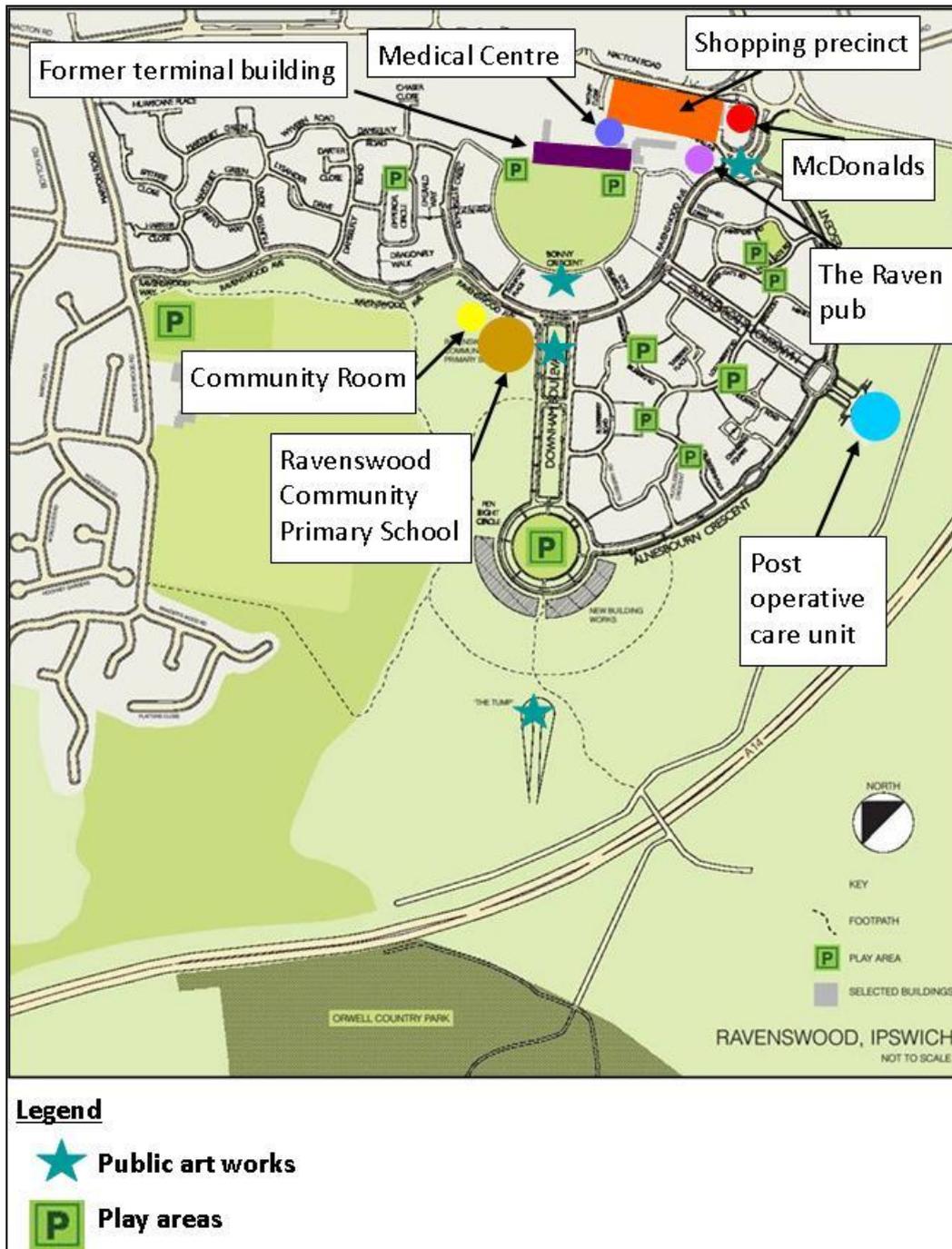


Figure 2: The location of amenities in Ravenswood
 (map adapted from Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997)

In addition to the plan for residential and business development, the master plan outlined the intention to provide a number of community facilities. Those that have since been built are shown on figure 2. Such amenities fulfilled many of the principles set out by both New Urbanism and the Urban Village concept. The plans for Ravenswood included a new primary school building. This was completed in 2001 and was named Ravenswood Community Primary School. In addition to the classrooms, the school has also been built with a small extension

called Ravenswood Community Room. Used by both the school and external organisations, the independently accessible room is the used by many groups such as a local baby and toddler group. At the time of the fieldwork, the room was used by a weekly youth group. Ravenswood also includes a small shopping precinct. As illustrated on figure 2, this is located on the east of the site, adjacent to the site's main entrance. Today, the precinct contains a range of shops and amenities including a small *Co-operative* and *Lidl* supermarket, a fish and chip shop, a bank and a hairdressers (Plate 1). Next to the precinct there is also a medical centre which contains a General Practitioners Surgery and a number of out-patient services. Close to the main entrance of the site there is also a *McDonalds* and a public house and restaurant, called *The Raven*. During the application stage for the *McDonalds* outlet there was a large amount of public concern. Whilst on the other hand, the initial Ravenswood residents, as noted later in this thesis, actively fought for the provision of a public house on the development and *The Raven* has since become a popular feature of the neighbourhood.



Plate 1: Ravenswood's shopping precinct (Source: Author, 2009)

As well as these services, the master plan highlighted the intention for public space provision. This included both formal public squares as well as green open spaces which were provided throughout the development on a variety of scales. For instance, Home Zone principles (Plate 2) were adopted in part of the development and a large 'village green' open space was secured in the centre of the neighbourhood (Plate 3). In addition to the variety of open spaces in the neighbourhood, Ravenswood also has a number of play areas. These are the result of local policy requiring specific play provision to be made in all new residential developments. The provision varies from facilities suitable for babies and toddlers through to teenagers. Given the

Youth in the mix

size of Ravenswood there are a number of play areas catering for a variety of different age groups. Specific details regarding these will be given in Chapter 5; Public Space.



Plate 2: Home Zone area in Ravenswood

(Source: Author, 2009)



Plate 3: Ravenswood's 'village green'

(Source: Author, 2009)

Also located throughout the neighbourhood are a number of large scaled public art works (Figure 2). These art works were designed and commissioned in conjunction with some of the initial residents in Ravenswood, as a means to generate a sense of community and civic pride (Stebbing [interview], 2009) (Plates 4 and 5).



Plate 4 : 'hand stand' art work

(Source: Author, 2009)



Plate 5: 'flags' art work

(Source: Author, 2009)

In addition to the provision of open spaces amongst the residential development, Ravenswood is located on the edge of the Orwell Country Park which extends from the site down to the River Orwell (Plate 7). Instead of creating a harsh boundary between the country park and the new development, the master plan requested a gradual boundary to be established between the two (Plate 6).



Image 6: Boundary area between Ravenswood and the Orwell Country Park (Source: Author, 2009)



Image 7: Orwell River estuary (Source: Author, 2009)

Youth in the mix

In addition to the open space provisions made on the site, it is important to note the context of Ravenswood. As noted previously Ravenswood can arguably be thought of as an urban extension situated on the south-east of Ipswich. Figure 3 illustrates the context of Ravenswood, which is outlined in red.

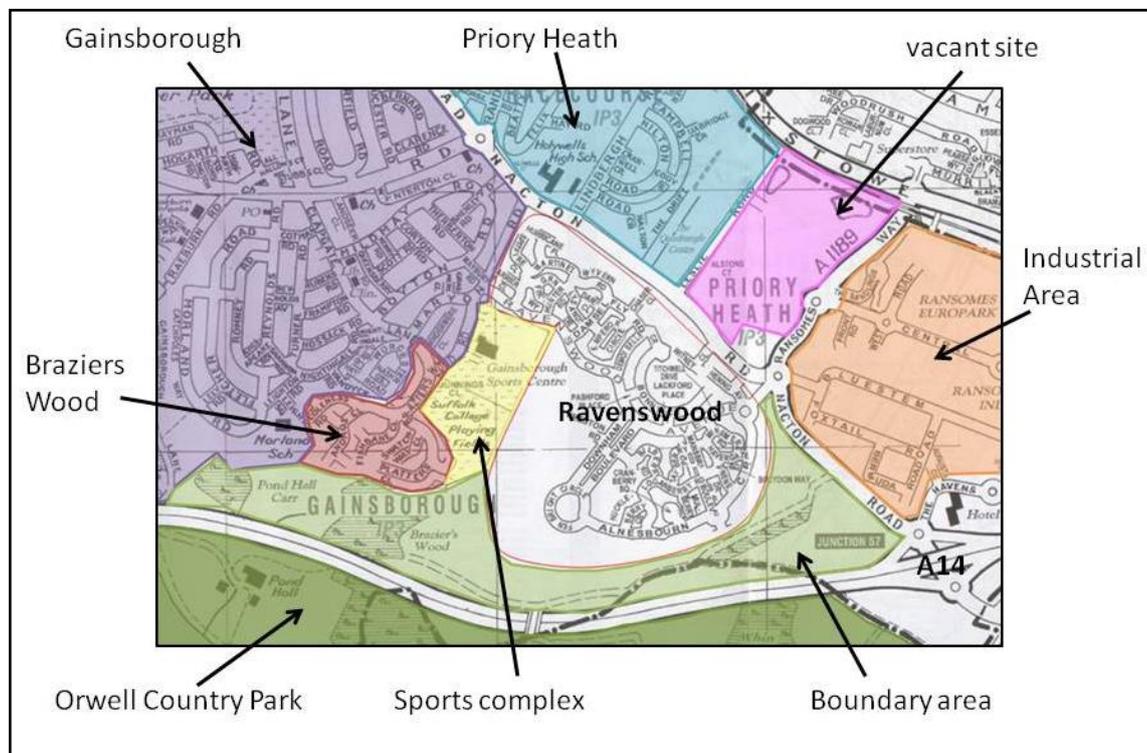


Figure 3: Context map of Ravenswood

(Map adapted from Ipswich Street Plan map, date unknown) (NOT TO SCALE)

The A14 dual carriageway lies immediately to the south of Ravenswood. The Orwell Country Park (dark green) and river lie just south of the dual carriageway, with the boundary between Ravenswood and the Country Park (light green) just north of this. To the east of the site is an industrial area containing mainly light industry (orange) such as warehouses, reflecting its close proximity to the A14 junction. There is also a large former industrial site to the north-east, which is awaiting redevelopment (pink). The residential area referred to as Priors Heath (blue) is situated to the north of Ravenswood on the other side of Nacton Road, a busy main arterial route into the town centre. To the north-west sits Gainsborough (purple) another residential area which is only separated from Ravenswood by a residential street. Both Priors Heath and Gainsborough are large scale residential areas built by the local authority after the Second World War. Unusually for areas built at this time, both continue to have a high percentage of residents who are renting their homes: in Priors Heath and Gainsborough this stands at around

51% and 50% respectively (Office for National Statistics, 2011 [online]). These areas are also regarded to be relatively deprived with only around 55% of Gainsborough residents of working age in any form of employment and approximately 47% (*ibid.*) of Priory Heath Residents working. The closest secondary school to Ravenswood is located in Priory Heath and is approximately 10 minutes walk from the centre of Ravenswood. Along the boundary between Gainsborough and Ravenswood is a sports complex (yellow) containing; Gainsborough Sports centre, Ipswich Gymnastics Centre and a football training centre. The latter two of these provide relatively specialist services and as a result have a wide catchment area, whilst Gainsborough Sports Centre serves the local population. Situated to the south-east of Ravenswood is a small housing area known as Brazier Wood (red). This housing was built in the late 1980s and early 90s and with approximately 87% of the homes privately owned and 70% (*ibid.*) of the residents actively working, it makes a stark contrast to Gainsborough and Priory Heath.

4.4 Research method

In preparing for the empirical stage of my research, I spent considerable time planning how I would conduct the research, which research methods I would employ and whom I would ask to participate in the research. Throughout this planning stage, it was necessary that I was mindful of my research aim to ensure that I used appropriate methods which allowed me to fully address each of the research questions. As discussed earlier in this thesis, the research questions seek to examine both the intended outcomes of social mix and related design policies as well as the outcome experienced in practice. Additionally, the emphasis placed on young people would require appropriate methods for this social group. Given this, I decided to adopt a mixed-methods approach. The use of such an approach in a qualitative research investigation is common and arguably desirable for several reasons (Mason, 1996, p79). First, different research questions often call for different approaches in addressing them (Silverman, 2005, p121). Moreover, the use of a mixed-methods approach enables researchers to strengthen each source through a process of triangulation (*ibid.*). This helps to cross-check results for consistency ensuring reliability and validity (Spicer, 2004, p294).

4.4.1 Challenges

Despite significant planning before the data collection stage of the research, I came across a number of unforeseen and some surprising challenges on entering the field. Even though there is an extensive array of academic literature on research methodology there are very few individuals who discuss problems which they have faced whilst conducting fieldwork. For a relatively young researcher, confronting a number of their own research challenges this was alarming to say the least! It for this reason that I feel it is important to highlight the challenges that I experienced through my research and how I overcame these.

I began the fieldwork in May 2009. My intention was to use a variety of methods and work with a range of stakeholders, including professional officers involved in Ravenswood such as planners and local politicians. Additionally I planned to work with residents living in Ravenswood including young people. As the research aimed to develop an understanding of young people's role in, and experience of the social mix agenda, I considered the involvement of young people in the research as crucial. Instead of assuming that young people know less than adults, as many suggest, rather young people *know something else* from adults (Matthews *et al*, 1998, p313). I expected to gain access to residents through the local resident association with whom I had already established contact and young residents through local youth groups and schools. At the beginning of the fieldwork I quickly established contacts with professionals who assisted me in the research. However, it soon became apparent that finding Ravenswood residents who would be willing to participate in the research would be more difficult than anticipated. In view of the role young people are believed to play in the social mix agenda, I had hoped to speak to residents who had children of late primary school age and above. However, my initial plan to contact Ravenswood residents, including young people through the weekly youth group located in Ravenswood Community Room and through both Ravenswood's newly built primary school and the nearby secondary school located in Priory Heath was limited, for reasons that are discussed later. Given this dilemma, I sent letters to 350 randomly selected addresses in Ravenswood requesting the help of residents if they had school aged children living at home with them. This additional approach also proved to be unsuccessful as it only generated one response!

It should be noted that despite my preparation before beginning the fieldwork, there was no accurate population data available on Ravenswood. Building works for Ravenswood commenced in 1999, three years before the 2001 census. Therefore, data was not accurate at

the beginning of the fieldwork in 2009, as between 2001 and 2009 a significant number of new homes had been built and occupied. That said, as the development had over 1,000 homes at the start of the fieldwork, many of which had been aimed at a family market, I therefore made the assumption that families with children of school age would be resident in Ravenswood. Surprisingly this, however, was not the case. Not only did this have implications for the practicalities of conducting research but, as I will show throughout this thesis, the relatively low number of young people of school age in Ravenswood was itself a key research finding with significant implications for other findings. Later data available from the 2011 census supported this discovery. In 2011, of the 2,499 children aged between 0 and 16 years old living in Ravenswood only 57% of them were of school age of between 5 and 16 years old (Office for National Statistics, 2011 [online]). In contrast, 68% of all children in Ipswich were of school age in 2011, thereby showing how Ravenswood has less than the average number of school aged children, despite the prevalence of family homes in the neighbourhood and a newly built primary school.

With this in mind, I decided that I required an alternative way to approach residents and request their participation in the research study. Despite academic literature recognising the importance of obtaining access to research participants, there is little discussion of how researchers can go about this (e.g. Mason, 1996; Walsh, 2004). Limited suggestions include using gate-keepers which for some situations, such as a neighbourhood, are harder to define. Given this, I felt it was necessary to try a different and arguably more unusual approach. As well as concerns regarding the population 'make-up' of Ravenswood, and apparent low number of children, I also felt that residents may have had concerns over the credibility of the research. On reflection I have wondered if I would have experienced the same challenges had I been researching a neighbourhood in or around Sheffield. My position as a researcher from Sheffield working in a neighbourhood in Ipswich did on many occasions raise questions amongst various stakeholders as to why I was looking at Ravenswood.

To overcome this obstacle I decided to hold a one-day community event in Ravenswood. On Saturday 19th September 2009, I, and three others, set up a stand in Ravenswood's shopping precinct near the medical centre (Plates 8 and 9). Prior to this event, I had both gained permission from the landowner and the on-site caretaker as to where we would set up the stand. The display included a number of large scale images of Ravenswood, along with large A1 maps of the neighbourhood (Plate 10). As used in planning consultancy events (Cameron and

Youth in the mix

Grant-Smith, 2005, p21; Planning for Real, 2012 [online]), residents had the opportunity to make written comments about the neighbourhood and place their ideas on the map (Plate 11).



Plates 8 and 9: Street event (Saturday 19th September 2009)
(Source: Author, 2009)



Plate 10: Neighbourhood map for comments
(Source: Author, 2009)

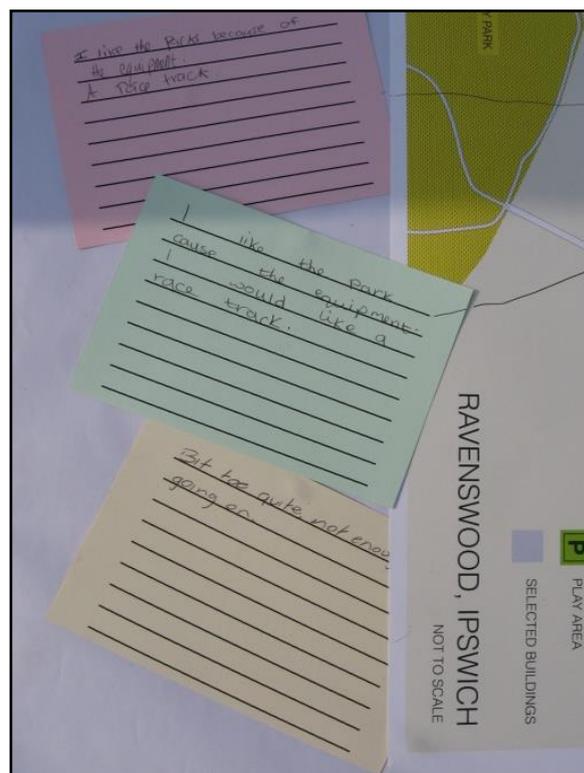


Plate 11: Examples of residents' comment cards
(Source: Author, 2009)

Additionally, I had also prepared a questionnaire that residents could either complete at the time, or take away and return to me using a prepaid envelope. Given the importance placed on young people in this research study there was also a questionnaire designed specifically for young people to complete. Further details of these questionnaires are given later in this

chapter. As well as these materials, we also had games, such as guess the number of sweets in the jar, and prize draws to entice residents over to speak to us. Despite the variety of methods used at this event to encourage resident participation, I do appreciate that some residents may have been more inclined to participate than others, therefore impacting on the research findings. Nevertheless, as noted previously, a process of triangulation was used in this research to ensure the validity of the research.

The success of this research event depended on a number of factors – some of which were out of my control, such as the weather. However publicising the event was crucial to ensure that as many people as possible came along. I did this in a variety of ways. I designed and then displayed posters throughout the development, including Ravenswood Community Primary School, *The Co-operative* supermarket and the local fish and chip shop (Figure 4).

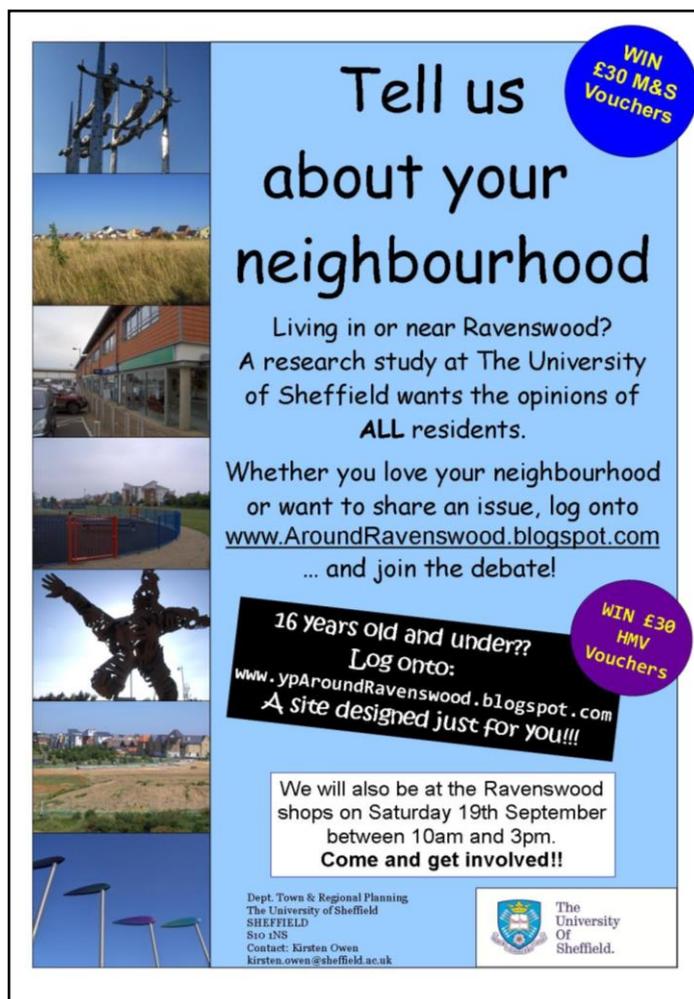


Figure 4: Poster displayed around the neighbourhood
(Source: Author)

I also designed and produced leaflets that I distributed to every household in Ravenswood. These leaflets were used to promote both the event as well as a research blog which I set up. I will discuss the blog later on in this chapter. In addition to the posters and leaflets, I also contacted local newspapers and radio stations requesting their help to promote the event. One of the local newspapers, the *Evening Star*, did respond to my request and said they were willing to write a small article about the research study and my upcoming event as well as the online blog. However, without my knowledge they wrote a large article about Ravenswood and the research which was published on the front page of the newspaper (Figure 5). The article somewhat misinterpreted what I had said, by suggesting that I claimed Ravenswood to be the 'perfect place to live' (Cornwell and Bond, 2009,p1). The article did mention the research and the upcoming one-day event but did not refer to the online blogs. Initially, I found this very frustrating but in retrospect I think the sensationalised newspaper article did generate a reaction amongst residents. Some residents visited us on the following Saturday because of the article, and some even to voice their opinions against the article, which became particularly valuable in stimulating discussion. A full copy of the article is available in Appendix 3.



Figure 5: Front page of the Ipswich Star (14th September 2009)

In addition to the street event and as a way to engage with Ravenswood residents I also, as noted previously, set up an online blog. Online methods are an emerging approach adopted within qualitative research. However research blogs, such as those used in this study, is an approach which is relatively unexplored in academic literature, nevertheless those who have explored their use recognise blogs as a useful addition to the 'researcher's toolkit' (Hookway, 2008, p91), as they provide a low-cost and instantaneous method of data collection (Hookway, 2008, p107).

Youth in the mix

For the purpose of this research investigation, I designed two blogs (Figure 6 and 7) one for adults and one for young people. Much like the community event, I hoped that the blogs would have a dual purpose. Firstly, it would help increase residents' awareness of my research study with a view to encouraging their participation. Secondly, the blogs would be a place for residents to leave their ideas and opinions and therefore assist in my data collection. With this in mind, I designed blogs that both explained the research and also had opportunities for residents to respond to questions, opinion polls and complete online questionnaires. To encourage engagement both blogs contained opportunities for participants to win prizes.

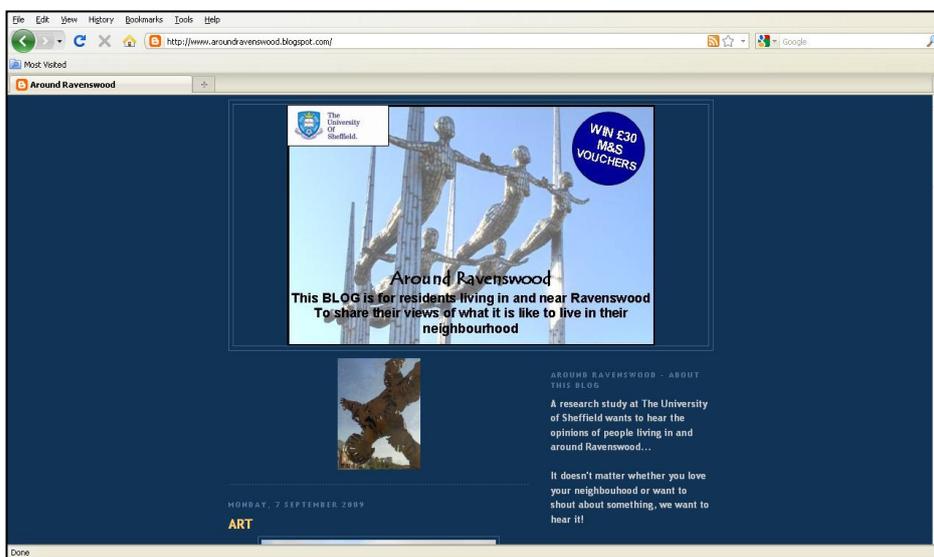


Figure 6: Blog designed for adults in Ravenswood (Source: Author, 2009)

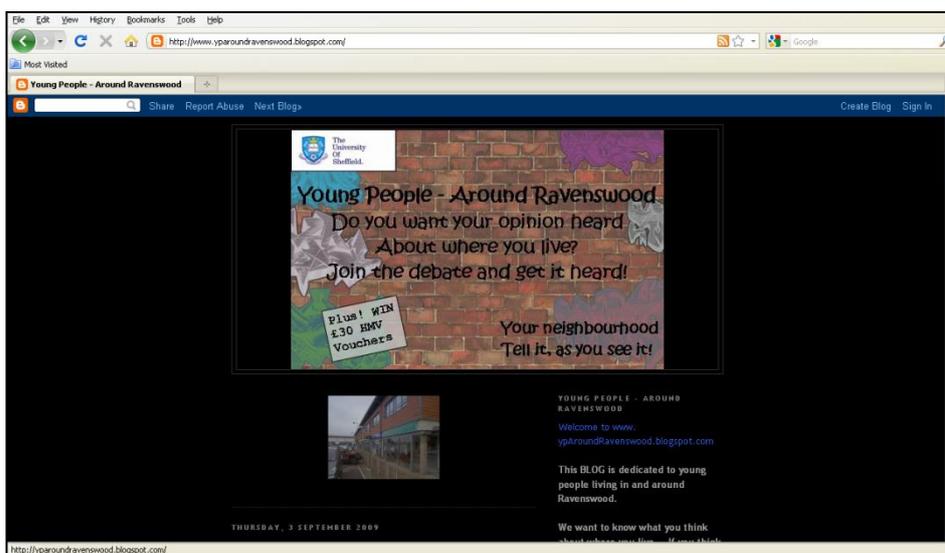


Figure 7: Blog designed for young people in Ravenswood (Source: Author, 2009)

The blogs were not terribly successful, in that very few individuals chose to leave comments on either of the blogs. However the link to an online questionnaire about Ravenswood was more popular on the adult blog, with 13 responses. Additionally, the final part of the questionnaire asked participants if they would be happy to be interviewed at a later stage for the purposes of the research study. Two of my resident interviews were the direct result of this online questionnaire.

After my community street event and the publicity surrounding the blog and the newspaper article, I was invited to attend a number of further events. Local ward members, with whom I previously had only had limited contact, invited me to come along to a number of other meetings, including a Safer Neighbourhood Team Meeting that works with council officers, the police and education professionals. Furthermore, during the one day street event, members of the Ravenswood Resident Association who had previously not responded to my emails and letters, despite initially being keen on the research, invited me to attend two events that they were running in Ravenswood in a few weeks time; a neighbourhood Scarecrow competition (Plate 12) and a Barn dance and supper being held at the Gainsborough Sports Centre. I attended both of these events which provided further opportunities for me to meet and talk to residents about my research. Furthermore, I was able to hand out more questionnaires, and leaflets advertising the blog.



Plate 12: Ravenswood's scarecrow competition (3rd October 2009)
(Source: Author, 2009)

As well as coming up against the unexpected problem of access, I also had another unexpected challenge. In 2009, prior to entering the field I became unwell, later that year I was diagnosed with M.E (Myalgic Encephalopathy) this impacted greatly on my ability to sustain my fieldwork. Nevertheless with support from others around me, as well as changing to a part-time working pattern, I managed to address the research aim and objectives, although the process did take longer to complete.

Despite significant planning and preparation before entering the fieldwork stage of the research, I still came across a number of challenges in my fieldwork. Although it is not my intention to underemphasise the importance of planning fieldwork, even when researchers enter the field relatively prepared, it is worth remembering that they may still encounter unexpected difficulties, as I did. However, as I have shown, there were unusual and innovative ways to overcome these challenges. There are usually a number of ways to tackle research questions and gain access to research participants, sometimes involving a 'multi-pronged' approach. However fieldwork challenges can in themselves also be findings. In the case of Ravenswood, my difficulty in locating young research participants living in Ravenswood was not only a methodological challenge but also a critical analytical insight, in that due to the mixed tenure nature of Ravenswood there were very few young people living there. This will be returned to later in the thesis.

4.4.2 Limitations to the research

Although solutions were found to the many of the research challenges, limitations to the research still remained and it is important that these are acknowledged. Despite attempts to engage with all residents in Ravenswood, some social groups are represented more in the research than others. For instance, although I did engage with young people living in Ravenswood and the surrounding area, young people remained relatively underrepresented in this empirical study. This means that limited conclusions can be drawn from the data gathered from young people. That said, as the following three chapters will show, young people had limited power within the context of the mixed tenure neighbourhood, as their access, use and behaviour in spaces was often determined or controlled by adults. So therefore, conclusions

drawn from this thesis about their experience of a mixed tenure community must be treated with caution.

As well as young people, the research had limited involvement from residents living in social housing in the case study area. This is despite considerable effort to target all residents in Ravenswood. Instead all the research interviews, and questionnaire responses, were from residents who owned their own home in Ravenswood. It would have been preferable to interview social housing tenants as well, and as mentioned in the final chapter of the thesis, if given the opportunity to pursue this research further; residents in social housing would be approached directly. With this in mind, any conclusions drawn from this thesis are only representative of those living in private housing. However, in the following three chapters reference is made to the behaviours of residents living in other tenures. Although, there is arguably some truth in these recorded behaviours (due to triangulation methods), these findings are only from the perspective of homeowners living in Ravenswood. Furthermore, the research cannot comment on the reasons, or rationale behind these recorded actions of those residing in social housing. The thesis is also unable to present evidence about the experiences of mixed tenure communities by social housing tenants.

4.4.3 Adopted research methods

In order to answer the research questions earlier in this thesis I employed a multi-method approach. Some of these have been discussed above in relation to the challenges I faced in the fieldwork. However this section will briefly highlight all the methods used and justify their use specifically in relation to my research questions.

4.4.3.1 Document analysis

In order to fulfil the aim of this research, one of my research objectives is to understand how young people are imagined to assist in the social mix agenda. As highlighted through the literature discussion, the imagined role of young people in socially mixed communities foresees their use of public spaces and local services, such as schools, as essential to the success of the policy. Accordingly, research questions sought to determine how young people were 'meant' to use public space and services as this may differ from how they are used. I therefore used the technique of document analysis, specially the analysis of policy documents, to determine these aspirations for public space and service use. Document analysis provides a way of gaining

access to ideas that cannot be easily observed (Gidley, 2004, p251; Mason, 1996, p73), such as the intentions of policy. Furthermore, document analysis is appropriate in circumstances where it is not possible to gain access to the individuals who can be attributed with these policy aspirations. Additionally, May (2001, p176) acknowledges how document analysis is often used to interrogate assumptions and intentions behind actions.

The method itself involved the careful reading of a number of policy documents. By working in a logical manner (Mason, 1996, p75), I was able to pull out ideas critical for this research study. Furthermore, this approach, which encourages researchers to look at a range of documents, provides opportunities for triangulation (Gidley, 2004, p252), whereby I was able to combine and compare multiple sources in order to increase the validity of my claims and conclusions. As noted previously the majority of the documents examined were policy documents and included both national and local policy from a number of fields, including planning, community cohesion and youth policy. A full list of the documents studied is provided in the appendices to this thesis (Appendix 1). Many extracts from these documents are used throughout this research study in order to establish the context with regards to the intended use of space and services by young people, thereby providing a base line for analysis.

4.4.3.2 Participant observation

Beyond the research questions which sought to address how spaces and amenities were intended to be used, other research questions sought to explore how public spaces and local services were actually being used. Participant observation, which requires the researcher to immerse him/herself in the research setting (Mason, 1996, p60), was arguably one suitable technique in order to address these concerns. Furthermore, observation techniques alongside other methods are thought to be ideal for research which seeks to look at everyday and routine processes and activities (Mason, 1996, p61; May, 2001, p153).

I used observation methods in a number of different ways throughout my research. Firstly, in order to see how different places were being used, I spent considerable time 'hanging out' in Ravenswood. In reality this meant that I spent time over a period of several months (May-July 2009) wandering purposefully around the neighbourhood. That said, by no means did I spend time aimlessly wandering about Ravenswood. As Mason describes, observation methods are selective (1996, p67) in that I began my observations with some sense of what I was looking for. Specifically I sought to observe who was using different spaces and amenities in the

neighbourhood, in what way and at what time of day. After making observations I wrote down notes in a fieldwork diary. Alongside my notes I also took a number of photographs. This served two purposes. Firstly it helped me to record events and activities. Secondly, images were taken with a view to being presented in this thesis as a means to help readers understand the context of my notes and observations (Laurier, 2003, p138).

It is generally agreed that observation should always be overt, in that those being observed should be aware of your presence and your role as a researcher. Observation methods which are covert and unknown to those being observed are seen by some as unethical (Mason, 1996, p65). However, in this case, which involved observing people using spaces and amenities in a large neighbourhood my observations were relatively covert, in that I did not tell everyone in the neighbourhood that I was a researcher, but if approached I would have explained my role in conversation. This decision was a matter of feasibility, in that it would not have been possible to inform everyone that I was a researcher. Furthermore, others have argued that if individuals are aware that they are being observed they may behave differently and this might ultimately affect the research findings (Gray, 2004, p243; Matthews *et al*, 1998, p319).

As well as observing people using public spaces in the neighbourhood I also observed young people in a number of settings. For example, I attended weekly meetings of the Ravenswood youth night run by the County Council at Ravenswood Community Room. I also attended an after school club at the nearby secondary school, the weekly youth night at the gymnastics centre and the weekly *Club4Teenz* at Gainsborough Library. In each case I initially went as an observer with a view to see who used these different semi-public spaces, and how. However, I also hoped that my presence would help me to develop rapport with the young people, which would lead to discussions with them about their experiences of the community. In these cases, unlike my observations of people's use of public spaces and services in the neighbourhood, the young people were aware of my role as a researcher.

The time spent in these settings as a researcher frequently resulted in discussions with both the young people attending the meetings and adults running the sessions. That said, I would be reluctant to call them interviews, in that they were always informal, often short and never recorded. Instead, after meetings and discussions, I took notes. I decided to keep these encounters informal for several reasons. First, young people's attendance at these meetings was not reliable. Different young people would turn up each week and young people were

always free to come and go to these sessions as they pleased. Second, the process of recording discussions with young people would have arguably formalised the discussion and would have required parental consent (Greig and Taylor, 1999, p148) adding a further layer of logistical complexity, especially in an unreliable setting. Even so, the consent of the young people themselves was always verbally sought (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the informal nature of the discussions meant that in some cases I knew very few personal details about any of the young people, helping to maintain their anonymity. Lastly, it is considered by some that the process of formally recording discussions, whether with adults or young people, can make some participants reluctant to talk (Willis, 2006, p149).

4.4.3.3 Questionnaires

As I have mentioned in Section 4.4.1 of this chapter, my rationale behind the use of questionnaires as a research method was twofold. Firstly, questionnaires provide a means to elicit data that seeks both facts as well as people's ideas and opinions (McLafferty, 2003, p87). With this in mind, questionnaires provided me with a further opportunity to see how people used public spaces and local services in Ravenswood. Additionally, I could ask respondents about their opinions which might influence their use of these places. Second, the use of questionnaires was a strategic tactic in order to contact residents who might be willing to be interviewed at a later date.

As the research study sought to engage with both adults and young people living and using space in Ravenswood, I designed two questionnaires; one for adults and one for young people (Appendix 4 and 5). Both questionnaires followed a similar format, in that they both asked questions about respondents' use of public space and local amenities, as well as their opinions about these spaces and the neighbourhood as a whole. Additionally, as many of the research questions looked at space, its design and use, I decided to include a map of Ravenswood in the questionnaire and some questions required the respondent to mark the map in response by drawing a line, or placing coloured stickers on a map. The decision to include a map in the questionnaire was also thought to encourage completion rates. Questionnaires, such as these, which are completed by the respondent and then sent back to the researcher are known for having a low response rate (May, 2001, p97). However, it has been suggested that the response to self-completed questionnaires can be improved if they are easy-to-complete (Gray, 2004, p118). The use of a map which could be annotated removed the need to write answers down, and was thought to be particularly helpful for younger respondents. Those working in the field

of planning participation also recognise the value of interactive and 'hands-on' activities in engaging with individuals especially those who can be marginalised by traditional methods (Cameron and Grant-Smith, 2005, p21).

As described previously, questionnaires were given out during the one day street event as well as during the Ravenswood 10th Anniversary celebrations a few weeks later. During these events a total of 67 adult questionnaires and 38 young people questionnaires were distributed. All questionnaires included a stamped addressed envelope for respondents to return their completed questionnaire. I also provided an incentive by offering entry into a free prize draw. In total I received 33 responses from adults (including 13 online questionnaire responses) and 10 from young people. Despite the relatively low response rate, a number of interview contacts were also established from this process.

Despite the argument against the use of self-completed questionnaires on the grounds of low completion rates, some have suggested that questionnaires which respondents complete independently may encourage more honest and frank answers (Gray, 2004, p108). In hindsight I think that this was important given the nature of some of the participants' responses to questions, especially those which discussed differences between Ravenswood and the neighbouring housing areas. Overall, despite few responses, the questionnaires proved to be very insightful.

As well as the questionnaires given out at the street event and during Ravenswood's anniversary celebrations, a similar questionnaire was also available for completion online via the blog pages. The only difference was that these questionnaires did not have a map. As noted previously, two other further resident interview contacts were established through the online questionnaires.

4.4.3.4 Interviews

Often referred to as a 'conversation with purpose' (Byrne, 2004, p181) interviews are believed to yield insights into people's experiences, ideas, opinions and feelings (May, 2001, p120). Interviews enable the researcher to access ideas which cannot be observed through observation or included in a questionnaire (Byrne, 2004, p182). The two-way nature of an interview also gives researchers 'the opportunity to ask for clarification and elaboration on participants' initial responses' (May, 2001, p123). Interviews were seen to be particularly useful

for this study in addressing a number of different research questions. Not only did the interviews enable me to establish a picture of social mixing in Ravenswood, the interviews also helped me to understand the processes responsible for this. I conducted interviews with both residents in Ravenswood, as well as professionals who were involved in the management of the neighbourhood and its services. Specifically, I spoke to residents not only about their use of spaces and amenities in Ravenswood but also about their rationale for their use of different places, as well as their opinions on the neighbourhood overall.

I conducted eight resident interviews, although at times this did involve interviewing more than one member of the household. For instance in three interviews I spoke to at least 2 people during the course of the interview. Therefore, in total I spoke to 12 different residents in these interviews. However, it should also be noted, despite my attempts to target all community members in Ravenswood, all interviewees were owner-occupiers. Therefore, when referring to Ravenswood residents throughout these thesis, I am referring to owner-occupier residents. Each of these interviews was conducted in the participants' homes. This was for several reasons: firstly it was often more convenient for them and as noted by others, interviewing people in their homes is thought to put them at ease (Byrne, 2004, p189). Additionally, throughout the fieldwork, as noted previously, I also spoke to a number of young people in various settings, which can be considered as informal interviews or discussions. As well as residents and young people, I also interviewed a number of different professionals involved in Ravenswood including planners, teachers, park rangers, and members of the police. Overall I interviewed 23 different professionals either on site in Ravenswood or in their offices, a full list of the professionals interviewed is included in Appendix 6.

All the interviews conducted for this research study can be considered as semi-structured in that I entered the interview with a number of prepared research questions, yet I still remained free to probe beyond the answers and follow new, unexpected ideas (May, 2001, 123). The majority of the interviews were recorded, however, on a few occasions when this was not possible, comprehensive notes were taken both during and after the interview.

4.4.3.5 Focus groups

Much like interviews, focus groups are thought to yield rich insights. However, instead of a researcher working with a participant, focus groups involve a group of participants who discuss ideas with the researcher and amongst themselves (May, 2001, p125). During the fieldwork I

conducted one focus group. The rationale for this was mainly logistical. I had hoped to speak to children at Ravenswood's primary school and after discussions with the Head Teacher it was agreed that I would work with a group of children from the Year 6 class (10-11 years old).

The aim for the session was to discuss with the children their use of different spaces in Ravenswood and the reasons behind this. In order to facilitate the discussion I decided to give the group a large map of Ravenswood and each participant was given coloured stickers which they could place on the map to indicate their use, like and dislike of different spaces in the neighbourhood (Figure 7). Such approaches are thought to be particularly useful when working with young people as it encourages meaningful engagement with often complex ideas (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998, p338), in the case of this research the idea of space. Therefore, once the children had annotated the map with the stickers, the remainder of the session was spent discussing why they had placed stickers on certain places on the map. Not only did this method work very well for managing the group of 8 children but it also seemed to be a popular activity which the children enjoyed. Additionally the approach was helpful in ensuring that all the children had a chance to participate and that the session was not dominated by any of the children (Kneale, 2001, p138). Moreover the map annotated by the children gave me a record of their ideas. The focus group was recorded, which enabled me to fully engage fully with the children's ideas (Longhurst, 2003, p125). However, listening back to the recording of a focus group was difficult in that attributing comments to any one individual participant was particularly hard (*ibid.*).



Figure 7: Map used in focus group (stickers and annotations by young people) (Source: Author)

4.4.4 Research analysis

After completing the fieldwork stage of the research study, I began to formally analyse my data, although I had begun to consider emerging trends as my fieldwork progressed. Despite using a variety of methods in the research, all data was analysed in the same way. As noted by Kitchin and Tate (2000, p238), unlike quantitative data the analysis of qualitative research often requires more thought and consideration. Essentially, I adopted a coding strategy in analysing my fieldwork. By systematically going through my data (Jackson, 2001, p210) I allowed themes to emerge, many of which were tied to academic concepts explored in the literature discussion. This process was facilitated by approaching the data with an ‘open-mind’ (Cope, 2003, p449). Through this process I gradually developed what have been called ‘master categories’ (Kitchin and Tate, 2000, p239). Eventually these categories formed the basis for the three analytical chapters which follow this chapter. Within each of these categories, data was then labelled with lower level codes. This involved codes that were descriptive, using participant’s language and ideas, as well as analytical codes that related to academic concepts (Cope, 2003, p453).

This can seem a linear process, however, it involved re-reading and rethinking initial coding ideas.

4.5 Positionality

The process of 'doing' research is not a simple matter of asking questions and interpreting answers. It is, rather, a methodically challenging process (Desmond, 2004, p268), whereby researchers are asked to consider their own position, or positionality, and how it impacts on the research. Researchers are not neutral scientific observers but rather individuals who have been shaped by experiences and identities (Skelton, 2001, p89). This requires the researcher to reflect on their position and identity, and how this affects the relationships, including those of power, between the researcher and the researched (Rose, 1997, p308). This process of reflection is believed to make the research more rigorous and reliable (Ley and Mountz, 2001, p235).

4.5.1 *My role as a researcher*

As the research required me to work with a number of individuals, who all have their own identities, my position will have impacted on my relationship with each of these individuals differently. Nevertheless, it is crucial that I consider how my identity may have impacted on the research. As a female, it is arguable that I gained access to people and situations that I may not have done had I been male, especially when accessing young people. Females are often thought to be less threatening and intimidating and therefore more approachable. Accents are also thought to be markers of identity, enabling others to place individuals within certain contexts, especially as to whether they are insiders or outsiders. In meeting residents who knew me as a researcher from Sheffield, I was often asked if I was from Ipswich. My accent, which can be identified as a south-east English accent had many similarities to the local accent. In many cases this involved me disclosing personal information which built rapport and placed me more as an insider than if I had been from Sheffield.

As well as personal characteristics, due to the nature of the research which required working with a diverse range of participants, there was a tendency for me to fulfil certain roles in different research settings. For instance, when I went into Ravenswood Community Primary School to run a focus group, the children instantly called me 'Miss' and put their hand up when they wanted to say something. Although I tried to explain that they did not need to do this for

me, it inevitably placed me in a 'teacher' or 'adult' position giving me power and authority. In contrast, when I visited a weekly youth club meeting in Ravenswood, which was attended by older teenagers, my role was very different. First of all, it took time for the young people to trust me and speak to me. They almost treated my role with suspicion. Additionally, at no point did I feel in control or in charge of the setting. Rather, I felt entirely *at their mercy* – waiting to see if they would turn up, stay around and be happy to talk. These examples are in contrast to many of my interviews with professionals and adult residents, where generally I felt there was a more equal power relationship.

4.5.2 Working in a team

As noted previously in this chapter, in order to successfully arrange the one day street research event, which proved to be the source of much information and research contacts, I had to ask other people to help me on the day. I am under no illusion that I could not have done this without them. That said, having the assistance of others also raises concerns about positionality. Unlike me, none of the others were familiar with the research or the case study area, although, one of them was an academic researcher and the others teachers. Although it has been noted that working in research teams where members have different prior knowledge of the research, can be an advantage as each team member brings their own perspective to the study (Reis Louis and Bartunek, 1992, p101). Instead, I recruited volunteers on the basis that they were confident and happy to approach and talk to members of public, who may of course not want to engage with the study. I did, however, give each of them some basic information regarding the research and Ravenswood, as well as some ideas about how to approach residents and what they could ask to initiate conversations. Questions were not scripted as I was keen for the event to remain relaxed and open to new ideas. After our conversations with residents, we each wrote brief notes. However, from these it was clear that we all asked slightly different questions and honed in upon different aspects of the residents' comments. I argue that this happened as a result of each of us bringing our unique experiences and ideas to the situation (Reis Louis and Bartunek, 1992, p103).

4.6 Ethical considerations

The process of conducting ethical research requires us to act in accordance with notions of right, whilst avoiding behaviours and actions considered to be wrong (Hay, 2003, p37). At the heart of this lies the idea that research participants should not be harmed in anyway (Gray,

2004, p235). Many believe that this concern is even more crucial when research involves working with young people (Matthews *et al*, 1998, p322). Nevertheless, every research study is considered to be unique in terms of the exact ethical considerations, however there are a number of principles which apply to research generally (Bell, 2010, p46).

It is believed that involvement in a research study should always be through the process of informed consent, meaning that a full explanation is given to participants about the purpose of the research and how the information that they give to the researcher will be used (Bell, 2010, p46). Accordingly, it was always made clear to participants that they were under no obligation to answer all questions and could withdraw from the research at anytime; this was also the case for young research participants (Gray, 2004, p235). However, when explaining the research to young people, I took extra time to ensure that I explained the study and its purpose carefully, often using appropriate language for different age groups. As noted above in Section 4.4.2, when making observations of public space use in the neighbourhood, my position as a researcher was not explicitly disclosed to ensure that I witnessed 'natural' behaviour (Matthews *et al*, 1998, p320). However, from these observations no individual could ever be identified.

Findings from the research, especially those from interviews and questionnaires have remained anonymous at all times. In writing this thesis, I have used pseudonyms for *all* research participants; although I recognise that some professionals due to their status, may still be identifiable.

In the spirit of preventing any harm to individuals through this research, I ensured that at no time during the fieldwork did I judge research participants according to their comments. In many cases, participants used language and expressed ideas which to many people, including myself, could be thought of as offensive. However, as a researcher, I did not believe it was my role to make judgements and challenge their viewpoints. Furthermore, some of these opinions have been discussed in this thesis, making it even more important that research participants can not be identified through this research study. Good ethical practice also involves ensuring that the behaviour of any researcher does not jeopardise the ability of future researchers to seek the help of participants (Horwood and Moon, 2003, p 108). In order to avoid this problem, I made sure that I always set out clear expectations of the research and thanked individuals who gave up their time and energy to help me.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach used in this research study, along with associated challenges and concerns. I began by outlining the overall approach, that of a post-positivist qualitative approach. This approach prioritises the meanings that people attribute to the social world and how these can influence their behaviour and actions. To follow this, I outlined my justification for using a case study approach through which I chose to develop a holistic and detailed account of one mixed tenure neighbourhood in order to address the research aim. At this point I introduced the chosen case study of Ravenswood in Ipswich. Section 4.4 outlined the research methods. I began by discussing challenges that I faced in my method and how I adapted the method in order to overcome these. I then outlined the methods used and how I then analysed the data generated from these approaches, specifically through a systematic process of coding. The concern of positionality was discussed in the following section. To finish this chapter, I examined ethical concerns associated with this research and highlighted a number of measures that I made in order to mitigate these concerns. The following three chapters in this research study present and analyse data collected during the fieldwork process and develop arguments in response to the research questions.

Chapter 5: The use of and fight for neighbourhood public space

5.1.0 Introduction

We have seen previously how New Labour's social mix agenda views public space as vital for the policy's success. Public space is considered to be one of the forums where individuals will interact; thus establishing and maintaining social networks. Specifically, the use of public space is believed to be essential in ensuring that individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds will encounter one another. Importantly for this research, public space in a neighbourhood is also highlighted as essential for the social interaction amongst young people, who are considered to be catalysts of social interaction across social divides. It is for these reasons that this chapter will focus specifically on young people's use of, and interaction within public space in the case study area of Ravenswood.

The chapter begins by laying out the policy context of public space use in a neighbourhood designed for social mix, such as Ravenswood. The chapter then draws upon empirical data to explore how young people use public spaces in Ravenswood - both spaces specifically designed for them and other community spaces. Section 5.4 explores how young people are socially constructed in Ravenswood in light of their presence and use of public space. Here the chapter adopts the concepts of 'angels' and 'devils' (Valentine, 1996b; 2004) whereby young people are socially constructed as either *at risk* or *a risk*. The contradiction in the perception of young people is that young people who are present in the public sphere are seen as 'devils' in neighbourhood spaces, whereas those not present in public space are perceived as 'angels'. Later, the chapter argues that other identity characteristics, specifically *where* a young person is perceived to be from, also affects such social constructions. The fifth section of this chapter will consider how public space and young people are treated as a result of these social constructions. Specifically the chapter focuses on how public space is claimed by Ravenswood adults, who attempt to exclude young people, thereby demonstrating their spatial dominance. Overall, this chapter argues that the consequences of these various social constructions work to undermine the aspirations of social mix policy.

5.2.0 Policy context

5.2.1 Public space for community use

As discussed in Chapter 2, public space can be seen as vital in securing community cohesion. The presence of public space provides a forum for interaction amongst individuals, and leads to a greater sense of belonging in an area (DCLG, 2006b, p1). Furthermore, and of specific concern for this thesis, public spaces are thought to be essential in supporting the social mix and diversity agendas, as they provide places for interaction between individuals from different social, economic and cultural backgrounds.

‘... the government is seeking to promote a common civic culture premised on multi-cultural places, characterised by convivial public spaces that will encourage social interaction and inclusion.’

(ODPM, 2004, p4).

The importance of public space provision as outlined by government policy, has also made its way into local planning policy. For example, with relevance to the case study area, the Suffolk Design Guide (Suffolk County Council, 1993), which was written before the development of Ravenswood, acknowledged that the provision and design of public space was vital in ensuring the development of ‘good places’ (p45). The importance of community open space was also incorporated into the master plan for Ravenswood. During an interview with David Lock, the architect who was responsible for the master plan, he spoke about how the provision of public spaces was central to the development. He explained how public spaces that encouraged neighbouring were particularly important in a new neighbourhood, where it was essential people got to know one another. Furthermore, Derek Cotterill, Ipswich Borough Council’s Project Officer who oversaw Ravenswood’s development, also explained the role of public space in the estate. He specifically discussed the role large open green spaces in the new neighbourhood were perceived to play, as places for community events, such as ‘village’ fetes and, as outlined in the master plan, a site for the community’s own cricket team.

However, the mere presence of public spaces is not considered to be entirely sufficient. Similarly to New Urbanism ideas, the actual design of public space is believed to be critical. Various national planning policies, such as *Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable*

Futures (ODPM, 2005a), believe that public spaces should be attractive and enticing to use, as this will ensure that social interaction does occur:

‘... high quality and inclusive design should create well-mixed and integrated developments which avoid segregation and have well-planned public spaces that bring people together...’

(Office for the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005a, p14)

As well as ensuring that public space is attractive, it is important to create safe environments. The positive effect safe places can play in the success of public space is acknowledged throughout national and local policy (e.g ODPM, 2005a, p11; Page, 1993, p18). In real terms this can mean that design features such as planting, pathways and lighting all need to be carefully considered (IBC, 1997, p55) and public space should be well overlooked. These ideas were also incorporated into the master plan for Ravenswood, and used to illustrate how the development’s success could be secured:

‘This must never be an environment to be feared, either because of perceived threats to person or property. Instead this will be a community where walking is a pleasure where children can play close to home and walk to school without an adult guardian and where the car is made respectful of pedestrians and cyclists, young and old. Designing out crime is intrinsic to the project – a fully overlooked public realm, minimised access to the rears of properties with clear definition to fronts and backs, protected car parking and care in the design of the building access to avoid areas not capable of surveillance’.

(Bellway and the Guinness Trust, 1997, p8)

Public space provision and design in a new residential development, such as Ravenswood, was also illustrated in Ravenswood’s master plan through numerous sketches and diagrams. Plate 1 highlights the view that public space is there for community use.

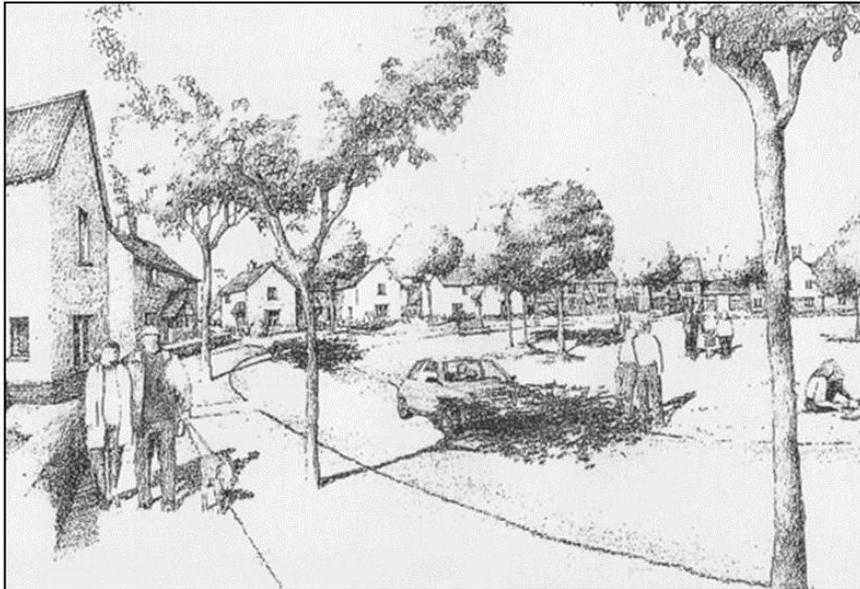


Plate 1: Master plan vision for Ravenswood's public space
(Bellway and the Guinness Trust, 1997, p39)

The value of public space and its careful design can now be seen in practice in the case study neighbourhood of Ravenswood. Detailed descriptions of these spaces will be given in Section 5.3 of this chapter. However, the following aerial image (Image 2) of Ravenswood indicates the large extent to which space in the residential area of the Ravenswood was given over to public amenity spaces, often green open space. The boundary of Ravenswood's housing area is outlined in red.



Image 2: Aerial Photograph of Ravenswood, taken 24th June 2008 (Courtesy of John Stebbings, IBC)

5.2.2 Neighbourhood spaces for young people

As well as the push for more and better designed public spaces, there is increasing attention given to the need for public spaces which cater for all members of a society. In 2006, the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister published a document entitled *Planning and Diversity*, which highlighted the need for planning to reflect the diverse needs of a population that lives in any locality. One group that received increasing attention on the back of this publication was young people, specifically with regards to their needs in the built environment (ODPM, 2004, p13). The policy acknowledged that how planners think about the needs of children can often result in unsuitable provisions. The publication also reflected many academic debates that noted the tendency for adults to see young people as a source of potential nuisance when considering public space provisions, whereas young people themselves are keen to see more choice in the provisions made (*ibid.*).

Despite these concerns, there is evidence that planning policy does appreciate the need for children's spaces in the built environment and the potential benefits this is believed to engender (e.g. DCSF, 2008; ODPM, 2005b, p14). Reflecting arguments presented in Chapter 3 of this thesis, spaces for children are thought to provide opportunities for physical activity and recreation, develop social skills, and even help to reduce health problems such as obesity (DCSF, 2007, p28). These benefits are highlighted in various policy documents.

‘Open spaces... have a vital role to play... in the social development of children of all ages through play, sporting activities and interaction with others’

(Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006b, p1)

Importantly for this research study, and as noted in the above quote, young people's use of public spaces in their neighbourhood is believed to play a crucial role in ensuring that social interaction between individuals occurs. This is not only thought to be between children themselves, but young people's use of public spaces is thought to help build relationships with adults too (DCSF, 2008, p62). This perceived role of young people emerged at a time when emphasis was increasingly being placed on the value of public space in the social exclusion agenda.

As noted previously, the safety of public spaces is considered to be crucial in ensuring that places are both used and successful. This is also true, if not more so, for spaces designed for

children. If play spaces feel threatening, children will not want to use them, and parents will not allow their children into these spaces. The importance of this is highlighted in both national, as well as local policies (e.g. Ipswich Borough Council, 1997, p55).

‘Children want places to play, and parents want their children to enjoy the same freedoms they had when they were growing up. But they feel there are few attractive places for them to go, and they worry about their safety. (...). We will work with communities to create new and safer places to play and safe routes to play areas’.

(Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007, p28)

Planning policy also highlights the importance of play facilities particularly for young people who are living in disadvantaged areas (Skelton, 2000, p75). Children and youth who live in deprived neighbourhoods are less likely to attend youth clubs and activities where there is a financial cost to them, and would therefore benefit from amenities which are free of charge and close to their homes. Policy acknowledges that ironically it is in these deprived communities where public spaces are often of poor quality, and therefore there is greater need to redress this imbalance through planning (DCSF, 2008, p57).

These ideas about the provision of child friendly spaces (Frank, 2006) have similarly filtered into local policy. Ipswich Borough Council’s document entitled *Provision and Maintenance of Children’s Play Space* (1999) provides guidance on the provision and maintenance of play facilities. This document not only recognises the importance of play spaces in a neighbourhood but also that such spaces should be inclusive to all children regardless of their age (IBC, 1999, p3), or where they live (IBC, 1999, p15). As a result of this, and the documentation previously mentioned, Ravenswood has been built to include a variety of different play spaces, catering for a variety of ages. This will be explored in more detail in Section 5.3 of this chapter.

Unfortunately, ensuring that there is the physical provision of play space in a neighbourhood is not the only obstacle in catering for young people in the built environment. As discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, as well as public spaces for children, developing a child friendly attitude towards young people using public space is crucial (Shacknell *et al* , 2008, p33; Ward, 1990, p184). This has increasingly been recognised at a national level, for example, through the *National Play Strategy*:

‘... to really make communities more child-friendly we need to do more than just change the built environment. We also need to work together as a society to create a culture that welcomes children in public space and challenges inappropriate ‘No Ball Games’ attitudes. This means adults being willing to share public space with children and understanding that it is often through play that children test the boundaries and learn how to interact with others in their neighbourhood’.

(Department for Children Schools and Families, 2008, p60)

There is, however, little evidence of these child friendly ideas in local policy despite the promotion of physical spaces for young people. Instead, reference was made to the potential problems that can arise from the provision of child friendly public spaces, such as nuisance and noise, and the potential impact this can have on neighbouring properties (IBC, 1999, p9). This reflects the arguments outlined in Chapter 3 which show how young people are demonised in relation to their use of public space (Valentine, 1996a, p581).

5.3.0 Young people’s use of space in their neighbourhood

This section details the public space provision in Ravenswood; both places designed *for* young people (e.g. play areas), as well as general community public spaces. In doing this, the use of these spaces by young people living in and around Ravenswood is discussed.

5.3.1 Play areas

Due to the influence of policy, Ravenswood was designed and built with numerous different play areas. These spaces, specifically designed for young people, are located throughout the development. In total there are eleven different play areas in Ravenswood. The location of these can be seen in Figure 1.

Ipswich Borough Council’s Supplementary Planning Guidance on the *Provision and Maintenance of Children’s Play Space* (1999) sets out how play areas in residential areas should be provided. It is stated that every house should be within walking distance of: a Local Area for Play (LAP), a Local Equipped Area for Play (LEAP), and a Neighbourhood Equipped Area for Play (NEAP). The LAPs, marked in yellow (Figure 1), are the smallest areas designated for play and are aimed at the youngest children providing a few pieces of appropriate equipment. LEAPs, marked in pink, are aimed at young school children, aged between four and eight years old, and

Youth in the mix

should have at least five types of play equipment. Whilst the NEAPs, marked in blue, are the largest of the play areas, these are aimed at children from around eight to fourteen years old. The guidance suggests that there should be a minimum of eight different pieces of play equipment at a NEAP. These facilities should also provide a space for ball games, skateboarding, roller-skating or bicycles. It also states that seating should be provided in these spaces for 'teenagers to use as a meeting place' (IBC, 1999, p8). All three different types of play spaces are provided in Ravenswood, the majority catering for one specific age group, apart from the two largest play spaces which cater for several age groups. As a result of this, along with the requirement in the planning guidance, the play areas in Ravenswood all vary in scale, equipment and informal play space provision.

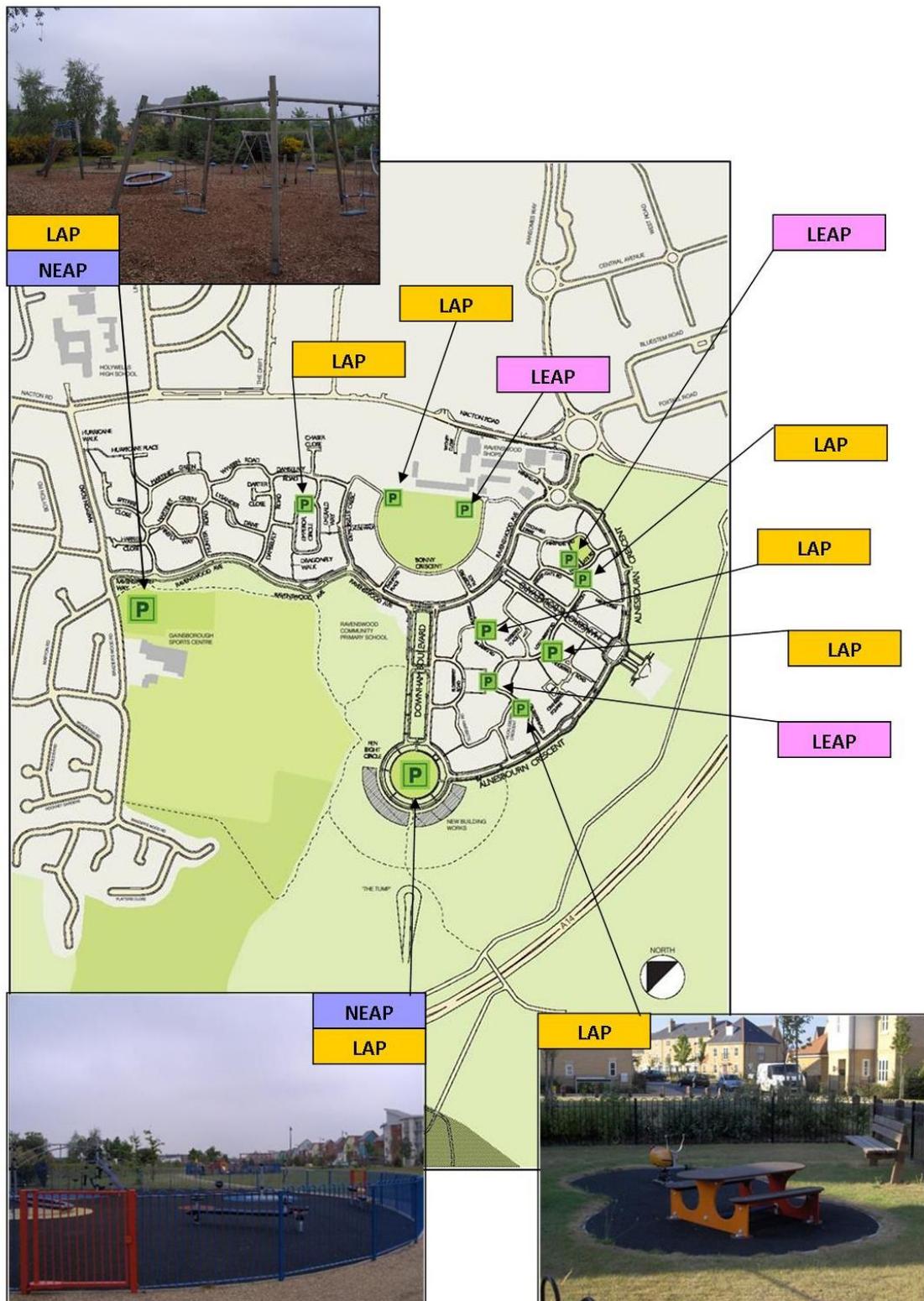


Figure 1: Location of Play Areas in Ravenswood

(map adapted from Bellway and the Guinness Trust, 1997) (Image Source: Author, 2009)

Throughout the research study, young people of varying ages discussed how they made use of these spaces provided for them in Ravenswood, and in many cases spoke positively about these

spaces. However, for adults resident in Ravenswood the provision of play spaces for young people was often seen and spoken about in a negative way. Many residents expressed concern over young people's behaviour in the play areas and often complained about young people occupying these spaces late on in the day. A number of concerns about play areas centred on one of the largest facilities in Ravenswood; a joint LAP and NEAP. This play area is located on the edge of Ravenswood near the neighbouring housing area of Gainsborough. There are a number of pieces of play equipment, provided at this facility including: traditional swings and climbing frames, a small zip line, a basketball court, a skateboarding area, and seating. This particular facility is also landscaped with winding pathways and small mounds (Plates 3 and 4).



Plates 3 and 4: Large play area between Ravenswood and Gainsborough
(Source: Author, 2013)

This play area was one of the first to be built in Ravenswood. However, from the beginning, Ravenswood residents raised concerns over the use of this play area. One resident, Neil

Lomas¹, who lives on Ravenswood Avenue directly opposite this play facility, expressed concerns. He bought his home ‘off plan’, deciding upon the particular plot for many reasons, including its open aspect to the front – overlooking public open space. By the time the play area opened, Neil and his family had already moved into the property. He described how the new play space, built opposite to his home, was ‘idyllic’ when it first opened, with new play equipment, beautiful landscaping, mounds and trees. However, once the facility was open this did not last long:

‘Well that [play area] opened, like the day the schools broke up, and well... it was like an invasion. The schools up here aren’t very good and by the end of the evening the plants had been ripped up, everything thrown, it was terrible. And that is when the trouble started. And I would imagine that we had about six months where that used to attract children. [...] And they used to hang around there at night. [...] So you ended up having children round there at one o’clock in the morning, shouting screaming, messed up [sic] the swings, pulled up the plants. It didn’t matter how many times they were re-planted they were pulled up again. It was a nightmare.’

Neil Lomas, Resident Interview, 14th October 2009.

Neil was not alone in acknowledging the ‘trouble’ at this play area. Lynsey Wilkinson the Head of *Greenspace*, a department of Ipswich Borough Council which is responsible for the maintenance of public spaces including play areas in the Borough, also recalled problems at this play facility. Lynsey recounted how the site drew ‘an enormous amount of children when it first opened’. She explained how the behaviour and presence of young people did, as it does in other places, upset many of the nearby residents. Lynsey described ‘all sorts of unimaginable things’ that the young people did in the play area, including throwing paint all over the facility, smearing faeces on play equipment, and cutting fences and shrubbery. Lynsey reluctantly admitted that vandalism from young people was still considered to be a problem in that particular facility, although she was adamant that problems in the play area had reduced over time. She explained how in her view when facilities, whatever they may be, are initially put in place, the novelty value of them can attract vandalism. She discussed how it was the first of many play areas to be built in Ravenswood and moreover the neighbouring estate of Gainsborough had not been provided with their own new play facilities in a long time.

¹ Not participant’s real name. Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis.

The use of play areas by young people in Ravenswood differs from the policy concept of how these spaces will be used. Policy sees the provision of play space as a site for play in the form of traditional games and physical activity, in addition to its role as a site for social interaction. Furthermore, the use of play space in Ravenswood conflicts strongly with how adults, both residents and those working in the area, consider play spaces should be used. This mismatch between young people's and adults' understandings of public space contributes towards existing critical debates which recognise that how places are designed and imagined for use by young people, and how places are in reality appropriated by young people can vary significantly (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p9; Rasmussen, 2004, p168; Ward, 1990, p76). Furthermore, in Ravenswood this contrast between imagined use and actual use results in feelings of resentment and, as shown later in this chapter – conflict – an issue acknowledged by others working in this field (e.g. Simpson, 1997, p917).

The play area on the edge of Ravenswood was not the only play facility mentioned by residents in relation to young people's inappropriate use. Smaller play areas throughout the development were also highlighted as sites for anti-social behaviour. For instance, a LEAP located on the village green was mentioned by Rob Cooper, who works as a caretaker for the Ravenswood shopping precinct. As well as working on site, Rob also lives in a flat built adjacent to Ravenswood's shops. This allows him to have access to the site at all times, in case of emergencies. His responsibilities include overseeing major works and repairs, but he is also in charge of the general up-keep of the shopping precinct. In Rob's opinion, one particular problem area was a LEAP on the edge of the village green close to the shops. This consisted of a large climbing frame and seating, surrounded by safety bark chippings (Plate 5). He recalled how young people use the play area as a meeting point, especially teenagers who gather in the evenings, often to drink alcohol. He explained that afterwards, despite there being a bin next to the equipment, young people throw their empty drink bottles onto the ground where they can smash and mix with the bark chippings below the play equipment. He explained how he has to try and clean up the mess as other children will come along to use the equipment and may get hurt. Rob was adamant that the use of play areas for meeting points, and places for underage drinking was in his view anti-social behaviour, or as Millie (2008, p381) calls it environmental anti-social behaviour. Rob and Neil were not alone in their views about young people's use of play areas. Questionnaire responses also highlighted how many residents considered the way in which play areas were used in the neighbourhood as anti-social. There were more reports of young people gathering in play spaces, often late at night, involved in underage drinking and

vandalism to either the equipment or surroundings. That said, interview and questionnaire responses also described young people's *presence* as anti-social and inappropriate. On this basis young people were criminalised for just 'hanging out' (Millie, 2007, p617).



Plate 5: LEAP on Village Green (Source: Author, 2013)

Nevertheless, these conflicts and the subsequent labelling of young people's behaviour as anti-social, support many debates which argue that when the behaviour of individuals in the public domain does not fit expected codes of behaviour, they are seen as unwanted in public space. As noted in Chapter 3, this is increasingly recognised as an issue facing young people in public space, as well as other minority groups (Breitbart, 1998, p307; Ruddick, 1998, p347). Furthermore, important questions are raised about why young people might choose to behave in this way in Ravenswood's public spaces. The casting of young people as unwanted in Ravenswood's public spaces resulted in measures being taken to remove them from these spaces. These ideas are discussed in Section 5.5 of this chapter.

5.3.2 Community spaces

As stated above, like play areas, the presence of general community space is believed to assist in the social cohesion agenda. New Urbanism ideas, which have been explored in Chapter 2, promote the importance of public space provision and design. In recent years, the concept of New Urbanism has been adopted throughout the world, and in Britain the ideas have filtered into both national and local planning policy. The case study area of Ravenswood, an urban village, is one residential development that arguably embodies many of these principles. The neighbourhood has many different community spaces designed for resident use. These include: formal open green spaces, formal hard landscaped areas, community shopping spaces, and even residential street spaces that have been designed to favour pedestrian use through Home Zone principles, often thought to be ideal for young people (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p65). Furthermore, Ravenswood's layout has been designed to form links with the existing Orwell Country Park which is situated to the south of the site. Examples of these spaces in Ravenswood can be seen in figure 2 on the following page.

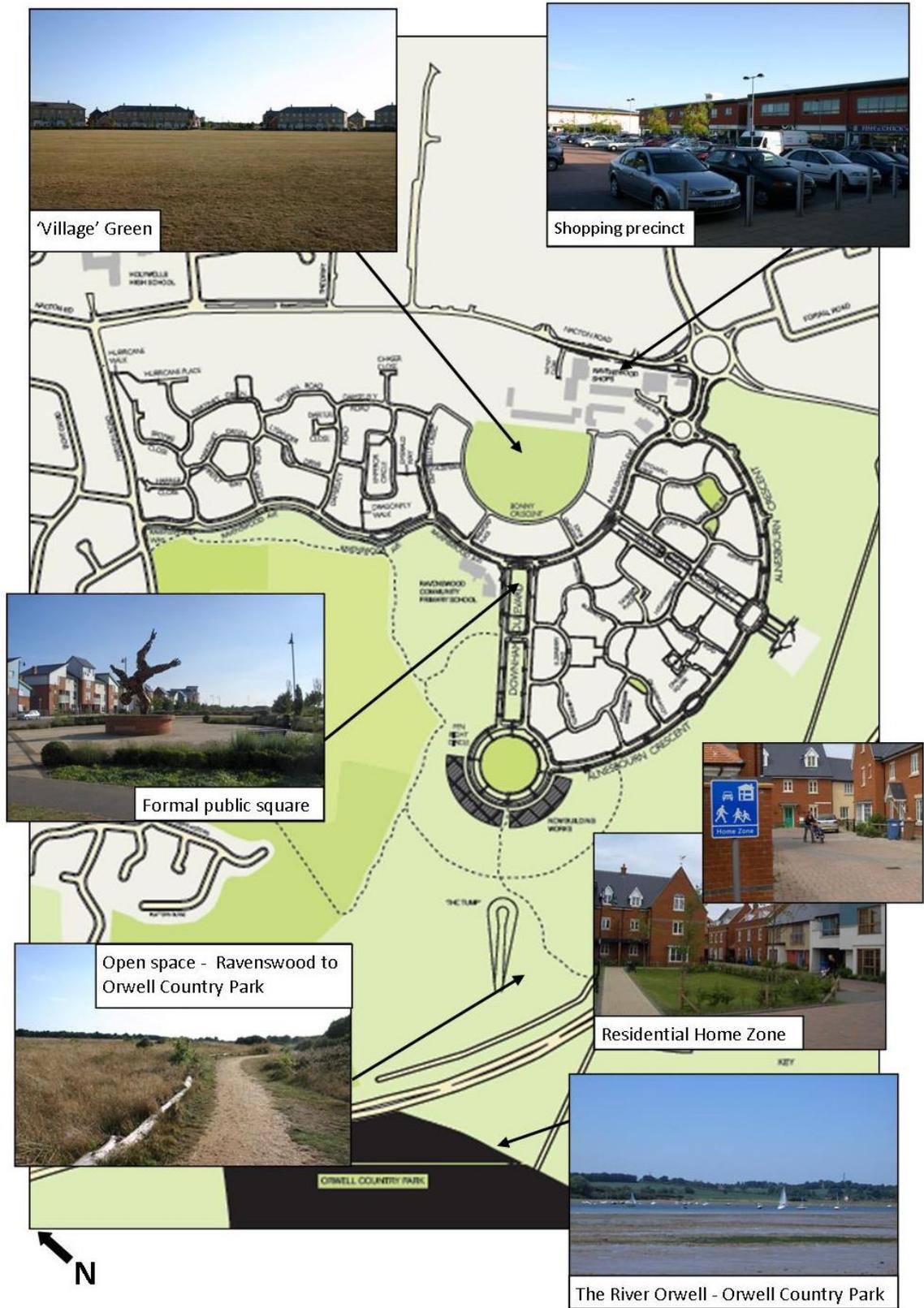


Figure 2: Examples of community spaces in Ravenswood
(map adapted from Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997) (Images Source: Author, 2009)

Throughout the empirical investigation, it was clear that both adults and young people living in and around Ravenswood liked and enjoyed using these spaces. For many of the residents interviewed, the presence of public space in Ravenswood, and what they considered its unique and careful design, made the neighbourhood a desirable place to live. For example, David Neagle, one Ravenswood resident, commented on how he regarded the availability of open space in Ravenswood as a great advantage, especially for playing family games such as cricket and croquet. That said, as with the use of play areas, the use of public spaces in Ravenswood was a concern for many of the residents who participated in the research study. Once again, these concerns centred upon the use and behaviour of young people in public space.

Ravenswood's shopping precinct was mentioned several times by residents as a site of anti-social behaviour by young people, particularly the areas close to the neighbourhood's medical centre (Plate 6) at the rear of the former airport terminal building. During the one-day research street event, one resident reported the anti-social behaviour of young people who gather in this area and are 'a bit of a nuisance'. It seems that the presence of young people in this public space results in their construction as 'out of place', arguably seeing it as an adult space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p84). Again, the presence of young people in Ravenswood's public spaces is seen as anti-social behaviour (Millie, 2007, p619). Rob Cooper, the caretaker, who was also present at the research event, supported this comment by explaining how he regularly witnesses the gathering of twenty to thirty youths in the evenings. He believed that young people congregated near the medical centre because of the design. The overhead canopy at the entrance of the surgery provided shelter from the rain, whilst the position of other buildings on all sides provided a wind break. He admitted to not knowing exactly where these young people were coming from, but he assumed that many of them were *not* from the Ravenswood development, but rather from the neighbouring council estates of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. This claim by Rob is supported by social constructionist debates discussed in Chapter 3 that recognise the complexities of social identities (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b, p774). In light of the empirical data, young people's presence in Ravenswood's public spaces socially constructs them as belonging to the neighbouring housing areas. Furthermore, Rob's assumption about young people's place of residence is based on his ideas of class and behaviour which will be returned to later in this chapter.



Plate 6: Ravenswood's Medical Centre (Source: Author, 2013)

The presence and behaviour of young people in this area was, for some residents, seen as intimidating. Sonia Cavanagh had lived in Ravenswood for approximately two and half years. Prior to this she had lived in Gainsborough and came across as a confident young woman. Nevertheless she commented on how she disliked and avoided the area round the medical centre at the shops;

'I mean don't get me wrong I don't go down there all the time, but the times we do walk down there, we walk down to the shops, all of us. And there are so many kids, well not so much kids they are teenagers, all hanging round outside the doctors surgery. And personally when I am on my own, I don't mind so much when I am with my husband, but when I am on my own I feel quite intimidated by it. And I don't know how people live down there, because there are flats down there and I don't know how they put up with it. The amount of noise they must hear, must be really loud. So yeah you do get quite a few kids hanging around outside the doctors surgery and that is why I don't really like it, I wouldn't walk down there on my own at night. It is not all the time but it is one place I think is not particularly nice. And because they are quite tucked away, there is nobody to see if they are up to mischief, and stuff like that. So you can't really see what is going on down there. I think that is why they go down there just to be out of the way'.

Sonia Cavanagh, Resident Interview, 3rd November 2009

Youth in the mix

The space outside the medical centre, rather than being seen as a community open space, was constructed as a site to avoid and to be feared due to the presence of young people, thus illustrating how space and identities are co-constructed (Valentine, 2001, p5). Moreover, I conclude that young people here chose to inhabit secluded spaces where they were less likely to meet and therefore interact with adults. As well as space around the shops, other places were also mentioned by Ravenswood residents in relation to young people's use. Ravenswood's village green (see Figure 2) was regularly highlighted as a problematic space. The village green is situated in a central location in Ravenswood, quite near the shops, and is a large wide flat open green space, bordered on all sides by residential properties.

Andrew and Claire Parkinson live on Bonny Crescent, the road surrounding the village green (Plate 7). In the three years they had lived there, they had regularly witnessed the anti-social behaviour of young people using this space:

Claire: We often had young teenagers, on mopeds with no crash helmets, three on a bike going right across the green, going around the estate, even down Nacton Road and that sort of thing... gathering, gangs gathering. Some people had worse trouble than we did.

Andrew: The poor lot at the end [house], right by the play area. A sort of gang of youths used to gather around that play area late at night. And they would race across on their mopeds. We didn't really get very far with the Constabulary.

Claire: ...they were throwing stones at cars, that sort of thing'.

Claire and Andrew Parkinson, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009



Plate 7: Ravenswood's 'village green' (Source: Author, 2013)

Andrew and Claire were not alone with their concerns. Another resident of Bonny Crescent, Doreen Crawford, explained how in her view Ravenswood's village green had rapidly gained a reputation for anti-social behaviour. This is despite the village green being designed as a key site for social interaction and neighbouring in the new community. Again these anecdotes illustrate how spaces, regardless of design and policy intentions, are socially constructed in relation to behaviours present in a space (Valentine, 2001, p179). Furthermore, Andrew indicated feeling powerless to control behaviour on the green by noting the limited support from the local police. This lack of control and order in public space is thought to further result in associating fear with certain public spaces (Mitchell, 2003, p13).

Smaller open spaces in Ravenswood were also mentioned as sites of anti-social behaviour. On the west of the development is a street called Martinet Green (Figure 3); the focal point of this street is a green open space (Plates 8 and 9).

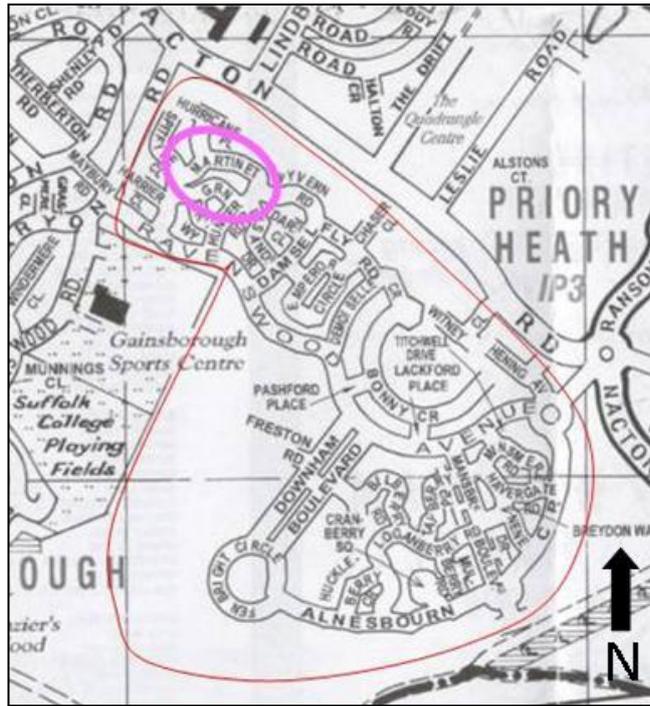


Figure 3: Location of Martinet Green
(map adapted from Ipswich Street Map, date unknown)



Plate 8: Martinet Green's open space
(Source: Author, 2013)



Plate 9: Sustainable Urban Drainage System (ditch) at Martinet Green
(Source: Author, 2013)

Unlike Ravenswood's village green, this space has been landscaped, with trees and shrubbery and in the centre of the green is a Sustainable Urban Drainage basin (Plate 9). Sonia reported how her mother, who also lives in Ravenswood but on Martinet Green, suffered 'a lot of grief' caused by the regular gathering of young people. She explained how her mother was often woken up in the middle of the night with noise from young people outside, and had even had stones thrown at the house. Sonia commented on how Martinet Green had a reputation of this

sort of 'trouble'. She followed on by suggesting that this was probably the result of the design of Martinet Green.

'I wonder if it just because they have a little green, with a little wooded area and a ditch, and I think the kids just like to hang out down there. And again it is hidden away, and perhaps that is why they like to hang out there. There are lots of nooks and crannies on this estate.'

Sonia Cavanagh, Resident Interview, 3rd November 2009

Police Constable Antony Gondoma who worked in the area covering Ravenswood and also the neighbouring residential areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath, also acknowledged the role of design, describing Ravenswood as a 'rabbit warren'. Again, he noted how there were many hidden spaces, which proved to be attractive to young people, both those living in Ravenswood and the neighbouring areas. However the design, in Antony's opinion made the work of the police in responding to complaints of anti-social behaviour very difficult. The provision of pathways that ran both in and off the development (Plate 10), as well as paths around Ravenswood, especially between houses (Plate 11), made it virtually impossible to police by car, especially as young people were very familiar with these routes. It seems that the provision of attractive open public spaces does risk conflicting with security concerns.



Plate 10: Pathway between Ravenswood and Gainsborough (Source: Author, 2009)



Plate 11: Pathway between residential properties (Source: Author, 2009)

During the development of Ravenswood, a large proportion of the former airfield site was used to extend the existing Orwell Country Park to the south-east of the site. Additionally, design features, such as pathways, were used to link the park to Ravenswood. Throughout the research it was clear that young people made use of the Country Park, with spaces closest to Ravenswood being particularly well-used. One particular site was an area called the ‘tump’, meaning mound in Welsh. The tump (Plate 12) is a small man-made mound on the Ravenswood and Orwell Park boundary and is located beyond Mansbrook Boulevard (Figure 4). It was created from excess earth after the site was levelled for the development. One side of the tump, on the north-east, has a gentle gradient designed for people to walk up to the top, whilst the other side is much steeper and presumably not designed for access. From the top of the tump, it is possible to see the entire of Ravenswood and towards Gainsborough and, on clear day, to Felixstowe in the east. Due to the prominence of the tump, one of the many pieces of community art is located here.

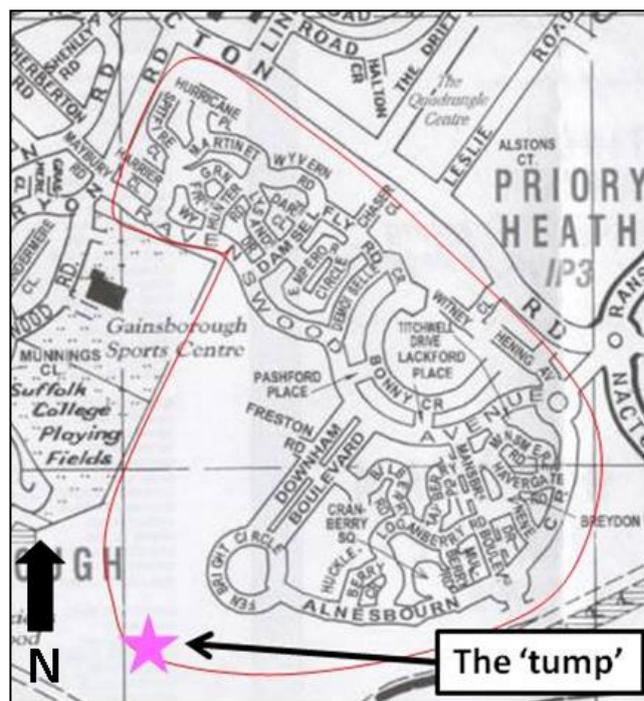


Figure 4: Location of the ‘tump’
(map adapted from Ipswich Street Map, date unknown)



Plate 12: The 'tump' (Source: Author, 2009)

Throughout the fieldwork, I witnessed young people, of various ages, on the tump. Presumably due to the secluded location, young people were also often seen drinking alcohol here. On another occasion, I observed a group of young people around the age of sixteen riding mopeds up and down the mound, using the steepest gradient as the ramp. As well as my observations, one of the Park Rangers, Keith Watson, who is responsible for the maintenance of Orwell Country Park, also mentioned how young people use the tump. He recalled how children and teenagers use the mound as an informal slide, using cardboard boxes to ride down the steepest side (Plate 13). Ironically, Ravenswood's public spaces appealed to both adults and children and in light of this were well-used especially by young people. However young people's appropriation of these spaces in unforeseen ways was considered problematic by Ravenswood residents and stakeholders. As discussed in Chapter 3 young people's use of public spaces in 'unexpected ways' is well-documented in academic literature, especially throughout debates in children's geographies (e.g. De Connick-Smith and Gutman, 2004; Ward, 1990). In Ravenswood, young people are regularly seen appropriating public spaces in ways that conflict with adult ideas about space use. Keith later went on to explain how young people in the area regularly built and dug ramps and ditches to ride bikes through (Plate 14). For those responsible for maintaining the open spaces in Ravenswood such behaviour in these spaces is seen as undesirable.



Plate 13: Evidence of The Tump's use by young people (Source: Author, 2009)



Plate 14: Ramp built by young people on the edge of Orwell Country Park, built for bikes and skateboards (Source: Author, 2009)

Later in this chapter it is shown how, given these feelings, adults actively sought to prevent young people from using public space. Despite the provision of public spaces for social interaction, public space use, especially by young people, is not seen as a positive characteristic of the neighbourhood, nor as contributing to 'productive' social interaction.

The use of community spaces in Ravenswood by young people has raised many similar arguments to those raised in Section 3.1. Spaces regularly occupied by young people are socially constructed as areas to be avoided and acquire reputations as sites for anti-social behaviour. Meanwhile young people using public space are considered to be 'out of place' and to be feared. This illustrates how space and the social identity of young people in Ravenswood are co-constructed. Indeed, it is suggested that all young people and their behaviour in Ravenswood's public spaces are homogenised as unacceptable, despite some young people behaving in acceptable, although at times unexpected, ways. There is no doubt that some of the activities witnessed in Ravenswood, such as smearing faeces on play equipment, *is* unacceptable behaviour. However, it appears that in Ravenswood all young people's activities are grouped together as unacceptable when for some young people their mere presence is enough to result in accusations of anti-social behaviour (Millie, 2007, p617).

5.4.0 Young people as 'angels' and 'devils'

As examined in the previous section, young people's presence and behaviour in Ravenswood's public spaces is often reported by residents as 'inappropriate'. For example, residents regularly complained of young people gathering in public space, littering and vandalising play equipment, thus contrasting with the expectations both of residents and of policy. The social construction of individuals as deviant (Mitchell, 2003), or as 'monsters' (Ruddick, 2004, p24) as a result of their inappropriate, unusual or unexpected behaviour in public space is well-documented. Furthermore, Valentine (2004, p99) argues that young people are socially constructed according to either their presence or absence from public space. As discussed in Chapter 3, Valentine's social construction of young people centres upon a binary conceptualisation, where they are seen as either 'angels' or 'devils' (e.g. Valentine, 1996b, p581). It is when a young person does not fulfil our behavioural expectations and by being in public space that they are socially constructed as a 'devil', this can be further enhanced by perceptions of their inappropriate behaviour. So again we see that young people who occupy public space in Ravenswood are seen as 'devils' and are unwanted in the public sphere. In contrast, young people who are absent from public space in Ravenswood are generally considered to be 'angels', and therefore innocent. Moreover, public space in Ravenswood is considered unsuitable for them (Valentine, 2004, p585). This section examines the social construction of young people who are both present and absent from public space in Ravenswood, along with the nuances of this social construction.

5.4.1 The social construction of young people as 'devils'

The social construction of young people using public space in Ravenswood as devils is developed both from adults' own experiences of young people in public space, as well as residents' conversations with one another. One resident, encountered during the one day street event, spoke very strongly about young people who use public spaces in Ravenswood. She told me how in the previous year she had moved into one of the airport terminal apartments after her retirement. As previously discussed in Section 5.3.2 of this chapter, residents reported the regular gathering of young people around Ravenswood's shopping precinct and medical centre, close to the former airport terminal. Her report of this contained emotive language, such as, 'feral youth', and later on 'scary', 'red-eyed', and 'wild children'. She then admitted that the presence of these 'gangs of youths' put her off leaving her home, even just to use the shops which she acknowledged to be only a two minute walk away. This example shows how the social construction of the young people who are using spaces in Ravenswood as 'devils' impacts on how other people choose to use public space in the neighbourhood, thus echoing debates in the existing anti-social behaviour literature that discuss how some behaviour restricts the use of spaces by others (Millie, 2008, p381). The impact on social mix is the undermining of aspirations for young people to be the initiators of social interaction and mixing in their communities. Moreover, it also illustrates how young people's presence ensures that spaces are not used by all residents, despite public spaces being seen as sites of celebratory encounters.

An interesting observation for this study is that, young people using public space in Ravenswood were assumed by many residents to be from *other* areas and *not* Ravenswood. Residents believed that young people occupying public spaces were from the neighbouring housing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. As outlined in Chapter 4, both of these estates were built after the Second World War by the local authority and still today remain predominantly areas of social housing. For many Ravenswood residents, especially those living in private housing, the knowledge that residents of the neighbouring estates were living in social housing, gave them sufficient grounds to assume that any anti-social behaviour witnessed in Ravenswood must be caused by young people from these neighbouring residential areas. These assumptions came despite Ravenswood being a mixed tenure development. Andrew Parkinson who lived on Bonny Crescent, and had witnessed young people's 'inappropriate' use of Ravenswood's village green, commented on his perceptions:

'I always assumed that the anti-social behaviour from unpleasant youths always came from the Gainsborough Estate; that was always my assumption'.

Andrew Parkinson, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

It is clear that it is not only the presence of young people in public space that results in their social construction as unpleasant, but also their perceived origin. Valentine (2004) also believes that whether young people are cast as 'angels' or 'devils' can depend on various factors including ethnicity, gender, age and place of residence. However space, in her opinion, remains key. Surprisingly, in Ravenswood at no point did any adult resident refer to other possible characteristics, including age, as a means of identifying a young person as an 'angel' or 'devil', rather their focus remained on their *presence* and *behaviour* in public space, as well as their *perceived place of origin*. Elias and Scotsman (1994) in their study of Winston Parva also recounted how people in a community were divided and seen as 'other' according to their place of residence. This included the shunning of young people who lived on the 'wrong' side of the community. Here, in Ravenswood, as elsewhere in Britain, local authority or social housing is associated with the working class, with the working class often regarded as 'deviant' (Skeggs, 1997, p3). It therefore follows that working class housing areas have become associated with deviant behaviour (Allen *et al*, 2007, p241). According to Skeggs (1997) all behaviours serve to identify an individual's social group. Therefore behaviour operates as a 'signifier of class' (Skeggs, 1997, p4). Furthermore, pre-existing ideas, or stereotypes, about different people, including those from different housing areas, tenures or classes, work to further deepen ideas of difference or 'otherness' (Clope *et al*, 1999, p339), as witnessed in Ravenswood.

On this basis, it is contended that young people in Ravenswood are socially constructed on the basis of their presence in public spaces and assumed membership of the neighbouring working class areas. That said, this process of social construction as a 'devil' as witnessed in Ravenswood is not a linear a process as Valentine's 'angel' and 'devil' concept might suggest. Rather, the pre-existing identities or stereotypes of residents of social housing areas also work to construct young people as devils, who are consequently seen as devils when in public space. Rather, many characteristics work together to construct young people in Ravenswood as devils and that these are co-constructed and nuanced. Moreover, in Ravenswood the wider context is influential in the construction of young people occupying spaces in Ravenswood. The importance of the wider context is revisited throughout this thesis.

Andrew was not alone in his ideas about ‘unpleasant’ young people in Ravenswood. Sonia Cavanagh, who spoke about young people’s use of Martinet Green, suggested that the young people causing the trouble were, in her view, from the neighbouring residential areas. On a number of the questionnaire responses, residents also made links between young people’s inappropriate use of public spaces and the neighbouring housing areas. One resident explained how they ‘feel intimidated by groups of teenagers hanging around’ and went on to say ‘I just know they are from Gainsborough Estate which has a label of being a bit rough’. Others used quite derogatory language to describe young people from Gainsborough spending time in Ravenswood. For instance, one interviewee described them as ‘bloody scallies’. Meanwhile, another questionnaire respondent described teenagers from Gainsborough as ‘chavs’, justifying their claim by listing the inappropriate behaviour of these young people, which included racing motorbikes and scooters around Ravenswood and causing late-night noise and trouble for the police. These ‘inappropriate’ behaviours are again operating as signifiers of social group membership, or, in Ravenswood as signifiers of place of residence.

5.4.2 The social construction of young people as ‘angels’

On the other hand some young people in Ravenswood were constructed as ‘angels’ (Valentine, 1996b; 2004) by residents. Most notably, and unsurprisingly, Ravenswood residents who had children spoke about their children as innocent and vulnerable or as ‘angels’. For them this meant their children were in need of protection and care, as opposed to the ‘unpleasant’ young people who were unwanted, dangerous and to be avoided. These concerns particularly focused upon their children’s exposure to certain types of behaviour, such as bullying and bad language. Sonia Cavanagh spoke about her worries for her children observing ‘not very nice behaviour’, and overhearing inappropriate language used by young people in the development’s public spaces. Another resident, David Neagle also expressed worries about his children’s vulnerability. Both of David’s teenage sons, William and Thomas, attended a local fee paying boarding school, and David had bought their house in Ravenswood as it was close to the school for the boys’ weekend visits. It was important for David that both his sons still had a ‘normal’ up-bringing. For David this meant that the boys went out by themselves exploring on their bikes. He later discussed how he had been quite surprised about how adventurous and far-field the boys went by themselves, and to an extent this did worry him. David specifically worried about *whom* William and Thomas might meet when they are out alone and how they would cope:

'I don't think that William and Thomas are street wise enough, that is the problem. And I don't think they would recognise the differences between various people and perhaps would need to be a little bit more on guard. Yeah I am just trying to think of an example. Like, they wouldn't be aware if someone was taking the piss out of them because they are not nasty kids. They are not the bullying type and they have probably never experienced the school that I went to - where you had to be on guard. You know what I mean? They are not aware of that, so I don't think their ability to pick up on those signals would be there. They would fall foul of it; the unwritten rule so to speak. That is probably the only reason I would feel uncomfortable with it - in the fact that they wouldn't be aware that they were being taken for a ride.'

David Neagle, Resident Interview, 2nd July 2009.

Unlike David, some parents were so concerned about their children's vulnerability that they prevented them from spending time in public spaces in Ravenswood altogether. Lawrence Irving, who was one of the first residents to move into Ravenswood, expressed his views on young people in the local area. He explained that due to 'youths from Gainsborough', who he unrelentingly believed were always up to no good, he did not let either of his two daughters play outside in the neighbourhood unaccompanied. With this in mind, it is contended that Ravenswood children are constructed as 'angels' and therefore denied independent access to public space. This significant, but commonly witnessed consequence of this social construction (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p5; James and Jenks, 1996, p318; James *et al*, 1998, p29), is rationalised by the desire to protect these young people from harm.

Claire and Andrew Parkinson, who live in a privately owned home on Bonny Crescent with their two daughters, saw not only young people from the neighbouring estates as a threat but also the children living in Ravenswood's social housing as a threat. Claire spoke about how she did not want her children to associate with other children in the neighbourhood unless they were in the same 'situation' to them, in that they lived in private housing. This anecdote points towards feelings of difference amongst people living in different tenures rather than housing areas as previously discussed. Furthermore, as introduced in Chapter 2, Bourdieu's idea of habitus, as a way to understand social differences (Maton, 2008, p55), helps to explain Claire's desire to align herself and her daughters with others in a similar situation or social group. Habitus, which Bourdieu perceives to be formed from a semi-unique combination of capital

(Moore, 2008. p115), is understood to determine the individual's patterns of thought and behaviour (Webb *et al*, 2002, p115). More specifically, Bourdieu argues that individuals always seek to associate themselves with others who possess a similar habitus, or capital combination (Bourdieu, 1984, p36 cited in Moore, 2008 p107). Individuals can possess (in varying degrees) four different types of capital; *economic* (income and assets), *cultural* (e.g. education), *symbolic* (e.g. legitimised cultural capital) and lastly *social* (e.g. social group membership and networks) (Moore, 2008). In the context of Ravenswood, Claire is keen to associate with others who own their own home, a form of economic capital. Claire's desire is in direct conflict with the aspirations of social mix policy which promotes social interaction amongst those possessing qualities of difference, or as Bourdieu understands, different habitus.

5.4.3 Young people's own perceptions of 'angels' and 'devils'

The fieldwork also revealed that young people are not only socially constructed by adults but also by their peers – other young people. In many cases these constructions echoed adult social constructions. Most notably, young people socially constructed themselves as angels but often saw other unfamiliar young people as devils. Furthermore, on a number of occasions, young people socially constructed other children according to their perceived origin.

Within the questionnaire designed for young people, one of the questions asked respondents to mark on the map places they liked and disliked in and around Ravenswood. One respondent, a girl aged fifteen years old, identified Gainsborough as a place that she did not like. Alongside this she explained her reasons. She described 'youth from Gainsborough' as responsible for loud and bad behaviour such as vandalism. It was clear how this teenager living in Ravenswood made a connection between what she saw as inappropriate behaviour and young people from Gainsborough. This indicates strongly that this girl saw these other young people as different and arguably 'devils'.

This questionnaire respondent was not the only teenager living in Ravenswood who socially constructed young people from the neighbouring areas as a potential threat. Neil and Ellen Lomas, who lived opposite the large play area on the boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough, spoke about their teenage daughter Molly and her use of Ravenswood's public space. Ellen recalled how Molly always opted to use other play areas in Ravenswood despite living opposite the largest play facility in the neighbourhood. This was because Molly was

aware that other young people using the facility closest to the house were mainly from other areas, either Gainsborough or Priory Heath. Although Molly had never experienced any problems with these other young people, she preferred to use other facilities in order to avoid potential conflict. Again, it is evident that perceptions of some young people as different in Ravenswood's public spaces results in the active avoidance of those deemed to be different, or as Valentine suggests 'devils'.

Molly was not the only young person resident in Ravenswood who felt this way. Tony and Patricia Bainbridge, who lived in Ravenswood Avenue with their daughter Katherine, who was 15 years old at the time, recounted an incident which had left Katherine unwilling to venture into Ravenswood's public space alone:

Patricia: she [Katherine] had a scare once - she got chased by some rogues.

Tony: It was sort of a bizarre incident. I suspect it was about 4 years ago, something like that. She had a friend come and stay and they went down to the McDonalds down by the shops. What I would call the *chavs* were hanging around down there; it was a gang hanging around. They both got chased back home and I had to confront this gang outside our house. It did take a while to get rid of them. I had to tell them that if they did not disperse I would have to call the police. And they were quite abusive. It was intimidation. Katherine used to say that she didn't want to go near the play area on the boundary of Gainsborough; she wasn't keen on going up there particularly. [...] She didn't want to put herself in a difficult position, in case it got a bit nasty and it was a bit far for her to run back home. So I have to say that she tended only to go up there if one of us was with her.'

Tony and Patricia Bainbridge, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

The fieldwork also revealed that young people who lived in the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath also socially constructed young people from Ravenswood as different to themselves. On a visit to Ravenswood's weekly youth group, held at the Community Room attached to Ravenswood's primary school, Lorie the lead Youth Worker asked if I would like to speak to any of the young people attending the meeting. In response I suggested that it would be helpful to speak to anyone who lived in Ravenswood. Consequently, Lorie called out over the room 'Out of you guys, who lives in Ravenswood?' In unison the group replied, 'None of us, we are all the poor kids', which they followed by explaining that

they all lived in either Gainsborough or Priory Heath. This small anecdote illustrates how young people living in the adjoining residential areas to Ravenswood also socially construct themselves as different from those who actually live in Ravenswood. However, instead of socially constructing others as deviant and themselves as 'angels' their perceptions point towards a wealth based difference, perceiving other young people as *rich kids* and themselves as *poor kids*. Although only assumptions can be made to the exact existence of these social constructs, it could be suggested that this stems from the socio-economic differences between the two areas. These ideas will be revisited in Chapter 7 on Boundaries and social mix.

Not only did young people see different housing areas as a point of distinction, but they also saw age as a key signifier of difference. During a focus group with eight ten-to-eleven year olds from Ravenswood Community Primary School, the issue of age differences was raised on several occasions. As described in Chapter 4, at the focus group, participants were asked to mark with stickers on a large map of Ravenswood places they liked, places they used and places they did not like (See Figure 7, Chapter 4). Some of the children indicated Ravenswood's village green as a space they liked. However, and surprisingly, there were also a number of children who marked the green as somewhere they did not like. Given this I asked the children to explain their reasons.

Boy 1: 'One time when me and Reece were playing out there, these older people went passed and they done some stuff, like they were saying stuff to us, and that just freaked me out a bit'.

Kirsten: 'Were they grown-ups?'

Boy 1: 'No, I would say they were teenagers'

Boy 2: 'I am frightened of teenagers too, 'cause I have a brother that is 14'.

Ravenswood Primary School Focus Group, 1st July 2009

Young people feeling threatened by older children and teenagers was a recurring theme throughout the focus group session. As well as Ravenswood's village green, many children also indicated their dislike of the large play facility on the Ravenswood and Gainsborough boundary, mentioned previously in this chapter. Two children explained their reasons for this:

Boy: 'You can go there but then you can get bullied by other people. Some days people don't go there and [so] you and your friends can go there and have fun. But sometimes you go there and there are other people there, and you just don't want to go there when they are there'.

Girl: 'Teenagers go on it after school. I don't like that park because I was with my sister once, these people tied the gates together and so we couldn't get out, with a piece of rope, some teenagers did. [...] If they [teenagers] try and talk to you, you ignore them and cross the road and walk the other way and walk a different way. I am scared of them'.

[...]

Boy: I was with my friends and there were these teenagers around my house and he was on his scooter and there were these three teenagers there. And one of them treaded [*sic.*] on his foot and they ran after him'

Ravenswood Primary School Focus Group, 1st July 2009

Young people, much like adults, socially construct other young people as different from themselves and something to be avoided, arguably seeing them as devils. Again, these social constructions, much like adults, result in some young people's avoidance of certain spaces associated with 'others' or devils, providing further evidence for the co-construction of social and spatial identities. However, strikingly, young people also socially construct others on the basis of age, although adults make no reference to this. This divergence supports debates which increasingly recognise young people as having different ideas and perceptions to adults (e.g. Ward, 1990). Furthermore, it also highlights the fact that young people are not a homogenous group. Young people perceive differences amongst one another and, of significance for social mix policy, young people's perceptions and understandings of one another affect their social interaction. Social mix policy does not recognise possible differences between young people, such as age, rather it assumes young people to be a uniform social group. That said, national youth policy does recognise age difference as influential in young people's behaviour and social interaction practices. In my view this contrast between evidence and social mix policy strengthens arguments for young people to be involved in the development of planning policy.

5.5 Securing space against 'devils'

In Section 5.4.2 it was argued that Ravenswood parents socially construct their own children as 'angels' in direct contrast to other young people whom they see as 'devils'. In so doing they consider their children to be vulnerable and in need of protection. As shown, for many Ravenswood parents this meant limiting their child's access to public space. However, in addition, the research revealed that Ravenswood residents deployed a variety of tactics to secure public space against devils and, in so doing, claim Ravenswood as a place for Ravenswood residents exclusively. In Chapter 2 the concept of 'little Arnolds' was discussed (Mitchell, 2003, p14), whereby individuals call for the oppression of others in public space, especially the working-class. Here, it is contended that Ravenswood residents, especially those living in privately owned homes are 'little Arnolds'. They see the presence in Ravenswood's public spaces, of young people – who are assumed to be from elsewhere – as anarchic and requiring bringing into line with their ideas of right and wrong. Furthermore, in light of the literature discussed in Chapter 3 on *difference*, it is suggested that young people's parity of participation (Fraser, 2001, p29) is not ensured in Ravenswood. Indeed, throughout this section it is shown how the urban environment privileges some individuals over others, reflecting the power of different social groups (Ruddick, 1998, p345).

5.5.1 Direct action against young people's use of public space

5.5.1.1 Police

In order to deal with the perceived problem of 'devils' in the neighbourhood, residents mentioned how they called upon the police to help. By working closely with the police, Neil Lomas believed young people 'hanging out in Ravenswood' were encouraged to move elsewhere. Although he admitted that this solution was not ideal, as it resulted in a continuous cycle of moving young people on from one place to the next throughout the neighbourhood. The 'clean up' of children and youth from public space has increasingly been a focus of British policing (Breitbart, 1998, p307; White, 1996, p44) and Ravenswood is not unique in this approach. Furthermore, like other places, the interests of Ravenswood adults, or 'little Arnolds', are seen to be placed above young people who are regarded as undesirable. Daniel and Lewis, both fourteen, who attended Ravenswood's weekly youth group, spoke extensively about being asked to move elsewhere by the police. In their view all they were doing was hanging out with friends, 'just like all teenagers'. They even recalled how they were often asked to leave play areas in Ravenswood by residents and the police, on the grounds that they were too old to be spending time in a play area, even if they were occupying one of the play facilities

designed for older children. Regularly accused of anti-social behaviour, such as noise, littering, verbal abuse and stone throwing, Lewis said he felt Ravenswood residents would try anything to get the police to remove them from the neighbourhood. The boys were not the only young people who spoke about the police, and particularly the way they were asked to move elsewhere. A group of girls, also at the weekly youth night, spoke about being chased off the village green by the police because they were causing a nuisance to local residents. These anecdotes, albeit on a far smaller scale, are reminiscent of many well-reported public space clearances, such as the removal of 'undesirables' from Tompkins Square Park in New York (Neil, 1996, p3) and People's Park in Berkeley (Mitchell, 2003, p129), undermining their right to the city or their ability to fully participate in social life. In such cases, Ravenswood included, it is arguable that these actions are taken in the interests of capital and those owning property above all else. The complaints of Ravenswood residents were always heard and acted upon, whilst young people's plea for consideration that they were not misbehaving, along with their need for safe places to spend time, goes unheard. Moreover, as noted in Section 5.4.3, young people at Ravenswood's youth group were not from Ravenswood but rather the adjoining housing estates of Gainsborough and Priory Heath, both disadvantaged areas. Skelton (2000, p75) suggests that it is young people from such areas who are in most need of places to spend time, something policy recognises in principle (DCSF, 2008, p57).

To assist in the policing of Ravenswood, Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras were being used. However, unlike traditional CCTV systems, the cameras were not fixed in permanent positions, but instead were fitted to motorbikes (Plate 15) that were ridden throughout the development. Lynsey Wilkinson, who was the Head of the Greenspace Department at Ipswich Borough Council and responsible for the maintenance of public spaces, explained these CCTV cameras enabled them to take images anywhere, and at any time they felt they were needed in order to protect and secure public spaces against anti-social behaviour.



Plate 15: CCTV motorbike used in Ravenswood
(Source: Author, 2009)

Additionally, the local Park Ranger, Keith Watson hoped the mobile CCTV would lead to criminal convictions of individuals responsible for inappropriate behaviour in Ravenswood's public spaces. Here there is evidence to suggest that these actions to secure public space in Ravenswood from devils not only work to push young people out of space, but also to criminalise them and their behaviour, thereby legitimising the fears of adults. Towards the end of my discussion with Lewis and Daniel, two boys from Gainsborough, they revealed that due to the accusations of anti-social behaviour they now both had a police record.

Despite the intentions of Ravenswood residents, the persistent reporting of 'inappropriate' behaviour to the police in Ravenswood was seen as responsible for giving Ravenswood a poor reputation. PC Antony Gondoma highlighted how the high level of incident reports regarding anti-social behaviour in Ravenswood had resulted in the neighbourhood being identified as a 'problem area'. In his opinion, there were more incidents and problems elsewhere, it was just they did not get reported so frequently to the police. Here, the frequent reporting of behaviour in Ravenswood based on the desire to create an 'ideal' community, was in fact working to socially construct Ravenswood as a neighbourhood prone to disorder and deepening the divides between 'different' residents.

5.5.1.2 Residents confront 'devils'

As well as drawing on the local police, there was also evidence of residents using their own agency in order to secure public space in the neighbourhood against 'devils'. One resident, David Neagle, who has two teenage sons, explained how one evening a couple of young people from Gainsborough were 'mucking about' outside their lounge window whilst they were watching television. Enraged by their behaviour David recalled thinking 'well, I'll have you!'. Quickly leaving the house, he ran up the road after the two boys until he caught up with them. David explained how, much to the dislike of the two teenage boys, he escorted them home to inform their parents of their behaviour. Other residents also reported confronting young people who in their view were using public spaces in Ravenswood inappropriately. Neil Lomas who lives opposite the large play area on the boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough spoke about some of the experiences they had witnessed and his actions in response:

'...I walked out of my door and there was a girl spray painting the lamp post with a can of spray paint and I said 'what are you doing?' And I actually went and got some cleaning fluid and I made her wipe it off. And I said; 'If you can't clean it off then I am calling the police' - so that all caused a bit of an issue. [...] The worse scenario we ever had was we were sat one evening having a meal with some of our friends in the dining room, and a brick came through our window; smashed the window. So I legged it straight out of the house and got them! Got the children, brought them in here, sat them down. One of our friends is actually in the police; she sat them in the corner and told them this that and the other.'

Neil Lomas, Resident Interview, 14th October 2009.

Interestingly, all the residents who spoke about taking action against young people were home owners. Although residents never explicitly made the link between their actions and home ownership, academics working in this field have recognised how residents are easily mobilised into taking action when they feel their property is at threat (DeFilipps and North, 2004, p74).

It was not just adults who spoke about their direct action against children and teenagers using public spaces in Ravenswood. Young people also reported how individual residents had taken action against them. As well as his experiences with the police, Lewis recalled a number of incidents. On one occasion, he and some friends were just 'hanging out' on the village green, at that same time some advertisement flyers had been left on the grass. He recalled how some

residents stormed out of their homes, shouting at them and accusing them of littering. The residents then proceeded to take photographs of Lewis and his friends saying that they would send them to the police as proof of them littering. Lewis finished by commenting that the photographs were not proof of them littering, only evidence that they had been standing near litter.

In response to the well-documented use of policing and state force to secure public space against young people, some call for the use of self-regulatory management of public space (e.g. Hirst, 2000, p51). However, given the situation in Ravenswood it is proposed that the promotion of self-regulatory management runs the risk of allowing only some of the voices and concerns to be heard, most notably the voices of adults who are the most powerful. Therefore, only some community members have the power to dictate by whom and how space may be used. Furthermore, such approaches will lead to the criminalisation of behaviour, which although may be disliked, it is not necessarily criminal.

5.5.1.3 Neighbourhood Watch

As well as tackling 'devils' individually, residents also joined forces through the establishment of Neighbourhood Watch groups. At a Ravenswood Residents' Association Meeting, the chairman ran through some of the group's greatest achievements, proclaiming the establishment of several Neighbourhood Watch schemes as one. This can be evidenced throughout Ravenswood where Neighbourhood Watch signs can be seen in the development (Plate 16).



Image 16: Neighbourhood Watch sign along Bonny Crescent (Source: Author, 2013)

In other cases Ravenswood residents had been proactive in setting up their own Neighbourhood Watch schemes. Andrew and Claire Parkinson who live along Bonny Crescent spoke about how keen they were on a Neighbourhood Watch group. Their enthusiasm for the group started when they moved to their house and experienced what they perceived to be anti-social behaviour. Claire explained how, in conjunction with the local Community Support Officer, she had managed to establish a Bonny Crescent group. Again, Claire and Andrew saw this as an achievement and a key step in ensuring order was maintained along their street and on the village green.

PC Antony Gondoma also spoke about Neighbourhood Watch scheme uptake in Ravenswood. He explained how in Ravenswood there were far more schemes per household on average than in any other area of Ipswich. He believed Ravenswood residents were keen for Neighbourhood Watch groups, as they saw them as a means of tackling anti-social behaviour. Furthermore, he acknowledged that Neighbourhood Watch groups were most popular in areas of private housing, where residents felt they had a bigger investment in the area, and were therefore keen to ensure their neighbourhood had a good reputation. In contrast, in his opinion, those living in social housing in the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath had a

higher threshold to 'unruly young people', accepting it as a consequence of living in a more deprived area. This mirrors debates which argue that what is understood as acceptable and unacceptable behaviour varies from one area to another (Valentine, 2001, p179). Furthermore, social mix policy does not recognise, nor accommodate the variances between different groups and their understandings of appropriate public space use.

Residents elsewhere in Ravenswood had successfully joined forces and pursued issues of collective concern through Neighbourhood Watch groups. For instance, Tony and Patricia Bainbridge recalled how some of the initial residents in Ravenswood collectively fought for the relocation of a play area in Martinet Green, as they had concerns it would attract youths and encourage anti-social behaviour. In Tony and Patricia's opinion this campaign was responsible for developing 'community spirit', as through working together residents got to know one another. As outlined in Section 5.1, planning policy, aspires to the creation of 'community spirit', believed to be achievable through designing and building inclusive community spaces. A sense of community was achieved in Ravenswood but, ironically, via residents sharing a desire to exclude a group of individuals, in this case young people.

5.5.2 The treatment of space

As well as the range of direct mechanisms used to secure spaces in Ravenswood against perceived 'devils', the physical nature of public places were also adapted in order to prevent or deter young people from using these spaces. As noted in Section 5.3, design features in Ravenswood, particularly the provision of secluded and sheltered places was considered to be an attraction for young people, or 'devils', and encouraged them to gather in these spaces. For many Ravenswood residents this was seen as a problem. Given this, the fieldwork revealed how residents, or 'little Arnolds' (Mitchell, 2003, p14), fought for spaces to be altered, in ways that deterred or prevented young people's use. Recognition of the role which space and urban design has to play in building inclusive but also exclusive communities is well debated and outlined in Chapter 2 (Flusty, 2001; Massey, 2007, p5; Miller, 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Smith, 1996; Staehali *et al*, 2002; Van Deusen, 2002).

5.5.2.1 Removal of existing features

Throughout the research study, both residents and those working within Ravenswood spoke about the removal of features in the development on the basis that young people were attracted to them. Whilst visiting the Ravenswood Youth Night, I had the opportunity to speak to the two youth workers, Lorie and Dillon, who run the weekly group. In their view, Ravenswood residents neither tolerated nor understood young people. To highlight their point, Lorie mentioned how in order to deter young people from ‘hanging out’ in Ravenswood, residents insisted that the council remove a number of public benches throughout the neighbourhood, specifically mentioning two benches that used to be located outside the primary school. Others also spoke about the removal of benches, the justification of which was the deterring of young people. John Keeling, one of the Park Rangers, described the reasons for removing a bench outside the large play area between Ravenswood and Gainsborough. He recalled how on locking up the play facility in the evenings, young people would just move and sit on the bench outside. Eventually, however the nearby residents requested that the benches were removed. The bench had since been relocated to the Orwell Country Park (Plate 17).



Plate 17: Bench removed to Orwell Country Park (Source: Author, 2009)

The orchestrated removal of features in the built environment on the grounds that young people would congregate near such amenities illustrates adult dominance in public space and furthermore supports arguments that public space has and continues to reflect those with the most power (Van Deusen, 2002, p157). This process of exclusion echoes many writers’ concerns about the inability of all community members to fully access the social world; in Ravenswood young people’s right to the city (Marcuse, 2009, p193) or parity of participation (Fraser, 2001,

p29) is being denied, reflecting Ruddick's concerns about the oppression of marginalised groups in public space. Moreover, the systematic management of public space through the removal of benches illustrates residents' revenge (Smith, 1996) against those constructed as devils. Ravenswood is an *Interdictory Space* (Flusty, 2001), whereby space is adapted to exclude those deemed as unwanted.

More benches were also removed from Sloeberry Road following a resident petition to Ipswich Borough Council. Designed as a Home Zone, Sloeberry Road was intended to favour social activity and pedestrians, including young people's use, over vehicle use, a principle commonly associated with New Urbanism. With this in mind, Home Zones use street furniture to both encourage social interaction and activity, and to slow vehicles down. A band stand structure (Plate 18) with several benches beneath was built in the centre of Sloeberry Road. However, after young people made use of this space, residents requested that the benches, at least, were removed to render it less attractive for young people to congregate. This research reveals that not only do residents seek to push devils out of public space but also surprisingly betrays residents' dislike of design features which they feel will attract young people into the public domain. Instead of viewing benches, which have been built for encouraging social interaction, as an attribute to neighbourhood space, they are seen as source of anxiety for Ravenswood residents.



Plate 18: 'Band stand' in HomeZone, previous location of benches
(Source: Author, 2009)

Individual residents also spoke about concerns surrounding environmental features and young people. Neil Lomas who lives opposite the large play area between Ravenswood and Gainsborough, retold his campaign to have a bus shelter removed from outside his home. As a potential buyer, Neil noticed that a bus shelter had been built directly outside the lounge window, but on his request the developers agreed to have it relocated elsewhere. When revisiting the property, Neil discovered that a different bus shelter had consequently been built outside his future home but on the opposite side of the road. Neil recounted how frustrated he became, arguing with the developers that it would be a 'congregation area'. In his opinion, bus shelters were often vandalised and used by young people to sit and 'hang out'. Eventually, both bus shelters were relocated further away from Neil's home. Not only does this story support previous arguments about the perceptions and treatment of young people but it also reveals how one individual has the power to determine the location of a public facility, such as a bus stop, reflecting the power given to home ownership and economic capital (Miller, 2002, p140; White, 1996, p45) to control public space. Furthermore, managed spaces or interdictory spaces serve the desires of home buyers in Ravenswood, in other words, those with the greatest power.

5.5.2.2 Alterations to existing features

In addition to the removal of features, some places had been altered in order to deter 'devils' from spending time there. Derek Cotterill, the local authority's Project Officer who oversaw the development of Ravenswood spoke about a number of changes made based on fears about young people congregating in particular areas. As noted in Chapter 4, throughout Ravenswood the developers had installed numerous large scale public art works, provided on the basis that they would foster a sense of community and pride in the neighbourhood. However the siting of some of the pieces was not without difficulty. One piece selected for the development was a large granite propeller (Plate 19) chosen to represent the previous use of the site as an airfield. Initially, the propeller was to be positioned in the centre of the village green. However, after residents raised concerns about young people gathering on the art work, its position was reconsidered and is now located just off the village green. The Ravenswood Residents' Association also mentioned this, claiming it as an important achievement of the group. The provision of features such as public art was provided on the basis of developing community spirit, yet ironically, these features in Ravenswood became issues of conflict. Much like the previous section, the alteration of features in Ravenswood illustrates adults' spatial dominance in public space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p84). Throughout the fieldwork there was

Youth in the mix

evidence of 'little Arnolds' controlling space in Ravenswood with the aim of increasing its desirability, however, it seems this was done at the expense of subordinating others (Flusty, 2001, p663).



Plate 19: Ravenswood Propeller artwork (Source: Author, 2009)

The treatment of environmental sustainability features also reflects this. Ravenswood was built with Sustainable Urban Drainage systems (SUDs). In appearance they look like ditches that could be found in rural areas, but here their role is to manage surface water run-off. Over the course of the research, from both interviews and from personal observation, it was clear that young people found these attractive places to spend time, using them as informal play areas for ball games and to ride bicycles. Lynsey Wilkinson, the Head of Greenspace, was well aware of young people's use of the drainage basins and she recognised that they were 'natural play spaces'. However as a result of children playing in these spaces, she had received complaints from residents living near to SUDs. In response, shrubs were planted in some of the SUDs to deter children's use of these spaces. Once again, features had been consciously re-designed to discourage children and teenagers' use at the request of adults.

In some cases, spaces were modified to ensure that access was denied at certain times of the day. The large play area situated between Ravenswood and Gainsborough was adapted to ensure that young people could not access the facility in the evenings. Once again, Ravenswood Residents Association saw this as one of their greatest triumphs. Since the opening of the play

area, residents, with support from the residents' association, complained about the behaviour of young people using the site which was discussed in Section 5.3.1 of this chapter. As a result of these complaints a ten foot high fence, which is locked in the evenings, was installed (Plate 20). Lynsey Wilkinson at Greenspace argued that the fence was there to ensure that neighbouring properties did not suffer from noise caused by young people later on in the day. The actions taken by the local authority to close off the play facility were once again justified purely on the basis of protecting the interests of adults and property owners. No account is taken of what happens as a result of these spaces being closed off to young people (Ruddick, 1998, p346). Many argue that inevitably young people will be pushed into marginal, even dangerous spaces (Matthews *et al*, 2000, p290; Ruddick, 1998, p350). A core space for the practice of 'mixing' is closed down.



Plate 20: Fence around play area (Source: Author, 2009)

5.5.2.3 Reaction against future design features

Throughout the fieldwork it also became clear how residents had been proactive in preventing some built environment features from ever being installed, again rationalised by fears about the use and behaviour of 'devils'. Derek Cotterill, an officer from Ipswich Borough Council, spoke about resident action against play areas that were planned throughout the estate. Martinet Green, a predominantly privately owned street, initially had plans for a play facility (Plate 21). However, the plans were discarded and the equipment added to a larger facility elsewhere after a residents' campaign. The campaigners argued that they were not informed of the location of the play area before they bought their homes and would not have chosen to live

opposite a play area had the information been available. Here, the power attributed to the homeowners' capabilities to overturn the developer's and local council's plans for the development are clear. Furthermore, much like the alteration and removal of other neighbourhood features mentioned previously, the provision of community spaces, which aim to support community cohesion, are fundamentally undermined when public spaces become for some, a form of conspicuous consumption (Lees, 2003, p614). The various public spaces in Ravenswood not only provide a facility for residents, but form part of the neighbourhood's attractiveness and identity; inevitably carrying an economic value. For this reason many homeowners, or 'little Arnolds', seek to employ control over space in Ravenswood in order to manage the social actions that occur in the neighbourhood.



Plate 21: Proposed site for play equipment in Martinet Green
(Source: Author)

As discussed in Section 5.2, Ravenswood's master plan gave much attention to community focused public spaces. One of these, the village green in the centre of the estate, was to be the location of a cricket pitch and pavilion and be the home to the neighbourhood's own cricket team. Despite being justified in the master plan as a means of ensuring community spirit and cohesion, Ravenswood residents took a different view. Patricia Bainbridge explained how in her opinion the pavilion would just be a place 'for people to congregate'. Neil Lomas echoed this, and added his concerns about a cricket pavilion on the village green probably being 'torched' by local youths. Patricia also spoke about a plan for a pond to be located on the edge of the village green. She laughed and said 'but they [council] quickly forgot that one, because the youths would be pushing one another in the pond all the time'. Both Patricia and Neil

commented on how these ideas, for the cricket pavilion and the pond, were soon cut short, thanks to the intervention of the residents, who foresaw how the space would be used by those they considered as devils – young people. Despite the proliferation of government policy that promotes community cohesion, it seems that not all social groups, including Ravenswood residents, embrace such policy initiatives (Lees, 1998, p238). Instead, play parks and neighbourhood facilities such as the community cricket pavilion are actively fought against. Furthermore, these insights provide supplementary evidence of the spatial domination of adults over young people in the public domain.

Overall, this chapter argues that the rhetoric of policy which supports the provision of ‘convivial’ open spaces has a fundamental flaw in that there is little consideration of the potential, and some would argue, inevitable conflict that will arise from ‘different’ people occupying a space (DeFilipps and North, 2004, p84; Lees, 1998, p238; Lees and Demeritt, 1998, p248). In Ravenswood difference exists in various ways - tenure, age or neighbourhood. As the simultaneous use of public space by different social groups is seen as key in the success of social mix policy, the fieldwork reveals how this is persistently undermined, ultimately challenging policy ambitions.

5.5.3 Diversion tactics

As well as the use of mechanisms to either push out or deter ‘devils’ from public space in Ravenswood, there were attempts to divert them into other activities. Diversion tactics have received a great deal of attention in government policy responses to anti-social behaviour (Millie, 2009, p163) and Ravenswood’s local police force welcomed diversion tactics. Police Constable Antony Gondoma spoke at length about groups either in Ravenswood or nearby which they, as a police force, supported. For Antony, all activities which encouraged young people ‘to keep off the streets’ and be elsewhere were in his view a benefit for the community, because when young people were ‘hanging’ around on streets and in parks, they were likely to end up in trouble or at the very least annoy local residents.

One of these groups was the youth night held every Thursday evening at the Community Room attached to Ravenswood Community Primary School. Stuart Banto, a Youth Worker from Suffolk County Council, oversaw all the different state funded youth groups in the south-east of Ipswich and was responsible for setting up the youth group in Ravenswood. When I met Stuart

he recalled how Ravenswood's youth night was established in direct response to anti-social behaviour complaints from the local residents. Given this, the remit of the group was to divert young people, aged between thirteen and nineteen, away from engaging in possible anti-social behaviour on the streets. Each session was free to attend and completely flexible in that young people could come and go as they pleased. During each session young people could also chose exactly what they wanted to do, whether that was browse the internet or play computer games. Since the establishment of the group, Stuart reported a decline in resident complaints. Keith Watson, a Park Ranger, also believed that levels of anti-social behaviour and vandalism in Ravenswood's public spaces had dropped as a direct result of this weekly youth night. The improvements witnessed in Ravenswood reflect a government policy entitled *Aiming High for Young People* (HM Treasury and DCSF, 2007, p17) which stated the benefits of engaging young people in 'positive activities' as a means of tackling anti-social behaviour.

As well as the weekly youth night, Ipswich Borough Council ran youth activities during the holidays named Doorstep Play. The scheme was established in response to the increased levels of anti-social behaviour reported during the holiday periods. Doorstep play sessions were all free and usually based around sports and physical activities. Oliver Massey who worked for Ipswich Borough Council as a Sports Development Officer, organised and managed the scheme. He recalled how for a number of years they had been running weekly holiday sessions in Ravenswood, in response to reports of anti-social behaviour.

In addition to these state led youth activities, independent organisations also established youth activities in Ravenswood with the aim of diverting young people from anti-social behaviour, and of resolving, existing behaviour concerns. This is not unique to Ravenswood. Millie (2009, p163) acknowledges the role of such organisations in this agenda which have emerged in response to anti-social behaviour concerns seen as a result of 'boredom' amongst local young people. As noted in Chapter 4, on the boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough there is a sports complex which was built before Ravenswood (Plate 22). Contained in this complex is Pipers Vale Gymnastics Centre, which had set up a weekly youth night on a Friday evening. At the centre I spoke to Chris Hall, the Centre Manager, who explained how the weekly event began.

'On a Friday night in particular we had big problems outside; outside our centre and outside the Gainsborough sports centre, which is what we are attached to, with young

people about 12, 13 [years old], drinking, quite heavily and being abusive, physically and verbally abusive to members of the public - squaring up to them, damage to cars, damage to vehicles etc, etc. And on several occasions we kept calling the police, to move them on. But then all you ended up with was more next week causing the same sort of problem. It just seemed to antagonise them, rather than solve the problem. So I came up with an idea; 'ok let's not move them on, let's try something constructive with them, and invite them into the centre and see what happens'. So, our youth night was born, for that particular reason, to try and curb the problems outside. [...] And the problems outside basically stopped; there was no more drinking, no more kids outside...'

Chris Hall, Pipers Vale Gymnastic Centre Manager, 10th June 2009.



Image 22: Pipers Vale Gymnastics Centre – location for weekly youth night (Source: Author, 2013)

This weekly youth night appeared to be both well-received and successful as the number of young people attending the youth night soon reached around 60. Writers in this field (e.g. Millie, 2009) believe that the success of independent groups in organising diversion activities is due to the tolerance and respect shown to young people by local community members. Nevertheless, the use of diversionary measures in Ravenswood was in every case mobilised through adult concerns over young people's presence and behaviour in public spaces, rather than as a result of young people's requests for more local activities. Furthermore, such youth projects are seen as a means of separating young people from the public domain. White (1996) sees this as a common material consequence of expressing difference between social groups (p38). However, it can also be argued that these spaces, despite their origins and intentions, did

provide a place, even if temporarily, where young people – their presence and behaviour - was celebrated. That said, there is little evidence to suggest that these places were sites for social mixing within Ravenswood. For instance, the weekly youth night held at Ravenswood's Community group was only attended by young people from Gainsborough and Priory Heath and the Gymnastics Youth Night had a very large catchment area, with young people from all over Ipswich attending.

5.5.4 Young people's resistance

As discussed in some detail in Chapter 3, despite the dominance over young people in public space there is evidence that young people attempt to resist this through practising their own agency (Skelton, 2000, p90; Valentine, 2004, p84). On this basis, it would be unfair to ignore the fact that some young people in Ravenswood also resisted the attempts made to push them out of public space.

Previously I discussed the various tactics used by residents to clear Ravenswood's public space of young people or 'devils'. This included taking direct action to remove them as well as making adaptations to the built environment to deter its use by young people. One resident, Neil Lomas, acknowledged some limitations to these approaches. He explained how relying on the police to remove young people only worked for so long, as young people soon returned to the same places. This behaviour of young people is also acknowledged in the academic literature. Matthews *et al* (2000, p290) are also aware that young people persistently return to the spaces they are pushed out from, thus illustrating their spatial dominance. John Keeling, a Park Ranger responsible for locking up the play area each evening between Ravenswood and Gainsborough, spoke at length about how young people resisted being moved out of the play facility. He recounted how one evening when locking up as usual, instead of moving out of the play area a number of teenagers 'started' on him. These incidents show how young people resist the attempts made to prevent or deter them from using public space in Ravenswood, thereby illustrating their own agency.

There is also evidence that young people understood their own right to occupy public space in the neighbourhood. One teenager, Lewis, recounted various stories of Ravenswood residents confronting him and his friends whilst they were just 'hanging out' and requesting that they move elsewhere. He explained to me how, on numerous occasions, he had told these residents

that he and his friends had the 'right to be there' like anyone else, especially as they were not causing any trouble. Here I argue that not only is there evidence that young people resisted attempts to move them out of space but young people expressed a strong belief about their right to occupy public space in Ravenswood. The adoption of such civil rights language is also noted by Lees (2003) when she explored public space use by young people in Portland, Maine (p627). Although subtle in Ravenswood, compared to other places where more controversial methods were adopted, there is evidence of young people's resistance to the various exclusionary measures adopted in Ravenswood, thereby expressing, that public space is theirs too (White, 1996, p45). Public space in Ravenswood is therefore a site of struggle and conflict.

5.6 Conclusion

As detailed in this thesis, public space is seen as essential in supporting the social mix agenda. More specifically, community open spaces in residential areas are envisaged as sites of conviviality and places for social interaction. As young people are seen as catalysts for social mixing, their use of public space is seen as particularly important. This chapter has aimed to address the second research question which explores this idea, to see whether young people use public space in a mixed tenure neighbourhood in the way that policy imagines. The empirical evidence presented in this chapter highlights a number of limitations to this aspiration. In Ravenswood the presence of young people in public space was perceived by many Ravenswood residents as 'inappropriate', reinforcing existing academic debates that suggest young people are not welcome in the public domain (Shacknell *et al*, 2008, p33). Consequently, the chapter argued that young people in public space were socially constructed as 'devils' (Valentine, 1996b, p581). Exacerbating this construction, evidence showed not only how young people's presence in the public domain caused this construction, but also the variety of unexpected ways that young people appropriate space in Ravenswood. Moreover, and crucial for this research study, these social constructions of 'devils' were further entrenched by perceptions over *where* these young people were from. Often without direct evidence, it was assumed that young people responsible for 'inappropriate' behaviour in Ravenswood were from the neighbouring residential areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. By contrast, those young people who were from Ravenswood, or absent from public space, were socially constructed as 'angels'. In light of this, the thesis argues that the social construction of young people, as either 'angels' or 'devils' is not an entirely linear process, as the existing literature suggests, depending upon either their presence or absence from public space. Rather perceptions about young people's presence, behaviour and place of origin are all

co-constructed. In Ravenswood pre-existing ideas or stereotypes frame residents' understandings of Ravenswood as well as other neighbourhoods, often centring upon notions of tenure. Residents living in predominantly social housing areas, such as the adjoining neighbourhoods to the case study are seen as 'deviant' (Allen *et al*, 2007, p241; Skeggs, 1997, p3), in contrast to Ravenswood residents. Ultimately as the remainder of the chapter showed, the material consequences of these social constructions worked to keep 'different' groups of young people apart in Ravenswood, minimising the opportunity for social mixing and thereby undermining the aspirations of the social mix agenda.

As well as the dualistic social construction of young people, the empirical data showed how public spaces within Ravenswood, were socially constructed as threatening, dangerous and places to avoid due to their use by 'devils'. This provides further evidence that social and spatial identities are co-constructed (Valentine, 2001, p5). Furthermore and with regards to the central concern of this thesis, these negative social constructions of Ravenswood's public space resulted in spaces envisaged by policy as sites for social interaction to be actively avoided. Crucially, this worked to further undermine the aspirations for young people to be initiators of social mixing in neighbourhood spaces in a mixed tenure community. As shown and the beginning of this chapter, social mix policy gives little, if any, critical thought to the possible material consequences of both social and spatial identities.

Given the social construction of young people present in public space, systematic tactics were deployed to either remove, or exclude young people from occupying these spaces. Ravenswood's community space therefore, became an exclusionary space or *Interdictory Space* (Flusty, 2001, p659), rather than a space of conviviality. The thesis argues that the desire to cleanse public space of young people was pursued by those with the most power, most notably home-owners. In so doing young people's parity of participation or right to the city in Ravenswood was denied. These interdictory tactics included: direct action by both the police and residents, alterations to the built environment, and diversionary tactics. This is further evidence that young people are not wanted in Ravenswood's public spaces and importantly are not given the opportunity to use public space for social mixing as social mix policies envisage.

It is a criticism of social mix policy and similar diversity agendas that these limitations and challenges are not acknowledged (Lees and Demeritt, 1998, p348), by assuming that different people will co-inhabit public space without conflict, when in practice it would seem that

insurmountable differences prevent positive social encounters (Arthuson, 2012, p111). As well as highlighting this failure to recognise the power of some in a community to control and dominate both others and public space, this thesis also raises concerns about social mix policy's unquestioned assumption that the most privileged in a community will behave in a positive way towards social mixing. As the evidence presented in this chapter shows, this is not the case in Ravenswood. Home-owners went to great efforts to ensure public space was kept free of 'devils', and that features of the built environment which may prove to be attractive to young people were limited. Ravenswood home-owners pursue a public space idyll, whereby community spaces are preserved for appearance, and potential nuisances are limited, arguably in the pursuit of maintaining house prices and personal investment.

Having said this, there was evidence presented which indicates that social interaction did occur as the result of young people. However, rather than being the catalysts to social interaction young people or 'devils' became the common enemy amongst Ravenswood residents. Ravenswood residents reported how they united with one another under the desire to promote the exclusion of young people from public spaces in the neighbourhood. That said, and although evidence is limited, it would appear that the residents involved in this activity were all home-owners, and so restricted the possibilities for social mixing. For instance members of the Ravenswood Residents' Association who lead campaigns for the closure and removal of various neighbourhood features were all home-owners.

Although undeniably beyond the scope of this chapter, a number of moral questions have arisen from the empirical data presented. As outlined in Chapter 2, Lefebvre takes a normative stance by arguing that everyone has a *right to the city*, whereby all members of a community regardless of their class, income, gender, ethnicity and age will have the right to access and shape space. As noted earlier this does not appear to be the case in Ravenswood. More specifically, for young people who come from lower income households, such as those living in the adjoining neighbourhoods to Ravenswood, they are more likely to be prohibited from accessing semi-public leisure activities (Ward, 1990, p3), such as youth and sport clubs, due to admission fees. In these cases it is arguable that access to public space takes on extra importance. A further moral question surrounds the consequences of young people's treatment in Ravenswood's public spaces. As shown here, young people constructed as 'devils' in Ravenswood were either removed or denied access to Ravenswood's public spaces. As a result it would seem that these young people were pushed out into 'marginal' spaces. In

Youth in the mix

practice this often meant that young people retreated to less overlooked spaces, such as the Orwell Country Park, where there were fewer possibilities for conflict. It might be argued that this consequence of neighbourhood social mix policy places these young people at greater risk.

Chapter 6: Schooling choices for Ravenswood residents

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, beyond the importance of public space in the social mix agenda, services such as schools, shops and community centres are also seen as vital. The social mix vision considers such places as additional sites where social interaction can be initiated and maintained amongst individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds. This chapter will specifically focus on schools in the case study area of Ravenswood, with specific reference to patterns of schooling choice made by Ravenswood residents. In doing this, the chapter addresses the third research question by evaluating the role played by schools in ensuring a cohesive community in a mixed tenure neighbourhood. The prominence given to schooling patterns in this thesis reflects the importance placed on the concern of those who participated in the research study.

In order to explore the role of schooling in Ravenswood, this chapter will begin with a brief overview of policy's vision for school use in a mixed tenure development, and the role it is believed this will have in developing 'successful communities'. Following this, the chapter will introduce the various schools in and around Ravenswood. The next section outlines the recorded school use in the case study and provides a discussion around the rationale for parents' school choices. A range of ideas will be discussed including: socio-economic status; academic results; and school reputation and image. It is argued that the attendance at schools of pupils socially constructed as 'other', and to be avoided, is of paramount importance in decisions regarding school choice. Once again, this illustrates the impact of the wider context on the processes witnessed in Ravenswood, an area designed for social mix. In Section 6.6, the consequences of schooling choice in Ravenswood will be examined such as the impact on house prices, the sense of community in Ravenswood, and local schools. Finally, at the end of this chapter, the conclusion will argue, amongst other things, that the use of schools in an area of social mix, such as Ravenswood, does not meet policy aspirations, as the power afforded to some residents enables them to choose schools elsewhere. As a result, the use of schools within the case study area can in fact serve to undermine the social mix agenda. Instead segregation amongst young people is developed and maintained, keeping 'different' groups of young people apart, ultimately limiting the opportunity for social interaction and social mixing.

6.2 Policy context

This section will highlight the importance of services and amenities, but particularly schools within the context of social mix policy. As previously noted (in Chapter 2) much like the use of public space, the use of local services and amenities by a local community is thought to be essential in ensuring that opportunities are provided for social encounters between individuals, especially young people. Such encounters, or social interaction, amongst individuals in a community is considered to be crucial in securing social cohesion:

‘Community cohesion is built by contact between people. Sometimes this is via chance contact, e.g. in a shop or a leisure centre. At other times, it is planned contact, perhaps in a faith community, community centre or school’

(Social Exclusion Unit [SEU], 2000, p59)

This quote is by no means unique. There are many policy documents that either explicitly outline, or point towards, the benefits social interaction can create. These ideas are also expressed in local policy, for instance in the master plan written for the development of Ravenswood.

‘The provision of a range of facilities at the Village Centre will attract a high level of use by residents, which in turn will bring them into contact with each other and thus allow the creation of networks and friendships. ... It will be important that new residents, and indeed the existing community, are aware of this wide range of facilities...’

(Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997, p65)

These policy aspirations are based on the assumption that everyone living within a community will always choose to use their local state provided services and amenities instead of opting to travel elsewhere, or pay for a service.

Schools, the focus of this chapter, are recognised in national policy as essential in preventing community divisions. In a report published by the Social Exclusion Unit titled *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (2000), schools were highlighted as critical in tackling and avoiding community divisions. Here schools create places for interaction across existing socio-economic divisions. Additionally, supporting diversity in schools is thought to prevent the creation of mono-culture schools where all pupils attending a school are from the same background thereby reinforcing existing social divisions. The importance of having services and amenities

which are accessible to everyone regardless of their location and circumstances is reiterated in other national policy documents such as the *Guidance on Meaningful Interaction* (DCLG, 2009, e.g. p16). In this, it is noted how, when delivering services for a new residential development, it is essential that consideration is made of the use of the services by existing residents in already established housing areas. This, it is argued, ensures that positive relationships are established between communities, and resentment is avoided. These ideas and concerns made their way into local policy (e.g. Ipswich Borough Council, 1997, p97) and, in the case of Ravenswood, also the master plan.

Ravenswood's master plan wrote specifically about ensuring the development of services which would be used by both the new Ravenswood community and existing residents in the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. This concern was felt particularly in relation to the local schools:

'The very presence of the primary school will generate social links simply as a result of parents delivering and collecting children to and from school on a daily basis. Importantly, it will introduce a point of integration for families moving into the village [Ravenswood] with those already established in the existing school catchment area. The transfer of the existing Priory Heath [Primary] School community into the Village will bring with it advantages of an established community [Gainsborough and Priory Heath communities], and this will be an important ingredient in the social focus of the new Village school. ... the school will no doubt have its own 'social' events, such as sports days and Christmas Concerts, and as such will certainly contribute to the social focus of the Village.'

(Bellway and the Guinness Trust, 1997, p65)

This section reiterated arguments in Chapter 2 that highlight the value placed upon community services and amenities in supporting social cohesion by encouraging social interaction. For the purposes of this study and this chapter, schools are identified as crucial in this endeavour. Services such as schools are not only seen as a means of securing inter-community mixing but as a way of ensuring that individuals from different neighbourhoods and, therefore arguably, different socio-economic backgrounds encounter each other and mix.

6.3 Schools in the Ravenswood area

This section will introduce the schools, both primary and secondary, in and around Ravenswood. It should be noted that I did not decide which schools should or should not be mentioned, for instance based on a radius around Ravenswood. Instead, I was guided by which schools research participants mentioned and considered important in Ravenswood's schooling provision. The location of all these schools is marked on Figures 1 and 2.

6.3.1 Primary schools

Figure 1 shows the locations of all the primary schools mentioned by research participants during this study. The closest primary school is situated within Ravenswood itself and is called Ravenswood Community Primary School. This school is based on the development, in a central position, and was built as part of the new community. It was opened in 2001. However, despite the name, Ravenswood Community Primary School, its teaching staff and many of the initial pupils came from a nearby school which was closed down. This school, Priory Heath Primary School, was situated in Priory Heath on the other side of Nacton Road, in a small inter-war building, adjacent to the closest secondary school, Holywells High (see Figure 1). Due to its limited size and need for extensive repairs it was decided that the school would be closed down and all staff and pupils would be moved to a new building on Ravenswood. This move also provided the opportunity to take on new pupils from the Ravenswood development, whilst retaining its existing catchment area, enabling the school to grow. Furthermore, as the Head Teacher, Mrs Blake, outlined, moving the school to a new area where there was potentially going to be a very different socio-economic intake was to be both an opportunity and challenge for the school. The school was seen to be essential in helping to integrate children already living in the area with new children moving into Ravenswood. It was for this reason that they made the decision to change the name at the same time as the move, so that new Ravenswood residents would feel that the school belonged to them. At the time of the fieldwork Ravenswood Primary School had approximately 450 pupils (Ofsted, 2013 [online]). From the empirical data gathered from various different sources, it became clear that Ravenswood Community Primary School suffered from both a poor school reputation and image, which was further backed up by a 'satisfactory' rating from Ofsted acquired prior to this research commencing (*ibid.*). These, along with other issues will be discussed later in the chapter.

The next closest primary school to Ravenswood is Piper's Vale Primary School. This is located to the east of Ravenswood in the Gainsborough estate and therefore much of the school's intake comes from the surrounding local authority housing in Gainsborough. In many ways, including both size and intake, Pipers Vale and Ravenswood primary schools are very similar, although Pipers Vale received a 'good' rating from Ofsted in 2008 (Ofsted, 2013 [online]).

To the south west of Ravenswood in a village called Nacton is a small village school called Nacton Church of England Voluntary Controlled Primary School. In 2009 the school had 83 pupils and was therefore much smaller than either Ravenswood or Piper's Vale primary schools. As a result of its size, at the time of the empirical fieldwork it was considered to be over-subscribed. In contrast to Ravenswood's school, Nacton Village Primary School appeared to have a very favourable reputation and image, supported through an 'outstanding' rating in 2008 from Ofsted (2013 [online]).

Finally, the fourth primary school mentioned during the course of the research, was St Mary's Catholic Primary School which is located a few miles from Ravenswood in Ipswich town centre. At the time of the empirical work, the school had an intake of approximately 215 pupils and in 2006 received a 'good' rating from Ofsted (2013 [online]).

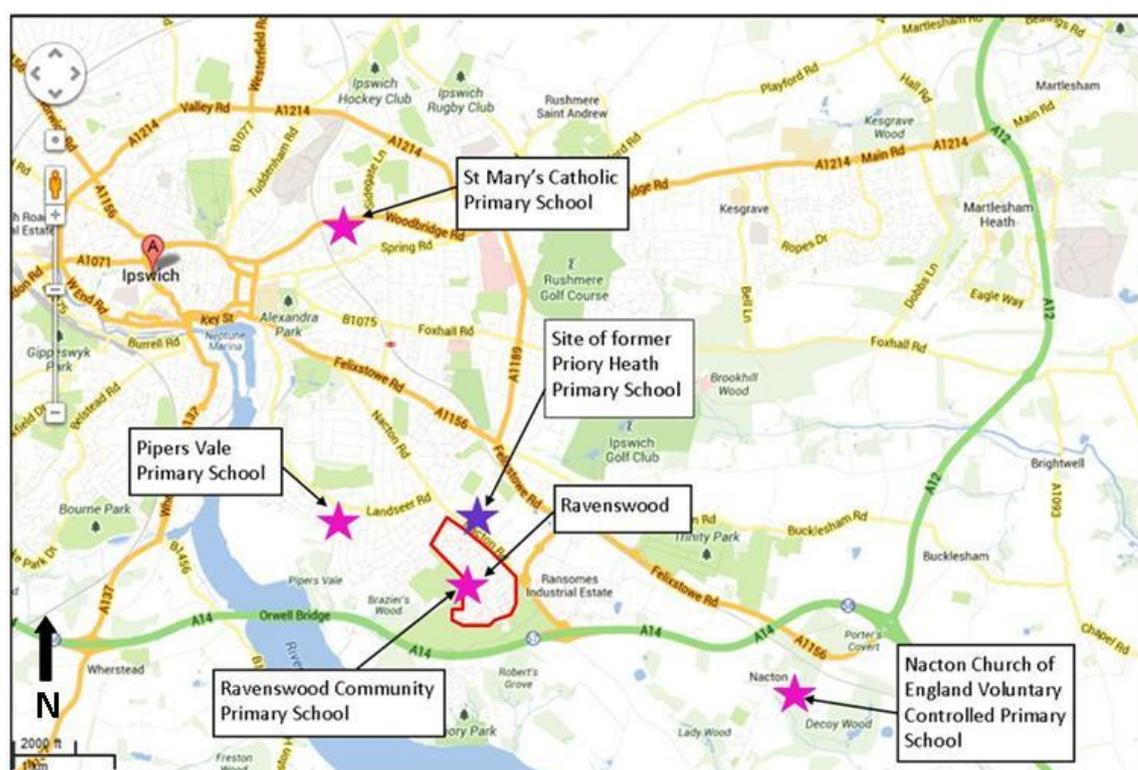


Figure 1: The location of Primary Schools (map adapted from Google maps)

6.3.2 Secondary schools

The locations of all secondary schools mentioned throughout this research study are shown on Figure 2. The closest secondary school to Ravenswood is situated on the other side of Nacton Road. At the time of the fieldwork, this school was called Holywells High. However, since then, in March 2011, the school has become an academy and is now called Ipswich Academy. The change to the school followed a long period of poor pupil performance. In 2001 Holywells High School was placed under special measures until 2004, and despite improvement recognised by Ofsted did not shake off its poor school reputation and image. Both of these issues are examined in more detail later on in this chapter. Despite the recent name change to Ipswich Academy, I will refer to this school as Holywells High School throughout this chapter and thesis.

As well as Holywells High School, other nearby secondary schools to Ravenswood include Copleston High School, Kesgrave High School and Northgate High School. Copleston High School, along with Northgate High School, are both located several miles from Ravenswood towards the north-east of Ipswich town centre. Kesgrave High School is located a few miles north of Ravenswood in a suburban area of Ipswich called Kesgrave. All three of these other secondary schools are of similar sizes, and had a larger number of pupils registered in 2009 than Holywells High School. Furthermore all three of these schools maintain a generally good school image and reputation, although in varying degrees. Northgate was rated as 'outstanding' by Ofsted, whilst Copleston and Kesgrave High schools both received 'good' ratings (Ofsted, 2013 [online]). Again, these issues will be discussed later on in Section 6.5 of this chapter.

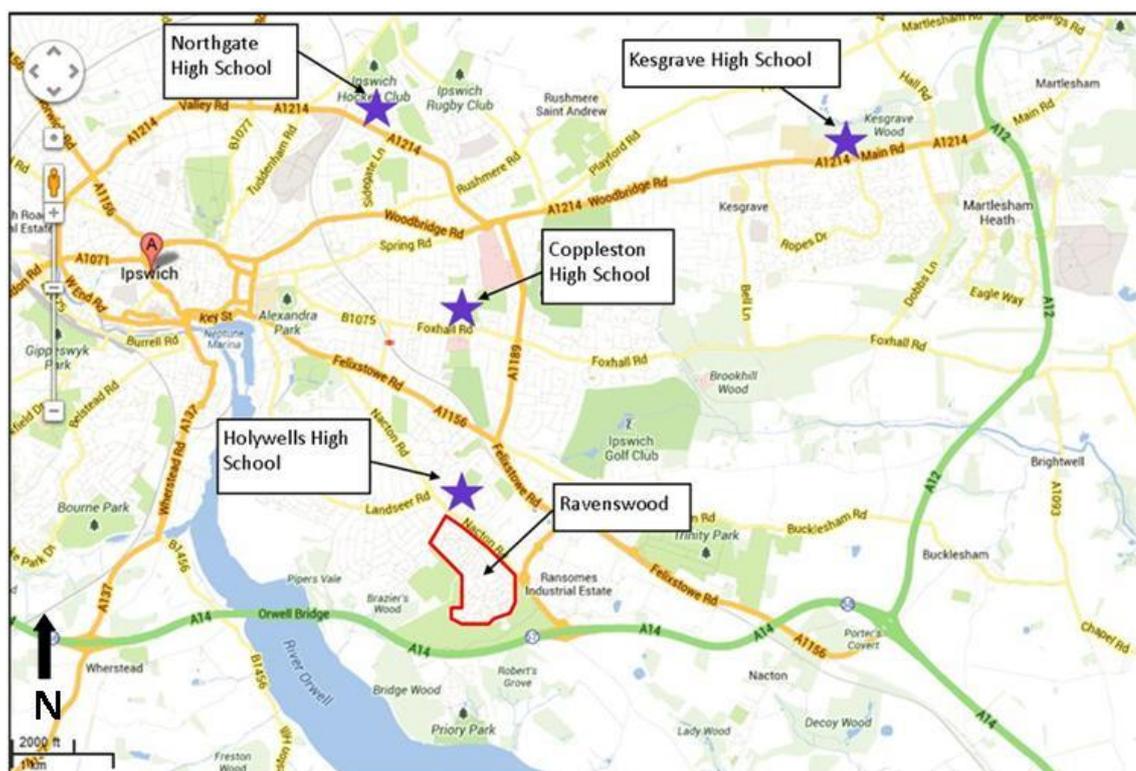


Figure 2: The location of Secondary Schools (map adapted from Google maps)

6.4 Ravenswood residents' use of schools

This section looks at patterns of school choice for parents living in Ravenswood. However, before beginning this discussion, it is important to acknowledge parents' right to 'school choice' (Willms and Echols, 1992, p339). School choice refers to the power given to parents in 1980 by the Thatcher Government to apply for a place for their child at their preferred school, rather than automatically receiving a place at their closest school. Inevitably, some schools, so called 'magnet schools' (Golding and Hausman, 1999, p469), receive more applications than they have places for, meaning that some children are given places at different schools to which they have not applied for. Schools which receive a high number of applications often make the decision about whether to accept a child on the basis of residential proximity to the school, more commonly referred to as 'school catchment areas' (Black, 1999).

On entering the field, it quickly became apparent that many of the residents living in Ravenswood with children of school age did not send their children to the closest schools, Ravenswood Community Primary School or Holywells High School. During the one day street event, questionnaires were given to young people. One of the questions asked which school they attended. Out of the replies, only 33% said they went to either the closest primary or

secondary school. Instead, many of the children surveyed attended schools such as Nacton Church of England Voluntary Controlled Primary School or schools in the centre of Ipswich. These trends were also confirmed throughout resident interviews, and discussions with professionals such as teachers and youth workers.

Beyond the evidence illustrating that children living in Ravenswood do not attend the closest primary or secondary school, it was also clear that the topic of schooling provision within the area was a very emotive subject for nearly all of the residents, particularly those with children. Amy Jones was one such resident. Amy has two children, and at the time of the interview both of her children were below school age. Despite their young ages, Amy admitted that she and her husband had already spent some time thinking about school options in the area. Amy was by no means alone in considering the future schooling options available to her. Sophie Evans, another resident with children below school age made it quite clear that the schooling opportunities in Ravenswood were of paramount importance to her and her husband. Both Amy and Sophie felt that Ravenswood Community Primary School was at this stage a potential option for their children, although both of them independently expressed concerns about this.

Ravenswood residents were even more concerned regarding the quality of their nearest secondary school, Holywells High School. During the empirical fieldwork, I only spoke to one resident who was prepared to send their child to Holywells High School, and she explained this was because she had attended the school herself. The majority of residents were adamant that under no circumstances would they allow their child to be sent to the nearest secondary school, seeing it as too great a risk.

It is clear from the research that few Ravenswood residents sent their children to the nearby primary or secondary school. Yet, there are still many children who did attend both Ravenswood Community Primary School and Holywells High School. At Ravenswood's primary school, despite being located in the centre of Ravenswood, most of the pupils enrolled at the school lived in the neighbouring estates of Gainsborough or Priory Heath. Mrs Blake, the Head Teacher, was understandably disappointed that children living on Ravenswood were not being sent to her school, despite their efforts to attract new Ravenswood residents. Similarly, Holywells High School was also receiving young people from the local area but *not* from Ravenswood. It would seem that Ravenswood residents were well aware of this trend. For example one resident described in an interview how every morning she passed Ravenswood

school's 'walking bus', which picked up a huge number of children from the Priory Heath estate on the other side of Nacton Road.

What parents knew, or thought they knew, about schools in the area clearly undermined aspirations for schools in the social mix agenda. As this chapter will show, and reflecting arguments presented in the previous chapter, Ravenswood parents socially construct pupils from neighbouring housing areas as inferior and to be avoided. In so doing, opportunities for social interaction amongst children from different socio-economic groups in schools is limited in Ravenswood. Furthermore, it is suggested that this trend illustrates the power of Ravenswood residents, specifically homeowners, to exercise their right to school choice. Their school preference is secured by deploying a number of tactics. These include moving out of Ravenswood into a different school catchment area, paying to send their child to an independent school and applying to a religious school on the basis of their commitment to a particular faith. The first two of these tactics will be out of reach for residents of Gainsborough, Priory Heath and Ravenswood who live in social housing and are on low incomes, therefore limiting their ability to control which school their child attends. This issue of parental choice is revisited later in this chapter.

6.5 Rationale for use of schools

This section outlines why Ravenswood parents choose to send their children to schools other than the nearby primary and secondary school. In so doing, the socio-economic status, academic achievement, reputation and image of schools will be explored. Furthermore, and in light of the empirical evidence the chapter argues that ultimately prejudice and stigmatisation of the neighbouring housing areas affect patterns of school use in Ravenswood, and consequently undermines the aspirations of social mix policy.

Through the process of school 'choice making' parents and guardians decide whether to apply to their nearest school or elsewhere. As many have pointed out (e.g Ball *et al*, 1995; Coffey, 2001; Devine, 2004; Golding and Hausman, 1999) this can be a very long and complex process where parents weigh up a number of pros and cons for all the possible schooling options, often basing their final decision on the specific needs of their child – a process referred to as 'holistic choosing' (Ball *et al*, 1995, p67). However, not all parents and guardians go through this process. Rather, those that do are referred to as 'choosers' and those that do not as 'non-choosers' (Ball *et al*, 1995, p56; Golding and Hausman, 1999, p481). It is notably that, those

who do decide to engage in the process of choice making - choosers - are overwhelmingly individuals from more middle-class backgrounds (*ibid.*). On the other hand, non-choosers are typically lower income households, and as a result their children will usually attend their closest school (Golding and Hausman, 1999, p480). This could help to explain the general pattern of school choice in the case study area. Very few Ravenswood residents choose to send their children to either of the local schools, suggesting that Ravenswood residents are choosers. Furthermore, here it is worth highlighting how the right to school choice sits in direct conflict with social mix perceptions about school use.

6.5.1 Socio-economic status

The socio-economic status of a school, or a school's social composition, refers to the social and economic characteristics of pupils who attend a school. In general, particularly for state funded schools, this is related to the socio-economic characteristics of the population local to the school, or catchment area. Importantly, a school's social composition is thought to impact significantly on the grades achieved by pupils (Ball *et al*, 1995, p65; Conduit *et al*, 1996, p200; Figlio and Lucas, 2004, p593, Gorard, 2000, p190) and their attitude towards learning and education (Conduit *et al*, 1996, p205). Therefore, by default, the neighbourhood local to a school is one of the most influential factors on educational attainment (Garner, 1988, p252). Furthermore, and as noted previously, for many parents the socio-economic status of a school's intake and the local neighbourhoods around schools can also be a significant concern. Much literature looks at how some parents, mainly middle-class parents, worry about the 'type' of children their child will be at school with (e.g. Devine, 2004, p162). This concern stems from the idea that children who are from different circumstances, particularly those from deprived backgrounds, will be problematic and difficult pupils, resulting in attention, time and resources being taken away from their own child's learning and schooling experience.

Those working in this field often draw upon the influential work of Pierre Bourdieu who has been very influential in academic educational work and research and helps to understand this parental concern. His interpretation of this concern centres on a number of his concepts, but particularly on the idea of habitus. As discussed in Chapter 2, as well as the previous chapter, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is understood as a semi-unique combination of dispositions which determine an individual's perceptions, appreciations and practices. These are not pre-programmed, but structured by past and present circumstances, such as an individual's up-

bringing (Maton, 2008, p50). Importantly, although an individual's habitus is unique, it does contain a collective aspect whereby people who belong to the same social group, such as a social class, are likely to share many of the same values and behaviour. It is, therefore, thought that the habitus of some pupils does not support their engagement with school and educational attainment. It is probable that it is these pupils that some parents wish to avoid.

The two local schools to Ravenswood, Ravenswood Community Primary School and Holywells High School, are arguably both situated in an area with a diverse socio-economic status. In spite of Ravenswood being a mixed tenure neighbourhood with a number of relatively affluent households, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, Ravenswood adjoins the housing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. As outlined in Chapter 4, both of these neighbourhoods are areas of relatively high deprivation. Therefore, the south-east of Ipswich is still regarded as one of the most deprived areas in the town.

The presence of young people from the deprived neighbourhoods of Gainsborough and Priory Heath is seen by Ravenswood residents as a negative aspect of both the closest primary and secondary schools. Patricia Bainbridge, who was one of the initial residents to move on to the development, expressed strong views about Ravenswood Community Primary School. Patricia recalled how on moving to Ravenswood they were pleased to hear that a school was to be built on the development. As a teacher herself, Patricia was keen to find out more, and attended an open evening just before the school was due to open in 2001. At this point, she realised that: 'it is not a Ravenswood Community School, it is for Gainsborough. Gainsborough's school closed down and they are going to dump all their kids on this estate!'. Patricia's husband, Tony, also commented on the primary school. He explained that in his opinion it was the large concentration of children from the neighbouring social housing areas which had resulted in the demise of Ravenswood's primary school. He later suggested that the only way to improve the school would be to encourage 'middle-class' residents to send their children there. Patricia and Tony also spoke about other Ravenswood residents that they knew who were equally unimpressed by the school for similar reasons. Their neighbour, for instance, had fought hard to secure places for their children at a Catholic School in the centre of Ipswich which they considered to have a more favourable intake of pupils with a 'better' socio-economic status, or habitus. By giving Ravenswood parents the right of school choice, opportunities for young people from different socio-economic groups to interact is limited.

Ideas of fear and risk did not only surround Ravenswood Community Primary School. The closest secondary school, Holywells High School, was an even greater concern for many Ravenswood parents. Throughout the interviews, all parents who had children were asked about their thoughts on different schools. It was not uncommon to get an resounding 'no way!' when they were asked if they would send their children to Holywells High School. From the residents interviewed in Ravenswood, none of them sent their child to this school and only one was even considering it, partly because she had been to Holywells High School herself. Again, the socio-economic status of the school's intake was a primary concern for this. Amy Jones, despite having two very young children yet to attend primary school, had already given some thought to secondary school options in the Ravenswood area.

'Well we have thought about it, it is something we have thought about... The secondary school is Holywells and at the moment it is a bit of a nightmare. Because it is situated in the Gainsborough estate - it is such a deprived area. The mix unfortunately is skewed towards households where maybe there isn't a focus on education necessarily. (...) Because the only other option is to move which we really wouldn't want to do that, so we will just wait and see'.

Amy Jones, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

Again this quote shows how perceptions about the attitudes and behaviours, or habitus, of other pupils at a school are a concern to parents. Ravenswood parents seek to send their children to schools where the socio-economic status reflects their own, thereby illustrating their fear of difference, or 'mixophobia' (Bauman, 2003 cited in Watson, 2006, p139). However, here it is contended that this idea acts, to some extent, as a smoke screen for what is ultimately a very prejudiced process, and this needs to be acknowledged. As in the previous chapter, perceptions of risk stem from ideas of difference, which largely centre upon *where* a child lives. If a child lives in Ravenswood they are seen as innocent and in need of protection. On the other hand, children living in either of the neighbouring housing areas, of Gainsborough or Priory Heath, are socially constructed as 'other' and to be avoided. Shockingly, this 'badge' is handed out to children from Gainsborough and Priory Heath indiscriminately, with no exceptions. Elias and Scotson (1994) in their study of Winston Parva also demonstrated how one residential community became divided based simply on where any individual lived. This also affected the young people in the area who could be 'shunned', and often gained unfounded reputations if they lived on the *wrong* side of the suburb.

It became clear throughout the fieldwork that Ravenswood residents spoke to one another extensively about the schooling in the area and their concerns over sending their children to either of the closest schools. For example, Amy Jones described how her neighbour who had sent her children to Nacton Village's primary school instead of Ravenswood's primary school, was damning of their local school and the quality of the teaching. Although Amy was still undecided about which primary school to apply to, it was evident that this had influenced Amy's thoughts about schools. Ball and Vincent (1998) describe this exchange of information about schools in an area as 'grapevine knowledge'. This gathering and exchange of information that informs the school choice making process is not only gained through direct conversation amongst parents with school aged children. Parents also draw upon impressions from other parents and children, other people's experiences, both friends, relatives and neighbours, and gossip (Ball and Vincent, 1998, p378). There was evidence of all these informing parental school choice in Ravenswood. Furthermore, these various types of grapevine knowledge can, as shown in Ravenswood, fuel anxieties and ideas of risk surrounding schooling options. Katz (1995, cited in Watson, 2006, p125) sees this sort of information exchange as a form of hyper-vigilance surrounding child safety as 'terror talk'. Although Katz never used this concept in relation to school choice making, and in fact it was traditionally used in relation to concerns around racial difference, nevertheless the concept seems an appropriate term to describe the exchange and discussion of parental anxieties witnessed in Ravenswood regarding schools. Much like the previous chapter, in Ravenswood, ideas of risk centre upon the exposure of their children to *other* children from different socio-economic backgrounds, or housing areas. Moreover, such concerns can become a pernicious circle (Watson, 2006), in that it only seeks to reinforce the very same ideas. This makes the situation over school choice and decision making in Ravenswood a vicious, self-fulfilling cycle as parents continually choose to avoid certain schools.

Residents were not the only ones who spoke about the difficulties Holywells High School faced in terms of its socio-economic status. On a visit to Holywells High School, I attended the after school club called *Iscape* youth club. At this group I met with Adele who is a Youth Worker and runs the club after school hours. Adele explained how many of the young people who attend the group came from extremely poor backgrounds, and how the club provides a space where they can get help and support, play games, pursue activities such as arts and crafts, or simply just 'hang out' in a safe place. Adele described how for many of the young people who come

along to *Iscape* this is the only place where they have access to game consoles – things which many young people take for granted. Adele was adamant that they do not and have never had any young people from Ravenswood at the group. Later she spoke about how she was sure children living in Ravenswood did not attend Holywells High School, following on by suggesting that Holywells was situated in the middle of a ‘grotty housing estate’ and not somewhere you would choose to send your child. Adele made it clear that although Holywells was the closest school it was a very different world from the life many of the Ravenswood residents and their children would be familiar with. Many children who attended the after school club, and who attended Holywells High School, lived in poverty. For instance, Adele pointed discreetly at one or two young people in the room and spoke about how some did not even get fed at home, either in the mornings or in the evenings, so she and her colleague would bring in food to ensure they did not go home hungry. Mrs Wyn, who runs the popular over-subscribed Nacton Village Primary School, explained how many of the parents of her final year pupils do everything in their power to avoid their child being sent to Holywells High School. She described how the high school’s intake was overwhelmingly from low income and often deprived households, and this brought a number of problems requiring special support. For many of her parents this was not something they wanted their children to experience. Instead, many of the parents aimed to get their children into schools such as Copleston High School or Northgate High School or even further afield in Folkestone where the catchment area would be more ‘favourable’ or, as the work of Bourdieu suggests, the social field is more in line with their own and their child’s habitus.

Finally, it is important to note that these concerns surrounding the socio-economic status of a school, along with the prejudice witnessed against children living in the neighbouring estates of Gainsborough and Priory Heath have material consequences. These will be discussed later on in the chapter.

6.5.2 Academic results

Another issue influencing parents choice making processes are the academic results of the schools. Academic results from all schools in England are made public. For primary schools, statistics are gathered on the number of pupils who achieve Key Stage 2 requirements in all subjects, with particular importance placed on English and Mathematics. For secondary education, academic success is typically based on the General Certificate in Secondary

Education results (GCSEs), which are usually taken at the end of compulsory education at the age of 16.

Bourdieu considers the acquisition of education for an individual, such as qualifications as one form of capital, specifically cultural capital (Skeggs, 1997, p9). As noted previously in this thesis, Bourdieu considers there to be four different types of capital; *economic* including income and assets, *cultural* which refers to the disposition of body and mind such as education, *social* which highlights the importance of social networks and group membership, and finally *symbolic* which is where cultural capital is legitimised by powerful social agents such as the media. Importantly, Bourdieu argues, an individual's capital, such as cultural capital can be exchanged in specific contexts to acquire further capital for the benefit of that individual (Webb *et al*, 2002, p109). For example, cultural capital in the form of a university degree could be exchanged in the workplace for a higher wage or economic capital. For Bourdieu, this offered explanations as to why social inequalities within society remained (*ibid*). With reference to this study, the attainment of academic results at school, particularly secondary school, can be seen as an important source of cultural capital for many parents who have aspirations for their child. As a result, many of the parents in Ravenswood used pupil attainment statistics at different schools as an important source of information about the various schools in the area.

Compared to other schools which residents mentioned in Ipswich, both Ravenswood Community Primary School and Holywells High School's academic attainment was low and both were below the national and local authority area average. Table 1 gives details of the attainment of pupils at Key Stage 2 in all primary schools within the Ravenswood area in 2009, when the empirical work was carried out. The table also contains local and national statistics as a means of comparison.

Table 1: Percentage of pupils with level 4 or above at Key Stage 2 in English and Mathematics in 2009

National Average	72%	
Suffolk Education Authority Average	66%	
PRIMARY SCHOOL	% at level 4+ at Key Stage 2 (English and Mathematics)	Difference to national average
Nacton Church of England Voluntary Controlled Primary School	73%	+1%
Pipers Vale Community Primary School	51%	-21%
Ravenswood Community Primary School	48%	-24%
St Mary's Catholic Primary School	93%	+21%

(Source: Achievement and Attainment tables 2009, Department of Education, formerly Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2009)

Table 1 illustrates how varied the results at Key Stage 2 in 2009 were across the different primary schools mentioned throughout the empirical work. Ravenswood Community Primary School has the lowest attainment out of all four schools and sits well below both the local authority and national average.

The following table (Table 2) gives details of the GCSE attainment in 2009 from a number of secondary schools in the Ravenswood area.

Table 2: Percentage of pupils with 5 or more A*-C GCSE grades, including English and Mathematics in 2009.

National Average	48.7%	
Suffolk Education Authority Average	49%	
SCHOOL	% of 5+ A*- C GCSE (including English and Mathematics)	Difference between national average
Copleston High School	48%	-0.7%
Holywells High School	27%	-21.7%
Kesgrave High School	61%	+12.3%
Northgate High School	70%	+21.3%

(Source: Achievement and Attainment tables 2009, Department of Education, formerly Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2009)

Again, the attainment at secondary schools within the Ipswich area varied significantly in 2009. Holywells High School performed the least well and well below the national average for that year.

The way residents found out information regarding the academic attainment of a school varied. Many of the residents did comment on learning about a school's academic performance from grapevine knowledge. However, unlike other factors in their decision making process, many parents actively sought out this information from official sources such as *The Department of Children, Schools and Families* (now the *Department of Education*) website. Many residents heard about the success and failings of schools, particularly secondary schools, through the local press who cover the GCSE results of local youngsters each year. In the summer of 2009, the local newspaper *The Ipswich Evening Star* printed the results for each of the schools in the town. Holywells High School made stark reading compared to many other Ipswich schools (Warwick, 2009, p1).

It is evident that Ravenswood residents were well aware of differing levels of attainment at local schools. With this in mind, the evidence suggests that the academic achievements of schools are an important part of the choice-making process for Ravenswood residents. Although her children were still young, one resident Sophie Evans spoke about her concerns about the GCSE results at Holywells High School.

‘I am not happy with Holywells. And, we will not be here! [in Ravenswood] (...) It just has a terrible academic rating. I think this year only 22% of their pupils got 3 or 4 GCSEs and that is appalling. And from reading the Ofsted report they also have high levels of illiteracy. And that is just not going to happen - it is not going to happen to my children!’
Sophie Evans, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009.

Patricia and Tony Bainbridge, two longstanding Ravenswood residents, reflected on the importance of the academic results from schools and how ‘people do look at the league tables’ when deciding which school, or schools, to apply to. Patricia who works as a Teacher in a secondary school in Colchester described how ‘only one in four’ pupils at Holywells got two GCSEs in any subject last year, compared to her school which had 88% of all its pupils get 5 GCSEs. She later remarked about how a school may have new shiny buildings and nice big grounds, like Ravenswood’s primary school, but if they do not have the grades to match people

will not send their children there. Empirical findings suggest that Ravenswood residents feel it is important to ensure that their children are given the best academic opportunities, ultimately equipping them with the necessary *capital*, or skills to succeed. However, by seeking to ensure that their child is not sent to the local schools they undermine the expectations of the social mix policy agenda.

School attainment was not only a source of anxiety for Ravenswood residents. Zoe Graham, a Community Development Officer based in Gainsborough, also reflected on the poor results from the local school, particularly Holywells High School. Zoe spoke about how in her view the young people attending these local schools not only came from disadvantaged backgrounds, often suffering from many associated problems, but that significantly many of the young people had very low aspirations. Young people living in Gainsborough and Priory Heath, in her experience, did not imagine and aspire to live somewhere else and had no awareness of the possibilities of what they could achieve. This, she remarked was probably in very stark contrast to the aspirations of many young people living in Ravenswood and attending other schools. Elias and Scotson (1994) also acknowledged the aspirational differences amongst young people living in Winston Parva. They described how young people from the more 'desirable' area of the community learnt to think of themselves in the future, about what they might want to do, and achieve. On the other hand the 'unruly' young people from the other side of the neighbourhood found it almost impossible to consider their future, instead resigned to the idea that they were in fact 'nobody' (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p120). These predispositions towards certain attitudes and behaviours again can, in Bourdieu's terms as (introduced in the previous chapter), be seen as a result of an individual's habitus which underlies any person's practices. Or alternatively, as Elias and Scotson suggest, it is the result of the dominant social norms for their group. For example, for many of the more affluent, obtaining educational success is considered a 'normal' part of growing up (Gunn and Bell, 2002, p147); part of their habitus. On the other hand, for young people who are from deprived backgrounds, this idea may clash with their habitus, and so becomes a bigger obstacle. For Zoe, this mindset amongst young people living in Gainsborough and Priory Heath was something which, as a Community Development Officer, she was continually trying to battle against. Ironically, social mix policy seeks to overcome this difference in aspirations. However this seems to be undermined by the continuing separation of 'different' young people in Ravenswood.

Despite the premium placed on a school's academic success, the performance of a school is not an entirely independent factor. As many previous research studies have argued, academic attainment is related to the socio-economic status of a school. For this reason it is also important to look at academic performance of students with some understanding of the social context, or exo-level effects (Conduit *et al*, 1996, p199). Exo-level refers to community wide issues and factors which impact on a student's performance but which are outside the control of the school (*ibid.*). With this in mind, the concept 'value added' (Figlio and Lucas, 2004, p592) refers to what a school can contribute to a student's performance that is not reflected in league tables. Interestingly, at no point during the empirical work did a Ravenswood resident acknowledge the difficulties some pupils attending the nearest schools have to overcome, and therefore the value added to the performance of pupils at these closest schools. As described in the previous section, some pupils attending Holywells High School, for example, regularly went without a morning and evening meal. The school and the staff therefore stepped in to help and support these young people. On the other hand, many professionals working in the Ravenswood area acknowledged the work of staff at these local schools, and the difference this made to many pupils. Here, the empirical evidence suggests that by choosing not to acknowledge this unequal playing field, and ultimately turning a blind eye to the obstacles of others, Ravenswood residents legitimise their action of avoiding sending their children to schools where they will mix with children from different backgrounds. In so doing, parents in Ravenswood do not behave in the way that social mix policy anticipates, and so undermine social mix aspirations.

6.5.3 School reputation and image

This section demonstrates how school reputation and image impacts on school choice in Ravenswood. Schools' reputations and images are considered to be somewhat different. A school's reputation refers to the general perception of the school within a community, whilst making consideration to a variety of aspects such as academic results, school buildings and grounds, teaching quality, and extracurricular activities (Ball *et al*, 1995, p66). On the other hand, the school image refers to the impression given by the pupils and how they are seen in the local community (Ball *et al*, 1995, p70). It is thought that how pupils behave when travelling to and from school each day is an important part of this (*ibid.*). However, for the purposes of this study, they are discussed together, as residents regularly spoke about both interchangeably. The chapter argues that in Ravenswood discussions amongst residents around

school reputation and image became a form of 'terror talk' (Katz, 1995, cited in Watson, 2006, p125) in that it worked to perpetuate the existing pattern and concern of school choice and use in the area.

It should be remembered that the reputation and image of a school can be either good or bad, and can, therefore, serve to attract or alternatively repel people from sending their children to a certain school. Furthermore, a school's reputation and image are not discrete issues. They, like a school's socio-economic status and academic rating, are influenced by one another and other issues, some of which are discussed in this chapter.

Throughout the research, many participants referred to the reputation or image of local schools around Ravenswood. Mrs Wyn, the Head Teacher at Nacton Church of England Voluntary Controlled Primary School, spoke about the reputation of Ravenswood's primary school. Although she never said that it had a poor reputation she pointed out that having a 'good reputation' and an 'outstanding' from Ofsted like her school, beat other schools with 'shiny new buildings' and 'new purpose built grounds'. On a number of occasions Mrs Wyn also mentioned how she had been contacted by a number of parents wanting to move their child out of Ravenswood's primary school because they were unhappy with both the school and the other pupils. This, she added, did not help the school's reputation amongst other parents. The reputation of Holywells High School was also seen as poor. One resident laughingly spoke about how awful the reputation of Holywells was that if you even mentioned the name people replied with 'Arrrgghh!'.

Claire and Andrew Parkinson, two Ravenswood residents, spoke at length about Ravenswood's primary school in particular, as they had spent considerable time choosing a school for the eldest daughter who at the time was attending St Mary's Catholic Primary School in the centre of Ipswich.

Claire: 'I actually hung around the play areas around the [Ravenswood's] school, before she started school and I spoke to some of the parents. One woman said that her son was at the pre-school nursery and she said 'I don't mind him being there, but he is not going to the main school' and then she said 'Don't worry about the other children, but watch out for the parents'. I did look around the school, and I got a very bad impression of the school myself. So, it was not like I completely dismissed it without speaking to people

and having a look myself. [...] I went into the reception class and there were big signs saying 'NO SWEARING IN THE CLASSROOM'.

Andrew: 'Nobody would choose that school. If you were the sort of person who wanted to choose a school you wouldn't choose that school, but if you didn't care what school your child went to then you would go to Ravenswood!'

Andrew and Claire Parkinson, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

It is evidently clear that for Andrew and Claire both the reputation and the image of Ravenswood's primary school put them off from sending their daughter there. Furthermore, it is also clear that the choice making process is considered to be important, worthy of considerable effort. Describing her choice making process Claire recalled how she spent time visiting the school, time in the local play areas around the school and time speaking to other parents, arguably fuelling existing concerns over schooling options. Furthermore, the quote highlights the complexity of the notion of 'choice'. Andrew suggests that people like them – people who care about their child and their child's education - would not send their child to Ravenswood Community Primary School. First of all, this assumes that anyone who sends their son or daughter to the school does not care about their child – which is unfounded. Additionally, in Section 6.5 of this chapter, the concepts 'choosers' and 'non-choosers' (Ball *et al*, 1995, p56; Golding and Hausman, 1999, p481) were introduced, suggesting that parents either decide to actively choose a school for their child or not. Andrew, in this quote, accuses parents who send their child to Ravenswood's school to be non-choosers. In light of this comment the chapter suggests that this dualistic definition over choice is too simplistic, failing to recognise how some parents may have limited power to be a chooser rather than the desire to be a non-chooser. Parents in the Ravenswood area *do not uniformly* have the same capacity to make such a choice about which school they send their children to. Some will be constrained by factors such as the financial resources to pay for travel to another school, or the time to get their child to a school further afield.

This study acknowledges the way Ravenswood parents, such as Andrew and Claire, identify and socially construct some parents and their children, as 'different' from themselves simply based on their behaviour. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Skeggs (1997) refers to these behaviours as 'signifiers of class' (p4). This means that Andrew and Claire want to ensure that spatial distance is maintained between themselves, including their children and these 'others',

thereby directly undermining the intentions of social mix policy which seek to create and maintain social proximity through local services use such as schools.

Later, through discussion with Andrew and Claire, it became clear that they believed that these 'other' parents and children were from the neighbouring housing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. However, they were not the only Ravenswood residents to make such connections. Patricia Bainbridge who lives near the main entrance to Ravenswood Community Primary School spoke disparagingly of the behaviour she witnessed daily from the school's pupils.

'You ought to stand there (points to front of her house) when those kids are going to school, because the language is utterly atrocious... the kids from the council estate'.

Patricia Bainbridge, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009.

In this case, school image and perception of pupils is seen to relate directly to *where* the pupils are believed to be from, arguably based on the socio-economic status of these other neighbourhoods. Much like the arguments presented in the previous chapter, evidence presented in this chapter suggests that these ideas are again based on stereotypes and prejudice. For Patricia the fact that children were coming from one of the nearby local authority housing estates formed the basis for understanding their behaviour. Furthermore her derogatory tone suggested that she sees them as different from her and her family and therefore to be avoided. Other Ravenswood parents, such as Sophie Evans, mentioned the behaviour of pupils 'smoking and stuff' whilst travelling to and from the closest schools to Ravenswood and how she did not want her daughter to experience it. Again parallels with Elias and Scotson's (1994) study of Winston Parva can be seen here, as individuals from one particular part of the suburb were stigmatised as different, and given a bad reputation. This was rationalised on the basis of their behaviour which was considered abnormal and therefore deviant. Moreover, these concerns around school image and reputation operate to maintain social divisions between different social groups rather than support spatial proximity, a key ambition of the social mix agenda.

Section 6.5 of this chapter has noted several aspects which parents take into consideration when deciding which schools to send their children to. Current literature in this field has pointed towards three key parental concerns; the socio-economic status of a school, the

academic performance of a school, and a school's reputation and image. In this section it has been shown that all of these were important for Ravenswood parents in their choice making process. This research challenges these assumptions, however, and argues that these terms do in fact serve to hide and even legitimise what can be a form of prejudice against some children. Parents in Ravenswood were in fact greatly concerned about ensuring that their child did not come into contact with young people who were from Gainsborough and Priory Heath, or in their own terms 'the council estates', illustrating their mixophobia. This echoes the arguments presented in the previous chapter on the consequences of the wider context on public space use in Ravenswood, and the implications this has for the aspirations of social mix policy. Children resident beyond the boundaries of Ravenswood are indiscriminately stereotyped or socially constructed as deviant and to be avoided. Although some literatures noted that parents may have concerns over the 'type' of children also attending the school, no previous literature has suggested how perceptions about residential areas form the basis of this concern. In fact even though the Ravenswood development is a mixed tenure housing area, with some families living in social housing, only one couple living in Ravenswood suggested that these families and their children should also be avoided within the context of schools. This idea is explored in greater detail in the following chapter; Boundaries and the scale of social mix.

Given that social mix policy assumes people will use their nearest services, including schools, the research highlights significant findings for the policy agenda. This study has shown a major obstacle to ensuring that social encounters amongst people from different backgrounds are generated and maintained within the contexts of schools. Policy assumes, naively, that children will be sent to their nearest school regardless of circumstance. In Ravenswood, however, this is not the case. Instead, parents from affluent backgrounds decide to send their children to schools further afield, creating mono-culture schools both inside and outside the Ravenswood area. Moreover, through sharing such concerns through 'terror talk', parents work to spread and maintain such anxieties throughout the area.

6.6 Consequences of school use

The decision by many Ravenswood parents not to send their children to the nearest schools, impacts on not only the pupils themselves but also on a number of other issues. This section will explore the consequences of school choice and use in Ravenswood.

6.6.1 Housing market

As noted earlier in this chapter, despite there being the right for parents to choose which school they apply to, there remains a high possibility that their child will be sent to the closest school and for some young people in Ravenswood this was the case. That said, there is much research on the impact of school catchment areas on local housing markets. Evidence suggests that some parents adopt housing market strategies to gain access to a particular school of their choice. School places are typically secured through buying a house and living within certain school catchment areas. Therefore properties within a catchment area for a popular or magnet school command higher prices, coined as 'value of school' (Black, 1999). This term refers to the extra monetary price individuals are willing to pay to be closer to a particular school. The very nature of this process excludes families who cannot afford to buy a home in a particular area. As a result, sought after school places are said to be given through a process referred to as 'selection by mortgage' (Croft, 2004).

In Ravenswood many of the residents who were interviewed commented on how they had been able to buy a much larger home in Ravenswood than they could have afforded in other parts of Ipswich. Some of these residents then went onto make a link between the house prices in Ravenswood and the local schools. Doreen Crawford, a relatively new resident to the neighbourhood, spoke about the cost of properties on the development. She suggested that similar homes in Ipswich would have cost her and her husband up to £100,000 extra. Doreen, who was retired and no longer had any children living at home, believed the difference in property prices was a direct result of the schools, later adding that had she been moving with young children they would not have moved to Ravenswood because of the poor local schools. In Doreen's opinion schools in Ipswich that would push house prices up were Northgate High School and Copleston High School, both of which were known for their good academic results and reputations. Sophie Evans, who moved to the neighbourhood before having either of her two children, had looked at properties elsewhere in Ipswich closer to more desirable schools, particularly Northgate High School. She told me how they 'would be looking to pay an extra £100,000 to £150,000' to get a house similar to their home in Ravenswood. It is evident then that the two local schools of Ravenswood Community Primary School and Holywells High School do not generate a premium. Arguably for some, such as Doreen Crawford who had down-sized to a home in Ravenswood since retiring, this was an advantage. That said, there is no more evidence to suggest that 'poor' schooling options are the only reason house prices are

lower in Ravenswood. There could be many reasons for this, some of which are beyond the scope of this study.

Many residents spoke about neighbours and friends who had moved out of Ravenswood because of the local schools. As mentioned above, parents adopting market strategies to secure a place at the school of their choice is a well known phenomenon. Sophie Evans also mentioned how a number of people she knew had moved out of Ravenswood just because their child was coming up to secondary school age, and they did not want them to attend the local secondary school. As well as this, in a number of the resident questionnaires when asked about neighbourhood dislikes, the responses mentioned the poor reputation of Holywells High School. Furthermore, the majority of these mentioned that they would move house and area before their child reaches secondary school age in order to avoid the school:

‘Holywells High School has a poor reputation. We will not be sending our kids there. We will have to move before, which is a shame’.

Questionnaire 25, response to neighbourhood dislikes

The research has shown that in Ravenswood, like other areas, school reputation and images within the community can impact directly upon the housing market. Given the findings of this research study it is contended that this has significant consequences for the social mix agenda. First of all, despite Ravenswood being a mixed tenure development it is arguable that those who can afford to live in other areas chose to do so. This ultimately will impact on the socio-economic make-up of Ravenswood, thereby compromising its social mix aspirations. Secondly, it is clear from the evidence presented in this section that households with children tend to chose *not* to live in Ravenswood in order to avoid certain schools, again affecting the social and economic composition of the neighbourhood. This issue will be discussed later in the following section.

6.6.2 Ravenswood ‘community’

This section will explore how the use and non-use of schools in Ravenswood impacts upon the neighbourhood’s community in terms of its cohesion and composition. Social mix policy envisages that through residents using local schools, community cohesion will be secured. That said, during the course of the research it became clear that many of Ravenswood’s residents

felt that because they did not use either of the closest schools, they had missed the opportunity to get to know fellow residents. One resident whom I spoke to at the Ravenswood Barn Dance talked about how a school should be 'the hub' of a community - a place where parents and children meet, and the centre of community activities, exactly how social mix policy imagines a school should be. However, in their opinion this was not the case in Ravenswood. Furthermore, Mark Young, a resident and active member of the Ravenswood's Residents Association recognised that the potential for the primary school to be at the heart of the community was lost, simply because in his opinion people did not send their children there. Rather, children who attended the school came from the neighbouring housing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath and so, if parents did get to know one another, they did not live on Ravenswood, but elsewhere. Tony and Patricia Bainbridge also spoke about feeling as though they had missed out on being part of the community, simply because they had not sent their daughter to either of the local schools:

'If my daughter had went to that school there [pointing towards Ravenswood Community Primary School], we might have met more children on this estate and would have created more community feeling. But because she has never gone to any of the schools here, we don't feel as though we have any connection with other families in this development (...) We have missed that aspect of community spirit you can have through your children. I think you do meet a lot more people through your children than by other means. And this is something we have probably missed, by our child not going to the local school.'

Tony Bainbridge, Resident Interview, 20th October 2009.

Moreover, residents also acknowledged that by opting out of the local schools their children also missed opportunities to build local friendships. For instance, Tony and Patricia acknowledged how sending their daughter to a school further afield meant that she did not know anyone in the local area of her own age, limiting the friends she could spend time with in the evenings and weekends. The research investigation indicates that despite social mix policy assuming that social networks will be established through local school use, this does not happen in Ravenswood. Rather, due to concerns regarding schools, as discussed previously, opportunities for establishing and maintaining social interaction amongst residents, both young and old, is limited. That said, during the research I spoke to one resident, Sonia Cavanagh who was considering sending her daughter to the local secondary school. For Sonia, the key reason

for selecting Holywells High School was that her daughter would have her school friends close by, which Sonia felt was important.

As described in Section 6.4 of this chapter, many Ravenswood parents choose to send their children to schools elsewhere in Ipswich, or in some cases further afield outside the town. As a result of this, residents spoke of other places, in Ipswich particularly, where they felt they were part of the community. For example, Claire Parkinson who lives on Ravenswood with her husband and two young daughters the elder of which attends St Mary's Catholic Primary School, spoke about her connections and friends which primarily focused around her daughter's school in the centre of Ipswich. Furthermore, when meeting Neil and Ellen Lomas, two longstanding Ravenswood residents, I also had the opportunity to speak to their eldest daughter Molly, who was fifteen at the time. Molly informed me that none of her school friends lived in Ravenswood. She spent much of her free time elsewhere and not in Ravenswood, and even admitted to being more familiar with these places. These anecdotes point towards the tendency for those who do not use local services, but rather services elsewhere to feel an attachment to other places, often referred to as place-polygamists (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p149). Such place-polygamy, as witnessed in Ravenswood, runs the risk of creating neighbours who despite living close to one another, see each other as strangers. In Ravenswood the decision of residents to use schools elsewhere and therefore engage with a different community undermines Ravenswood's social mix aspirations for a cohesive community.

As shown in the previous section of this chapter, the reputation and image of Ravenswood's closest schools resulted in some residents moving out of the neighbourhood altogether in order to avoid sending their child to either Ravenswood Community Primary School or Holywells High School. Additionally, some residents recalled how they knew of people who had decided against moving into the development simply based on the local school provision. This meant that Ravenswood has a relatively low number of children and teenagers living there. As discussed in Chapter 4, when embarking on the research study there was no up-to-date data source available on the specific demographics of Ravenswood. As the initial building works for Ravenswood began in 1999, by the time the census of 2001 was carried out only a few buildings had been built. Eight years later, when the empirical work for this study began, there were significantly more properties, and residents, on the development which had not been recorded in the census. This meant that on entering the field it was assumed that as the

development consisted of well over 1,000 homes, many being large properties aimed at the family market, along with the development of a new school, there would be a number of children residing in Ravenswood. However as the empirical research unfolded it became clear, through various sources including residents, local teachers and local authority representatives, that there were not many young people living in Ravenswood. This was later supported through data available from the 2011 census, as discussed in Chapter 4. Residents and other stakeholders suggested that this was, in part, because of the reputation and image of nearby schools.

Social mix policy anticipates young people will act as catalysts for social interaction. However, the policy fails to recognise that for reasons rooted in the mixed tenure status of a community and the wider area, there may be relatively low numbers of young people living there, again limiting the possibilities for social interaction.

6.6.3 Impact on local schools

Residents' decisions on whether not to use local schools in Ravenswood not only impacts on the housing market and sense of community in the area, but also on the local schools themselves. As well documented in education literature and as noted before in this chapter in Section 6.5.2, schools despite 'competing' in performance league tables, schools do not all start from the same position. It is well acknowledged that academic attainment is largely influenced by the socio-economic status of a pupil (Ball *et al*, 1995, p65; Conduit *et al*, 1996, p200; Figlio and Lucas, 2004, p593; Gorard, 2000, p190). On this basis, with all other factors equal, schools which have a large affluent pupil intake will perform better than schools with a low socio-economic status. At the beginning of this chapter, it was shown that local policy saw the development of Ravenswood in the south-east of Ipswich as a form of regeneration for the area. Policy, including Ravenswood's master plan, even made reference to the opportunities this would bring for the local schools, particularly Holywells High School which had a high proportion of students from deprived backgrounds. The potential influx of new families living in private housing was seen as a way to ensure the improvement of the high school. Academics working in the field of social mix also assume an improvement in local services, a commonly held benefit of social mix policy (Arthuson, 2012, p37). However, as shown in this chapter, families who did move into Ravenswood rarely opted to send their children to the local schools. Instead the local schools remained as they were previously. Moreover this discouraged any

future Ravenswood residents from sending their children to nearby schools, a pernicious cycle, counteracting the intentions of the social mix agenda.

Some of the residents in Ravenswood who were interviewed spoke about this issue. Mark Young, a resident who unusually sent his daughter to Ravenswood Community Primary School said;

‘What other parents don’t realise is that by doing what they are doing – sending their children to school elsewhere – is that they are removing a potential demographic from the school which would help the school and the reputation’.

Mark Young, Resident, Scarecrow Competition, 3rd October 2009

Mark was not the only resident who was well aware of this issue. Throughout her interview, Amy Jones, spoke about the ‘mix’ attending the local schools. From speaking further it became clear that Amy was referring to the social and economic mix of different children in the area. For her, it seemed that the decision as to where to send either of her children to school when they reached the right age was difficult. She recognised that if she, along with others, did not send her children to the nearby schools, the schools would suffer and her children would not experience ‘real life’. However, at the same time, Amy did not want to be the only parent in her position sending her child there, fearing their education would suffer. These anecdotes illustrate the difficulty in attracting pupils from more affluent backgrounds to schools overwhelmingly attended by pupils from poorer households. Overall, social mix policy fails to recognise this self-perpetuating pattern of school choice and use and the consequences on schools.

6.7 Conclusion

As detailed in this chapter, social mix policy sees the use of local services and amenities, such as schools, as vital to its success. Schools are thought to provide opportunities for social interaction amongst individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds, on the basis that such sites provide neutral spaces open to everyone regardless of their circumstances, thereby encouraging social interaction. This chapter sought to address the third research question by exploring the role of schools in determining young people’s engagement with the social mix agenda.

These aspirations for schools are based on the premise that residents living in mixed tenure communities will choose to send their sons or daughters to the nearest school, but this is not the case in Ravenswood. Instead Ravenswood residents choose to apply, and therefore send, their children to schools elsewhere in Ipswich or in the surrounding towns. This included schools run by the state and religious organisations as well as independent fee paying schools. This meant that schools closest to Ravenswood remained mono-culture schools by serving children overwhelmingly from less affluent households and thereby undermining the aspirations for schools in the social mix agenda.

Reasons for avoiding Ravenswood's local primary and secondary school formed the basis of Section 6.5 of this chapter. They included the socio-economic status, the academic performance, and the reputation and image of a school, all of which have been investigated by the academic literature on school choice. This study, however, provides new evidence to debates on school choice. The thesis argues that all of these reasons are ultimately related to *who* attended the school and their perceived origin, thereby echoing the findings presented in the previous chapter on the use of public space in Ravenswood and the impact of the wider context on neighbourhood social mix. The importance of residential areas, and their associated reputations, is given little consideration in the existing educational literature on school choice. Furthermore, despite extensive debates on social mix, some of which are outlined in Chapter 2, there is little, if no, consideration of schooling choice and its relation to the success of social mix in the existing literature. This thesis therefore makes significant steps forward in this respect. As well as avoiding local schools, the research findings revealed how parental concerns about local schools were so strong that some residents reported people choosing not to move into Ravenswood altogether due to schooling prospects. Many more spoke about a desire to move out of Ravenswood once their children reached either primary or secondary school age. The process of moving into a catchment area of a more desirable, or magnet school, is well recorded and, as noted previously, has been coined 'selection by mortgage' (Croft 2004, p936). However, the relation to socially mixed communities and the implications for the policy have not previously been reported.

The power and desire of some parents to engage in a school choice making process is a further key finding of this chapter. As introduced in Section 6.3, since 1980 parents in Britain have had the right to choose which school or schools to apply to for their children. Current academic debates suggest that some parents do exercise this right of choice and are therefore termed

'choosers', whilst some parents opt not to engage in school choice and are coined 'non-choosers' (Ball *et al*, 1995; Golding and Hausman, 1999). I argue that these terms are too simplistic, failing to acknowledge the circumstances that enable some parents to have the capacity to be a 'chooser'. For instance, some parents have the ability to access financial resources, or the time to invest in the decision making process. It is worth remembering at this point that no social housing tenants, or Ravenswood and Gainsborough residents were interviewed during the course of the research investigation. Therefore the research cannot conclude why these residents send their children to the two closest schools, whether it is through choice or not. Moreover, this research highlights a major criticism of social mix, in that it assumes that residents will all use local services such as schools; this as shown in this chapter sits in direct conflict with the school choice initiative from the 1980s. It is a criticism of social mix policy that success relies on the behaviours of individuals, which as this research, as well as others (e.g. Arthuson, 2012), has shown is not predictable.

In order to perform their right to school choice the empirical work has also shown that in making decisions about schooling options in Ravenswood, parents engage in a process of knowledge exchange drawing upon grapevine knowledge. The chapter adopted Katz's concept of 'terror talk' (1995, cited in Watson, 2006, p125). Although this term was never coined in relation to fears surrounding school choice and use, for this study it seems an appropriate idea, as it explains how parents discuss the risks associated with different schooling options. Moreover these discussions become a self-perpetuating cycle. Additionally, the chapter has also drawn upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu to help explain the school choice making process of Ravenswood parents. In so doing, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital provide an insight into how the educational choices of parents serve to maintain social segregation, which, as the research has shown, is based on concerns over *who* may attend the school and how similar they are to them. These decisions occur despite some residents acknowledging the outcome and the implications this has for their own children and others who come from less advantaged backgrounds.

As well as analysing patterns of school use in Ravenswood and the rationale behind this, toward the end of this chapter I examined the outcomes of this school use pattern. In so doing, it was highlighted that the consequences of school choice in Ravenswood are far reaching, affecting the housing market, population demographics and community cohesion. Crucially it appears that these consequences work to further undermine the social mix agenda.

Furthermore, these consequences form part of a self-sustaining cycle whereby they reinforce the local schools' socio-economic status, performance, reputation and image. Interestingly, educational improvement in terms of attainment, behaviour and aspirations are often touted as benefits of social mix, especially in pre-existing areas where social mix policy has been introduced such as through the Mixed Communities Initiative. However, this research would indicate that as residents from more affluent backgrounds actively avoid existing schools in deprived communities, it would seem fair to argue that such improvements in education is unlikely.

This chapter sought to address the third research question by exploring the role of schools in determining young people's engagement with the social mix agenda. Given that schools play a significant role in the everyday lives of young people, the focus on schools enables the research to make steps forward in attending to the overall research aim of the study. Given the patterns of school use in Ravenswood and the surrounding area, it would seem that aspirations for schools in the social mix agenda are uninformed. Social mix policy fails to recognise the complexities of school choice and the implications this has on the communities and ultimately the aspirations of the social mix agenda.

Chapter 7: Boundaries and the scale of social mix

7.1 Introduction

As stated throughout this thesis, social mix essentially aims to overcome barriers to social interaction and mixing. Planning policy sees the removal of barriers, such as mono-tenure neighbourhoods, as vital in this endeavour, as the spatial proximity of individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds is thought to reduce social boundaries, thereby increasing the likelihood of social interaction. This chapter will explore the existence of both physical and social boundaries to social mixing in the case study area. In so doing, it is contended that despite reducing the spatial distance between groups, pre-existing and new boundaries persist as social divisions appear to be insurmountable (Arthuson, 2012, p111). For the purposes of this chapter physical boundaries can be understood as features which keep people apart and act as a barrier such as fences and trees, whereas social boundaries are people's thoughts and perceptions about 'others', which although invisible also effectively work as an obstacle to social interaction. In addition to focusing on boundaries, this chapter will also focus on the scale of social mix policy. As discussed in Chapter 2, social mix policy is typically imagined to be delivered at the local neighbourhood scale, whereby social mix processes remain within the confines of the neighbourhood boundary. Interestingly, it has been on this basis that policy has supported the development of mixed tenure neighbourhoods. National social mix policy in particular takes this inward focused 'neighbourhood' view. However, this fails to acknowledge processes operating at a broader scale beyond the neighbourhood and impact of these on the social mix agenda. This concern will form a key focus of this chapter.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the scale of social mix aspirations in policy. Whilst national policy advocates the delivery of social mix at a small scale, such as the neighbourhood, in contrast local policy recognises the importance of the wider context. Analysis of the case study area, specifically with regards to the scale at which social mix policy was to be delivered and the treatment of barriers to social interaction will follow. In the next two sections, the chapter explores boundaries, both social and physical, to social mix at the wider and neighbourhood scale in the case study area. A key argument emerges; the contention that national social mix policy takes a narrow view to how and where processes associated with social mix operate. On this basis, it is argued that national social mix policy is too simplistic,

failing to recognise the importance of wider contexts. In presenting these arguments the thesis once again draws upon social constructionist ideas, along with debates surrounding power. The penultimate section of this chapter returns the focus to young people, with a discussion around their perceptions of barriers, both social and physical, to interaction and social 'mixing'. Here it is argued that young people, despite recognising differences amongst residents living in the case study area, do not associate tenure as one such marker of difference. In conclusion it is argued that social mix policy fails to recognise the importance and influence of scale, specifically processes that operate at a wider scale than a neighbourhood, and the impact of this on the success of the policy.

7.2 The scale of social mix policy

All policies, whether they are focused upon economic, social, health or planning issues, inherently adopt a level of scale. This is usually the scale at which a problem or process is thought to operate at. Scales, such as the nation, the city and the neighbourhood, are not believed to be a naturally occurring phenomenon but rather are considered to have been socially constructed (Marston, 2000). Such social constructions, however, are seen to be problematic. For instance conceptual scales such as the city are perceived as bounded, operationally discrete zones, and may fail to recognise how processes at different scales affect what is seen or not seen in a city (Hipp, 2010, p4). On this basis, conceptual scales are argued to be 'chaotic conceptions' (Passi, 2004, p537). This term reflects how the very nature of using scale means that objects and phenomena are carved up into units or zones when in practice they may be indivisible objects. Alternatively, unrelated phenomena are grouped together as belonging at one scale (*ibid.*). This argument is in a similar vein to the idea of scalar politics (MacKinnon, 2011, p29), whereby focus is placed on processes and practices which are differently scaled rather than scales per se. It is therefore argued that processes, whether they are social, economic, or political, are present in any area, however every process will be differently scaled and crucially active across different conceptual scales. Policies which are at a specific scale may fail to consider the wider context and its implications. As argued in Chapter 2, this has been a criticism of Area Based Initiatives which traditionally address concerns at the neighbourhood scale, viewing neighbourhoods as a static social container (Hall, 1997, p879). This section looks at the scale at which social mix ideas are applied within both national and local policy. Despite some similarities between the two, national and local policy diverge about the scale at which social mix policy should be considered.

Policy rarely specifies an exact scale at which a policy should be assigned. Therefore when considering the scale at which social mix policy is intended to be applied, it is necessary to analyse the language adopted in the policy. In national planning policy, particularly *Planning Policy Statement 3: Housing* [PPS3] (DCLG, 2006a) which supports social mix approaches through mixed tenure housing, several concepts which all allude to a scale are used, most notably *neighbourhood* and *community*, along with *housing developments*. As discussed in Chapter 2 the two concepts of neighbourhood and community have become linked in everyday language, often being used interchangeably (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p2172) despite debate, especially in academic fields, about their distinctions. It should be noted that within policy, no definition of these terms is provided, such as what form they may take and what size they may be. Nevertheless, what is clearer is that national policies, such as mixed tenure initiatives, are seen to operate within the boundaries of a neighbourhood, a community or housing development, rather than operating *between* or *amongst* these places. However the critical debates on scale, such as scalar politics, point towards the possibility that social processes associated with and influential in the success of social mix policy may in fact operate at a different scale than the neighbourhood, community or housing development. Instead, it may be argued that processes occurring at a much broader scale are influential, such as social stigmatisation. Throughout this chapter I explore whether processes operating at different scales do impact on social mix policy aspirations.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of social mix is not only used in planning related initiatives; the term has been incorporated in a plethora of policies. Social mix aspirations also form part of the community cohesion agenda and are therefore included in community cohesion based policy documents. After all, both concepts of social cohesion and social mix share the ambition of reducing divisions within society, ensuring those who are 'different' from one another live in close proximity, i.e. in areas of diversity which are thought to provide opportunities for social interaction. It could be argued that the development of social cohesion is one of the desired outcomes of social mix policy. Interestingly, social cohesion policy similarly talks about the role of communities and neighbourhoods in both the delivery and outcome of policies, but once again does not define community or neighbourhood or clarify at what scale policies should be applied. For example, in the white paper *Strong and Prosperous Communities* written by the Department for Communities and Local Government (2006c) the title words are regularly re-iterated throughout the document reinforcing the idea of creating 'strong and cohesive communities'. The paper promotes policies which support diversity, stronger local

community decision making and resident participation facilitated through community groups. That said, at no point does the document indicate the scale at which community exists, nor does it state the scale at which these policies should be applied.

Despite this similarity between planning and social cohesion policy programmes around social mix, there does appear, to some extent, to be recognition within social cohesion policy about the role of other factors operating at neighbourhood and wider scales that may determine the success of social mix initiatives. For example, the document entitled *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* produced by the Social Exclusion Unit (2000), acknowledges that often social problems associated with exclusion are seen as housing problems, and therefore to be fixed with housing solutions (p7). But this misses important dimensions (*ibid.*). Instead, it is suggested that a variety of factors are at play including; unemployment, neighbourhood isolation and the lack of role models for young people (*ibid.*). Other documents such as the local government white paper *Strong and Prosperous Communities* (DCLG, 2006c) mention the role of underlying discrimination and prejudice in social exclusion which infiltrates different aspects of people's lives beyond where they live. Discrimination can be based on a range of factors not just where someone lives but also age, income, lifestyle and race (DCLG, 2010b, p11). This is arguably supported by many of Hall's (1997) criticisms of Neighbourhood and Area Based Initiatives as discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 2. He suggests that the narrow view of neighbourhood-focused policies, especially in planning, chose to use internal solutions to perceived problems when in his view problems can cross many scales requiring external, as well as internal solutions.

The focus of national policy on the delivery of social mix and related policies to discrete areas such as a neighbourhood or a housing development is not reflected in local policy. In contrast, local policy, examined for this study engages with the importance of considering processes evident at different scales, or the wider context of a specific housing area, when applying these policies in practice. For example, in the local plan for the case study area of Ravenswood it was stated that:

‘The Council’s objectives in developing a new balanced neighbourhood on the Airfield site [Ravenswood], are to achieve a high quality development on the whole of the site which is well integrated with the existing community and meets housing, leisure and community needs whilst enhancing the local environment. The development will incorporate new services and facilities for its own support and to better serve adjoining areas’

(Ipswich Borough Council, 1997, p97)

Here it is stated that the new neighbourhood will be integrated with the existing areas and surrounding neighbourhoods, thereby illustrating consideration of a wider scale. Here, once again, the scale of the ‘existing community’ is not specified. That said, this idea of wider integration was also evident in the master plan for the Ravenswood development:

‘The foundations of a strong and healthy community will be laid most effectively by drawing on the established communities of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. In each phase of the development, special efforts should be made to attract existing residents from those areas to the Village [Ravenswood], either as home owners or as tenants of the Guinness Trust and other Housing Associations. These residents will already have established links through friends and family, schools, doctors and local employment that will make the transformation an easy one...’

(Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997, p51)

In this extract it is explicitly stated that the neighbouring residential areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath will play a significant role in the success, and, crucially, the social integration of the new development. The existing population is imagined as vital in merging the development with the existing area. The integration of the new residential area is discussed further elsewhere in the master plan. For instance, it is suggested that the integration of Ravenswood with Gainsborough and Priory Heath will be achieved in several ways:

‘First while the potential for physical connections to the existing communities are minimal, they will be exploited to ensure that access is simple and direct and designed so that existing residents do not feel inhibited from using new facilities within the development’

(Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997, p29)

From this it can be understood that consideration would be given to the physical boundaries between the new development of Ravenswood and the pre-existing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath, therefore providing evidence that the broader scale was considered in the implementation of policy within the new development. Interestingly, the master plan suggested that the potential for integration between the new and existing areas was 'minimal'. It is suggested that this is not a fair representation. Arguably, there was less potential for integration between Ravenswood and Priory Heath due to Nacton Road which acts as a barrier, and is a busy route into the centre of Ipswich. However Gainsborough, which sits to the west of Ravenswood, arguably had significant scope for integration. The implementation of this physical integration will be discussed later.

The second aspect of integration mentioned in the master plan is community development initiatives. The plan advocates programmes which will provide opportunities for all residents, regardless of whether they live in the new or older housing areas, to come together and integrate. Ravenswood's master plan (Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997), for example, suggests the use of community groups and also sports teams such as a cricket team to achieve this. It is the use of both design and community initiatives that are thought to integrate and support social mix policy across a wide area. Of course, such local policy does not guarantee that these aspects of integration will be implemented on the ground and achieved in practice. This chapter will examine the implementation of this policy in further detail in the Section 7.3.

Despite the contrast between national and local policy regarding the scale of social mix implementation, both national and local policy acknowledge the importance of integrating social and private housing in a neighbourhood. For example, in *Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development* (ODPM, 2005a) the importance of mixed and integrated developments which avoid segregation is highlighted. However, unlike local policy and Ravenswood's master plan, little is said about how to achieve this in new developments. Ravenswood's master plan however, sees this as the third aspect of integration for the new development:

‘Thirdly, within the development, social housing is intended to be seamlessly integrated with housing for sale and to all intents and purposes will be indistinguishable. The intended management regime will underpin this philosophy’
(Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997, p29)

This indicates that social and private housing will be built together, in the same streets, rather than separately. This is often referred to as *pepper-potting* of social housing. This point is further supported elsewhere in the master plan where the distribution of affordable housing is discussed. It was intended that throughout the development, in each housing phase, social housing would be incorporated amongst the housing available for ownership. Additionally, the above quote from the master plan suggests that the social housing will be ‘indistinguishable’, implying that social housing will not be identifiable through property design and aesthetics. Finally, the quote mentioned the intended management structures that will be implemented in the new housing area. In the master plan, considerable time is spent detailing the management structures for the new neighbourhood. It was intended that a ‘Village Company’ would be established that would represent residents and comprise of representatives from the housing associations along with ‘village pioneers’ who would be some of the initial residents on the site. This would be headed up by a ‘Village Manager’ who effectively would be a community and liaison officer. This organisation would initially be led by the stakeholders involved in the creation of the housing area, but would eventually be left in the charge of the residents thus forming a forum for their opinions and concerns. It is imagined that these individuals and structures would assist in the integration of social and private housing on the site.

Overall it appears that policy does not ignore the importance of scale. It was however an issue that national and local policy consider differently with regards to social mix policy.

7.3 Social mix and integration in the wider context

In this section, through looking at the wider context, it is explored how and why boundaries are created and maintained between people living in different neighbourhoods. This, of course, directly conflicts with the aim of wider integration outlined in local policy and the master plan.

7.3.1 Social boundaries and perceptions

So far, this thesis has argued that some Ravenswood residents see themselves as separate and ultimately superior to people living in the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. This story is not unique to Ravenswood. In their book, *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994), Elias and Scotzman talk about a small town with clear social divisions between the 'established', who live in the older housing area and have been there for some time, and the 'outsiders' who live in a more recent extension to the town. The 'established' see themselves as superior to the outsiders, who should be avoided. Academic work that explores the notion of class has long been interested in how social group boundaries are defined (Anthias, 2005, p28). Furthermore, it has been noted how boundaries are not only drawn between social groups but also how social groups are placed in hierarchies with some groups seen as superior to others (*ibid.*). As discussed in Chapter 6, Bourdieu believes that each individual has their own habitus which is created from a semi-unique combination of capital which will determine their patterns of thought, behaviour and tastes affecting social practices (Crompton, 2008, p101). Moreover, as noted in Chapter 6, although everyone's habitus is semi-unique, individuals who are members of any particular social group, such as a social class, will inevitably possess similar capital and therefore have similar habitus (*ibid.*). On this basis, Bourdieu suggests that class boundaries should be understood in relation to social practices (*ibid.*). Furthermore, processes of discourse and language work to create a hierarchy between social groups. For example discourses may state that the car someone drives (economic and cultural capital) is more prestigious than that of someone else (Crompton, 2008, p102). Or in the case of this study it may be that the neighbourhood an individual lives in, is more or less prestigious than surrounding areas, deeming them as superior or inferior to someone else.

As well as the concept of habitus, Bourdieu also discusses the idea of *field* (Thomson, 2008). A field is a structured social space, where social agents are ordered and a social hierarchy exists (Thomson, 2008, p70). This hierarchy will always seek to secure and look after the interests of the most powerful, or those whose habitus is most favoured in that field. For example, in one

field written about by Bourdieu - the school - the power hierarchy works to look after the interests of the most powerful and so the interests of the least educated are often dismissed (Thomson, 2008, p73). With this in mind, it could be suggested that Ravenswood, or any neighbourhood, is a field. In Ravenswood there are some who have more power than others. For instance, as argued in Chapter 5, when analysing young people's use of public space it was evident that some actors have significantly more power to secure their interests than others. The concept of *field* along with *habitus* will be returned to later in order to develop an analysis of some of the processes at work in Ravenswood.

In Ravenswood I regularly heard from residents and stakeholders who believed there was a feeling of 'us *versus* them' in the area, indicating a division between social groups. The first time I ever had a sense of this was at the beginning of the fieldwork when I attended a residents' meeting held by Ravenswood Residents' Association. On that occasion, the Chair of the Committee, Victoria Walsh, recalled all the past achievements of the Association. One of these achievements was how the group had worked to get Ravenswood identified as a *village* rather than an *estate* illustrating the social construction of place. She made the distinction between these by saying 'Ravenswood is not an estate. Gainsborough is an estate. Ravenswood is a Village'. The term 'estate' has become synonymous with, and an abbreviation for, a social housing estate, and holds negative and derogatory connotations. First of all, this anecdote illustrates how many Ravenswood residents see a distinction between themselves and surrounding neighbourhoods. Furthermore, it shows how Ravenswood residents consider their neighbourhood to be superior to the surrounding estate areas. As mentioned above, the work of Bourdieu argues how discourse and language can work to reproduce systems of power and superiority. However, here the concept of 'estate' is defined in relation to inferior social groupings (Crompton, 2008, p102), the residents of these areas, illustrating how social and spatial identities are co-constructed.

Derogatory language was regularly used by residents and stakeholders involved in Ravenswood when describing the neighbouring areas and in particular those residing there. David Neagle one Ravenswood resident living on Ravenswood Avenue, spoke about the neighbouring areas describing them as 'rough' and their residents as 'bloody scallies'. Other stakeholders also had their own views on residents from the neighbouring areas. Keith Watson, the Park Ranger, described Gainsborough residents as 'troublemakers'. Keith was not the only stakeholder with these perceptions. Whilst visiting *Club4teenz* - a youth group set up by young people at the

Gainsborough Library - I spoke to one of the youth workers there called Michael. During our conversation two of the young people at the youth group began to bicker over who should play the next computer game. In response to this Michael stopped our conversation and intervened to resolve the quarrel. Before he returned to our conversation he looked at me and under his breath said 'Welcome to Gainsborough!' I found this a surprising comment from a youth worker. His words acted to make the distinction that people from Gainsborough behaved differently and significantly in an inappropriate way. As discussed throughout this thesis, Bourdieu argues that an individual's behaviour, which is influenced by an individual's habitus, is considered to be a key indicator of an individual's social grouping or as Skeggs (1997, p4) argues a 'signifier of class'. The behaviour of residents from the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath was, for many Ravenswood residents, a sign of their 'otherness'. This has been a recurring theme throughout the thesis, for example, in relation to young people's use of public space in the neighbourhood and residents' perceptions of pupils at either of the local schools, which ultimately affected their decisions about school choice.

In Section 7.2 of this chapter, it was shown how policy at the local level aspired to integrate both the new development of Ravenswood with the existing housing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. With this in mind, throughout the empirical stage of the study, I asked residents about the integration of Ravenswood residents with those from the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. Many Ravenswood residents, including Andrew Parkinson, had strong views on the interaction between Ravenswood and Gainsborough residents:

'It [Gainsborough] is a council estate with a poor reputation. It is a dreadful place to live. The most interaction we have with them is listening to the police helicopter flying over Gainsborough four or five times a week. Most people who have bought a house on this estate will think themselves a cut above anyone who lives on Gainsborough or Nacton estate [Priory Heath]. They don't want to socialise, they don't want to go and mix with anyone down there [adjoining housing areas]' .

Andrew Parkinson, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

Here, Andrew's language works to homogenise *all* Gainsborough residents as equally inferior. Furthermore, he illustrates how Ravenswood residents see themselves as superior to those living in the neighbouring areas. What is also striking about his comment is his example of the

police helicopter regularly flying above Gainsborough. During the course of the fieldwork stage of the study, I heard several people mention police helicopters flying over Gainsborough and Priory Heath, for example during an interview with Amy Jones another Ravenswood resident. However, this also included people who did not live in Ravenswood, but elsewhere in Ipswich. Despite this popular comment, during the fieldwork and my time spent in the south-east of Ipswich, I never heard a police helicopter flying above Gainsborough or Priory Heath!

Other residents also mentioned how those living in Ravenswood liked to draw a distinction between themselves and those in the neighbouring areas, thereby justifying the lack of interaction and association. One Ravenswood resident I interviewed, Sonia Cavanagh, had herself grown up in the local area and had previously lived in Braziers Wood, a small 1990s housing development on the edge of Gainsborough. I asked Sonia whether she thought Ravenswood residents were integrated with the surrounding area. She responded by saying that:

‘No not really... I don’t think that they [Ravenswood] are particularly integrated. (...) Gainsborough estate doesn’t have a particularly good reputation, so I imagine that most people wouldn’t want to be associated with Gainsborough’.

Sonia Cavanagh, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 3rd November 2009

The social divisions between Ravenswood residents and residents of the neighbouring areas were also illustrated during an interview with Amy Jones, another Ravenswood resident. Amy spoke at some length about how she perceived the divisions between the areas. She acknowledged that although some people might not want to openly admit their prejudice towards Gainsborough and Priory Heath residents, it did exist. She admitted that when she was with other Ravenswood residents, derogatory comments would be made about the neighbouring areas, reflecting what she referred to as the ‘snobbery’ amongst Ravenswood residents. Amy also recalled how she had read unpleasant comments about the neighbouring areas when surfing the online Ravenswood Residents’ Association’s forum page which had since been removed. Amy later indicated that she believed that many of these perceptions were reinforced by, if not initially created from, the local media such as the *Ipswich Star* who published a local daily newspaper covering stories throughout the Ipswich area. These anecdotes not only illustrate how Ravenswood residents see themselves as superior, but as Savage *et al* (2005, p96) discuss, sharing strong opinions and views in and of itself shows a

sense of belonging to a group. In this case, Ravenswood residents voicing their opinions, identifies them as belonging to a particular social group.

Such perceptions, as outlined above, illustrate how those living in the areas neighbouring Ravenswood are indiscriminately constructed as inferior, criminals and the source of trouble. These remarks also show how, as a result of these ideas, Ravenswood residents try to avoid contact and association with these residents. Tony Bainbridge, one of the first residents to move into Ravenswood, spoke about the divisions:

'I feel we are bit of a fortress here. We are a bit of an island. We have Gainsborough on that side, Priory Heath on the other side of Nacton Road, and then there is Ravenswood here. We all try to keep to our side of the fence'.

Tony Bainbridge, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

Strikingly here, residents describe Ravenswood as a 'fortress', indicating that barriers exist between people living in Ravenswood and the neighbouring housing areas. Here, it would seem that these social perceptions, which result in distinctions being made between social groups, are social boundaries which act as further barriers to integration.

Local policy and the master plan support the integration of new housing developments with pre-existing areas. Crucially, this is to include residents' integration and social interaction. In the case study area of Ravenswood, however, this aspiration is not being met. Residents, especially Ravenswood residents keep to their side of the 'fence'. The work of Bourdieu helps to explain how Ravenswood residents see themselves as different to Gainsborough and Priory Heath residents and socially construct them as 'other' and inferior. Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which, he argues, influences social practices such as behaviour, is key in this distinction. Ultimately these processes work to undermine the aspiration for integration, especially the first and second aspects of integration which as outlined in Ravenswood's master plan seek to ensure physical and social integration amongst residents from Ravenswood and Gainsborough specifically.

7.3.2 Physical boundaries between neighbourhoods

Before I commence discussion of the physical integration and boundaries between neighbourhoods in the case study area, it is important to review the areas and land uses that adjoin Ravenswood. In Chapter 4 I outlined these and provided a map, which is reproduced on the following page (Figure 1). Ravenswood is outlined with a red line. Other colours indicate a different area or land use that surrounds Ravenswood. To the north of Ravenswood, highlighted in blue, is Priory Heath. This area is mentioned throughout the study and although it borders Ravenswood, Nacton Road a busy arterial route, separates them. To the east of Priory Heath, highlighted in orange, is a large light industrial area. This area includes warehouses and a number of car showrooms. This area of land was rarely mentioned by research participants and is less significant for this thesis. To the south of Ravenswood, indicated in green, is a large expanse of open green space. This adjoins Ravenswood and was part of the master plan proposals. This area extends further south, and is officially known as Orwell Country Park, as it extends down to the River Orwell estuary. This area of land has been discussed extensively in Chapter 5, with regards to young people's use of public space in the area. To the west of Ravenswood the boundaries are more complex. The area highlighted in yellow encompasses Gainsborough Sports Centre, as well as the Football and Gymnastics centre, and the associated sports fields. The small area shaded red, is a small housing area which is predominantly owner-occupied. Referred to locally as Brazier Wood it was built during the early 1990s. The largest area highlighted in purple is Gainsborough. The boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough will be analysed in detail later in this chapter, as it was here that much conflict arose.

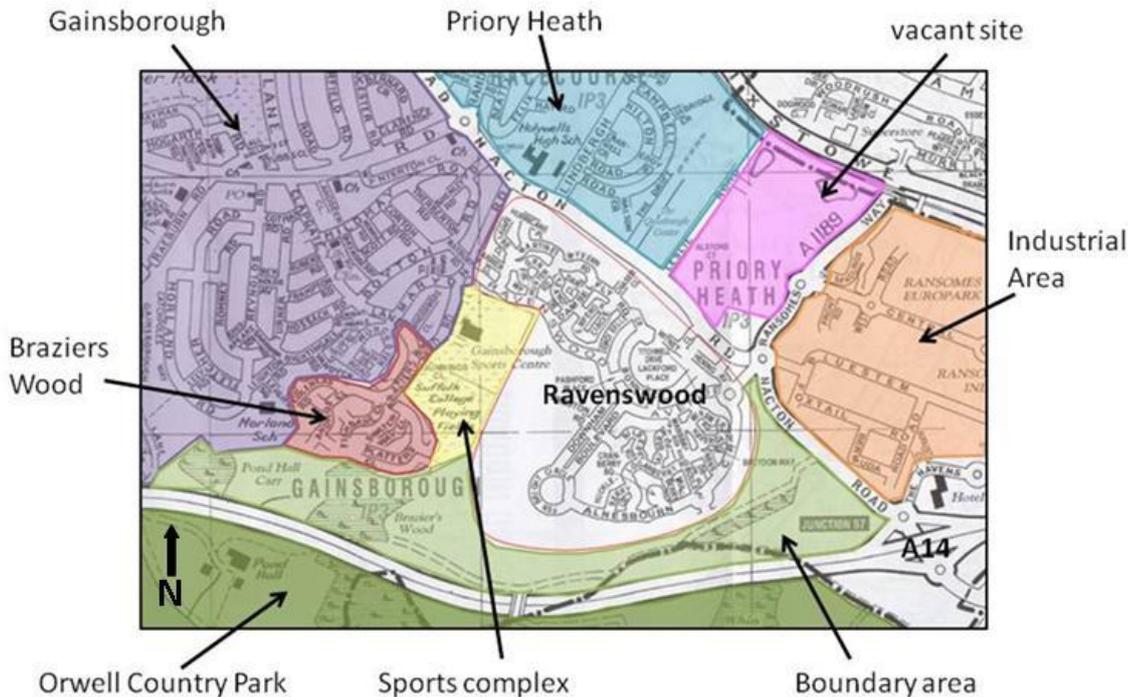


Figure 1: Context map of Ravenswood (map adapted from Ipswich Street Map, date unknown)

In Chapter 2, it was argued that the lack of a clear consensus on a definition of neighbourhood, in terms of what it looks like and what size it may be, makes the task of setting a boundary around any area claiming to be a neighbourhood problematic. Not only are boundaries difficult to draw, but it is suggested that each of us will have our own idea of where a boundary may sit, resulting in contradictory neighbourhood boundaries (Galster, 2001, p2121). In contrast, both residents and stakeholders in Ravenswood firmly agree on where the neighbourhood's boundary is and crucially where Ravenswood and the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath begin and end. This can be most clearly illustrated through the results of the residents' questionnaire. On each of the questionnaires distributed during the one day street event in Ravenswood, there was a map of the housing site and the surrounding area. One of the questions introduced the idea that Ravenswood had been built next to the pre-existing housing areas (Gainsborough and Priory Heath). Given this, I asked residents to indicate the boundary of the neighbourhood by drawing a line around Ravenswood on the map. Out of the 21 questionnaire responses received, 18 residents completed this specific question, with three responses providing no boundary line at all. Of the 18 responses, 16 of these provided almost identical boundaries for Ravenswood. These respondents chose to draw a clear boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough on the west of the site and decided not to include Gainsborough Sports Centre within Ravenswood's boundary (Figure 2).

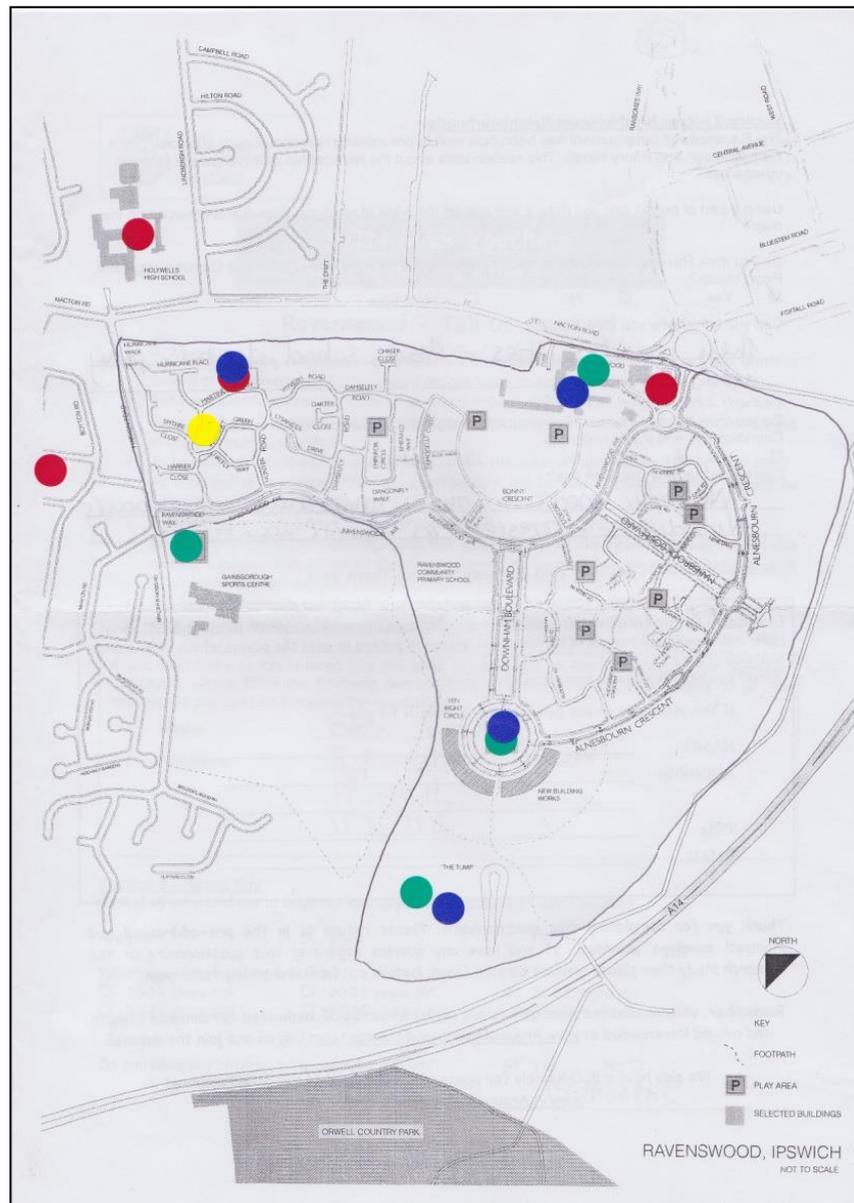


Figure 2: Example of questionnaire response, excluding Gainsborough Sports Centre (Source: Author)

Youth in the mix

The other two responses only varied with regard to the inclusion of Gainsborough Sports Centre as part of Ravenswood (Figure 3).

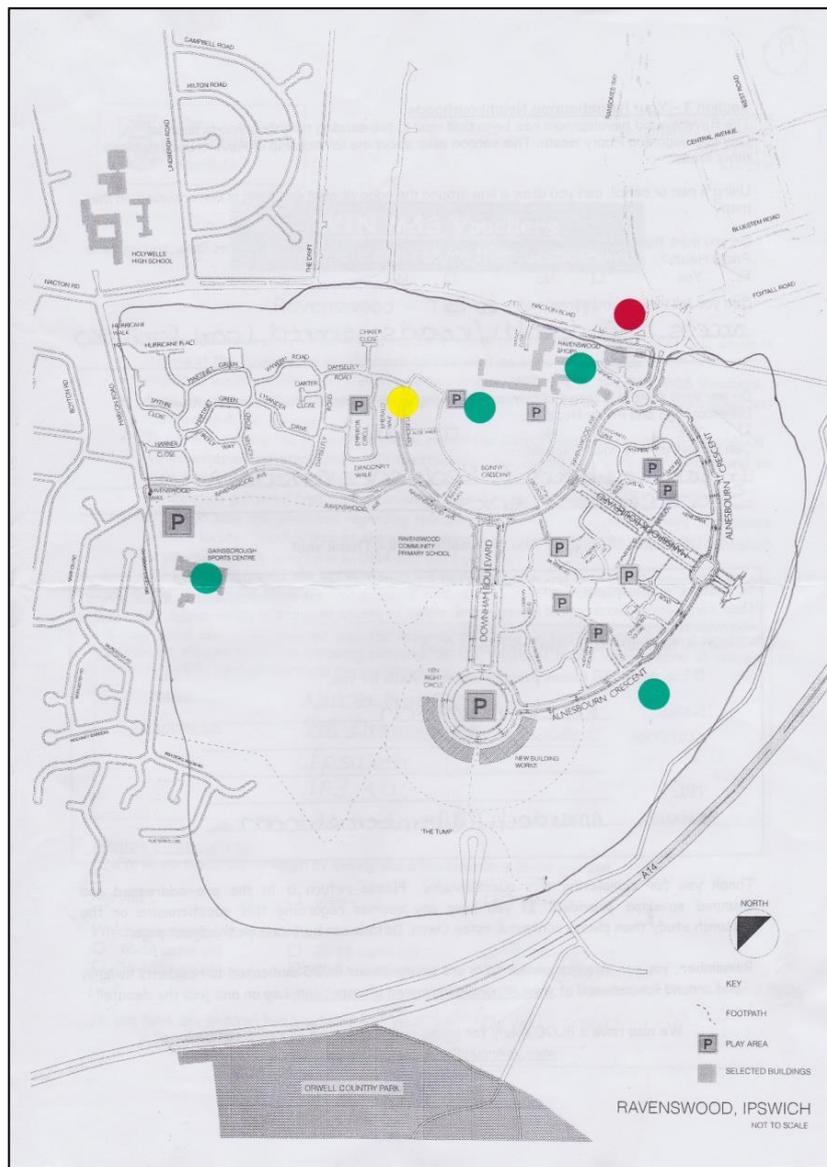


Figure 3: Example of questionnaire map, including Gainsborough Sports Centre

As mentioned in Section 7.2.1 of this chapter, local policy and specifically the master plan supported the integration of the new housing development with the surrounding areas. However despite these intentions, housing areas around Ravenswood were seen in isolation not only by residents but also by stakeholders. For instance, the Planning Project Officer, Derek Cotterill, who oversaw the development, described Ravenswood as ‘the biggest cul-de-sac in Ipswich’. He went on to explain how there was only one access road on and off the development. This had been provided on the north-east of the site, away from Gainsborough.

Derek justified this decision on the basis of traffic concerns and was made at the master planning stage. The master plan clearly illustrates the intended, and eventual road access on and off Ravenswood (Figure 4).

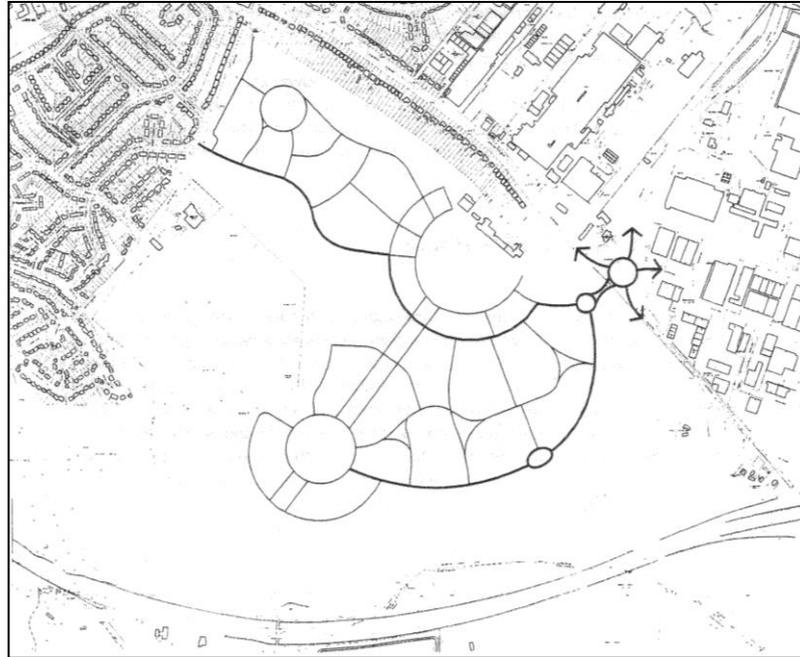


Figure 4: Access Routes illustration from Ravenswood's master plan
(Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997, p19)

Youth in the mix

That said, one vehicular route was created across the Ravenswood and Gainsborough boundary in the form of a narrow access road which is restricted to the use of buses only (Figure 5 and Plate 1). This is enforced through the design of the road, as a large raised road hump along this route prevents cars and vans from passing over it.

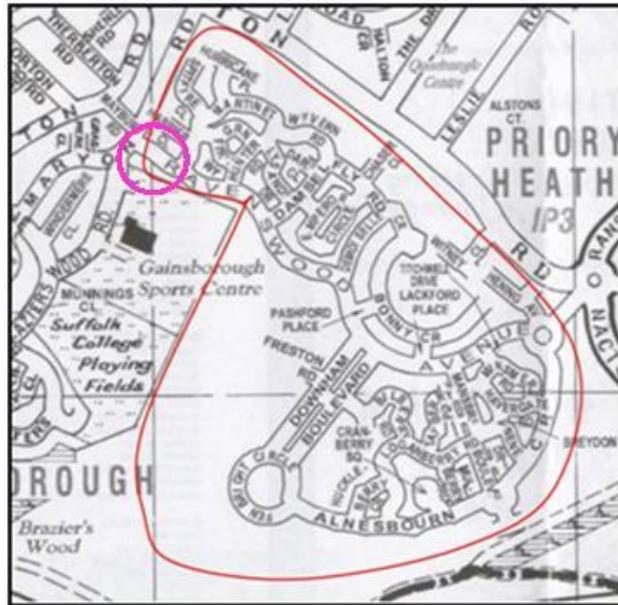


Figure 5: Location of bus route (highlighted in pink)
(map adapted from Ipswich Street Map, date unknown)



Plate 1: Bus access route between Ravenswood and Gainsborough (looking towards Ravenswood)
(Source: Author, 2009)

The lack of an integrated street network between Ravenswood and the neighbouring areas, especially Gainsborough, was also acknowledged by some of the residents and other stakeholders involved in the community. For example, Tony and Patricia Bainbridge who lived on Ravenswood Avenue, one of the main through-routes in Ravenswood, spoke of the road access on and off the site.

Tony: 'What I do notice is that there is clearly a barrier - a physical barrier - between Gainsborough and Ravenswood. The only access onto Nacton Road is at the far end of Ravenswood: there is no other access.'

Patricia: 'There was meant to be a road coming in up there [gestures in the direction of the bus lane at the Gainsborough boundary] but they have blocked that off. It is not for normal vehicles, is it?'

Tony: 'So in a way they haven't mingled the development with the existing developments and that is probably unfortunate. They probably should have done that. We are like a separate entity over here, aren't we?'

Tony and Patricia Bainbridge, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

In light of this quote, it seems that the structure of the road access not only operates to influence road traffic, as the master plan for the site suggests, but it also serves to create a feeling of division and distinction between neighbouring housing areas. Zoe Graham, a Community Support Worker based in the library at Gainsborough, spoke of the physical separation of Ravenswood from the neighbouring residential areas, especially on the western boundary of the site which adjoins Gainsborough (Figure 6). She described Ravenswood as a 'silo', as the development had been built not only with poor road access between neighbouring areas but, as she suggested, 'a physical boundary turned away from Gainsborough'.

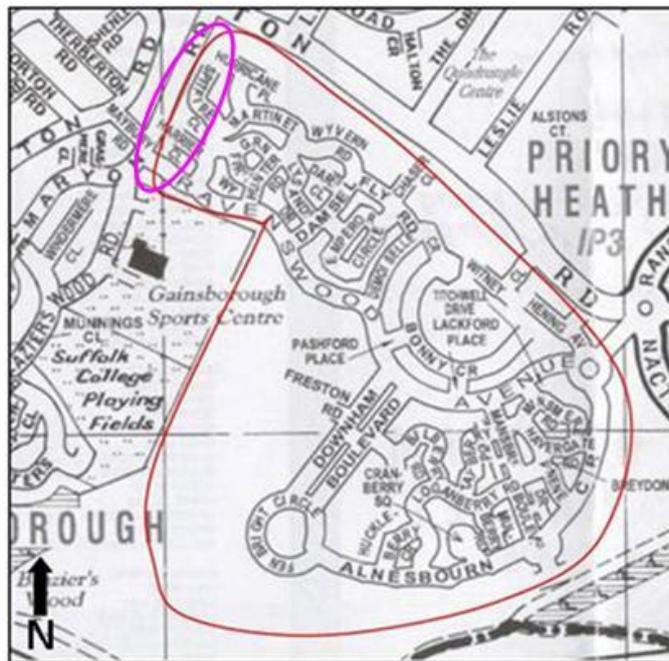


Figure 6: Boundary location between Ravenswood and Gainsborough
(Map adapted from Ipswich Street Map, date unknown)

Early observations in the case study area revealed the presence of physical boundaries between Ravenswood and Gainsborough. Maryon Road, which existed prior to Ravenswood and sits on the edge of Gainsborough, consists of houses, but only along one side of the street – with fronts facing towards Ravenswood. When they designed and built Ravenswood, instead of building new homes on the other side of the road and effectively ‘completing’ the street, a strip of trees and bushes were planted instead, creating a barrier. Behind this barrier Ravenswood’s new homes were built. Ironically they face towards Maryon Road but cannot be seen from Maryon Road (Plate 2).



Plate 2: Maryon Road and Ravenswood's boundary (Source: Author, 2009)

Derek Cotterill, a Planning Project Officer, who oversaw the development explained how the developers had to produce a wildlife strategy, as there were a number of wildlife species on the old airfield site prior to the development, including slow worms and skylarks. As part of this they provided several 'nature strips' throughout the development, one being the strip of trees and bushes between Gainsborough and Priory Heath along Maryon Road. There are several other nature strips like this throughout the development such as a small wooded ditch area in Martinet Green. However, these other nature strips do not create a barrier between two areas of housing and arguably two communities. Suttles (1972) talks about the existence of physical neighbourhood boundaries created by features in the environment (p235). He suggests that in practice there is rarely an 'official' boundary, but rather arbitrary features that are adopted by residents and stakeholders as markers of a boundary, such as pathways. In Ravenswood the features developed along the site boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough are not arbitrary features but instead distinctive and concrete markers which create a barrier, that limit, if not prevent, human movement. Ravenswood may not be a gated community in the sense that we are commonly familiar with, in terms of high fences and private security patrols, but the boundary along Maryon Road on the west of Ravenswood ultimately serves to separate and hinder integration between two areas.

This can be further illustrated with regards to the treatment of another public space along Maryon Road. As described in Chapter 5, one of the largest play areas built in Ravenswood, sits

Youth in the mix

along this boundary. Due to its position between two housing areas, this particular play area became a great concern for Ravenswood residents. A number of residents interviewed for this study referred to the 'inappropriate' use of this space by young people from the adjoining area of Gainsborough. In their view, this was primarily designed to be used by Ravenswood residents and their children, rather than young people from elsewhere. Neil Lomas, a resident living near this play area, suggested that placing neighbourhood facilities on such a boundary would inevitably attract young people from outside the neighbourhood. He believed that the erection of a ten foot high fence around this play area, as described previously in Chapter 5 (Plates 3 and 4), was essential for maintaining these boundaries.



Plates 3 and 4: Fence built around the play area on the boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough

(Source: Author, 2009)

Outlined previously in this chapter it would seem that both the perception of a boundary around Ravenswood and its position is well defined. Earlier in the previous section a resident described Ravenswood as a 'fortress' with regards to social boundaries. Yet, it would appear that this idea is also appropriate to describe the nature of physical boundaries around Ravenswood. The clear existence of boundaries in Ravenswood is in contrast to academic debates which highlight the complexity and the obscure nature of neighbourhood boundaries. With this in mind, it is also argued that there is evidence that the housing in Ravenswood which lies closest to the Gainsborough boundary is a site of greater conflict when compared with housing areas positioned further east in Ravenswood. As attempts are continually made to challenge and maintain Ravenswood's boundary by Ravenswood and Gainsborough residents.

The defence of a neighbourhood boundary is well documented in both empirical and theoretical literature. Suttles (1972) puts forward the concept of the 'defended community'. By this he refers to the way in which residential groups attempt to seal their neighbourhood off from perceived potential threats (p21). Although the term 'defended community' has limited use, many others such as Delanty (2003) and Elias and Scotzman (1994) have discussed how communities try to form barriers from external threats, in order to maintain the status quo. This is arguably why the fence around the play area on the boundary was built. During the one day street event, there was the opportunity to speak to a number of Ravenswood's residents regarding this issue. From a number of the conversations on that day it was clear that those living on the west of the site, closer to the boundary with Gainsborough, expressed greater concern about the residents from the neighbouring areas. These residents complained of greater anti-social behaviour, especially by young people, along with low level vandalism. First of all this is evidence that the boundary between Ravenswood and Gainsborough is still, despite the physical boundary features, permeable. Furthermore, the housing closest to the boundary appeared to be a site of negotiation over who was welcome and what activities were allowed in that space – ultimately a site of conflict. This shows that even with a clear consensus on the boundary line and concrete features which mark the boundary such as trees and design features, 'boundaries' are spatially and temporally contested in Ravenswood. Furthermore, in light of the evidence of physical boundaries between Ravenswood and the surrounding areas, it is once again clear that the aspirations set out in local policy and the master plan for integration between new and pre-existing areas are not being met.

7.3.3 Boundaries of facility use

In the previous sections I discussed the existence of social and physical boundaries which serve to divide and prevent integration between Ravenswood and the surrounding areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. In this section I will again explore boundaries to integration in the wider context specifically regarding facility use. Academic debate suggests that the boundary of a neighbourhood is not only complex but also varied, as different processes associated with neighbourhoods can exist and operate at different scales, making it difficult to draw one boundary (Galster, 2001, p2121). For example, it is often suggested that the scale at which a resident interacts with his neighbours may vary from the scale at which they use neighbourhood facilities. In the two previous empirical chapters I examined two neighbourhood processes – public space use and the use of school services – both of which operate at different scales and not within the boundary identified by Ravenswood residents in Section 7.2.2 of this chapter. Here, in contrast, it will be argued that neighbourhood processes associated with social interaction operate firmly within the neighbourhood boundary identified by residents.

During the course of the fieldwork a number of Ravenswood community events were observed - a Scarecrow Competition and a Barn Dance, both held on the 3rd October 2009 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the development. The Ravenswood Residents' Association was responsible for arranging these events. The scarecrow competition was primarily designed for families and children, whilst the Barn Dance aimed more at adults.

Ravenswood Scarecrow Competition
3rd Oct 2009

Barn Dance
3rd Oct 2009

The Ravenswood Residents Association is celebrating 10 Years since the start of Ravenswood and is hosting 2 events as follows:

Scarecrow Competition
We invite you to take part in a scarecrow competition on 3rd October 2009. Display your scarecrows from 9am till 5pm on the day of the event. Residents can walk round and find the scarecrows and there will be a small prize for the winner. A map of the location of the scarecrows will be on display in the Ipswich Building Society and the Raven Pub on the day. Please visit our website or go to the Raven pub or Ravenswood Ipswich Building Society for rules and entry form or send an email to: scarecrow@ravenswood-residents.org.uk

Further details of both events can be obtained from our website <http://www.ravenswood-residents.org.uk>

Barn Dance
From 7:30pm till midnight we will be holding a barn dance at Gainsborough sports centre featuring Spit And Polish. Tickets cost £5 each and include the cost of fish and chips supper.

Tickets must be bought in advance and are available from the Raven Pub, Ravenswood Ipswich Building Society branch, or from the Residents Association Committee Members.

Sponsored by
IPSWICH BUILDING SOCIETY
Bellway

Figure 7: Scarecrow Competition and Barn Dance leaflet
(Source: Ravenswood Residents' Association, 2009)

Mark, a committee member on the Residents' Association, was the driving force behind the events, and saw the competition as a means for families, especially those with children, to get to know one another. In this vein, as well as advertising the event to households in Ravenswood through a leaflet drop (Figure 7), the event was also promoted to children at Ravenswood Community Primary School. On the day of the event, I was invited along to assist the judging of the competition. There were a total of 12 entrants in the competition, including one entry from the primary school and two from local businesses. The remaining entries were from individual households however the majority of these were from committee members of the residents' association and only a few were from residents who had not previously been involved with the committee. It is worth noting that all the entries were based in Ravenswood itself. During the event Mark reflected upon this. He described how his aim was for children to

get involved, but had realised that in hindsight there were problems associated with this. Mark explained how, in his opinion, there were not that many families living in Ravenswood with children and that the majority of children at the local school did not live on the development, meaning they might not have taken part. He insisted that he would never have prevented anyone from outside Ravenswood taking part but did also acknowledge that the description of the event may have appeared exclusive to Ravenswood residents.

The Barn Dance, based at the Gainsborough Sports Centre, was attended by around 80 people. Due to the nature of the event, I was able to speak to many of the people there. Most notable, was that despite the event being held at the Gainsborough Sports Centre, which many residents identified as being outside Ravenswood's boundary (see Section 7.3.2) I did not meet any residents from Gainsborough. The majority of people were from Ravenswood or lived much further afield and had come along with friends from Ravenswood. This was despite the Barn Dance being advertised in local shops, and the sports centre itself. It is difficult to know why residents from the neighbouring areas did not attend these events. There was no evidence that the organisers actively tried to prevent them from being involved, although only Ravenswood households received flyers about both events. Instead it may have been the result of perceptions around the divisions, both social and physical, between neighbourhoods. Both events are seen as community events, a place for socialising. However, both neighbourhoods see themselves as different. Socially, they see themselves as distinct with different values and codes of behaviour. Furthermore, there is, as described above, a consensus on the physical separation between Ravenswood and the surrounding areas. This unofficially identifies where and therefore who is invited to attend the events.

In Elias and Scotsman's (1994) analysis of the divided community of Winston Parva, they also propose that divisions exist between patterns of community service use. For instance, they suggested that this even extended to which public house different social groups chose to use (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p17). In Winston Parva, the public house in the 'outsiders' area, the newly built part of the town, quickly got a reputation for being noisy and for heavy drinkers. On this basis those living in the established area avoided this public house. Over the course of the fieldwork, a similar story emerged in relation to 'The Raven' - Ravenswood's public house (Plate 5). Initially, the local authority, although not against the idea of a public house in Ravenswood in principle, felt that a public house would not be a viable land-use option on the development. The Ravenswood Residents' Association strongly disagreed with this, and keen to have a pub in

the neighbourhood approached pub chains and breweries themselves. Eventually *Marstons Brewery* opened up *The Raven* public house which is located near the entrance to Ravenswood's shopping precinct.



Plate 5: The Raven Public House in Ravenswood (Source: Author, 2013)

During the course of the field research it became apparent that, in general, Ravenswood residents made good use of this facility. Many spoke about the convenience of having a 'good' public house close to their home, meaning they could walk there and back. At the time of the fieldwork The Raven was regularly full of customers. With this in mind, many of the residents did mention how, in their view, it was used mainly by Ravenswoods residents. One resident at the one day street event commented on the 'type' of people who went there by referring to the pub's dress code which prohibits 'tracksuit bottoms and trainers'. Neil Lomas, one of the first residents to move on to the development and a key figure in the early days of the Residents' Association, also spoke about the value of the public house:

'The pub is really good. It was a master stroke making sure we got that. We go down there a lot. They do a pub quiz on a Sunday night and a quiz also on a Wednesday night. The Pub, you know if you want to go out for a drink you have to go and walk and it is so cheap and so it is always packed! That has been good. It is probably our (Ravenswood's) biggest identity. Because the shops are used by everybody – no matter where you come from you will use the shops.... If I was to be absolutely truthful and honest, and I don't

Youth in the mix

want it to sound the wrong way, but the Thrashers on the other side of Nacton Road, a big pub and quite nice. But if you were to go in and look at the people you would think 'I really don't want to look at these people the wrong way', you know what you mean?'

Neil Lomas, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 14th October 2009.



Image 6: The Thrasher Public House (Source: Author, 2013)



Figure 8: Location map of 'The Raven' and 'The Thrasher' Public House
(Map adapted from Ipswich Street Map, date unknown)

From this anecdote it is implied that Ravenswood residents use the public house within the neighbourhood and choose not to use other nearby pubs which sit within the neighbouring areas (Plate 6 and Figure 8). They make this decision on the basis of who else may be there. Of course, as discussed in Section 7.3.1 this is based on perceptions and the social construction of others as different and to be avoided. As Bourdieu suggests, behaviour including clothing practices, serve to identify one class from another, or as Skeggs (2004) describes them, 'signifiers of class'. Furthermore, codes of behaviour, such as the formal dress code in place at The Raven work to defend the public house, and ultimately Ravenswood residents from coming into contact with people from outside the area, specifically Gainsborough and Priory Heath residents. Again this could be seen as a measure to 'defend' the community. Suttles (1972) talks about the variety of measures that can be used, including such behavioural codes to secure communities.

7.4 Social mix integration within Ravenswood

So far in this chapter I have examined social mix policy in relation to the broader context, particularly between neighbourhoods. In this section, I will again analyse social mix and boundaries but instead of looking across neighbourhoods, I will examine boundaries both social and physical, within the bounds of a neighbourhood – that is within Ravenswood.

7.4.1 Social boundaries and perceptions within Ravenswood

Earlier it was argued that Ravenswood residents hold perceptions about the residents living in neighbouring areas which results in them actively seeking to avoid contact with residents from elsewhere. In this section, however, social boundaries are explored within the confines of Ravenswood. Importantly, and somewhat surprisingly, it is argued that despite some residents' concerns about social mix at the scale of the neighbourhood, social mix appears to be more accepted at the neighbourhood scale than it is at the 'larger' scale as previously discussed in Section 7.3 of this chapter.

When embarking on the fieldwork stage of this research project, I was unsure how familiar those living on Ravenswood would be with the concept of social mix and mixed tenure policy. Yet it soon became clear that Ravenswood residents (at least those participating in the research) were in fact accustomed with the concept of integrating both social and private

housing on a new development, as it was regularly raised during meetings and interviews. For example, David Neagle, a Ravenswood resident, said:

‘I knew that all new build estates have a minimum to meet don’t they, a minimum criteria for social housing to integrate with a normal new build estate. And I don’t have a problem with it. I grew up in a council house and it didn’t do me any harm’.

David Neagle, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 2nd July 2009

Despite some residents being aware of the mixed tenure status of Ravenswood, there was not a consensus on whether it was liked or disliked by the residents. A number of the residents that I spoke to considered the mixed tenure nature of the development as a disadvantage for many of the same reasons that they did not like the proximity of the neighbouring estates of Gainsbrough and Priory Heath. David Neagle, after acknowledging the presence of social housing in the development, expressed his concerns about it:

‘I don’t have a problem with the fact that there is [social housing] there. It is more a case of certain individuals. I mean, you could have an individual neighbour, who is arrogant and a nuisance to live next door to – whether they are living in social housing is another matter. I guess it just increases in frequency with social housing. I am stereotyping but they don’t have the same motivation or work enthusiasm to do things for themselves – hence why they are in social housing. That emulates in their lifestyles, which is where the problem would lie for me. They might have dogs and not pick up their mess, they might have a car that has broken down and they don’t move it. I know I am stereotyping [laughs].’

David Neagle, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 2nd July 2009

It is clear from these two quotes how David sees those living in social housing as different from those in private housing, despite living in the same neighbourhood. For instance, he uses the term ‘*normal* new build’ housing in the first quote to convey the idea of private-owner occupied compared to social housing. Furthermore, particularly in the second quote, David expresses how he sees the behaviour of Ravenswood residents who live in social housing to be potentially different from those who live in privately owned housing. Once again, behaviour is seen as a key identifier of a social group (Skeggs, 2004). Suttles (1972) in relation to his concept of the ‘defended neighbourhood’, talks about the importance of behaviour and codes of

conduct in maintaining the status quo. Furthermore, the idea of a neighbourhood community refers to the notion of a social group in one area who share common values. It is clear from David's comment that he believes the values of social housing tenants to be different from his own and those who are living in private housing. David is not alone in this view. Andrew Parkinson, another Ravenswood resident who lives on Bonny Crescent also spoke about how he saw the differences between social and private housing residents:

'It is human nature, but you don't want to live next door to a council tenant. They might be the nicest people in the world, but you just don't. If next door was full, if a family was rehoused next door and they were screaming and shouting all day long and all night – being obnoxious, I would make a tremendous fuss [...] There are some very nice houses. When you look at it [Ravenswood] initially you think 'that is a nice house - I would move there no problem'. And moving into the area you think 'yes that is wonderful'. But you don't realise that just down the road is the world's fattest man² and over there is someone else unpleasant. You think it is a nice place with nice £400,00 or £500,000 houses, and they are nice houses. But then next door you have a block of council flats and you wish you hadn't bought your £400,000 house next door to a man that empties his cigarette tray from his car on the road in front of you. And that is why it [mixed tenure housing] doesn't work. And I know we should all be lovely and nice and kind and we shouldn't think 'oh that is dreadful that man never bothered to work his entire life and is sponging off the state living in a nice house', but we do[...] As a social experiment it doesn't work.'

Andrew Parkinson, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

It was not only some of the residents that considered the mixed tenure nature of Ravenswood to be problematic. Other stakeholders expressed concern. Police Constable Antony Gondoma, who worked from a police station based in Gainsborough, spoke at length about the housing in Ravenswood. Again, PC Gondoma was well aware of the mixed tenure status of the neighbourhood. He explained how the physical proximity of social and private housing did cause the police much work. He told me how he and his colleagues are regularly called out to deal with disputes amongst neighbours and in the majority of cases it was conflict between a homeowner and a social housing tenant. From his experience the arguments usually began over issues such as noise and conflicts in lifestyle. He finished by suggesting that 'if you don't

² During the course of the fieldwork, the media announced that the world's fattest man lived in Ipswich, later publishing that he lived in a social housing property in Ravenswood.

have to get up for anything in the morning then you might not see the problem with playing loud music until four in the morning’.

Again, it would seem that social mix policy, for some, is seen as problematic because of the differences in behaviour and values between those that live in social and those in private housing. The empirical data has (once again), pointed towards behaviour and what one group considers acceptable, as fundamental in social group identification (Maton, 2008, p49; Skeggs, 1997, p77). This appears to be the case for both stakeholders involved in Ravenswood and some Ravenswood residents.

In contrast, there were a number of residents and stakeholders who considered the mixed tenure nature of Ravenswood as a positive attribute; even residents who had expressed concern about the proximity of Gainsborough and Priory Heath and the social mix in the wider context. As mentioned previously, during the one day street event, I was struck by the number of residents who were aware of the mixed tenure status of residential properties on the development. On several occasions residents mentioned how they saw this as a good attribute. One resident who attended with his two young children spoke about how he particularly appreciated the mix of housing and therefore the mix of people on the development. He explained how he thought this was particularly good for children living in Ravenswood who, as a result, would be exposed to lots of different people including children from different backgrounds. This, he added, was a valuable skill for when they were older. As well as residents during the street event, some residents who were interviewed in much greater depth also spoke of how they saw the mixed tenure status of Ravenswood as an advantage. For example, Sophie Evans who lived with her husband and two small children said:

‘I think having a community with a mix of people is far better than one without. If it is just 5 bed houses, all of the same economic standard, it is quite false and unrealistic. To have a mixture of houses, it is a good thing to do by the developers... I don’t see it as a problem at all... if people don’t mix then it is not real life. That is one of my issues about not sending the children to a private school. In a way it is not real life; it is different’

Sophie Evans, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

Again, Sophie expressed how in her view the mixture of private and social housing ensures that the development reflects ‘real life’. Although she does not state this explicitly it could be

argued that she is keen not to live in a middle class 'ghetto', and prefers that her children are exposed to people from different circumstances to theirs. Both Sophie and the participant at the one day street event saw the potential for social mixing between residents of different tenures, or arguably different classes, as beneficial for themselves and their children. Their children's ability to interact with people from a range of backgrounds was seen as desirable and would potentially increase their cultural or social capital.

Amy Jones, another Ravenswood resident with two young children, also spoke about the value of social mix in the development. However, Amy spoke of different advantages to mixed tenure policy other than benefiting herself or her children, but rather the possible benefits to social housing tenants:

'You can only build [new neighbourhoods] in the manner where it is mixed [tenure]. The people who live in the social housing over there [points across the road] you know their housing is the same quality as ours. They also have access to the same services and facilities so everyone is equal on this estate. Whereas I imagine if I lived on Gainsborough estate, I would look at this estate and think 'well they are a bunch of posh people in their nice houses and I am living on this estate'. And I think I would feel a little bit neglected really, on that [Gainsborough] side of the fence, because there is a kind of invisible fence between the two.'

Amy Jones, Ravenswood Resident Interview, 20th October 2009

The work of Bourdieu assumes that individuals are guided to certain behaviours and dispositions through underlining structures as they struggle for personal advantage in any social field. For example, in Ravenswood, which I have argued previously can be considered as a social field, residents seek to detach and disassociate from individuals who are considered inferior. However, the quote above from Amy illustrates how residents do not always work for self-interested motives. Instead, individuals may believe in and struggle for situations or normative agendas that they value, but bring them no personal advantage. I would suggest that this is the case for Amy. Here I contend that the underestimated power of individuals, in terms of their capacity for agency, is one criticism of the work of Bourdieu (Crompton, 2008, p102).

Overall, it is evident that some Ravenswood residents living in owner-occupied housing feel comfortable with living in a mixed tenure community and even understand the benefits it could

bring about for both themselves and for other residents including social housing tenants. This is surprisingly different from the unanimous feeling that Ravenswood residents expressed about the 'type' of housing areas adjoining Ravenswood, as discussed in Section 7.3. This more positive feeling existed amongst some owner-occupiers in Ravenswood despite the closer proximity to social housing. It is suggested that this was because owner-occupier residents feel more in control in their own neighbourhood, unlike in the wider context where arguably they feel outnumbered. Bourdieu's work on fields once again helps to explain this. Ravenswood is a structured space with, as shown in this and previous chapters, unofficial rules and codes of conduct. For example, there are expected behavioural codes governing young people's appropriate use and behaviour in public space or the way residents look after their gardens. Furthermore, it appears that Ravenswood has a power hierarchy where young people have less power than adults and those who own property have more power than those who do not. Additionally, any field will support certain habitus characteristics more than others, remembering that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is seen as a signifier of an individual's social group membership. With all this in mind, Ravenswood's *field* will, despite the presence of social housing tenants in Ravenswood, be more supportive of an owner-occupier's, or middle-class resident's habitus and consequently these Ravenswood residents feel more comfortable, and in control, in Ravenswood than they do in the wider area. As the area beyond Ravenswood, including Gainsborough and Priory Heath, will inevitably have a different *field*, with different power dynamics and codes of conduct, it will not support an owner-occupier or middle class resident's habitus. It is for these reasons that Ravenswood residents try to establish and maintain boundaries, both social and physical, between themselves and Gainsborough and Priory Heath residents as argued in Section 7.3 of this chapter.

7.4.2 Physical boundaries within Ravenswood

As in Section 7.3.2 of this chapter, this section will discuss the physical integration of social mix policy and possible physical boundaries preventing integration. However, in this section attention will be focused solely on the scale of the neighbourhood and constraints to integration and social interaction between those living in social and those in private housing in Ravenswood.

Earlier, it was argued that in both policy and in the master plan the physical integration of private and social housing was considered to be essential in ensuring the success of social mix policy. In the master plan there are three aspects to integration one being that:

‘...within the development, social housing is intended to be seamlessly integrated with housing for sale and to all intents and purposes will be indistinguishable’.

(Bellway and Guinness Trust, 1997, p29)

As mentioned previously this could involve two key aspects. Firstly, the social housing could be pepper-potted amongst the private housing. Pepper-potting increases the physical proximity of residents living in both tenures and therefore increases the chances of social interaction. Secondly, it is arguable that the integration of private and social housing could be assisted through the design of properties. If the architectural design of all the housing on the development is similar, no distinction could be made to whether any one house was a privately owned or rented home.

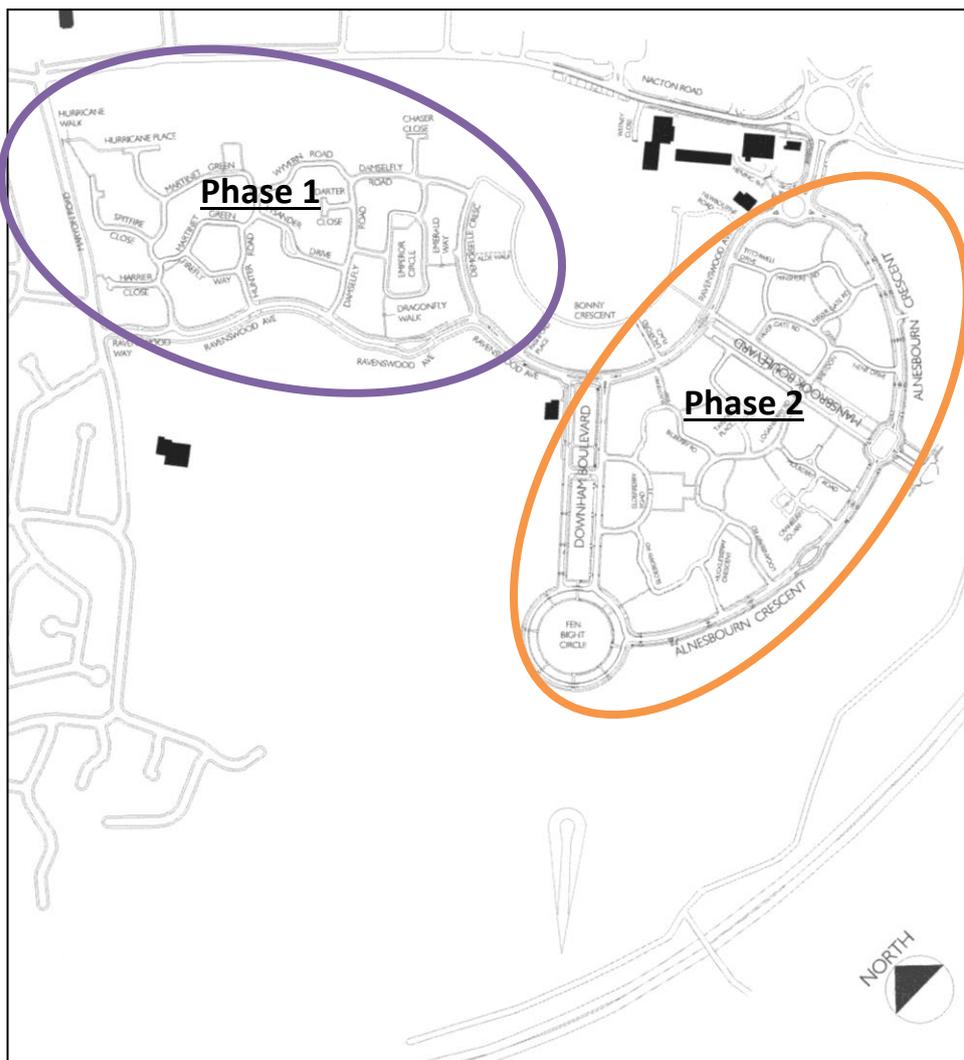


Figure 9: Map indicating phases of development (Source: Author)

Ravenswood was built in two stages (Figure 9). The first area to be built, Phase 1, began in 1999 following detailed drawings and plans. In this phase of the development the approach taken over the integration of social and private housing was somewhat different to the approach taken in the second phase of Ravenswood’s development which started around 2005. During one of my meetings with Derek Cotterill, the Project Officer who oversaw the development of Ravenswood, he commented on how in his view the integration of social housing with the housing for sale in the first part of the development was poor. In phase 1 of the development, rather than mixing individual houses or a few homes for rent amongst the homes for sale, they identified entire, although small, streets to social housing (Figure 10 and Plate 7). This can be most notably seen in the small streets which lead off Martinet Green. This approach arguably went against the ideas conveyed in the master plan that aspired to having social housing ‘seamlessly integrated’ with the housing for sale. During the one day street event a number of

residents who spoke about the social mix in the development commented on how they thought a lot of the social housing was in this area of Ravenswood.

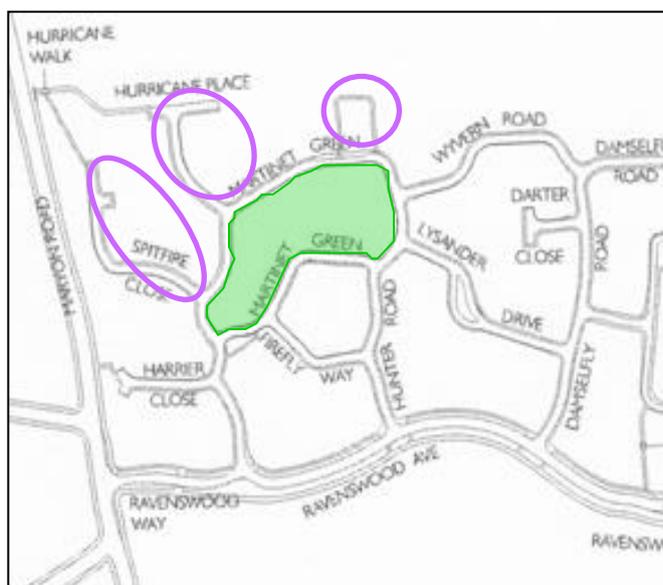


Figure 10: Phase 1 of Ravenswood, location of social housing streets off Martinet Green (Source: Author)



Image 7: Social housing off Martinet Green (Source: Author, 2013)

Derek Cotterill also acknowledged how he thought the small streets were obviously social housing mainly because they were ‘not as well kept as other streets in the development’ (e.g. Plate 8) – and were thus a signifier (Skeggs, 2004). Either way, the poor physical integration of social and private housing in this part of the development meant that there were fewer

opportunities for social interaction amongst all residents, those living in both social and private housing.



Image 8: A house in Hurricane Place (Phase 1) showing graffiti, a signifier of social housing (Source: Author, 2009)

Later on, during phase 2 of the development, Derek Cotterill suggested that the physical integration of the private and social housing had been far more successful, as they had 'learnt from their mistake' in the first phase. In phase 2 the planners and developers had consciously integrated the social housing amongst the homes for sale, usually in small groups of two or three social housing properties amongst far more homes for private ownership. However, one Ravenswood resident still felt that this was not sufficiently integrated. Amy Jones, a resident who lives in the second phase of Ravenswood, recognised the need for integration as means of encouraging residents living in both social and private housing to simply speak to one another. Toward the end of my interview with Amy I asked her if there was anything she would change about Ravenswood. Amy's response was to have better physical integration of private and social housing. She recalled how she currently had the impression that social housing had been built in small clusters and as a result the social housing tenants tended to speak to one another as they were each others' closest neighbours. In contrast, Amy believed that if every other one or two homes were social housing then there would be more mixing between owner occupiers and social housing tenants. Despite Amy's comments some of the residents whom I spoke to over the course of the research did not realise that there was social housing throughout all of

Ravenswood and rather believed that social housing had been concentrated on the west of the site in the first phase of the development.

As well as the physical integration of housing, the architectural design is also thought to be a factor in ensuring that homes cannot be identified as either social or private housing. As mentioned above, many residents did not realise that there was any social housing in the second phase of Ravenswood, in itself indicating that the architectural design of properties in the newer part of the development did not signify tenure. Jennifer Turner, a Housing Officer who works for Orwell Housing Association which owns a significant proportion of the social housing in Ravenswood, commented on the design which meant that in her view, houses could not be identified as any one tenure. However, Derek Cotterill did not feel the same way. Although he commented on how the building standards for all properties were exactly the same, he felt that the design of socially rented properties was different. For example Derek explained how none of the properties owned by housing associations on Ravenswood had a garage, whereas the majority of homes built for sale were constructed with a garage. He explained how within housing associations' budgets there was not the scope for a garage; however these properties were often built with a carport instead (Plate 9). On this basis, the design of a property could mark out its tenure. Derek additionally explained how all the bungalows built on Ravenswood were social housing units (Plate 9), as private developers did not build bungalows arguing that there was not the demand for these properties in the private housing market. These design features were applied throughout the development in both phase 1 and 2.



Image 9: Bungalow with a carport (Source: Author, 2013)

Despite this, it is worth noting that residents rarely referred to the actual design of properties when discussing whether a house was a social or private property, arguably illustrating the success of New Urbanism design principles in creating indistinguishable housing tenures. Although there are identifying features between the two tenures, an observer would need to be aware of these in order to recognise a property's tenure. Instead, residents made reference to the location of the house, as discussed previously in this section, or alternatively they spoke about the upkeep and maintenance of the property, or the behaviour of the residents which has been mentioned throughout this thesis. On this basis, it is contended that despite the intentions and apparent success of policy to overcome social differences and divisions through building seamlessly integrated mixed tenure developments, other factors relating to code of conduct and behaviour serve as a means of tenure identification. Unfortunately these other factors are beyond the scope of social mix and design policy, nevertheless they operate to undermine the intentions of social mix.

7.5 Young people's perceptions of integration

At the one day street event, as well as asking adults to fill in a resident questionnaire, there was also a questionnaire available for young people to fill in. One of the last questions asked them to consider Ravenswood and the surrounding area, including a consideration of Ravenswood's boundary. At this point, much like the adult questionnaire, I asked respondents to draw a line

where they thought the boundary was. There were a total of 10 young people's questionnaire responses. Out of these, three did not draw a boundary and another one was unclear, so cannot be considered. Of the remaining six they all drew a boundary around the edge of the development site, again only disagreeing as to whether to include Gainsborough Sports Centre in that boundary. This illustrates how even amongst young people there is a sense that a definable boundary exists between Ravenswood and the neighbouring areas. Furthermore, following this question, they were asked whether they thought there were any differences between Ravenswood and the other areas nearby. Out of the 10 responses, one person did not answer this question. Seven ticked 'yes' and the remaining two ticked 'not sure'. Respondents were then given the opportunity to state why. A number of the questionnaire responses indicated a preference for Ravenswood because of the presence of play areas and open spaces. However a couple of the respondents spoke of the difference in housing, for example one wrote 'nicer bigger houses'. Another respondent who, as 15 years old, was one of the older young people to fill in a questionnaire wrote:

'The housing is, by far, better quality and the area of Ravenswood seems to be looked after more regularly'

Young People's Questionnaire Response, Girl, Aged 15.

This shows how young people, as well as adults, consider there to be not only a division between Ravenswood and the surrounding areas, but a distinction between the housing on the Ravenswood development. Throughout the fieldwork stage of this research study I spoke with young people living in Ravenswood and the surrounding areas. On several occasions these young people made comments about differences they saw between the new development and the pre-existing areas. On a visit to the youth group *Club4teenz* based at Gainsborough Library, I spoke to a small group of three teenage boys about 12 years old. When I asked them about Ravenswood one of them responded by saying 'Is that Lego-land?'. When I asked them what they meant they told me how the houses on the development 'looked different and funny', unlike the houses in Gainsborough. To follow this comment I asked if they thought there were any other differences between Gainsborough and Ravenswood. At this point all three boys started to talk about the type of people who lived in Ravenswood. One boy commented by saying they were 'houses for posh people'. He went on to tell me how his aunt lived in Ravenswood in a 'massive' house and only people with money could live in Ravenswood, reflecting young people's comments at the weekly youth group in Ravenswood as discussed in

Section 5.4.3 of Chapter 5. Later, I asked the boys whether they ever went up to use different play areas in Ravenswood. They all shook their heads and replied by saying that if they went up there it would cause 'trouble'. They said did not want to get in any trouble as they would be told to go away by the residents. Not only does this anecdote mirror evidence put forward in Chapter 5 on young people's use of space, but it also reflects how young people in Gainsborough saw themselves as different from people in Ravenswood, an example of a social boundary. This incident also illustrates how because of this social boundary or distinction, some young people in Gainsborough do not want to challenge those boundaries as they feel it will result in conflict. With regards to the work of Bourdieu, it is arguable that these young people felt that their behaviour and dispositions, or *habitus*, conflicted with the *field* of Ravenswood. Instead, their habitus was more in line with the field of Gainsborough where they lived.

The three boys discussed above were not the only ones who commented on the differences between Ravenswood and Gainsborough. During the one day street event, a large group of boys, who were probably around 15 years of age, started gathering near our display. When they were approached about the study and Ravenswood, they unfortunately all turned and started walking away from us, with one of them turning and shouting 'Ravenswood is shit! It is full of snobs'. Although the boys, who on the basis of their comment are not assumed to be from Ravenswood but rather from one of the neighbouring areas, did not engage with the study directly, their actions and the comment did indicate that they did not feel part of Ravenswood as they felt the study had nothing to do with them. Furthermore, the comment from one of the boys again shows how these young people thought Ravenswood residents were different from them, describing them as 'snobs'.

That said, at no point in the study did young people speak about the difference between properties and residents *within* the bounds of Ravenswood when asked about differences in the area. This, to some extent, does indicate that young people are less aware of the idea of housing tenures. On this basis it could be suggested that opportunities exist for young people to support the success of social mix policy at the neighbourhood scale, but, as shown in this thesis, this does not necessarily extend across neighbourhood boundaries.

7.6 Conclusion

Social mix policy aspires to overcome boundaries, both physical and social, that prevent social interaction amongst people from different social and economic backgrounds. Furthermore, it is often assumed, especially by national policy that social mix policy initiatives are best suited to address this concern when implemented at the scale of the neighbourhood (DCLG, 2006a). This chapter has aimed to address the fourth research question, by exploring whether the practices of residents and other stakeholders at the neighbourhood scale support social mix aspirations in the way imagined by policy, and if not, how do they differ. In light of this, the chapter began by exploring the scale at which social mix policy is considered to operate within policy itself. Interestingly, national policy saw social mix as a neighbourhood based approach although a specific size was never defined. By contrast, local policy relevant to the case study area did recognise that the success of the social mix agenda may also be influenced by processes that operate beyond the neighbourhood. With this contrast in mind, the remainder of the chapter explored the social and physical boundaries that may hinder social mixing both within a neighbourhood, but also beyond the boundaries of Ravenswood. It therefore examined processes operating outside Ravenswood itself, yet still influential in the social mix aspirations for the new community.

The arguments presented in Section 7.3 centred upon the social and physical boundaries keeping residents apart at the wider scale, specifically how boundaries operated to separate Ravenswood residents from those living in the neighbouring areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. Many Ravenswood residents saw themselves as different and superior to those living in the two adjoining housing areas. Of course, as mentioned in Chapter 4, as I was only successful in recruiting adult research participants who lived in owner-occupied homes in Ravenswood, I only have their view. It would be interesting to see how ideas of difference are internalised by those living in social housing in Ravenswood. That aside, the social boundaries explored in this thesis, especially at the wider scale, could be understood through the work of both Bourdieu (e.g. Maton, 2008) and Skeggs (1997; 2004). Here, as in the previous two chapters, Ravenswood residents use the behaviour of individuals to identify their perceived origin, which is used as the rationale by Ravenswood residents for maintaining spatial segregation, or to defend their community (Suttles, 1972). These social boundaries also extended into patterns of service use. Reflecting the work of Elias and Scotson (1994) on Winston Parva, 'different' social groups in Ravenswood maintained their distance through choosing to use different services. For instance, the use of public houses in Ravenswood was quoted as one such example. However, patterns of school use, as explored in the previous chapter, could be identified as

another. With this in mind, the thesis argues that social mix policy aspirations for services as sites for social interaction and mixing would again seem limited.

Physical boundaries also work to keep Ravenswood residents apart from those living in the adjoining areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath, or to defend Ravenswood from 'others'. Evidence presented in this chapter showed that a distinct boundary around Ravenswood was identified by stakeholders, despite existing academic debates which suggest that neighbourhood boundaries are complex and varied. Even though the master plan for the new development recognised the need to ensure physical integration between the new and pre-existing areas, physical barriers were present in Ravenswood along the boundary. Especially on the west of Ravenswood, where the new housing area adjoined Gainsborough; both the layout and design features operated to define the beginning and end of different housing areas. Furthermore, in light of the desire to keep different residents apart, spaces situated on this boundary become sites for conflict. For instance, the desire to fence and lock the play area situated on the Ravenswood and Gainsborough boundary occurred following conflict over its use. This evidence appears to conflict directly with the master plan, which as mentioned previously envisages the wider context as vital for the success of social mix within the Ravenswood area. The wider context of Ravenswood has been the focus of much of this chapter, and has been a significant concern of many debates presented in the two previous chapters. With this evidence in mind it appears that the practices of residents that are significant for the social mix policy do occur at scales other than the neighbourhood.

Section 7.4, in contrast, explored the existence of boundaries within Ravenswood itself. Given the evidence presented it would appear that boundaries, both social and physical barriers that hinder social mixing and interaction, are less prevalent in Ravenswood compared to boundaries across different neighbourhoods. For instance, there was evidence that some owner-occupiers in Ravenswood value the presence of social housing in their neighbourhood for a variety of reasons. Interestingly, and of particular relevance for this thesis, it appeared from the empirical data that young people were unaware of both differences and boundaries within Ravenswood. In light of this, the thesis indicates that there would be scope for social interaction across different housing tenures in Ravenswood by young people. That said, this is undoubtedly more limited than policy suggests. As discussed extensively in previous chapters in this thesis, young people are not given the autonomy to participate in such interaction and rather are subject to control by adults, who in contrast have strong perceptions of difference both within and

beyond Ravenswood. Nevertheless, in this chapter it is argued that this preference for social diversity at the neighbourhood level can be explained through Bourdieu's concept of field. In Ravenswood, the field favours the habitus of owner-occupiers, in that when unacceptable behaviour occurs residents have both the necessary mechanisms and the power to ensure it is stopped. In the wider context of Ravenswood, Gainsborough and Priory Heath, however, Ravenswood residents may feel outnumbered and less powerful, as the field is less supportive of their habitus, or preferred behavioural codes.

As well as exploring boundaries to social mixing and interaction, this chapter has also discussed the idea of scale, specifically the scale at which the practices of residents and other stakeholders significant for the aspirations of social mix occur. In so doing, this chapter has addressed the fourth research question of this thesis. Of course, the social and physical boundaries which have been discussed inherently involve a scale and contribute to addressing this key research question. As noted at the beginning of this section, policy, both at the national and local level, never specifies an exact size or scale for social mix policy. Within national policy it is assumed that processes of social interaction and mixing occur within communities, or neighbourhoods, whereas local policy applicable for the case study acknowledges the significance of the wider context on social mix aspirations, and therefore the need for integration. It is argued that this foresight within local policy was insightful, even if not always put into practice. Evidence collected has shown how perceptions of the differences between neighbourhoods, especially between Ravenswood and the surrounding areas, have worked to ensure that residents remain spatially segregated. Rather than integrating Ravenswood with the surrounding neighbourhood, Ravenswood is a 'defended community' with distinct boundaries and mechanisms, both social and physical, that work to protect the community. Therefore social mix policy that focuses solely on the scale of the neighbourhood is limited, failing to recognise that the practices of residents and other stakeholders which are influential in the aspirations of social mix occur at scales greater than the neighbourhood. On this basis the chapter contends that the conceptual scale of the neighbourhood is a 'chaotic concept' (Passi, 2004, p537) for social mix. Processes associated with social mix are being carved into incomplete units by policy, thereby raising concerns about the politics of scale (MacKinnon, 2011, p29). Neighbourhoods do not operate as static social containers (Hall, 1997, p879) but rather are porous.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter outlines the main arguments and findings from the research study. The chapter begins by returning to the initial starting point of this study – the research aims and objectives. A brief analysis of the key debates from the literature, as well as the emerging research questions for the study, are restated. There then follows a response to each of the research questions. In light of these responses, the overall research aim is addressed. Towards the end of this final chapter, areas for further research are discussed and the chapter concludes by stating the thesis' contribution to the discipline of planning and geography.

8.2 Research aim and objectives

This research aimed **to develop a new understanding of the role of young people in helping to deliver social mix aspirations, in relation to their social identity as well as their spatial and educational practices**. In order to achieve this, two key research objectives were identified;

- To explore policy-assumptions of the role of young people in helping to deliver social mix; and
- To assess the policy-assumptions of social mix against the everyday experiences and practices of young people in a neighbourhood designed for social mix.

Both the aim and objectives of this research informed the literature review and discussion, which is reviewed briefly in the following section. The study has sought to bring academic literature together in new productive ways. Academic debates surrounding young people and children's geographies have been used in conjunction with social mix debates in order to contribute to existing critiques of social mix policy. The thesis therefore provides new insights into the challenges and opportunities for young people to assist in social mixing in mixed tenure communities.

8.3 Existing debates

This section reiterates the most pertinent debates from the existing academic literature for this thesis.

The first of the two literature discussion chapters, Chapter 2, took the broad concepts of difference, diversity and social mix policy as its focus, as these concepts help to understand the context of the research aim and objectives. The chapter began by exploring the varying ways in which difference is understood. Amongst other ideas, the chapter introduced the concept of 'othering', a post-modernist idea. Here, the term considers difference to be the possession of characteristics of 'otherness'. In so doing, emphasis is placed upon the complexities of difference (Cloke, 1999, p44). Thereafter, associated challenges of difference were explored, namely how differences amongst individuals affect their power. In light of this concern, policy initiatives to tackle inequalities caused by difference were introduced. The challenge of social exclusion was presented, which calls for greater inclusion for all in society, regardless of circumstance. Here, the thesis argued that the aspirations of social inclusion were similar to Lefebvre's term 'right to the city' (Marcuse, 2009, p193) and Fraser's (2001, p29) 'parity of participation', both of which call for greater involvement of all groups in society, especially those belonging to marginalised social groups who have less power and opportunity to participate.

In light of these concerns the thesis then introduced social mix policy. This policy is one of many initiatives that seek to address concerns around exclusion by encouraging greater engagement and participation. For this thesis, social mix policy believes a socially inclusive community is achievable through supporting social interaction and mixing across existing social divides by ensuring the spatial proximity of individuals from different backgrounds (Arthuson, 2012, p2). On this basis, the policy supports the creation of mixed tenure residential communities (Roberts, 2007, p183) and against this backdrop, young people are seen as possible catalysts to social interaction in such mixed communities (Arthuson, 2012, p61). It is assumed, for instance, that young people have less understanding of pre-existing social divides and therefore are more likely to support social mixing aspirations. It is this idea about the role of young people as catalysts to deliver social mix which forms the basis of this thesis. Additionally, and of particular importance for this thesis, it is assumed that through young people's use of community public spaces and amenities, opportunities for social mixing and interaction will be further enhanced (Arthuson, 2012, p115). Given the overall aim of this research, the thesis sought to investigate whether young people do use these spaces in the way policy imagines.

Chapter 2 also looked at the concept of neighbourhood and revealed that neighbourhoods are often thought to be the ideal scale for many policy initiatives (Atkinson *et al.*, 2009, p2819; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001, p2167), such as social mix, which seek to 'improve' communities. However, despite the popularity of neighbourhood based policy initiatives, a number of criticisms were raised. For instance, the chapter highlighted how processes associated with communities often occur at different and varying scales (Galster, 2001, p2121). Furthermore, processes operating beyond the confines of a neighbourhood may also influence what can be witnessed within a neighbourhood or community (e.g. Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001, p2295). With this in mind, the research asks whether processes associated with social mix policy do actually operate at the neighbourhood scale, or whether they operate beyond the neighbourhood and if so, what implications there may be for such a scalar mismatch.

The second of the two literature discussion chapters, Chapter 3, reviewed a range of academic debates looking at social identity, spatial identity and behaviour in space. Discussion centred upon how social and spatial identities are co-constructed (Valentine, 2001, p5). Social constructionism, again a post-modernist idea, sees understandings of social phenomena as socially manufactured artefacts formed from narratives, social relationships and experience (Cloke *et al.*, 1999, p336; Gergen, 2009, p4) rather than objective reality. With regards to the idea of spatialized behaviour, the chapter argued that spaces have 'unwritten', or socially constructed, codes of conduct associated with them (Gergen, 2009, p179). Moreover, this results in individuals who either meet or break these rules being considered as 'in' or 'out' of place respectively. For those who are deemed 'out' of place, action is often taken to either control or remove them (e.g. Smith, 1996) with significant implications for their right to the city.

Young people sit at the heart of this research investigation. It follows then that, young people formed a further key focus of Chapter 3, specifically how their identities are socially constructed as different from or 'other' to adults. Moreover, the chapter explored how their identities are formed through their presence in space. In other words, the chapter argued that where a child or young person is located will influence their identity. One example presented in the chapter was the idea of private versus public space. Public space is seen as an adult space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, p84). As a consequence young people who are in the public sphere, especially those who are unaccompanied, are constructed as 'out of place', or by

drawing specifically upon the work of Gill Valentine as ‘devils’ (Valentine, 1996b, p581). On the other hand young people who remain in the private sphere, such as the home, are considered to be ‘in place’ or ‘angels’ (*ibid.*). Even though this chapter highlighted the significance of space in the construction of young people’s identities, the importance of other characteristics in their identity construction was also highlighted such as class, and age (James *et al*, 1998, p49). Nevertheless young people’s construction as ‘out of place’ in the public sphere means that their behaviour and presence is controlled in this setting (Valentine, 1996a; 1996b; 2004), illustrating the limited power given to young people in such contexts. Of specific relevance to this study, as discussed in Chapter 2, social mix policy envisages young people’s use of the public sphere as a key factor in the success of the policy initiative. Despite this, and the extensive debate on young people’s use of public space, there is no specific discussion around how young people in diverse or mixed tenure neighbourhoods use and occupy public space. To redress this, the thesis sought to explore how young people living in socially mixed neighbourhoods are socially constructed and how this impinges on their use of, treatment in, and power within, public space. Moreover, the research specifically aimed to understand how these interrelating factors work to either support or hinder the aspirations of the social mix agenda.

In light of the literature discussion, three key theoretical concerns emerged; power, social constructionism and the scale of social processes. These informed the research questions of the thesis, and addressed both the research aim and objectives as stated earlier in this chapter.

Research Questions

1. How are young people envisaged to support social mix aspirations in a neighbourhood designed for social mix?
2. Do young people use public space in a mixed tenure neighbourhood in the way policy imagines, and if not how does this differ?
3. What role do schools play in determining young people’s engagement with the social mix agenda?
4. Are the actions of residents and other stakeholders at the neighbourhood scale impacting on social mix in the way imagined by policy, and if not, how do they differ?
5. How are the social identities of young people constructed in a socially diverse area, and how does this affect the success of social mix aspirations?

8.4 Addressing the research questions

In order to address the research questions, an extensive period of fieldwork in a mixed tenure neighbourhood was undertaken. Details of this, and the specific research methods deployed, were outlined in Chapter 4. Overall, the study employed an innovative mixed methods approach, namely the use of online Blogs, a community research event and map based questionnaires as well as more traditional methods specifically interviews, policy analysis and participant observation. The combination of methods ensured that the research investigation uncovered rich data that addressed each of the research questions through a process of triangulation. Furthermore, the chapter explored challenges faced in pursuing community focused research, especially with young people, and the solutions found to overcome these.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 outlined the findings in relation to the academic debates, most notably those discussed in the two literature discussion chapters. In order to answer the five research questions, the chapters drew upon one or more of the three theoretical concepts central to this thesis; social constructionism, power, and scale of social processes.. Responses of each of these questions are now outlined, along with their contributions to existing conceptual debates.

The first research question asked how young people were envisaged to support the social mix agenda in a mixed tenure community. The first two empirical chapters, Chapters 5 and 6, provided responses to this question. As discussed, young people are seen as initiators to social mixing. Both policy and academic literature argues that young people are immune to existing social divisions in society which can otherwise prevent social interaction (e.g. Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, p11; Chaskin and Joesph, 2010, p314). More specifically it is assumed that through their use of public space, as well as services such as schools, young people will have the opportunity to meet and interact with each other regardless of their socio-economic background, thereby supporting the social mix agenda. For instance in Chapter 5, national policy which advocated young people's access to and use of public space for these reasons was outlined (e.g. DCSF, 2008, p50; ODPM, 2005a, p14). Additionally, local policy for the case study area also recognised the importance of child-friendly public spaces (IBC, 1999). As well as interaction amongst young people, policy recognised how young people's use of local community spaces could also result in social interaction amongst adults who accompanied children to these spaces (Silverman *et al*, 2005, p12). Schools were also seen as a site for social mixing between young people and formed the focus of Chapter 6. Within this context, schools are seen as neutral sites. Once again, both national and local policy advocated the benefits of schools in mixed tenure areas. Much like the use of public space, as well as the benefit of young

people's interaction, social mixing amongst adults is also thought to be initiated by schools. Parents delivering and collecting their children from school on a daily basis, as well as one-off school events, such as concerts and sports days, is thought to generate social networks (Bellway and the Guinness Trust, 1997, p65). Given these responses within policy to the first research question, the role for young people in the social mix agenda remains the focus of much of the discussion throughout the thesis, to see whether young people do assist with the aspirations for social mix in the ways envisaged.

The second research question took public space as its focus, specifically asking whether young people use public space in a mixed tenure neighbourhood in the way that policy imagines, and if not how this differs. Given the structure of the chapters in this thesis, this question was addressed by much of the empirical evidence presented in Chapter 5. As outlined in this chapter, young people in the case study area of Ravenswood do not use public space in Ravenswood in the way that social mix policy imagines. Crucially young people are not given the access to public space that policy anticipates, despite the high provision of play facilities in the neighbourhood. Rather, residents in Ravenswood either restrict their children's access to public space, based on fears around their child's vulnerability, or alternatively actively seek to control and remove other young people from using these spaces. This is rationalised on the basis that young people who are in public space are socially constructed as 'out of place' and therefore to be feared. Using the work of Valentine, the dichotomy of 'angels' and 'devils' was adopted to explain how young people in the case study area were being socially constructed as either at risk, or a risk. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 5, it was argued that young people present in the public domain were also assumed to be from the neighbouring housing areas of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. As outlined in Chapter 4, these two areas were, in comparison to Ravenswood, relatively deprived and consisted mainly of local authority owned homes. Evidence presented revealed how Ravenswood residents socially construct those living in these two areas as 'other' and to be avoided. This idea is returned to throughout the thesis. However for the purposes of addressing this research question the simultaneous construction of young people present in public space as 'devils' as well as belonging to other neighbourhoods which should be avoided meant that Ravenswood residents actively worked to secure Ravenswood's public space from them.

Instead of young people being welcomed into Ravenswood public spaces, tactics were adopted to ensure that young people's behaviour in these spaces was controlled, limited or prevented

altogether. Examples included closing off spaces in Ravenswood to young people, as well as directly removing young people from public space in the neighbourhood. Ravenswood therefore became an 'interdictory space' (Flusty, 2001, p659). These dominating actions were dictated by an unwritten code of 'appropriate' behaviour determined by the most powerful in the community (Ruddick, 1998, p345; Van Deusen, 2002, p157), adults who are homeowners. These findings show how the social construction of young people, and the resulting treatment of them within the context of the public domain, prevents them from supporting the social mix agenda through their use of public space. Instead, public space becomes a site of conflict. It is argued that social mix policy fails to recognise the possible problems associated with public space and power (Jarvis *et al*, 2004, p4). Rather policy, including social mix assumes that public space is a site of celebration, equality and positive encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008, p145).

The third research question queries the role of schools in determining young people's engagement with the social mix agenda. Again, this question formed the focus of one chapter; Chapter 6. As argued in this chapter, the empirical data indicated that young people's use of schools in and around the case study area does not contribute to social mixing in the way that policy expects. Despite there being a primary school in the neighbourhood and a secondary school within a short walking distance of the new community, Ravenswood residents typically chose not to send their children to either of these schools. This meant that the local school schools became monoculture schools whereby the young people attending came from similar backgrounds. Therefore social interaction amongst children at these schools would not contribute to the social mix agenda and schools within the Ravenswood area were not sites for social mixing as both envisaged by policy. Rather, Ravenswood residents applied to schools elsewhere in Ipswich and beyond. This decision was based on various factors, but the evidence presented within Chapter 6 suggested that a significant part of this decision was related to how children already attending the nearest schools were perceived. Children attending Ravenswood Community primary School and Holywells High School were socially constructed as 'other' and to be avoided. Moreover, and much like the findings in relation to public space, it was contended that these social constructions were linked to where young people were thought to come from. On this basis, rather than being a site for positive encounter and interaction, schools became a marker of difference.

The consequences of local schools on the social mix agenda did only result in limited opportunity for young people to mix. The research discovered a number of other consequences

of schooling in the case study area. Fears surrounding the local schools, and importantly perceptions of the 'type' of pupils attending them, ensured that families who could choose where they lived, particularly those with children, ultimately chose not to live in Ravenswood. Of course, this capacity to choose where to live is typically an ability afforded to the most affluent who are able to purchase a home in their chosen location, rather than being allocated, or having limited choice of, rented social housing. In the case study area of Ravenswood, this power to choose worked to affect the socio-economic make-up of the neighbourhood and, as the evidence showed, resulted in fewer families with children of school age moving into Ravenswood, compared to elsewhere in Ipswich. Additionally the evidence suggested that these consequences of schooling choice in a mixed tenure community also impacted upon the local schools themselves. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the application of social mix policy in communities is thought to benefit local services such as schools as young people from more affluent households will push up standards and attainment in a school, thereby improving the image and reputation (Arthuson, 2012, p37). Unfortunately, for Ravenswood's local schools, neither of them benefitted from the socially mixed community in this way. Overall it would seem that despite the optimism around the role of schools in mixed tenure communities, young people are not given the opportunity to use local schools as a site of social mixing. Schools remain segregated according to socio-economic characteristics. Furthermore, concern around the possible diversity of a school's intake ensures that some people avoid residential areas on this basis. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that the school choice agenda established in the early 1980s sits in direct conflict with the expectations of social mix.

Research question four poses a question about scale by asking about the relevance of neighbourhoods as the scale of delivery for social mix. Specifically the question asks whether the actions of residents and other stakeholders at the neighbourhood scale, impact on social mix in the way imagined by policy, and if not, how do they differ. Evidence in response to this research question is presented in all three of the empirical chapters, although Chapter 7 took this question as its primary focus by examining the concept of both scale and boundaries in the case study area. As outlined at the beginning of Chapter 7, national policy clearly saw social mix as a neighbourhood based approach, whereas local policy applicable for Ravenswood envisaged the surrounding areas as also important in the success of the agenda. The research indicated that the practices of residents which were significant for social mix, both occurred and were affected by processes and issues beyond the boundary of Ravenswood itself. As both Chapters 5 and 6 illustrated, concerns about mixing in Ravenswood stemmed from worries

surrounding the 'type' of residents living in the two adjoining neighbourhoods of Gainsborough and Priory Heath. Ravenswood residents avoided using public space on the basis that they, or their children, might come into contact with residents from these two areas. Similarly Ravenswood residents actively avoided either of the two local schools for the same reasons. For social mix policy, this meant that young people were absent from neighbourhood public space and schools and so limited the opportunity for social mixing. The evidence presented in Chapter 7 supported these arguments. Empirical data here, illustrated how Ravenswood residents mutually identify a distinct boundary between Ravenswood and the two neighbouring residential areas. Moreover, it was discovered that residents attempt to maintain this boundary through physical and social interventions. On this basis, it is argued that Ravenswood is a defended community (Suttles, 1972), whereby those with the most power seek to protect the neighbourhood from 'outsiders' (Elias and Scotson, 1994), by adopting a fortress mentality. With this in mind, the thesis criticised social mix policy for failing to recognise the impact of wider societal processes at play, and the implications this has for social interaction amongst residents from different social and economic backgrounds. Despite the impact of wider processes on social mix, there was evidence that Ravenswood residents felt less hostile and more positive towards the presence of social housing within the confines of Ravenswood. Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus were used to help explain this apparent pattern. It was argued that greater opportunities appear to exist for social interaction and mixing within Ravenswood than beyond the boundaries of the neighbourhood. Yet, the wider context in relation to Ravenswood meant that opportunities for mixing were simultaneously undermined.

The final research question explored the idea of social identity. By asking how the social identities of young people are constructed in a socially diverse area, and how this impacts on the success of social mix. The social identities of young people, and adults, was a common theme throughout the thesis, impacting on public space use, schooling choices, along with residents' perceptions about neighbourhood boundaries. As mentioned previously, in Ravenswood young people either present in public space, or attending either of the two local schools are socially constructed as 'other'. As discussed in Chapter 3, from a social constructionist perspective, social identities are considered to be socially manufactured - formed from a collection of narratives. As mentioned in this chapter, social identities are often formed as a result of the spaces that a person occupies, in this case public space and local schools. However, as the research findings revealed these constructions of young people were

also affected by their perceived origin or place of residence. Young people, and also adults, were socially constructed as other and to be avoided, if they were from, or assumed to be from, either of the two adjoining neighbourhoods. Crucially for social mix, this meant that Ravenswood residents avoided encountering these 'others', therefore limiting opportunities for social mixing to occur. Furthermore, the thesis suggested that these construction of 'others' and their perceived origin is ultimately related to pre-existing perceptions of social housing. As first mentioned in Chapter 3, social housing areas have for a long time in Britain, and elsewhere in the world, e.g. the United States, been associated with poverty, crime and anti-social behaviour. As a result these ideas work to inform social constructions of those who live in these places as criminals, demons and under-valued members of society (Valentine, 2001, p213). On this basis it would seem that long-standing perceptions of social housing areas work to undermine the aspirations of social mix, ironically exactly what the policy agenda aims to overcome. This may also help to explain why, as mentioned in response to the previous research question, Ravenswood residents generally feel more favourable towards social housing tenants within Ravenswood itself, than they do towards social housing occupants in Gainsborough or Priory Heath.

Of course, much of this is based on how young people's identities are socially constructed by adults. In contrast, the research indicated that young people do not socially construct other young people in the same way, based on the same factors. Some young people, especially teenagers, they believed that those living in either Ravenswood compared to the neighbouring areas were probably different; often suggesting that Ravenswood residents were wealthier than those living in Gainsborough or Priory Heath. Interestingly, young people were not aware of tenure differences and never made reference to this. In Chapter 7, it was therefore suggested that there is scope for young people to work as catalysts to cross-tenure social interaction in a socially diverse area. However, as discussed elsewhere in the thesis and in this conclusion chapter, opportunities for young people to do this are limited as a result of adults' perceptions of young people in mixed tenure areas.

By addressing each of the five research questions, the thesis has explored the two research objectives. First, it has investigated how policy imagines the role of young people in the social mix agenda, and it has then assessed how these policy-assumptions compare against the everyday experiences and practices of young people in a neighbourhood designed for social mix. In so doing, the overarching research aim has been achieved. Young people in

Ravenswood, a mixed tenure community, do not assist in the social mix agenda as policy anticipates. Young people's social identities work to keep them apart according to their social and economic backgrounds. This means that their everyday use of space, specifically public space and schools is affected. These places therefore become sites of segregation rather than difference and encounter. Crucially, wider societal processes and practices are significant in this. In the case study area of Ravenswood, the immediate context of the adjoining neighbourhoods was vital for young people's identities as well as their everyday spatial and educational practices. Given the importance of the wider context on social mix within a mixed tenure community, different contexts may impact differently in other mixed tenure communities. Overall, social mix policy ultimately aims to socially engineer situations of difference where social interaction can occur, however as the thesis has shown, fears surrounding 'others' and the power to choose to avoid sites of diversity ensure that this does not happen. The processes undermining social mix witnessed in Ravenswood and outlined in this thesis may be described as a 'secret life of a city' (Jarvis *et al*, 2001, p4), in that they may not be a surprise to many of us but nevertheless appear to remain unfamiliar to policy agendas such as social mix.

8.5 Evaluating the study

8.5.1 Issues for further research

With any study there are always areas for possible further empirical work. Given greater time and resources, more empirical data could be collected for this case study but there are also a number of issues emerging from this research investigation which could form the basis of a new or complementary research study.

As outlined in Chapter 4, given the opportunity it would have been interesting to speak to some other stakeholders in Ravenswood, specifically social housing residents. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, all residents' interviews were conducted with home-owners. This means that the evidence, and emerging arguments presented in this thesis, only reflect the practices and experiences of home-owners; arguably those with the greatest ability to choose where to live and what services to use. On this basis it would be interesting to explore the everyday experiences of social housing tenants living in a socially diverse area, and their ability to access and choose services such as schools. Furthermore, given the significance of the wider context on the apparent success of social mix in Ravenswood, more involvement in the research of

residents from the two adjoining neighbourhoods would arguably be of value to see how they experience and perceive the new socially mixed community of Ravenswood.

Given more time and resources it would also have been beneficial to the study to speak to more young people who live in both social and private housing in Ravenswood and the surrounding area. Although young people were involved in the empirical research, it was limited and the research may have benefited from more sustained engagement. Rather than working with young people on an *ad hoc* basis, working with young people on a regular basis over a longer period would have provided further evidence and may have allowed new ideas to emerge. Furthermore, given sustained engagement, different research methods could also have been adopted such as diary methods and participatory photography techniques.

This study could be further extended by adopting a comparative case study approach. In this research investigation, a key finding is that processes affecting social mix policy do not operate solely within the confines of a mixed tenure neighbourhood. Rather, the context beyond the boundaries of the neighbourhood plays a significant role. With this in mind, future research could conduct a comparative case study with a different context to Ravenswood. For example, if the adjoining areas to an alternative case study of mixed tenure development had a higher economic status, this would allow questions raised in the existing social mix literature about what, if any, benefits social mix policy affords to wealthier residents to be addressed. A comparative study would help to investigate this concern further and establish whether social and physical boundaries are less prevalent in such contexts.

Through this research it has also been clear that despite the plethora of policies that seek to address the challenges associated with difference, there is limited understanding about the variety of intersecting processes that are at play. Many diversity policies have been implemented at local scales such as neighbourhoods, yet this research indicates that such scales may not always be the most effective. It is suggested that wider societal processes are significant in the challenges faced by difference. This being the case, it is argued that further research into diversity policy, its aspirations, assumptions and implementation approaches is required.

8.5.2 Contribution to the discipline

By undertaking this research study, empirical and theoretical contributions have been made to a number of academic fields. Furthermore, despite the prevalence of research into social mix, there has been little, if no, research into the role of young people in the success of the policy. This thesis contributes towards filling the gap in the debates. In so doing, this study has brought together academic literatures which have previously remained apart. Most notably, it allows literatures on children's geographies to both speak to, and critique, social mix policy and its associated wider literature. However, contributions have also been made to other fields throughout the course of this research study, these are outlined below.

The study has shown how socially constructed understandings of children and youth, already prevalent in the literature, help us to understand possible limitations to the success of social mix policy. Young people present in public space for instance are socially constructed as out of place, or by adopting Valentine's concept, as 'devils' (1996b, p581). Here, social constructions are made on the basis of young people's presence in the public space. However this thesis suggests that this is too simple and fails to acknowledge that other factors are also at play in shaping the social identities of young people; specifically their perceived origin and their corresponding socio-economic status is crucial. The thesis contends that existing social constructions of young people according to their presence in space are too linear, when in practice identities are more complex and nuanced.

Furthermore, the research has identified how the practices of residents significant for the success of social mix occur beyond the neighbourhood. In so doing the thesis speaks to the existing body of literature which discusses the scale of social policies, such as social mix, and the appropriateness of the level at which they are delivered. Social mix is often applied at the neighbourhood level, but as the research indicates this would appear to be a 'chaotic concept' (Passi 2004, p537) in relation to this policy agenda.

In addition, the findings presented in this thesis contribute to existing debates in the field of education but specifically school choice. School choice appears to sit in direct conflict with the aspirations of social mix. Allowing parents to choose which school to apply to ensures that rather than being sites of diversity and encounter, schools become segregated according to socio-economic status. The fact that this undermines social mix aspirations, and sits in direct

conflict with the agenda is a significant contribution of this thesis in understanding this longstanding policy.

Not only has this study contributed to academic and policy debates but it has also helped to advance methodological understandings, especially in relation to the difficulties in engaging with communities around everyday issues. As described in Chapter 4, on entering the research field unforeseen and surprising challenges were encountered. Yet, there is little, if any, literature from academics exploring such obstacles to empirical research and possible solutions. For an early career researcher embarking on a large scale research study this was alarming. Nevertheless, the thesis illustrated how, by adapting a methodology in innovative ways, for instance through online blogs and community events, it was possible to overcome these challenges. It is hoped that other researchers will take comfort from this and see the variety of ways in which problems and obstacles can be overcome while remaining committed to pursuing critical research questions.

Appendix 1: List of all policy and guidance documents analysed

1. Bellway and Guinness Trust (1997) *Orwell Park, Ipswich: A Tender for the Redevelopment of Ipswich Airport*, Bellway and Guinness Trust, September 1997.*
2. Department for Children, Schools and Families [DCSF] (2007) *The Children's Plan: Building Brighter Futures*, The Stationery Office, Norwich, December 2007.*
3. Department for Children, Schools and Families [DCSF] (2008) *The Play Strategy; A commitment from the Children's Plan*, Department for Children, Schools and Families and Department for Culture, Media and Sport. London.*
4. Department for Communities and Local Government [DCLG] (2006) *Planning Policy Statement 3: Housing*, Department for Communities and Local Government, London, November 2006.*
5. Department for Communities and Local Government [DCLG] (2006) *Planning Policy Guidance 17: Planning for Open Space, Recreation and Sport*, Department for Communities and Local Government, London, October 2006.*
6. Department of Communities and Local Government [DCLG] (2006) *Strong and Prosperous Communities: The Local Government White Paper*, The Stationery Office, Norwich, October 2006.*
7. Department for Communities and Local Government [DCLG] (2009) *Guidance on Meaningful Interaction: How encouraging positive relationships between people can help build community cohesion*, Department for Communities and Local Government, London, December 2008. *
8. Department for Communities and Local Government [DCLG] (2009) *Building Cohesive Communities: What frontline staff and community activists need to know*, Department for Communities and Local Government, London, October 2009.
- 9.
10. Department for Communities and Local Government [DCLG] (2010) *Cohesion Delivery Framework 2010: Overview*, Department for Communities and Local Government, London, March 2010.*
11. Department of Education (2009) *Performance Tables*, Department for Education [online], Available at <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/performance/> [Last Accessed 31st July 2013].*
12. Department for Environment, Transport and Regions [DETR] (2000) *Our Towns and Cities: The Future: Delivering and Urban Renaissance*, Department for Environment, Transport and Regions, London, November 2000.*
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21. Shacknell, A., Butler, N., Doyle, P. and Bale, D. (2008) *Design for Play: A guide to creating successful play spaces*, Play England, Department for Children Schools and Families and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, London.*
22. Social Exclusion Unit (2000) *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal: A Framework for Consultation*, Cabinet Office, Social Exclusion Unit.*
23. Suffolk County Council (1993) *Suffolk Design Guide*, Suffolk County Council, Ipswich.*

(Asterisk (*) indicates documents that are referred in the thesis)

Appendix 2: Possible case studies

Option 1 – Greenwich Millennium Community

Visited on 8th December 2008

- Large-scale development. Initially planned to be 1,377 homes but then increased to 2,500.
- Combination of flats and houses.
- Mixed tenure – 20% affordable
- Affordable units are pepper-potted throughout the development.
- Newly built Primary School open. Limited shops and other community facilities.
- Isolated site – identifiable boundary.
- Limited open space provision, only one main square.

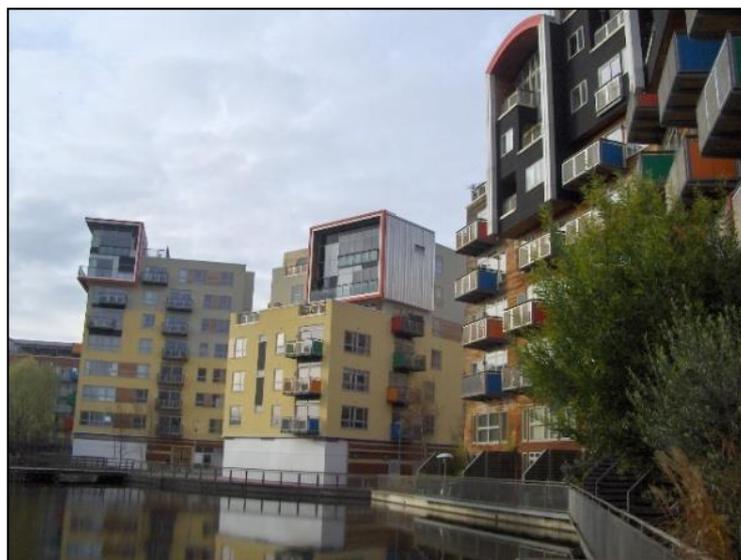


Image 1: Greenwich Millennium Community (Source: Author, 2008)

Option 2 – Upton Urban Village, Northampton

Visited on 7th January 2009

- Large scale – 1,382 new homes
- Development not completed at time of visit – approximately 75% of the site was developed.
- Mixed tenure – 22% affordable (approximately).
- Affordable units are pepper-potted throughout the development.
- Newly built Primary School open.
- A number of open spaces including play spaces throughout the development.

Youth in the mix

- Limited evidence of community activity e.g. forums, community groups.
- Greenfield development and easy to define boundary of new development.



Images 2 and 3: Upton Urban Village, Northampton
(Source: Author, 2009)

Option 3 – Ravenswood Urban Village, Ipswich

Visited on 8th January 2009

- Large scale initially 1,250 new homes.
- 1,250 homes near completion.
- Mixed tenure – 35% affordable (approximately) with this likely to increase with additional housing phases.
- Affordable units are pepper-potted throughout the development.
- Urban extension on former airport site – clear boundary.
- There is a substantial amount of public space provision which is complete.
- Newly built primary school on site and open.

- Newly built medical centre and shopping precinct on site and open.
- In the process of setting up a Sure Start centre.
- An active residents association and weekly youth night at the Primary School.



Image 4: Ravenswood Urban Village (Source: Author, 2009)

Option 4 – Fairfield Park, Bedfordshire

Visited 9th January 2009

- Proposal for 600 new homes
- Former Hospital site in the greenbelt being redeveloped.
- Clear and identifiable boundary of site
- Mixed tenure housing – 20% affordable (approximately). Although a number of these are to be shared ownership?
- New Primary School complete and open.
- There appears to be no other facilities on site.
- The site is still being developed, there are few completed public spaces, pavements etc



Image 5: Fairfield Park (Source: Author, 2009)

Appendix 3: Newspaper article, Ipswich Evening Star
 (Monday 14th September 2009)

Front page (page 1)

RAVENS-GOOD

Estate is perfect place to live, says research

EXCLUSIVE
 By RICHARD CORNWELL
 and ANTHONY BOND
richard.cornwell@eveningstar.co.uk
 anthony.bond@eveningstar.co.uk

FAMILIES living on one of Ipswich's newest and biggest developments could be living in the perfect place, new research revealed today.

Ravenwood – controversial when first started a decade ago – has been hailed as “ahead of its time”.

Town planning researchers say the 1,000-home community is a national flagship of modern living and it will be replicated in many other similar projects.

Community leaders in Ipswich took the bold decision to scrap the town's airport to make way for the develop-

ment, which was carefully planned to create an edge of town. With all the facilities needed.

They will be aiming to replicate the scheme when the town expands, with thousands more homes in the next few years.

Ipswich councillor John Mawles said: “We knew it was controversial, but we knew what we were doing made sense and was right. It has been a real success story.”

■ Full story – page 5

AHEAD OF ITS TIME: The Ravenwood development, which will be the model for similar projects as Ipswich expands

Inside page (page 5)

Controversial development hailed as ahead of its time

Researchers praise Ravenswood estate

EXCLUSIVE

By **RICHARD CORNWELL** and **ANTHONY BOND**

richard.cornwell@eveningstar.co.uk
anthony.bond@eveningstar.co.uk

ONCE it was the object of protests from aviation fans, furious about the loss of Ipswich Airport.

Now Ravenswood is being held up as an example of how to build a new community from scratch.

With its mix of homes and people from different backgrounds as well as a pub, school, community, health and sport facilities nearby and plenty of green open space, the Ipswich development has been hailed as "ahead of its time".

The leafy boulevards, satellite shop complex, 20mph speeds limits, cyclepaths, traffic calming, safe walkways and public art scattered around is said to be a model of how everyone will live in the future.

Residents are now being invited to give share their views and discuss what it's like living in the community with a university researcher.

Kirsten Owen, 26, from the University of Sheffield, is holding a one-day event at the Ravenswood shops on Saturday, from 10am to 3pm.

This will allow residents to tell her about their neighbourhood through interactive activities – and she is especially keen to talk to the younger residents.

"I want people to tell me about their neighbourhood," said Miss Owen, who works in the university's town and regional planning department.

"I do not have a remit about what I am after; I just want to get some viewpoints from residents."

"What I am keen for is getting the views of the younger people who live on Ravenswood because quite often in planning we think about adults and young people do not get thought about in quite the same way."

"It is really important that we know how we build new neighbourhoods and create really excit-



YOUR VIEWS: Above, Ravenswood, which has been hailed as a perfect place to live. Inset, University of Sheffield researcher Kirsten Owen

Fastfacts Ravenswood's birth

- Creation of Ravenswood meant the closure of Ipswich Airport, a well-used airfield for small flights, mostly private planes, and part of the town for years; regional commuter airport, but figures showed it was losing money and not viable;
- The decision created huge controversy in the town and a campaign was launched to save the airport, including petitions and a big protest march;
- The airport closed in early 1997 and plans were approved for 1,000 homes on the land off Nacton Road, plus other facilities;
- There were some who felt services at the borough council-owned airfield should have been expanded into a
- Bellway Homes was chosen as the developer and building started in 1999 with the first residents moving in later that year.



FLASHBACK: The first houses under construction in Saxon Square

Happy community

TEN years on from when work started on the first houses, Ravenswood is a thriving community – and most people seem happy to live there.

Jackie Horstead, chairman of Ravenswood Residents' Association, working with colleagues Mary Eagle, Becca Macro and James Gibson, said: "To begin with our group was very much focussed on trouble shooting, because everything was new and there were some issues to sort out."

"Now we want to provide more for the community, bringing people together. It's very leafy and with the trees, greens and public art is starting to mature nicely."

Ipswich councillor John Mowles, one of the leaders of the campaign to create Ravenswood, said: "It was a thorny issue at the time, but I don't think there are many people now who would disagree with the council – it was a good decision and has been a real success story."

"It is a flagship set-up and part of the reason for that was the council was determined not to flog it off to the highest bidder but to work closely with one developer and have it planned right. It is an excellent example of a future development."



GOOD DECISION: Jackie Horstead and John Mowles

Voxpop The view of those living on the development



Laurence White, who moved to Ravenswood when his job switched to Ipswich nine years ago, said: "It's nice here. You do occasionally get woken up by teenagers larking about, but otherwise it's quiet."



Daniel Theophani said: "I think there is a really good sense of community and I like the easy access on to the A14."



Stephanie Poulter, who has lived on the development six years, said: "It's quite nice here, we have never had any trouble. There are lots of places for the smaller children to play."



Craig Bloomfield, who has lived on Ravenswood three years, said: "There are lots of good facilities – a decent pickup of shops, Orwell Country Park on the doorstep, it's quiet and there are regular flyers to let us know everything going on."



Rebecca Bloomfield said: "It's nice and clean and quiet. Good bus services. We like living here."

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for adults



Department of Town and Regional Planning
The University of Sheffield
SHEFFIELD
S10 2TN

WIN M&S Vouchers

Just complete and return this questionnaire

Ravenswood - Tell us about it!

- This questionnaire forms part of a research study at The University of Sheffield which is looking at the Ravenswood development and **we want to know your opinion**.
- Returned questionnaires will be entered into a draw to **WIN** one of two **£15 M&S Vouchers**.
- Once you have completed this questionnaire, please return it to us in the pre-addressed and stamped envelope provided.
- To be entered into the prize draw, please return the questionnaire by the 31st October 2009.
- All information collected from this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential and no individual will ever be identified.
- Information gathered from this questionnaire will be used in a PhD thesis.
- If you do have any questions regarding this questionnaire or the research study then please contact Kirsten Owen either at the above address, by email on kirsten.owen@sheffield.ac.uk or alternatively by telephone on 0114 222 6914 or 07527 806859.
- You can also log onto our **BLOG**, dedicated to residents in and around Ravenswood. Log onto www.AroundRavenswood.blogspot.com and join the debate!

If you would like to be entered into the draw to **WIN** one of two **£15 Marks and Spencer Vouchers**, please fill in the following personal details. However if you would prefer to remain anonymous you can just complete the questionnaire.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

Section 1 – About You

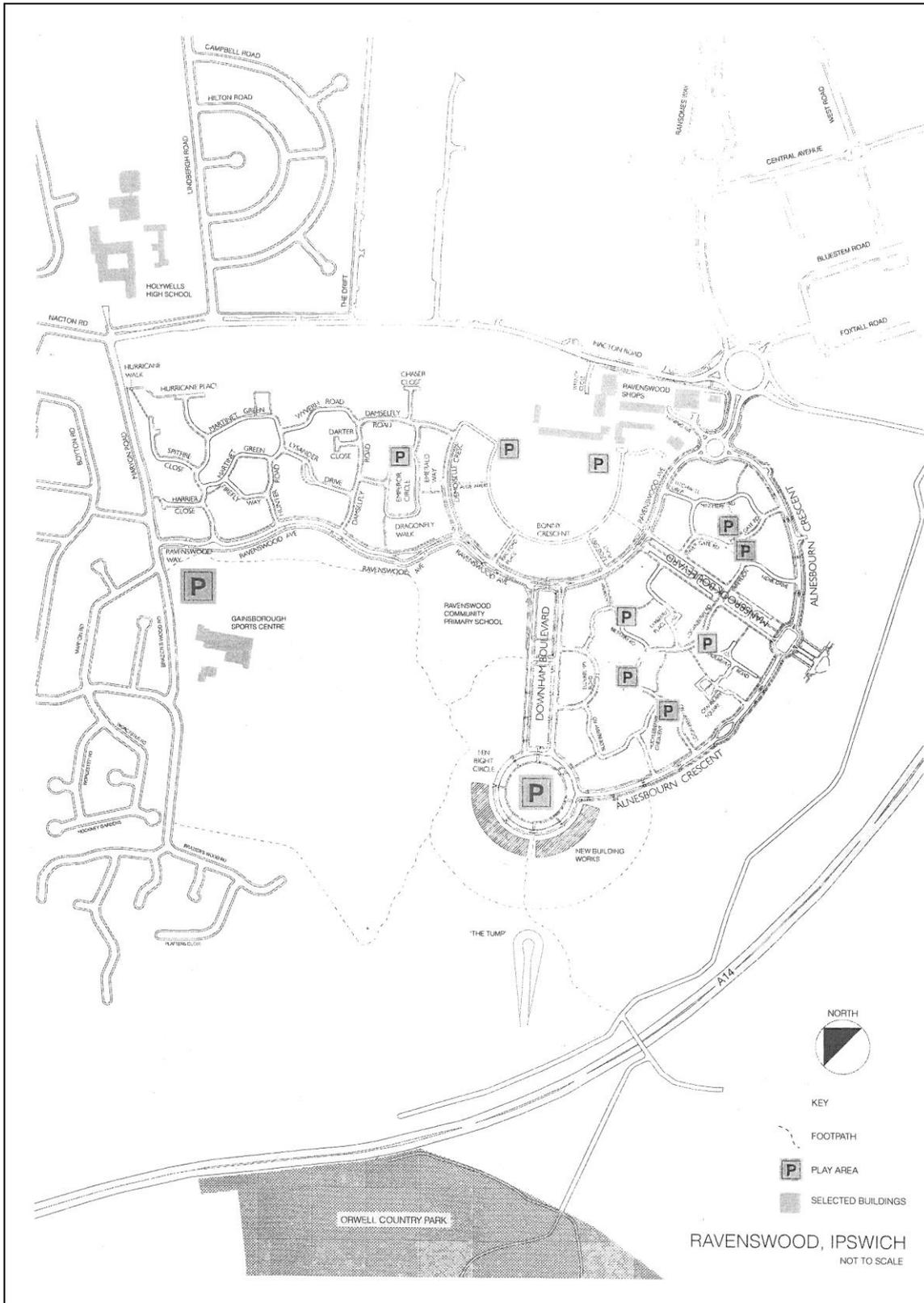
First of all we would like to begin by asking you a few questions about yourself.

- Are you... Male Female
- Which age category do you fit into?
- | | | |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 16-19 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 20-25 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 26-35 years old |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 36-45 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 46-55 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 56 years old and over |

Do you have any children living at home with you? Yes No

If Yes, what are their ages? (Please state all ages)

Youth in the mix



Section 2 – Your Neighbourhood

In this section we will ask you your views and experiences about where you live. Some of these questions will ask you to mark the map opposite. But if you want to tell us something else, feel free to write on the map!

If the street you live on is on the map, can you stick this **yellow** sticker on this street.  
 On the map can you mark with these **green** stickers the places you like spending your time.  
 Can you tell us why you like these places?

On the map can you mark with these **red** stickers the places you do not like.  
 Can you tell us, why you dislike these places?

Ravenswood has been designed and built to include a number of facilities and amenities such as shops, open spaces and play areas. In your opinion who uses the following facilities and amenities in Ravenswood? (tick all that apply)

Who uses them?	Ravenswood Residents	Residents from nearby neighbourhoods e.g. Priory Heath, Gainsborough	Ipswich Residents	People from elsewhere
Ravenswood shops				
Ravenswood Community Primary School				
Ravenswood Medical Centre				
The Raven Pub				
Play/ Recreational Areas				
Open Areas e.g. the village green				
OTHER, Please State				

Do you think there are any anti-social problems in and around Ravenswood?
 Yes, a lot. Yes, but no more than anywhere else
 Sometimes No
 Not Sure 
 If you think there are problems, can you mark where they occur with these **blue** stickers. 
 Can you give any examples of these problems?

Section 3 – Your Neighbouring Neighbourhoods

The Ravenswood development has been built next to pre-existing neighbourhoods such as Gainsborough and Priory Heath. This section asks about the relationship of Ravenswood to these other areas.

Using a pen or pencil, can you draw a line around the edge of what you think is Ravenswood on the map?

Do you think Ravenswood is well integrated with nearby neighbourhoods such as Gainsborough and Priory Heath?

Yes No Not Sure

Can you tell us why you think this?

Do you think there is a sense of community amongst the residents who live in Ravenswood, Gainsborough and Priory Heath?

Yes No Not Sure

Can you tell us why you think this?

End of Questionnaire – Thank you!

In addition to this questionnaire, we are looking to speak to some residents in more detail about their views and experiences of Ravenswood, either in person or over the phone which ever is more convenient for you.

Would you be willing to be contacted about this?

If Yes, could you please provide contact details for you.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

TEL: _____

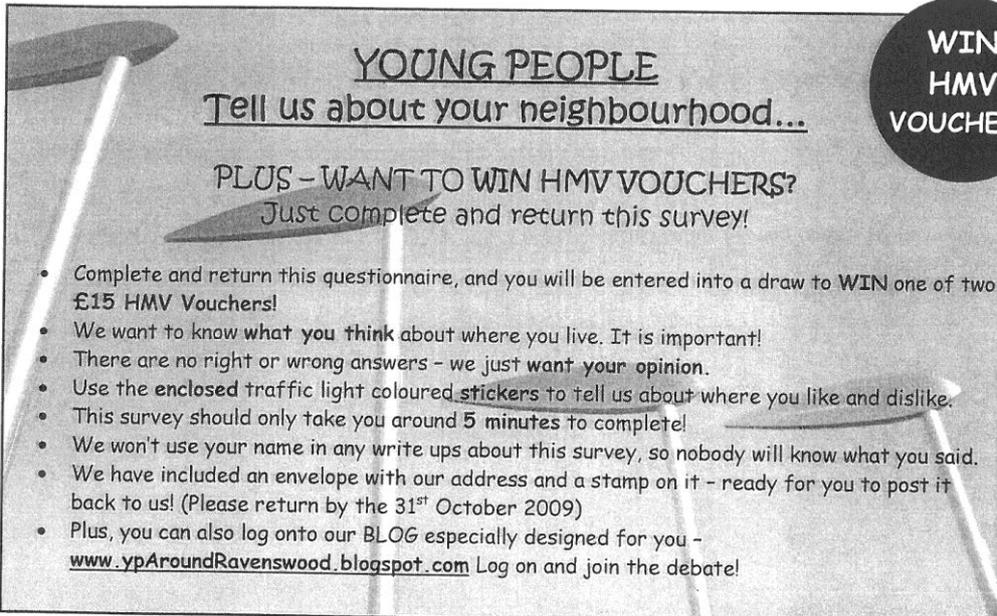
EMAIL: _____

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please return it in the pre-addressed and stamped envelope provided. If you have any queries regarding this questionnaire or the research study then please contact Kirsten Owen. Details can be found on the front page.

Remember, you can also see what others are saying on our **BLOG** dedicated to residents living in and around Ravenswood at www.AroundRavenswood.blogspot.com Log on and join the debate!!

We also have a **BLOG** solely for young residents, aged 16 years and under at www.ypAroundRavenswood.blogspot.com

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for young people



YOUNG PEOPLE

Tell us about your neighbourhood...

PLUS – WANT TO WIN HMV VOUCHERS?
Just complete and return this survey!

**WIN
H
M
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H
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R
S**

- Complete and return this questionnaire, and you will be entered into a draw to **WIN** one of two **£15 HMV Vouchers!**
- We want to know **what you think** about where you live. It is important!
- There are no right or wrong answers - we just want **your opinion**.
- Use the **enclosed** traffic light coloured **stickers** to tell us about where you like and dislike.
- This survey should only take you around **5 minutes** to complete!
- We won't use your name in any write ups about this survey, so nobody will know what you said.
- We have included an envelope with our address and a stamp on it - ready for you to post it back to us! (Please return by the **31st October 2009**)
- Plus, you can also log onto our **BLOG** especially designed for you - www.ypAroundRavenswood.blogspot.com Log on and join the debate!

If you would like to be entered into the draw to **WIN** one of two **£15 HMV Vouchers**, you will need to give us your name and address. But you can still fill in the questionnaire and return it to us if you don't want to give us your name and address.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

Part 1 – About you
To begin, we would like to know a little about you.

I am a Boy Girl

I am _____ years old.

Which school do you go to? _____

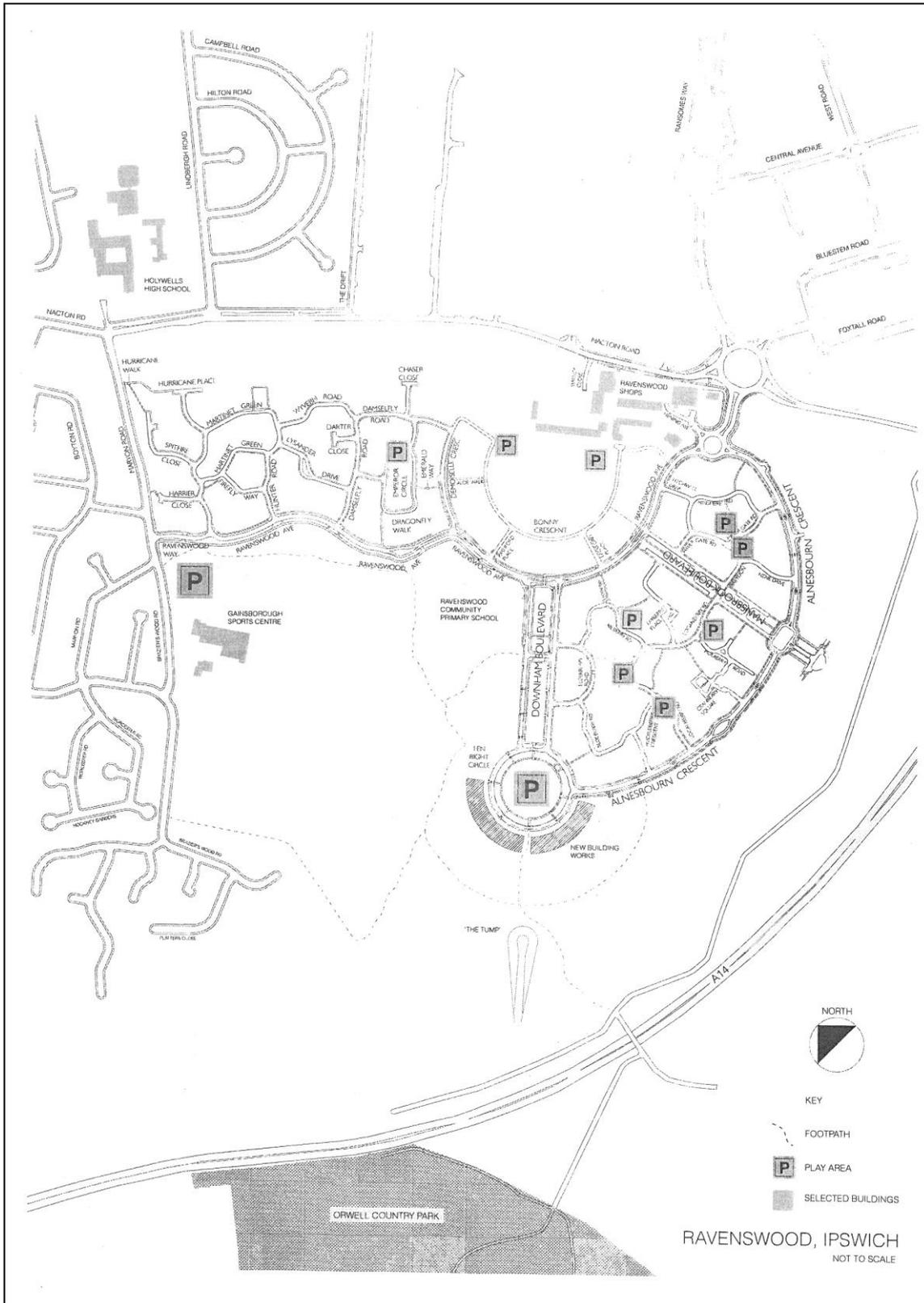
PLEASE TURN OVER



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Department of Town & Regional Planning
 The University of Sheffield
 SHEFFIELD, S10 2TN
 Kirsten Owen (0114 222 6929)
 email: kirsten.owen@sheffield.ac.uk

Youth in the mix



Part 2 – Your Neighbourhood

On the next page there is a map of Ravenswood and the nearby area. On this page, some of the questions will ask you to use the enclosed stickers to mark different places on the map.

If you want, you can also write and draw on the map if there is something else you want to tell us!

If the **street you live on** is on the map, can you use this **yellow** sticker to mark the street? 

With these **green** stickers, can you show us the places **you like to go** on the map? 

Can you tell us why you like these places?

When you are out at these places, who do you go with? (tick all that apply)

- Friends Parents Brothers/Sisters Other Family

 If you go with friends, where did you meet your friends? (tick all that apply)

- School Clubs I go to They live close to me Family friends
 Other, please explain _____

If you are spending time with your friends, where do you usually go?

- Stay at Home Somewhere outside A friends house
 Activity/Club Other, please state where _____

With these **red** stickers, can you show us the places you **do not like** on the map? 

Can you tell us why you do not like these places?

Ravenswood has been built next to some other neighbourhoods. Using a pen or pencil, can you draw a line around the edge of what you think is Ravenswood, on the map.

Do you think there are any differences between Ravenswood and the other areas nearby?

- YES NO Not Sure

 Can you explain why you think this?

End of Questionnaire – Please return in the envelope provided – THANK YOU!
 Remember, you can also see what other young people have to say about your neighbourhood on our BLOG
www.ypArroundRavenswood.blogspot.com

Appendix 6: Professionals interviewed for the research

(Names have not been given in order to preserve anonymity.)

1. Local Ward Councillor
2. Local Ward Councillor
3. Head of Ipswich Borough Council
4. Senior Planning Project Officer, Ipswich Borough Council*
5. Police Officer*
6. Architect (responsible for the Master Plan)
7. Head of Greenspace, Ipswich Borough Council*
8. Head of Community Cohesion, Ipswich Borough Council
9. Senior Park Ranger, Ipswich Borough Council*
10. Park Ranger, Ipswich Borough Council*
11. Community Development Officer, Ipswich Borough Council*
12. Sports Development Officer, Ipswich Borough Council*
13. Head of Ravenswood Community Primary School*
14. Head of Nacton Village Church of England Voluntary Controlled Primary School*
15. Youth Development Leader, Suffolk County Council*
16. Youth Development Worker, Suffolk County Council*
17. Youth Development Worker, Suffolk County Council*
18. Youth Club Leader, Holywells High School*
19. Youth Worker, Gainsborough Library*
20. Girlguiding Leader, Nacton Guides
21. Housing Officer, Orwell Housing Association*
22. Caretaker, Ravenswood Shopping Precinct*
23. Medical Practice Manager, Ravenswood Medical Practice

(Not all research participants were quoted in the thesis. Participants who have been quoted are indicated with an asterisk ().)*

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