

For A Genealogy of Street-Wisdom

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The Candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The study of women's fear of crime has received considerable academic attention from a range of disciplinary directions. This thesis propels these existing debates further forward by problematising the construction of 'fear' and 'safety' in existing work and by exploring the range of ways in which public spaces are understood, and knowledge about them constructed and deployed. Using a Foucauldian and affective theoretical framework, the thesis uncovers how safe or fearful 'knowledges' are constituted, and reconfigures them, beyond the limits of this lexicon, as 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness'. These terms offer both broader and more precise ways of speaking about the specificity of women's day-to-day experiences of occupying public space. With this in mind, this thesis uses a mix of qualitative methods including Walking Interviews, Map Interviews and Multimedia Diaries to investigate, with 45 female participants across three sites in the South East of England, the ways in which they situate themselves physically and emotionally in their home towns. The study begins to excavate how this knowledge, or street-wisdom, is formed and circulated, reflecting the breadth of sometimes emancipatory, sometimes exclusionary or oppressed ways in which women experience their bodies in space. By adopting this nuanced perspective on fear of crime, and by proposing an understanding of fear of crime which is more complex and contingent than existing discussions suggest, this thesis offers challenging and instructive insights into the possibilities and problematics of fear when used to inform street-wisdom.

Contents

Index of Tables.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Why A Genealogy of Street-Wisdom?	3
1.2 Overview	3
1.3 Research Objectives.....	4
1.4 Terminologies.....	5
1.5 Structure of the Thesis.....	7
Chapter 2: Research Context & Literature Review	11
2.1 Elucidating '(Un)At-Home-Ness'	11
2.1.1 <i>Phenomenological Homes</i>	15
2.1.2 <i>Territorial Homes</i>	16
2.2 Mapping Rural and (Sub)Urban Subjectivities	20
2.3 Beyond Fear of Crime?.....	23
2.4 Female and Male Safety.....	26
2.5 Feminine and Masculine Safety	30
2.6 Women in Space	32
2.7 Technologising Safety and Subjectivity.....	36
2.8 Geographies of Youth	39
2.8.1 <i>Youth and subjectivity</i>	39
2.8.2 <i>Parental Nostalgia, Stereotype and Anxiety</i>	41
2.8.3 <i>Parentally Gendered Childhood</i>	42
2.8.4 <i>Children 'to-be-feared (for)'</i>	44
2.8.5 <i>'Subcultural' Childhood</i>	45
2.8.6 <i>The Chav: Pathological Femininity</i>	47
2.9 Summary	49
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework.....	51
3.1 Queer-Feminist Thought.....	53
3.2 Theorising Affects	55
3.2.1 <i>There, Virtually</i>	56
3.2.2 <i>The Ready-To-Be-Affected Body</i>	57

3.2.3 <i>Affect-Emotion-Feeling Systems</i>	58
3.3 'Bad' Affects.....	60
3.3.1 <i>Universalising 'Dirty Words'</i>	60
3.3.2 <i>Ethnocentrism and 'Other' Exclusions</i>	61
3.3.4 <i>Challenging 'Newness'</i>	63
3.3.5 <i>Re-siting Autonomy</i>	64
3.4 <i>Theorising Emotion: Fear and Fearlessness</i>	65
3.4.1 <i>Localised Affective Fear</i>	65
3.4.2 <i>Globalised Affective Fear</i>	66
3.5 <i>Ahmed and Affectivity</i>	68
3.5.1 <i>Embodied Emotional Affects</i>	68
3.5.2 <i>Tracing Trajectories of Orientation</i>	69
3.5.3 <i>Fear of Faceless Others</i>	70
3.5.4 <i>'At-Home' with Ahmed?</i>	72
3.6 <i>Framing Foucault</i>	74
3.6.1 <i>Discursive Potentialities</i>	76
3.6.2 <i>Genealogical Potentialities</i>	77
3.6.3 <i>Heterotopic Potentialities</i>	78
3.7 <i>Warps and Wefts of Theory</i>	79
3.8 <i>Summary</i>	81
Chapter 4: Researching Street-Wisdom	82
4.1 <i>Examining Existing Research</i>	83
4.1.1 <i>Researching Women's Fear of Crime</i>	84
4.1.2 <i>Researching Young People's Experience of Place</i>	85
4.1.3 <i>'Applied' Affect</i>	87
4.2 <i>Finding the Sample, Choosing the Space</i>	89
4.3 <i>The Sites</i>	92
4.4 <i>Methods: An Overview</i>	93
4.4.2 <i>Walking Interview</i>	96
4.4.3 <i>Diary</i>	98
4.5 <i>Ethical Considerations</i>	100
4.5.1 <i>Risk to Participants</i>	101
4.5.2 <i>Anonymity and Confidentiality</i>	102
4.5.3 <i>Informed Consent</i>	105

4.6 Pilot Studies	107
4.6.1 Pilot Study One.....	107
4.6.2 Pilot Study Two.....	108
4.7 Evaluation of the Method	109
4.8 Situated Research	110
4.8.1 Positionality.....	111
4.8.2 Reflexivity.....	112
4.8.3 Authenticity.....	114
4.9 Codes, Approaches and People	115
4.9 Profiles of Participants,	117
Part Two: Analysis.....	120
Chapter 5: Constructing Spaces.....	120
5.1 Wherever I Meet My Friends (That's My Home)	120
5.2 Urban Rurality/Rural Urbanity –the 'more-or-less' of places	122
5.3 Time–Textured Spaces	128
5.4 Retro– and Pro– Spective Longing	135
5.5 Skirting the Outskirts: Subjectivity and the Margin	139
Chapter 6: Constructions of Self.....	150
6.1 Shopping and Football: Gendering Leisure	150
6.2 'Feeling' Gendered Safety	153
6.2.1 Sexualised Harassment	155
6.2.2 Bad Boys and Nice Guys	157
6.2.3 Bad Girls and 'Bitches'.....	159
6.2.4 Play/Fighting.....	162
Chapter 7: Constructions of 'Others'	165
7.1 'Other' Classes: Negotiating Privilege	165
7.2 Between the Spectre and the Subaltern: The Ubiquity of the 'Chav'	169
7.3 'Raced' Others: 'Raced' Spaces	174
7.4 'Messy' Others: People and Places	178
7.5 Unfearing Fearful 'Others'	181

Chapter 8: Silent Selves: Ethereal Places –The Significance of ‘Lack’	184
8.1 Silent Selves	184
8.2 Ethereal Places	188
8.2.1 <i>Placelessness: Phantom Places</i>	188
8.2.2 <i>Placefulness: Excess Space</i>	190
Chapter 9: The (Re)Production of Ontological Street-wisdom	194
9.1 ‘Common Sense’: Myths and Warnings	194
9.2 Affective Ontology – ‘Feeling’ the Environs	199
9.3 Ontologies, Mundanities and Familiarities.....	200
Chapter 10: Unmaking ‘Un-at-home-ness’: Managing Loathed Spaces	204
10.1 Avoidance	204
10.2 Performing Avoidance	205
10.3 The Recruiting of ‘Good Samaritans’	207
10.4 Technologically Mediated Safe-Keeping	211
10.5 Heterotopic Cocooning.....	213
10.6 Waywardness, Worldliness and the Revel	215
10.6.1 <i>Waywardness</i>	216
10.6.2 <i>Worldliness</i>	218
10.6.3 <i>The Revel</i>	219
Chapter 11: Conclusion.....	221
11.1 Evaluative Comments	228
11.2 The Future	229
11.3 The End	230
Bibliography	232
Appendix A: Examples of Communications	248
Appendix B: Map Interviews.....	251
Appendix C: Diaries	260

Index of Tables

Table 1 : Profiles of Sites.....	92
Table 2: Summary of Methods.....	99
Table 3 : Anchor	118
Table 4: Boatswain.....	118
Table 5: Chord.....	119
Table 6: Intergenerational Pairs.....	119

Chapter 1: Introduction

'How scared are we?' ask Walklate & Mythen (2008) in their energetic critique of fear of crime studies. There are a number of ways in which we can ask this question and still many more in which we can answer it. Over the following pages, I begin to address these and suggest that we can understand 'how scared we are' by interrogating the construction of street-wisdom in teenage girls aged between 15 and 18. This thesis examines the complexities of being 'scared' of space, how this impacts on their spatial subjectivity and how understandings of fear and safety in public space inform how those spaces, and people in them, come to be constructed.

How scared *are* we? A question posed in this way requires, as Walkate & Mythen (2008: 221) identify, a quantitative 'actuarial approach' to assessing fear of crime. These approaches, evidenced by criminologists such as Smith (1994) and critiqued by Koskela & Pain (2000), 'count' the amount of fear that is experienced. And, rather than problematising fear, they adopt a positivistic approach which constructs fear and its effects on spatial subjectivity as monolithic and a-contextual. In this discussion, I move beyond this quantitative measurement of fear in order to offer a more nuanced understanding of how fear is known.

How scared are *we*? Once more, this question assumes an inclusiveness of who 'we' are, which belies the heterogeneous ways in which we might be scared, including not being scared at all, and assumes a unity in the things we are fearful of. By leaving the 'we' hanging unproblematised in this way, Walklate & Mythen (2008: 217-8) deliberately draw attention to the difficulty of speaking about fear as a 'naturally occurring, free-floating phenomenon' rather than situating it, socially and culturally in the context in which it is imagined and experienced.

How *scared* are we? As we ask this question, we start to scratch at the surface of what it is to feel space; to attach 'meaning to fear' (Walklate & Mythen, 2008: 218). And it is through interrogating how 'scared' we are that we might also start to speak of feeling feelings other than scared; maybe we are not scared, maybe we are thrilled, nervous or bored. A central tenet of this research relies on recognising the possibilities afforded by speaking about scaredness beyond the language of 'fear' and 'safety'. By enquiring after experiences of space, beyond the limits of the lexicon of scaredness, we can interrogate the construction of knowledge about space, and imagine alternatives to fear and safety for feminine bodies in space.

This brings me to the fourth configuration of this sentence; '*How* scared are we?'. Or, to put it another way, *how* are we scared? In what ways is scaredness fostered? How are the knowledges about 'who and what is to be feared' (Walklate & Mythen, 2008: 219), constructed

and deployed? What does this tell us about who is scary and who is scared? This thesis posits that it is through interrogating the construction of knowledge about scaredness, that any exclusions or marginalisations which are constitutive of this street-wisdom are recognised, that challenges to these can be imagined and that more emancipated, less fearful or inhibited spatial subjectivities might be enacted.

In this way, this study is 'for' a study of the genealogy of street-wisdom. Its purpose is to seek an understanding of the ways in which knowledge of the street is created and used to inform safe-keeping. It is to interrogate how the subject of 'fear of crime' studies is constructed and, in turn, to interrogate how fear is constructed. Through this, any exclusion along territorial lines of 'likeness' or 'otherness', might be challenged. In being 'for' – in favour of, and in order to conduct – an enquiry into the construction of street-wisdom, this study suggests that by reconfiguring the way in which we think about 'fearful' space, the possibilities afforded for imagining alternatives for the feminine body in space are enhanced; possibilities beyond normative constructions of gender, safety and scaredness. As such, I focus on the 'how', the 'we' and the 'scared' of Walklate & Mythen's (2008) question. Indeed, the statement 'How we scared' also points to further ways of (re)constructing femininity and fear in space, as an object, as well as subject, of fear.

In this study, I examine the array of ways that young women aged between 15 and 18 years old construct and share these knowledges of scaredness around public space. Certainly, the study of women's experiences of fear and safety in public space has received attention from an array of disciplinary directions. From the criminological perspective afforded by Walklate (1997), the sociological perspectives offered by Stanko (1990, 1995, 1996) or the feminist geographical research of Pain, (1991, 1997, 2001), Valentine (1989, 1992) and Koskela, (1997), the phenomenon of women's experiences of fear and safety in the street has endured for a considerable period. I contribute to this body of work by examining the ways in which knowledge of the street is constructed and trace how the construction of this knowledge works to inform, disseminate and reproduce street-wisdom. However, not only does this enquiry explore how 'safety' and 'fear' are constructed by and constructive of knowledge acquired on the street, it also examines how emotions between and beyond fear and safety operate to construct street-wisdom.

In this introductory chapter I indicate how this research contributes to this engaging field. I then present the aims of the research, explain the terminology used in this thesis, and provide an overview of the contents of the chapters that follow.

1.1 Why A Genealogy of Street-Wisdom?

I became interested in safe-keeping and fear in street spaces as a postgraduate student, and was particularly drawn to considerations of the relationship between gendered and spatial subjectivity and in particular how women are perceived to occupy space in more spatially limited ways than men (Bell & Valentine, 1995, Ardener, 1981). As I outline more extensively in the following chapters, formative research in this field addressed how women understand space as to-be-feared and the steps taken to negotiate those threats (Valentine, 1989, 1992, Pain, 1997, 2000, Stanko, 1990, 1995). In much of this early literature, the category of 'woman' was particularly unproblematised and an ethnocentric, heterosexist, ableist understanding of the woman prevailed. Understandings of fear and safety, too, remained under-theorised with generalised and universalising applications of those terms. The approaches offered by Koskela (1997, 1999), Hollway & Jefferson (1997) Gilchrist, Bannister, Ditton & Farrall (1998), Walklate & Mythen (2008) and more recently, Hutta (2009) cast a more critical eye over what is meant by 'fear' and what is meant by 'safety' in these studies of women's fear of crime and open up the conceptual space for me to theorise alternatives to fear in space including refusing the effects of fear on spatial subjectivity or outright 'boldness' in the face of fearful feeling (Koskela, 1997).

I seek to contribute to these approaches by interrogating more thoroughly the construction of knowledge and concurrently the construction of spatial subjectivity, in order to more fully reflect the specificity of women's experiences of occupying public space. In this study I propose a focus on the genealogy of street-wisdom. As I outline in more depth in section 1.3, *the way in which* knowledge (street-wisdom) is constructed, tells us about *how* spaces are known. By asking about how 'knowledges' are made – their genealogy – we are in a position to better assess the extent to which they impact on women's spatial subjectivity. And if prevailing street-wisdom inhibits the unfettered expression of emancipated subjectivity, it might be challenged through this interrogation of its genealogy (cf. Wilson, 1991). More simply, if I visit my home town and know if I walk one way through the town I will be more relaxed and at ease than if I go another way, questioning how it is that I know this knowledge might enable me to reconfigure how the knowledge is known and enable me to use both paths in my home town, thus increasing the access to space that I enjoy. Interrogating the genealogy of this knowledge helps us towards this emancipatory work.

1.2 Overview

This study focuses on the experiences of young women, most of whom were 17 years old at the time of the study. The participants were recruited mainly from three schools in the South East of England. The three schools were in separate sites and present urban, suburban and rural study sites. These sites have been selected because they are proximate to each other, sharing a geographic area, and because some participants had experience of constructing sharing and managing street-wisdom in all three places, thus enhancing the analysis. I have decided to examine the experiences of participants of this age as it is at this stage in these young people's 'childhoods'¹ that they could be said to be gaining more spatial autonomy; by participating in the 'adult' night-time economy, preparing to leave home to go to university or into work, or obtaining 'adult' skills, such as learning to drive or keeping a part-time job. A focus on the spatial subjectivity and construction of street-wisdom of these individuals – who could be described as being on the cusp of 'adulthood' – is an interesting point of enquiry for this study of the genealogy of this knowledge. The construction of the spatial subjectivity of young people on this subjective cusp, between the not-quite-child and not-quite-adult, suggests that their knowledge about space is particularly complex and therefore could afford valuable insights into the ways in which knowledge is constructed and used in street-spaces to understand them as desirable or undesirable, safe or scary, as spaces of belonging or of alienation. It also enables an examination of the inclusions or exclusions that such ontological carving up of space might generate.

1.3 Research Objectives

The following four research objectives have informed the design of, and approach to, this study. This project seeks to:

1. Explore what alternatives there are for women beyond experiences of 'fear' and 'safety' in their understandings of home town spaces and their constructions of street-wisdom:

Evidenced in the design and conduct of the method, by ensuring that discussions using the language of fear and safety does not overwhelm the discussion, if participants decide to talk about fear or safety then these discussions will be pursued, but otherwise, my questions are framed in language of like, dislike, boredom, desire, nostalgia, ambition and

¹ Here, 'childhood', 'child', 'adult' and 'adulthood' are presented in inverted commas to indicate that these are terms which are not unproblematic to use and refer to somewhat arbitrary distinctions between different ages of people and stages of life. However, these terms are useful categories in order to articulate why I am focussing on this age-group in this study (See Kraftl, 2008, 2009, Valentine, 1997a for more in-depth discussions of these distinctions).

so on, in order to elucidate some of the more complex ways in which participants experienced space and conveyed knowledge about it.

2. Discover the ways that women who understand space beyond the limits of 'fear' and 'safety' use this knowledge in their interactions with space:

Evidenced in those discussions where participants indicate that they have more complex relationships with space rather than experiencing them solely as 'good' or 'bad' places, by examining what this looks like, how this affects the ways that home towns are spoken about and how this informs/is informed by street-wisdom.

3. Through the lens of affect, explore alternative possibilities for the construction of spatial subjectivity beyond the limits of articulating 'fear' and 'safety' to construct street-wisdom:

By applying the epistemology outlined in Chapter 3, I theorise discussions of the participants, indicating how, using the analytical lens of affect, we might understand that these responses construct alternative spatial subjectivities. I suggest how affective understandings of space can challenge exclusionary constructions and deployments of street-wisdom.

4. Respond to existing critiques of affect by applying an affective epistemology to an empirical enquiry and develop an 'applied' affective method.

Having established how affect is understood in Chapter 3, I have designed a methodology which was flexible and adaptive in order to respond to the nuances of the discussions. Similarly, the fluid method is open to alteration and affords participants a degree of autonomy over how it is conducted, which means that it accommodates uncertainty, vaguery and the indeterminate, which are features of affective expression. Finally, by situating the analysis within affective theory, the thesis illustrates the relationship between this theory and empirical practice in order to promote 'applied' affect.

1.4 Terminologies

Street-Wisdom

For the purposes of this study, 'street-wisdom' describes knowing how to stay safe when out of the home and on the street. The 'street' space referred to in the term 'street-wise' is not

only a physical street, but refers to any public or semi-private space where one needs practical knowledge to maintain personal safety and a sense of security. Enquiring after how this knowledge is constructed and deployed, and how it informs movements around space, one can understand how places become 'known' as fearful or safe places and possibly imagine alternatives to these experiences of space.

Knowledge

Throughout this thesis I make reference to knowledge in a variety of forms, as a constituent feature of street-wisdom. Throughout, it is important to recognise that this term is deployed in a problematised way which challenges the ontological surety that the word implies. Following Harding (1993) and Foucault (1982) knowledge is understood as a socially and culturally constructed category which reveals what one person thinks is 'true' at one point in time. 'Knowledges' are situated and located in the subjectivity of the 'knower' in the moment in which she is 'knowing' (Harding, 1993: 51-2). In Foucault's (1975, 1978, 1982) many discussions about subjectivity, through the deployment of discourses of 'truth', he illustrates the constructed, and potentially contingent, quality of what we 'know'. Though he frames his discussion predominantly in terms of knowledge about sexuality, we can argue that similar principles might apply to the constructions of knowledge about street-scapes, or street-wisdom. Here, the problematised use of the word knowledge reminds the reader that what is being presented as 'truth' about street-scapes cannot be taken-for-granted, but also urges us to interrogate how knowledge is constructed – its genealogy – whilst accommodating the possibility that it can be altered. If knowledge is constructed, it can be otherwise constructed and this harnesses fuller possibilities for participants' knowledge of feminine bodies in space.

Fear, Safety and (Un)At-Home-Ness

There are an array of emotional responses that one might have to, with or in space, which fall outside the linguistic parameters of fear and safety. In order to set about uncovering the wealth of emotions that might be experienced in space and the way that this informs knowledge about place, I applied an affective analytical lens, outlined in Chapter 3.

In order to move the enquiry of 'fear' and 'safety' beyond these linguistic limits, I use the terms 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' to capture how participants in this study speak about their 'home towns'. I use these terms because they more fully reflect the experience of occupying home town spaces than the words 'fear' or 'safety' alone do. 'At-home-ness' describes a sense of ease in space, feeling that one belongs, feeling safe, secure, comfortable, pleased and so on. 'Un-at-home-ness' describes feeling ill-at-ease, perturbed, unsure,

awkward, that one does not belong, that one is uncomfortable, unsafe, anguished and so on. Thus, though ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ feature in defining these terms, these in fact describe experiences of occupying space which are both more encompassing and more nuanced reflections of the experience of being in space, capturing the indeterminacy and the haecceity, – or ‘this-ness’ – of occupying space.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is arranged in two parts. Part One addressing the contextual, theoretical and methodological considerations which inform this study; Part Two, the analysis of the findings of this study.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the literature and research context to which this study contributes. I theorise the concept of ‘home’ and, drawing on the approaches of Sibley (1988, 1995), Miller (2006, forthcoming) and Ingold (1993) I establish how ‘(un)at-home-ness’ is understood. I then analyse how existing research has theorised constructions of the rural, suburban and urban in relation to spatial subjectivity. The contributions made by feminist studies of fear and safety in space are also considered in this chapter, as are the specific experiences that women have of space beyond the limits of fear and safety. Here I draw on the approaches of Thomas (2004, 2005), Wilson (1991) and Scraton & Watson (1998) to explore how pleasure and delight might inform spatial subjectivity and construct knowledge as well as fear. After examining how technology mediates feelings of ‘(un)at-home-ness’, I then examine how young people’s experiences of space have been theorised. In this Chapter I situate my contributions alongside the early perspectives offered by Valentine (1989, 1992), Stanko, (1990) and Pain (1997), and ally it most closely to the emancipatory and creative approaches offered and promoted by Koskela (1997). Additionally, I am drawn to the way in which Hutta (2009) problematises safety as inherently ‘good’ and how Hollway & Jefferson (1997) problematise the construction of fear as inherently ‘bad’.

The *third chapter* of this thesis establishes the theoretical framework in which I am operating. I outline the feminist and queer sensibilities which inform the epistemological approach to the project as a whole before providing a more in-depth account of the influences of affective and Foucauldian theories on my work, including outlining how, following Hemmings (2005a), I reconfigure the autonomy of affect to situate it in the ready-to-be-affected body’s expression, rather than in the plane of immanence that precedes affective expression *per se*. Here I bring together these distinct bodies of theory, including the parallel affective approaches of Deleuze

& Guattari (1972, 1980) and Ahmed (2006a,b) in order to begin a dialogue through which to theorise the genealogies of street-wisdom.

In *Chapter Four* I present the methodology adopted in the research. The ethical implications of conducting this study with young people are considered and I establish how, drawing on the Research Ethics Framework (REF) (2005) published by the Economic Social Research Council (ESRC), I assure ethical integrity. I discuss the results of the Pilot Studies that I conducted in preparation for this project and the way in which the results of these informed the development of the methodology. I also consider the limitations of the method and suggest solutions to these issues.

In the second part of this thesis I analyse the data and situate my findings alongside existing research which informs this study.

Chapter Five explores participants' constructions of space. I argue that the sense of 'home' which is central to the sense of 'at-home-ness' that I use here to articulate well-being, is portable. Here participants talked about their 'home' as something that changed, that they carried around with them, and were capable of understanding more than one place as 'home', including some places which have little resemblance to a home, such as parks, times of day or recollections of memories. Relatedly, participants' discussions of the rural and the urban were also articulated as portable, discursive constructs and were understood as qualities rather than physical constructs. The chapter then explores the significance of nostalgia and longing in the construction of space and place, before concluding on the significance of the margin as both a physical and metaphorical space in which subjectivities might be constructed. The focus throughout this chapter is on the malleability of meanings of space. It also introduces a theme I return to later in Part Two concerning the delight that some participants experience in places that are understood as 'risky'. Space is cast as a subjective experience, through which participants understand themselves and others.

Chapter Six examines how participants talk about themselves in relation to their 'home towns'. In this discussion, two prevailing themes are apparent and circulate around how participants construct their gender; gendered leisure and gendered safety. Here, most participants articulate fairly normative constructions of gender and their relationships to space as a result of their gender, interlaced with their experiences of age and class. I explore how these constructions manifest themselves before concluding this chapter by considering some of the ways that some participants refuse normative constructions of gender and operated resistant

subjectivities by using their experience of gendered leisure to inform their knowledge of gendered safety.

Chapter Seven considers how participants come to understand the meaning of space through interactions, passive or active, with the 'other' as it is informed by their own classed, gendered and 'raced' positionality. 'Others' here are categorised by class, including a discussion of how constructions of the 'chav' impact on the way that participants foster 'at-home-ness' or negotiate 'un-at-home-ness' in space. The influence of 'raced' 'othering' on the construction of street-wisdom is also examined. Instances of 'raced' 'othering' were among the most sensitive issues discussed by participants, who expressed a certain degree of shame about it. As such, the affective effect of 'race' on spatial subjectivity is also examined. Finally, in this chapter, I examine how messy 'othering' – the othering of people or places for indistinguishable, unarticulatable reasons, often interlaced with classed or 'raced' othering – impacts on the construction of street-wisdom.

Following on from these three interlinking themes which focus on the content of what the participants say, *Chapter Eight* examines what they *do not* say. I analyse silences, absences and lack in the data. From an analysis of words which are omitted or left unspoken, to an analysis of the spaces which are forgotten, imagined or made up, this chapter examines the ethereal nature of place when analysed through an affective lens. Following these discussions of absence and forgetfulness, this chapter concludes by examining phantom and other made-up places.

Chapters Nine and Ten of this analysis draw on all four preceding chapters to outline how street-wisdom is constructed by participants through their understandings of space, self and 'other' and through silences. It is in these Chapters that the role of safety in street-wisdom is most problematised by investigating the ways in which some participants use street-wisdom about 'risky' places to develop deviant, rebellious spatial subjectivities.

In *Chapter Nine*, I suggest that street-wisdom is constructed by the circulation of myths and warnings as 'common sense knowledge'. The circulation of these 'knowledges' is also informed by expressions of 'bad' affect, rooted in participants' own positionality and relationship to constructions of 'race', gender and class, as well as using 'good' affects to inform 'knowledges' of belonging and 'at-home-ness' in space. It is through these as deployments of affective ontologies about space that participants come to understand these sites of 'at-home-ness' or 'un-at-home-ness'. Finally it is through the repetition of knowledge,

and in particular knowledge acquired through their life-courses, that participants' familiarity in space is cultivated and 'at-home-ness' fostered.

Chapter Ten outlines some of the strategies employed by participants to unmake feelings of 'un-at-home-ness' as constructed through the application of their street-wisdom. These include avoiding space, and where this is not possible mimicking the avoidance of space by refusing to engage with it. Otherwise, participants report that they rely on a figurative 'Good Samaritan' to help them negotiate undesirable space; here a different sort of 'othering' is evidenced to that examined in Chapter 7. The use of technology to mediate feelings of 'un-at-home-ness' is also considered, followed by a discussion of the way in which 'un-at-home-ness' is resisted through heterotopic cocooning; it is through constructing heterotopias of security by locking car doors or using MP3 players that some participants managed feelings of 'un-at-home-ness'. The chapter then considers how some participants used spaces to be wayward or rebellious. This final discussion illustrates the possibilities for the body that exist beyond fear and safety in the construction and deployment of street-wisdom.

Chapter Eleven, concluding this thesis, returns to my original research aims and indicates directions for future research which have emerged from this study. Specifically, I highlight the potential enabled by approaching the question of fear and safety through the affective language of 'at-home-ness' and by outlining the ways in which exclusionary affects can be, and are, resisted by women who refuse to express affects in normatively exclusionary ways. In short, this thesis closes by elucidating not only the possibilities afforded by investigating a genealogy of street-wisdom, but also by examining the multivalences, un-doings and re-mappings of the genealogies of street-wisdoms.

Chapter 2: Research Context & Literature Review

This thesis draws on a breadth of research from a range of epistemological, thematic and disciplinary backgrounds. In this Chapter I outline and analyse the diverse bodies of research which have implications for this study. The Chapter focuses predominantly on the empirical content of existing studies. Subsequent chapters will consider the ways in which existing research has epistemologically and methodologically informed the study. Here, I analyse extant literature which focuses on ‘home’, and outline how these approaches have enabled me to conceptualise two key terms I use throughout this thesis; ‘at-home-ness’ and ‘un-at-home-ness’. After discussing how young people’s subjectivity is forged through constructions of the urban, suburban and rural, the discussion then examines the considerable ways in which feminised use of space has been theorised, including how women’s fear of crime is mediated through technology. Finally, I examine how young people’s experiences of class impacts on their constructions of sexuality and suggest how this fosters understandings of ‘at-home-ness’.

2.1 Elucidating ‘(Un)At-Home-Ness’

The concept of ‘home’ has been evoked across a range of contexts. In this part of the discussion, I establish some of the ways in which I am using the term, as well as indicating the ways in which I am *not* using the term. I begin by examining how ‘home’ has been considered, sometimes problematically, in existing research. I also consider ‘home’ from a phenomenological perspective before examining the territorialisation of home-space through the plotting of maps and erection of boundaries. Throughout I situate these constructions of ‘at-home-ness’ and ‘un-at-home-ness’ within an affective frame, which I elaborate on in the next chapter. I outline how these terms have implications for discussions of safety, fear and beyond, in the construction and deployment of street-wisdom.

The expression ‘to feel at home’ can be colloquially understood as describing feelings of sanctuary, ease, comfort, fluency, or confidence, by a body in space (Lugones, 1990: 397), whereas, to feel ‘not-at-home’ is described by Lorimer (2005: 88) as the feelings of ‘entrapment’ and ‘anxiety’ in the world’. I develop this language of ‘at-home-ness’ and ‘un-at-home-ness’ in order to articulate the abundance of ways in which bodies feel belonging (or not) in space. These terms must not be understood as replacing one binary trope (fear/safety) with another (at-home/un-at-home-ness), but rather, as existing on a continuum. Subjective understandings of place can oscillate between them, and transcend them; these terms neither limit nor prescribe what it is that might be experienced in home town spaces. This adaptability

renders the specificity of experiences of 'home towns' at once more precise and more encompassing than the limits of speaking of 'fear' and 'safety' allow.

Here, it is the ready-to-be-affected feminine body which is understood as expressing this sense of feeling 'at-home'. Feminists from a range of theoretical backgrounds have problematised the common association of the female body with the home – the domestic, private sphere – (Wollestonecraft (1792), Freidan (1963), Firestone (1970), Butler, (1994), inter alia). Indeed, the campaign to launch women out of the home and into the public realm of policy-making, labour and public participation is one of the founding principles of the 'first wave' of feminist thought. And this discussion, propelled as it is by feminist sensibilities, in no way seeks to re-situate the feminine body into the physical or metaphorical home, as imagined by these feminist approaches. Certainly, the home, for many women, as Stanko, (1990), Whitzman (2007) and Kelly, (1987) remind us, can be a site of oppression, of violence or isolation. The home is also exclusionary; there are some people who have no home and many more who are not allowed to enter a home that they do not belong to. Therefore, in this discussion, I am employing the language of 'home', but it should be understood as not representing 'a' home. It 'stands in' for all the other words that comprise the meaning of the feeling of 'at-home'. As Yeoh & Huang (1998: 592, 597) suggest in their study, some women are never 'at-home' in the home, and have to forge counter-spaces of 'at-home-ness' outside of the place where they live, in public plazas or playgrounds. Similarly, in their study of Australian teenagers' 'favourite places', Abbott-Chapman & Robertson (2009) suggest that for some participants the 'home' extends to areas outside the home; it could be other people's homes, gardens, or where their pets or friends lived.

This thesis moves away from thinking about a home as a place, towards thinking about home as a concept, or affective expression. Just as the migrant workers in Yeoh & Huang's study could only forge some sense of home outside of their abodes, theorists such as Lorde (1984) and Knopp (2004) describe the figurative home as heteronormatively oppressive, and are liberated by operating on the margins of the exclusionary home; they forge 'at-home-ness' out of 'un-at-home-ness' and refuse the ethno- and hetero- centrality of some expression of 'at-home-ness'. Knopp suggests that 'the idea of movement, flux and flows as important ontological sites...for queer people is one that has been underappreciated...The fact is that being simultaneously in and out of place, and seeking pleasure in movement, displacement and place/lessness, are commonly sought after experiences' (2004: 124). Similarly, Braidotti's (1994) theorisation of the 'nomadic subject' could also be described as an example of a body which forges 'at-home-ness' outside of the concept of home. Though Braidotti's discussion of

the nomadic subject has its own tensions and exclusions which I return to consider in Section 3.5.3, her nomad illustrates my contention that 'at-home-ness' is not relative to physical homes. Thus in this discussion, 'home' is not only figurative, it is also transient and elastic, and constructed from actual and imagined experiences of place.

Given the range of ways in which 'home' has been invoked and problematised by feminists and other theorists, it is also worth noting that in my use of the concept of 'at-home-ness', I too am questioning the construction of 'at-home-ness' as inherently good and of 'un-at-home-ness' as inherently undesirable. Responding to two of Whitzman's (2007:2729) concerns that fear of crime research polarises the public and private sphere and essentialises safety as inevitably desirable, I suggest that the use of the colloquialisms of 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' both transcend the public/private binary and challenge this dominant construction of safety. Firstly, placing the language of the private into examinations of the public, demonstrates how knowledge of safe-keeping permeates both spheres, residing solely in neither site; it is instead acquired/able through the ready-to-be-affected body's experience of existing in all of these realms, thus destabilising the common association of the 'home' with the private. Secondly, as had been demonstrated by Whitzman (2007), Yeoh & Huang (1998), Dunkley (2004) and Low's (2008) discussions, the home is not benign. It is not neutral; it is not inconsequential, and not necessarily benevolent. The figurative and physical home has the potential to exclude, sanction and confine as much as it might provide sanctuary and comfort. It might simultaneously be 'experienced as a place of retreat and [of] entrapment' (Lorimer, 2005: 88), therefore the goodness of 'at-home-ness' must not be taken for granted. Indeed, even some of the more subversive discussions of fear and safety within the context of the home can, possibly inadvertently, reproduce heteronormative constructions of gender roles within the home (see for instance Hutta, 2009 or Hollway & Jefferson, 1998 and discussion in section 2.3 of this chapter). Therefore, in this discussion, it is important to recognise that I have employed this deliberately double-edged term in order to capture the ambiguity and uncertainty of constructing knowledge about space. The concepts of 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' also recognise the exclusions that occur in imaginaries of home (where is my home not? Who is allowed into my home? What makes me fear the homes of others?). They also acknowledge that home is not a stable or innocuous concept and thus mirror the instability imparted to the words 'safety' or 'fear' in these discussions.

One creative and interesting way in which 'at-home-ness' is elucidated in existing discussions is articulated by Hutta. In an incisive article examining how community safety is expressed and experienced in Berlin, Germany, Hutta challenges the binary of safety/fear, order/disorder

(2009: 251) in much the same way that Whitzman (2007) does, and in the way that I suggest is possible here. Hutta achieves this by framing his debate of how people feel in space through the concept of *Geborgenheit*. This word, which has no appropriate translation in English (except maybe 'at-home-ness') describes 'a sense of being nested within a sheltering space to which one can open up' (2009: 256). Thus, *Geborgenheit* means 'security', 'being well' and exists in a relationship between a 'subjective moment of being positively affected and a situation' (2009: 256). Much like the 'at-home-ness' I am describing here, *Geborgenheit* is relational and embodied. However, one of the ways in which the 'at-home-ness' here differs from *Geborgenheit* is in this 'nestedness'. Hutta suggests that this cosiness, or hunkering, is of the sort experienced 'whilst driving a car in winter', or inside a 'warm, soft vagina' (2009: 258). These are evocative images. And in his efforts to elucidate how *Geborgenheit* can be understood, Hutta appears here to return to normatively heterosexist imagery to capture how this form of 'at-home-ness' is known. Thus, despite the creative and subversive ways in which Hutta problematises safety in his research, these comments capture the difficulty of speaking about 'home' outside of normative gendered frames. In this analysis, propelled, as I suggested in the introduction, by queer imperatives, I work to navigate this complexity in order to glean the possibilities of Hutta's approach to safety without also reproducing similarly exclusionary assumptions about 'home'. Therefore when I use this term, I do so aware of the exclusionary discourses that might constitute such an affective expressions and recognise that these exclusionary power dynamics are significant in the construction of street-wisdom; a discussion I return to in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Indeed, just as 'home' is not a benign term, neither is 'at-home-ness'. The security and belonging that is forged in 'at-home-ness', marks territorial lines around those people and places who are 'like', and those who are 'other' and thus threaten 'at-home-ness'. 'At-home-ness' might be a re-assuring feeling, but there may be a social cost to creating and sustaining such belonging. Therefore, I use the term to describe something that some participants seek, something that is desirable to them, but that they may acquire through exclusionary as much as inclusionary interpretations of the meaning of space. In this terminological framing, I respond to Hutta's observation, that 'more complex understandings of 'home'...can inform a critique of urban policies orientated towards hygienic and orderly 'safe' spaces' (2009: 270). And it is here that my discussion moves away from Whitzman's conclusions. Whilst Whitzman argues that it is possible to create safer spaces through 'stealth' design, and though her discussion of subverting spaces to forge safety is creative and distinct from much existing fear of crime solutions, her preoccupation with the creation of safe spaces continues to operate within the safety/fear dichotomy that she is keen to dismantle in the context of the public/private, and continues to essentialise safety as inherently desirable

(2007:2727). Instead, in this study the acquiring of 'at-home-ness' or 'un-at-home-ness' problematises safety as something that should always be sought, and desanitises safety as inherently good. Returning to Knopp's (2004:129) discussion of the empowerment of queer placelessness, it is possible, in this context, to accommodate the 'ambivalence' of place and 'affection' for placelessness through articulations of '(un)-at-home-ness'.

2.1.1 Phenomenological Homes

Knopp's discussion of the 'messy' and 'ephemeral' qualities of home draw some influence from phenomenological analyses of space. A significant contribution to phenomenology and the home is made by Tuan (1974:4) whose conceptualisation of 'topophilia' describes 'the affective bond between people and place'. Topophilia is 'diffuse as a concept, [yet] vivid and concrete as a personal experience'. In being abstractly conceived whilst acutely experienced, topophilia, or love of place, could be described as beginning to describe 'at-home-ness'. Similarly, Lorimer suggests that houses become homes by 'touching' and 'feeling' the 'comfort' of homes (2005:87). Being 'at-home' is thus, for Lorimer and Tuan, an embodied experience. By transcending the relationship between body and mind, their phenomenological perspectives afford us an understanding of how space is experienced intersubjectively (Longhurst, 1997: 488). Thus, we gain an understanding of the role of the body in space as a constituent feature of the construction of 'at-home-ness'. As Buttimer explains, 'home' is a personal experience which encompasses 'quietness, fragrance, spaciousness, rhythmic flow of light and dark' (1980: 181), but, she insists, does not necessarily encompass this for all people. Indeed, when she states that 'it is difficult for [her] to find the words to describe' what 'home' means to her (1980: 166) she reflects the indeterminate, affective quality of 'home' that is at once personal and portable, 'known' and yet unsayable; of the 'home' whilst existing outside the home.

Similarly, Seamon's (1980) consideration of how the meaning of space is forged through 'place-ballets' is instructive. For Seamon, the notion of 'ballets' describes that which cannot be fully explained or fully 'known'. Much like the affective theories that inform this thesis, Seamon (1980: 149) suggests that these 'ballets' describe the 'irreducible crux of people's life-situations which remains when all 'non-essentials'...are stripped bare'. He suggests that meanings of place are made through place-ballets. This sense of occupying space at a pre-conscious level demonstrates the potential for spaces to be 'known' as a hunch, a presentiment or an instinct, without really being describable through language.

However, whilst Seamon's concept of the place-ballet evokes what it is to belong, he describes these in quite neutral terms, (1980: 161). He does not interrogate what happens when the ballet is exclusionary or harmful to spaces or people. In addition, phenomenological approaches, like affective ones, have been critiqued by Relph, Tuan & Buttner (1977: 178-9) for their lack of empirical applicability and by Jackson (1981: 302) for their individualistic focus. These two critiques are related; by neglecting the social potential of phenomenology, by focussing on the individual, the approach might necessarily lack empirical measurability. However, notwithstanding the epistemological limitations of phenomenological approach as critiqued by Relph and Jackson, Seamon's description of place resonates with the way that I describe 'at-home-ness'. My understanding of the phenomenological experience of occupying home townspaces is tempered by an affective approach to space, which investigates this construct further and forces us to ask what happens when 'bad' affects or place-ballets, construct space, why they occur and might they be resisted?

2.1.2 Territorial Homes

In pursuance of an answer to these questions, I examine how exclusions or 'bad affects' are constructed. One way in which to do this is by analysing how spaces are re- and de-territorialised. Sibley (1988, 1995, 1998) theorises inclusion and exclusion in space extensively and argues that 'boundary erection' is used to 'maintain the shaping of social relations and the creation of social spaces' (Sibley, 1988: 410). Thus, the boundary and its periphery – that which is contained by, and that which is expelled from, the boundary – is a pertinent site of enquiry for researchers of space.

Sibley (1998: 119) argues that 'the urge to exclude 'others'' is precipitated by the need to identify those who fail to fit a classification and to 'exclude that which is unclassif[able]' (Sibley, 1998: 114). These organisational imperatives have echoes of the ways that Foucault (1970, 1975) theorises the ordering and disciplining of societies. Indeed, Foucault's (1986) theorisation of space has implications for this consideration of territorial homes. Foucault (1986: 24) theorises space through heterotopia, which is 'a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live'. That is, heterotopia – a means of organising space – exists both figuratively and/or physically in society to 'represent, contest and invert' its meaning. Heterotopias take many forms – indeed it can be challenging to identify space that is not heterotopian – but in the context of identifying territorial homes, it is helpful to recall Foucault's fifth principle of the heterotopia; that the heterotopia can be a sanctioned site, a site with a 'system of opening and closing that both isolates [the heterotopia] and makes them penetrable' (Foucault, 1986: 26). Thus, the territorial-home-as-heterotopia, as Sibley might

agree, becomes a 'home' that some can enter, some cannot, and some might only enter as visitors. The edges of the 'home' are the boundaries that control legitimate and illegitimate occupancy of the space. Indeed, both Hook & Vrdoljak (2002) and Low (2008), discussing the gated community, evoke this sense of belonging and exclusion, and though Low does not discuss this in the context of heterotopia, her description of the cocooned nature of living in a gated community, isolated from the hostility of the outside world, certainly resonates with Foucauldian and Sibley ideas of heterotopia and of belonging and exclusion. Heterotopia of the home delineates who is welcome, who belongs, who is excluded and who is completely ignored by these sanctions. Indeed, Sibley suggests that boundary maintenance, such as that outlined in Low's (2008) and Hook & Vrdoljak's (2002) studies, can be strategically invoked at societal levels to 'coerce' societies into order (Sibley, 1988: 412), and also operates at a more local level to literally clear-up and 'sanitise' space for public enjoyment (Sibley, 1998: 120). By casting 'others' out of site, and out of sight, the strengthening of boundaries which exclude the loathed, continues.

However, as Sibley also states, the periphery of exclusionary boundaries is recognised as a strategic site of resistance. The strengthening of 'collective identities' of those outside the periphery allows the burgeoning of marginalised communities. Outside of the boundary, outside of the mainstream, communities can enjoy minimal 'interference [from] social control agencies' (Sibley, 1998: 120), and arguably enjoy more personal liberty than those organised within the more controlled, bounded space (Sibley, 1988: 419). Creswell's discussion of Ben Reitman's cartography of figurative boundaries which exclude marginalised 'hobos' in New York, USA, illustrates the subversive and transformative potential of occupying these peripheral subject-positions. Creswell (1998: 208) argues that as a 'hobo', an anarchist, and scholar, Reitman occupied a strategic position that was always situated inside and outside of the boundary of 'respectable' society. Occupying a marginal position, Reitman was able to speak for, and to, the 'hobos', diseased, poor and otherwise maligned 'other', to improve their living and working conditions in early twentieth-century New York. Similarly, the anthropological work of Turner (1967, 1969), with the Ndembu people of Zambia recognises the possibilities of peripheral – or liminal – space in the constructions of subjectivity. During his ethnographic work, Turner observed how, using marginal sites around tribal encampments, people would venture into these spaces to perform rituals of healing or of 'coming of age'. Outside of the societies, Turner (1982) developed this notion to examine similar 'coming of

age' practices in what he termed 'modern' societies, through the use of 'liminoid' spaces². The transformative potential of these sites where subjectivity is forged ambivalently, 'betwixt and between', in the 'no-longer/not-yet' (Deflem, 1991: 13) resonates with the potentiality which imbues the ready-to-be-affected body through which I theorise the construction of knowledge about space, and it is a useful means through which to understand ambiguous space as productive.

The influence of this ambiguity in space is, according to Sibley, incompatible with the certainty evoked by boundaries of exclusion and therefore, the recognition of 'ambiguity as a phenomenon' is necessary to undo the exclusions inherent in such an ordering of space. Writing in the 1980s, Sibley argues that a prevailing 'distaste for ambiguity, vagueness and woolliness' which might be considered '[un]useful' in spatial analysis fails to thoroughly problematise exclusion and the ways that boundaries are constructed and might be contested. For Sibley, it is through accommodating the ambiguous and recognising 'mixed categories', 'fuzzy sets' and 'varying', 'complex' communities that greater understandings of the adverse effects of spatial-ordering might be enabled (1988: 417).

In the twenty or so years since Sibley made these observations, more geographers have become much more comfortable with the unknowable and the unstable (cf. Ingold, 1993, Miller, 2004, Thrift, 2004, 2008, Anderson, 2006, 2010 inter alia). In my own study, the indeterminate is an important way of thinking about how participants understand the spaces of their 'home towns'. Sibley's and Cresswell's consideration of the strategic nature of exclusion also resonates with my own findings about how participants fathom space, their place in it and how they construct knowledge about it. Certainly strategic 'othering' is salient for considerations of strategies used by participants to forge 'at-home-ness'.

When considering affective 'at-home-ness', it is also useful to turn to the notion of 'resonance', described by Ingold, to understand how 'at-home-ness' feels. Resonance marks the means by which individuals gain a sense of belonging. In an innovative discussion of the temporality of landscape, Ingold (1993: 161) argues that 'we continually feel each other's presence' and make sense about space through these resonating relationships. From this perspective, Ingold posits that space, place and persons are affected by each other in intersubjective 'harmony'. This idea of 'resonance' illustrates the ways in which relationships develop between the human, non human, organic, artificial or imaginary in landscapes. Ingold

² Turner refers to these 'modern' spaces as 'liminoid' as opposed to 'liminal', 'as if' they are liminal whilst remaining unlike liminal space, which Turner associated with 'pre-modern' societies (see Deflem, 1991: 16).

argues that there is a synchronicity between nature and humanity, which impact reciprocally on each other (Ingold, 1993: 156). This is a useful way of thinking about how women come to understand the space of the street. It holistically appreciates how space and self are mutually and contextually constitutive and how resonance can articulate what is meant by the slippery notion of 'at-home-ness'.

For Miller (forthcoming) the way in which people gain a sense of belonging in public space is through a connectedness with others, and through a sense that they are the same as those around them. Miller examines the gay village in Manchester, UK and China-Town in Vancouver, Canada as spaces in which to uncover what 'belonging' is and how it affects the feelings of the occupiers of those spaces. One of the useful aspects of this work is that participants reported a feeling of 'being oneself' when they felt safe, thus making explicit the link between affective expressions of safety and resonance with place. Participants explained that when space makes them feel safe, makes them feel as if they could express themselves, they were at ease or 'at-home' in space. They believed that they thought and felt in the same way as those around them. In contrast, the feeling of not belonging manifested itself in feelings of 'bewilderment' and 'disdain' on the part of both the participant and the others with whom s/he did not belong (Miller, forthcoming). This contrast between 'resonance' and 'dissonance' with public space illustrates the ways that 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' are experienced. A potentially insidious side effect of cultivating of this sense of belonging by feeling the same as others is that this promotes boundary erections and exclusions. If participants feel at ease when they are with people who are like them, the urge to exclude those who are not like them might be stronger, whilst the incentive to dismantle exclusionary boundaries might be weaker, which reflects the complexity of fostering safe-keeping through 'at-home-ness' (see Sibley, 1988).

Elsewhere, Miller problematises the ambiguous in his study of 'unmappable' space (Miller, 2006). He adopts a phenomenological understanding of space as relational, with 'multiple, coexistent and contested' meanings (Miller 2006: 454). Like Ingold (1993), Miller describes vagueness as existing intersubjectively and at a pre-linguistic level (Miller, 2006: 458). Though he does not follow a Deleuzian approach to phenomenology and the virtual (Miller, 2006: 454), my understanding of his analysis here evokes the theories of Deleuze & Guattari (1972, 1980) as discussed in Chapter 3. As others have argued elsewhere (McCormack, 2003, Massumi, 2002), Miller (2006: 456) contends that our experience of reality is so 'thick' and 'rich' that any attempt to represent it linguistically is doomed to fail. In this context, attempts to identify and verbalise the vague result in the loss of the indeterminacy that characterises vaguery. It

becomes precise. In the same way that the language of 'emotion' is inadequate to express the vastness, exactness and abstractness of the virtual, so too is vagueness denied its efficacy through articulation.

Certainly, Miller's (forthcoming), Ingold's (1993) and Sibley's (1988, 1995) approaches are influential in this study into how women forge 'at-home-ness' in space, how space is 'known' to be 'like' or 'other', how knowledge about these is perpetuated or challenged by the raising or razing of boundaries of difference. By recognising vagueness and ambiguity and by not trying to foreclose the potential of these 'unmappables' by manipulating them into a 'knowable' category, I enable the multivalences of meanings of space to be perceived, and enhance the potency of the affective theoretical frame for understanding the construction and deployment of street-wisdom.

2.2 Mapping Rural and (Sub)Urban Subjectivities

In addition to the indeterminacy of unarticulatable space, the multiple, contingent and sometimes essentialised ways in which the rural and the urban are invoked and deployed in this study demonstrates the vagueness with which imaginings of the rural or the urban are spoken about. In particular, the fluid ways in which stereotypes of the rural and of urban are deployed to inform constructions of gender, fear and youth, are intriguing.

Constructions of the urban which attach the feminine to the 'suburb' and the masculine to the 'city', which reinforce the binary between male/female, public/private and nurture/nature are explored critically by Saegert (1980) and Wilson (1991: 8). Saegert examines the extent to which the suburban – constructed as passive and docile – and the urban – constructed as active and exciting – reflects men's and women's own perceptions of the contrast between the city and the suburbs in the USA. Saegert (1980: 105) found that whilst women were commonly considered to prefer the suburbs as ideal places to raise families, they in fact felt more 'lonely' there than in urban environments whilst men, in contrast, preferred the 'naturalness' of the suburbs and the possibility for 'outdoor play'. This view is echoed by Wilson (1991: 9), who identifies that it is 'nostalgia for patriarchy' that constructs the rural as the feminine-place-to-be. Though Saegert's findings continue to essentialise the masculine as one which enjoys the adventure of rough outdoor play, she does highlight that the association of the feminine with the suburban and the masculine with the urban is not necessarily a coherent one. Whilst Saegert's analysis lacks the theorisation of space and of sexuality that later approaches, such

as Wilson's (1991), have adopted, her study is indicative of the significance of space in the construction of sexual, spatial, subjectivity.

Similarly, essentialist constructions of the rural and urban are invoked in discussions of childhood. Examining rural youth, Dunkley (2004: 561) identifies that the distinction between urban and rural spatialities means that the subjective experience of being a youth in space is vastly different for young people who live in the city, and who can spend their time in malls or on 'lively street-corners' than for youths living in the countryside who have little access to such places. Certainly, Vanderbeck & Dunkley's study identifies that the urban is constructed as 'full of a variety of 'goods' and 'bads' – sophistication, pollution, excitement, economic opportunity, noise, cultural diversity – whilst the rural is comparatively empty' (2003: 251, 247). Echoing Saegert's association of the suburban with the passive and the urban with the active, Vanderbeck & Dunkley's findings indicate that young people use these constructions of the urban and rural to assert their own subjectivity and sense of belonging. Whilst some participants rejected the rural and those in it, as 'slow, lazy...and dumb', those who lived in the rural enjoyed its 'peace and quiet' and the feeling of 'knowing everybody', and instead experienced urban sites as 'noisy, congested and confusing' (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2003: 251,252).

Similarly, Matthews, Taylor, Sherwood, Tucker & Limb(2000a) consider how children talk about the countryside as a site of leisure. Recognising that there are many ways in which childhood can be experienced and the rural invoked, their enquiry explores the rural as a perceived idyll, whilst also being a place of prohibitions where childish bodies are organised inside or outside of the construct of idealised childhood. This upholds the distinction between the to-be-feared and the to-be-feared-for of childhood (cf. Valentine, 1997b, Matthews et al, 2000a: 142, Pain, 2006a, Kraftl, 2008, 2009). For the purposes of my research, I am interested in the ways that the participants were influenced by these conflicts about space and stereotypes about rurality and the contrast between the countryside 'idyll' and the rural 'other' (Matthews et al, 2000a: 143). Rather than being sites of peacefulness and innocent play, rural sites are policed and 'claimed by vigilant adults'. The visibility of young people pollutes space as they hang around 'local shops' or 'bus shelters' and they are subject to the 'scrutiny' of the suspicious adult gaze (Matthews et al, 2000a: 146). Similarly, young people who occupy leisure sites have anxiety about 'stranger-danger', speeding traffic and loneliness, rather than feeling an abundance of idyllic safety (Matthews et al, 2000a: 148-149). Thus, whilst the rural is commonly constructed as 'innocent' and 'happy' in contrast to the 'dangerousness' of the city (Matthews et al, 2000a: 145, 144), young people actually have far

more ambivalent experiences of it. For this reason, following Vanderbeck & Dunkley (2003) and Matthews et al (2000a) *inter alia*, constructions of the rural and the urban are understood here as multivalent, contingent and contextual.

Complex constructions of urban and rural safe-keeping also impact on this study. Burgess's (1998: 118) examination of women's negotiations of rural safety in the UK considers how urban woodland impacts on safekeeping. Echoing Stanko (1990, 1995), Burgess identifies that there is a 'safety paradox' which impacts on women's attitudes to parks and green spaces which, whilst being 'some of the safest spaces in the city', are sites where women believed themselves to be more likely victims of violence (1998: 118). The lack of 'visibility' in the woods, compared to the openness of urban streets, suggests that fear of sexual harassment such as 'flashing' caused concern for women space-users. Burgess, like Valentine (1989, 1992) and Brooks Gardner (1995), identifies that it is through media reporting and gossip that women understand space as fearsome. In order to manage these fearful feelings, participants described avoiding certain places, or going to fearsome places with a dog, 'a friend, male partner or son, so that one is never alone' (Burgess, 1998: 127). They also describe a sense of taking control of space by adapting their body language to give the appearance of confidence, or what Koskela (1997) might call performing the 'bold walk'. Whilst Burgess's study espouses some emancipatory observations about the ways that women manage space, it focuses predominantly on women as being fearful rather than imagining women as fearless or refusing the effects of fear on their spatial subjectivities. Nonetheless, her insights remain useful for my own study, and I return to consider her methodological approaches in Chapter 4.

Whilst Burgess suggests that women's experiences of the 'rural-esque' is not as idyllic as stereotypical constructions of the rural might suggest (1998: 128), a similar study which explores women's feelings of fear in rural New Zealand, takes a more emancipatory approach. Panelli, Kraak & Little (2004) examine the proactive steps women take to 'live with, and beyond fear'. In their study, they challenge the construction of female 'victimhood' in relation to fear. They also challenge the construction of the 'idyll' of the rural, and examine the ways in which women exert agency to manage feelings of fear associated with living in the rural (2004: 496-497). Whilst some women felt more fearful as they entered motherhood than when they were younger, other, older women attributed their increased sense of safety to their increased age (2004: 500). In this context, constructions of femininity were significant in forging their well-being; as motherhood is considered as a constituent feature of femininity, stereotypical constructions of motherhood require women to perform maternal 'protectiveness' and thus experience more vulnerability as a result of their child-care responsibilities. On the other hand,

older women constituted their femininity and their sense of safety through stereotypical associations of feminine old-age and sexual undesirability. As in Burgess's study, these assertions rely on normative constructions of femininity and do little to challenge associations of the feminine with the aesthetic and vulnerable, or the latency of male sexual violence. However, this research casts women as proactive controllers of their own space. It focuses on the ways in which women, with no choice but to confront fear in the rural, assert themselves in space. It also highlights the changeability of the meaning of the rural, challenges constructions of the rural which are unproblematically 'idyllic', and recognises the importance of constructions of femininity for understanding spaces as fearful or safe.

Thus, from the rural expanse of North America (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2003) to the provincial rural of the Midlands in the UK (Matthews et al, 2000a), from the mock-rural of Greenwich in London (Burgess, 1998) to the isolation of rural New Zealand (Panelli et al 2004), what 'rural' means, where 'rural' lies, is a contextual and changeable construct. It is this fluidity of the 'rural' that I explore in Chapter 5, where I also consider the implications of the mutability of the 'rural' in the construction of street-wisdom.

2.3 Beyond Fear of Crime?

As my discussion of Panelli et al's (2004) and Burgess's (1998) studies of women's fear begins to demonstrate, the range of ways in which researchers have examined the phenomenon of fear, and in this context of fear of crime, is vast. I retain this focus on expressions of fear which circulate outside the home, in public areas. As Bannister & Fyfe (2001: 807) suggest, fear of crime is 'recognised as more of a widespread problem than crime itself'. In this thesis, it is this element of the emotions which surround fear and safety that I examine in the context of how subjectivities, and thence knowledges, are constructed through engagements with public space. In their review of existing research, Bannister & Fyfe (2001: 809) and England & Simon (2010: 202) suggest that fear is forged through the interactions of people and public spaces, as their experiences are mediated by 'race', gender, class and sexuality. This in itself is not a novel observation. Similar suggestions have been made by Pain (2001), Shirlow & Pain (2003), and Thomas & Bromley (2000), amongst others. Whereas Thomas & Bromley's approach to fostering safe feeling prioritises environmental alterations to the city-scape by enhancing surveillance measures such as CCTV or local policing schemes (2000: 1426-7), other fear of crime enquiries, such as those of Shirlow & Pain (2003) and Hollway & Jefferson (1997), offer more nuanced perspectives on the phenomenon of fear of crime and suggest approaches to thinking about crime which are less reliant on essentialist assumptions about the vulnerability of aged people or the threat of 'contemporary youth culture', both of which are suggested by

Thomas & Bromley as signifiers of feared or fearful feeling (2000: 1408-9). It is these more complex discussions of fear as a phenomenon that I am concerned within this thesis. For this reason, unlike the policy-orientated research that examines public fear of crime and disorder and has usefully centralised fear as an ongoing field for interdisciplinary enquiry (Pain, 2006b), my thesis focuses on fear and safety as emotional, embodied experiences which inform street-wisdom. I posit that by fathoming the 'psychic' qualities of fear and safety, the exclusions and inclusions that this engenders will be better understood, critiqued and contested.

Hollway & Jefferson define fear of crime as 'an emotional reaction of dread and anxiety to crime or symbols that a person is associated with crime' (1997: 156). Thus, Hollway & Jefferson articulate fear in the nuanced language of 'dread' and 'anxiety' and also of indeterminacy – mere symbols of crime are enough to engender an 'emotional reaction' – and thus they capture the vaguery and instability of fear. It is from this vantage point that I problematise the monolith of fear. Indeed, calling for a more theoretically informed critical engagement with the concept of fear in their research, Hollway & Jefferson (1997: 256) demonstrate the potentials implicit in refusing an essentialised construction of it. By re-telling the life stories of middle-aged men living on an estate in 'North City', UK, they explore how 'subjects are variably invested in a fear of crime discourse' (1997: 252). By analysing the ways in which the participants talk about experiencing, managing and living with fear, Hollway & Jefferson demonstrate how fear operates in the construction of the subject, and not always to the detriment of that subject. One of their participants lived a fearful life; having experienced burglary, his household ensured that they never left the house empty, which meant their experience of life beyond the home was curtailed; the participant 'lay awake thinking about which tactics he would use to overpower his intruder' (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997:263) and seemed to exist in a subordinate relationship to his fear of crime. However, as the authors note, this participant was also unemployed, in poor health and therefore, had feelings of vulnerability beyond his experience of this crime, and so, Hollway & Jefferson suggest (1997: 263), his response to this fearful experience of the burglary was a productive way for him to assert some control over his house and his family. Despite the heteronormative assumptions that underpin the way in which this participant's sense of wellbeing was fostered, this account illustrates the productive possibilities of fear; as he could not move easily outside the home, in the name of safe-keeping, by never leaving the home unattended, he did not need to confront this weakness. Instead, he preoccupied himself with plotting how to attack his intruder, as it was here that he could exert autonomy, and provide for his family where he was unable to elsewhere. For this sense of control over his environment to function – to make him feel a sense of well-being – the participant must always circulate a narrative of fear in order to have

something to protect against. In this way, the participant is fearful, but could be said to be thankful to be fearful as his fearfulness provided him with something to control and a sense of 'mastery' over his life, albeit within heteronormative constructions of gender, the patriarchal role of the men in the home and the performance of appropriate masculinity. Nonetheless, as well as demonstrating the potential pitfalls of discussing the possibilities of fear without attending to the heteronormative assumptions which might underpin these possibilities Hollway & Jefferson's examination of the ways in which fear can be experienced productively demonstrates the possibilities inherent in problematising understandings of fear in space. In my own study, I explore this tension between the productive and the exclusionary of fear and safety by examining the different ways in which fear is spoken about, used and experienced in young women's everyday negotiations of everyday space. This offers alternatives to situational crime-prevention approaches.

Indeed, Pain & Townshend (2002) and Fyfe & Bannister (1996) are critical of these techniques for managing fear of crime in public space. Analysing perceptions of safety in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, they are suspicious of the 'broken windows' thesis of Wilson & Kelling (1982), which is espoused by researchers such as Clarke (1992), Thomas & Bromley (2000) and Helms (2008), preferring instead to explore the ways in which fear and safety are constructed. Their observations argue that the situational ways in which fear of crime is policed and reduced in public space comes at the price of the exclusion of many of society's most marginalised people. Beckett & Herbert (2008: 10-15) identify this in the context of street-dwellers in Seattle, USA for whom everyday activities such as sleeping, urinating and 'being' in space become criminal trespass, nuisance and loitering in order to secure less fearsome city centres for other, more 'legitimate', users of those spaces. For Low (2008), this exclusion of the 'other' takes on a physicality in the form of the gated community, which she argues contributes to the construction of a Davisian 'fortress city'. According to Low (2008: 53), gated communities in the USA 'provide white citizens with immunity from immigrants, poor people and other 'undesirable' minorities'. I suggest that the effect of this othering is twofold; firstly it reinforces exclusionary othering through 'raced', gendered and classed constructions of spectres of fear, thus situating fear as an axis upon which societal exclusion and inclusion pivots, secondly; as Low suggests, these gated communities become communities in name only. Low (2008: 67) identifies that many women in her study reported that they 'traded a sense of community for security' and that rather than being community-minded, these residents abdicated a sense of responsibility towards others in the knowledge that the landscape had been artificially 'made safe'. It is here that the pernicious effect of fear and safety discourses is evidenced; fear is cast as a tool which marks who is 'like' and who is 'other', whilst safety breeds complacency and

fosters a destructive atomisation of communities. We might ask in fact, with these criticisms in mind, how useful is it to continue to use this unheterogeneous understanding of fear and safety in discussions of street-wisdom?

A return to the work of Hutta proves particularly instructive for responding to this question. Hutta (2009) adopts a phenomenological and affective approach to examining experiences of fear and safety and moves away from framing his discussion in this language, suggesting that in order to answer the question ‘where do you feel safe?’ or ‘do you feel safe here?’ the answerers must “‘ap-ply’ (fold) the binary safety/fear (on)to their relations with spaces they inhabit, [and] overcode all affective expressions in terms of this binary’. They lose a sense of what is being spoken about through these terms (2009: 269). To address this, Hutta uses the term *Geborgenheit* to articulate this. Through this more nuanced term of ‘nestedness’, Hutta is able to analyse, from a Foucauldian and Deleuzian perspective, how the *dispositif* – or apparatus – of safety operates. In Section 2.1 I outlined how Hutta’s use of *Geborgenheit* has implications for my own use of the term of ‘(un)at-home-ness’ to examine the construction of street-wisdom. Hutta’s approach takes further the analysis of Hollway & Jefferson (1997) by recognising the subtleties of speaking about fear, in all its fractured, inconsistent complexity, despite the challenges that both pieces of research face, in terms of their heteronormativity. However, before embarking on a discussion of how this approach is evidenced in my own study, it is necessary to first situate this fear of crime research in its very particular relationship with gender and sexuality.

2.4 Female and Male Safety

Some of the earliest works which consider the female body in public space are informed by feminist concerns about the spatial inequality which women experience in public space (see Ardener, 1981). Brooks Gardner (1995: 3) identifies that a significant cause of fear in public space, is ‘public harassment’. For Brooks Gardner, public harassment is ‘that group of abuses...and annoyances characteristic of public space and uniquely facilitated by communicating in public’ and which include ‘pinching, slapping, hitting, shouted remarks, vulgarity, insults, sly innuendo, ogling and stalking’ (1995: 4). Like Kelly (1987) before her, Brooks Gardner suggests that these ‘everyday’ experiences for women in public spaces ought to be taken as seriously as more overt forms of violence. In this, Kelly’s (1987) ‘Continuum of Sexual Violence’ is instructive as it enables an analysis of these sorts of behaviours as violences, which might otherwise remain overlooked. Brooks Gardner (1995: 25-36) offers a scathing and sustained critique of existing safe-keeping initiatives aimed at women, which, for instance, encourage women to memorise bus timetables so as not to have to wait around for

too long for a bus, or recruit the assistance of male escorts to walk them to their car, thus ensuring that women spend no more time than absolutely necessary alone outside the home. Implicit in the analyses of Ardener (1981), Valentine (1989) and Brooks Gardner (1995) is the assumption that performances of appropriate and 'good' femininity are central to safe-keeping. Indeed, from a feminist legal theory perspective, Frug (1992: 148-152, 162-166) also suggests that, as well as self-help books and advertising campaigns which promote safe-keeping described by Brooks Gardner, the female body is subject to discursive legal sanction over her movements around space. Though she does not speak from the perspective of a spatial theorist, and her discussions of the female body in space lack complexity, Frug's polemic posits that it is through the legislation of (in)appropriate sexuality such as prostitution; sanctions against abortion; and the privileges which are acquirable through marriage and family, that the female body is disciplined and enfeebled by imperatives to rely on others when occupying public space.

Indeed, some of these responses to managing potentially fearful events are evidenced in the responses of participants in my study, which demonstrates the longevity and the pervasiveness of the advice that Brooks Gardner argues belittles and degrades women. Whilst a limitation of Frug's and Brooks Gardner's arguments and Kelly's continuum is that they adopt a somewhat 'race'-blind, heterosexist analysis of women's experiences, they offer a significant starting point from which begin to situate the female body in its fear of crime. Brooks Gardner and Kelly consider women's fear outside of the home, whilst Stanko (1990) reminds us that whilst women are more at risk of violence in their own homes, perpetrated by somebody that they know, the street remains constructed as a site of fear of violence by predatory and unpredictable men. This is the 'safety paradox' which informs women's movements around public space (Stanko, 1996:59, 1995:49). The safety paradox, though not mentioned by name, is also referred to by Whitzman (2007:2716) who like Stanko (1990) before her, launches a critique of existing approaches to reducing fear of crime which focus overwhelmingly on public spaces of fear to the neglect of the private. Whitzman suggests that this neglect causes a partial blind-spot and fails to emancipate women from fear and violence.

Elsewhere, other evidence of this blind-spot is in discussions of the pervasiveness of what Hollander (2001:85) calls 'gender ideology' the way in which we come to 'interpret and experience our bodies' as appropriately masculine or feminine. Hollander (2001: 85) suggests that women's bodies exist in a society which 'valorise[s] feminine delicacy and thinness', which perpetuates inequality. Indeed, the ways in which women's bodies are multiply and variously influenced by discourses and material imperatives is significant.

In Hollander's (2001: 91, 94) study, both male and female participants' 'gender ideologies' exhibited normative constructions of masculinity and femininity. One participant answered, when discussing why she thought women were more vulnerable than men, that they were 'only girls', another explained that 'even if you are like ten girls, you're still not safe'. In describing themselves as 'girls' and by dismissing their ability to protect or defend themselves, the participants reproduced dominant discourses about the vulnerability of women. In spite of the fact that these may be genuine impressions, and the results of real experiences of violence in public places, Hollander's (2001: 92) research appears to foreclose discussions of alternatives. In one instance, a female participant argued that if she was harassed by a man, she had a 'plan in her head' of how she would defend herself, but rather than suggesting that this approach challenged women's perceived vulnerability, Hollander dismisses this comment as an anomaly and argues that most participants did not have this attitude. Like De Groof (2008) and Abbott-Chapman & Robertson (2009) in the context of young people, there is an apparent tendency to reiterate these stereotypes. For instance, when commenting that 'girl's favourite places' are their bedrooms, Abbott-Chapman & Robertson (2009:431) suggest that girls prefer 'choosing the safety and security' of the home more than boys who prefer the 'freedom' of the outdoors echoing the discussions of the rural in section 2.2, above. This reinforces the association of the feminine with the internal and domestic and essentialises the bedroom as a place that is inherently safe and secure rather than a place of potential isolation, abuse, the site of cyber-bullying or loneliness. This constructs girls, as opposed to boys, as individuals who constantly seek safety and security rather than revelling in uncertainty, outdoor-adventure and risk (cf. Walklate, 1997). Certainly, when women were identified as performing non-normatively feminine behaviours, such as being violent, in Hollander's (2001: 100) study, such comments were met with laughter by participants, incredulous that women could be dangerous. Instead, circumstances when women were perceived to be dangerous were based on racist and sexist assumptions about women, portraying them either as hysterical or manipulative – accusing innocent men of rape – or as unpredictable 'raced' and classed 'other' women (2001:100). Analysing the reproduction of these discursive understandings of gender ideology reveals why these discourses are so pervasive. Hollander's work highlights the powerful role of discourse in constituting subjectivity, and her findings about the prevalence of normative and essentialist gender ideologies which inform safety and fear in space will be echoed in my findings. However, in this instance, Hollander's own work appears to perpetuate these stereotypical constructions of gender by side-stepping discussions of women who did not rely on normative scripts of feminine vulnerability to construct their spatial subjectivity. Whilst these enquiries into women's fear are groundbreaking in

centralising women's experiences of space, this work does not yet take account of the abundance of ways that women experience space, nor does it recognise the influence of subjectively interpreted identity categories, such as 'race', age, (dis)ability, or sexuality on understandings of space. Additionally, some of this work essentialises women as inherently fearful, and offers a heterosexist and universalising account of women's fear which does not engage with the multifarious ways in which fear and safety might be interpreted and understood, and subsequently contested and resisted. For the purposes of this study, it is important that such alternative attitudes to fear or safety are recognised.

It is the work of Koskela which engages most explicitly with alternatives to being fearful or feeling safe women in space. I draw on the work of Koskela to understand the multiple, diverse and unexpected ways that feelings of fear and safety can be constructed in relation to the female subject. In an insightful study of 'women's spatial confidence', Koskela (1997) develops a theory of the 'bold walk' and argues that women may feel fear and boldness in a number of ways, sometimes simultaneously. She describes the spaces in which these emotions occur as 'elastic' (1997: 309), which recognises that fear is complex and fluid. She suggests that the lack of academic discussion on absences of fear contributes to women's subordinated social position. By denying stories of 'genuine courage', Koskela argues, 'research can never truly be emancipatory' (1997: 305). Examining the prevalence of the 'bold walk' or the 'breaking' from normative fearful behaviour, Koskela's work promotes feminist ethics as well as propelling enquiries of fear and safety into new directions. Similarly, Scraton & Watson's (1998: 128) analysis of the 'postmodern' city of Leeds, UK recognises the thrill and desire that might be implicated in flirting with fear and risk. They suggest that women's experiences of fear are mediated by their subjective positions as 'mothers', as 'single women' or as 'older women' and that, as such, and echoing Panelli et al's (2004:500) findings, women experience space as gendered. They identify that whilst some women are inhibited by their feminine subject position and restrict their movements into the town-centre because they have built knowledge, about which places are appropriate or inappropriate for them to occupy (Scraton & Watson, 1998: 129), others revel in transcending this boundary of suitable feminine places. Recognising the 'excitement and danger of taking risks' in a city which enables those risks to be taken also becomes part of the subjectivity that these women forge for themselves (Scraton & Watson, 1998: 132).

This fluid relationship that some women may have with fear, as discussed by Koskela (1997), Panelli et al (2004) and Scraton & Watson (1998), is further developed by Gilchrist et al (1998: 285) who lament that the 'underlying stereotype that women are fearful and men are not'

endures. Instead, in their comparative analysis of men and women's fear they argue that rather than treating men and women as separate homogenous groups, there should, instead, be interrogations of the similarities and differences in the ways in which individuals experience fear as *fearless* or *fearful* people (Gilchrist et al, 1998: 296). Just as people are not homogenous, nor are fears³. Instead they draw conclusions based on these comparisons of fearful and fearless people which challenge the undifferentiated deployments of the terms fear and safety. In my study, drawing on Koskela's (1997, 1999) and Gilchrist et al's (1998) critiques of existing considerations of fear and safety, I examine how these feelings exist, manifest themselves and impact on street-wisdom and subjectivity. Though Gilchrist et al's (1998: 186) study compares experiences of fear in response to crime such as burglary, car theft, assault and vandalism in the way my study does not, their critique of dominant attitudes to fear of crime (attitudes that prevail still), is instructive and like Hutta's (2009), Hollway & Jefferson's (1997) and Scraton & Watson's (1998) approaches, useful for bolstering momentum around a refusal of rigid constructions of gender, fear and gendered fear.

Thus, as Hutta (2009), Koskela (1997, 1999) and Gilchrist et al (1998) have demonstrated, there are difficulties associated with discussing fear and safety in the monolithic terms of previous literature. I suggest that the ontological surety which indicates what is to be feared and what is to be considered safe is discursively deployed to maintain power relations which locate women as fearful, vulnerable to attack by strangers, drawn to the home and leading more spatially oppressed lives than men. Certainly, discourse is a useful conceptual tool because it allows for discussions of counter-discourses and resistances to be formulated, such as those imagined by Koskela (1997, 1999), Gilchrist et al (1998), Hollway & Jefferson (1997) and Panelli et al (2004). It is through these counter-discourses and resistances that dominant scripts of safety and fear can be unwritten and alternative ones generated; ones which are less harmful to women in particular but societies in general, and where those who are cast as 'other', and as a source of fear, (men and women of colour, sexual dissidents, the homeless, the disabled, the young) might occupy less spatially and socially constrained positions by existing beyond reference to the self/other dichotomy as a result of the subversive construction of space, emotion and knowledge that I posit here.

2.5 Feminine and Masculine Safety

³ Of course, following Koskela (1997), it is possible to argue that Gilchrist et al's (1998) division of participants into 'fearful' and 'fearless' categories, is in itself problematically deterministic and overly rigid. Nonetheless, by de-situating fear from femininity and fearlessness from masculinity, their approach remains helpful.

In addition to constructing these feared and fearful subjectivities, the way that masculine and feminine sexualities are invoked in fear of crime research also has implications for my study. Walklate (1997: 40-4) identifies that contemporary criminological attitudes to fear of crime explore the relationship between fear and risk in sexualised terms. Whereas masculine risk-taking is associated with 'excitement, adventure, power and control', and men's experiences of fear in place are under-reported, feminine risk-taking is 'pathologised' as deviant and reflecting irresponsible femininity that is 'asking for' trouble. As has been discussed by Hollander (2001) and Valentine (1989, 1992), some women utilise these normative scripts of gendered safety to construct their knowledge about street safety. Knowledge constructed in this way continues to centralise masculine experiences of fear and safety as normative and continues to situate feminine experiences of space as relational, referential and 'other'; constructions which are echoed in Chapter 6, in my analysis of participants' constructions of self.

Similar findings are echoed by Day (2001) and Day, Stump & Carreon(2003) in their studies of male perspectives on women's fear of crime. By asking young men their opinions about women's feelings of fear in space, participants demonstrated how they utilised knowledge about femininity, masculinity and 'race' to inform their own understandings of fear and safety in space. Day argues that whilst men are 'often unconscious of themselves as explicitly gendered' as a result of their 'gender-privilege', their approach to women's safety is based on explicitly essentialised constructions of femininity (2001:115,120). Day's findings indicate that women's perceived comparative biological weakness reinforces them as 'frightened and vulnerable' and in need of protection from 'bad guys' (2001: 120, 123). Men in the study spoke about fearful women in general, but also acknowledged that they knew some specific women who felt no fear. By invoking 'all' women 'collectively' as fearful, in opposition to specific women who were exceptionally unfearful, these men reflect the ways that stereotypes about femininity and masculinity are perpetuated, causing men to perform sometimes 'chivalrous', sometimes 'bad ass' masculinities. These insights into how men approach feminine subjectivity are not one-sided; one observation that Day makes is that by demanding 'chivalrous behaviour from men – expecting to be walked home at night, or collected before a date – these women participated in their own perceived spatial subordination' (2001: 122).

Elsewhere, Day et al's (2003: 320) findings indicate that men fathom space through fluid negotiations of their masculinity to 'maintain both safety and self-worth'. This reflects the malleability of masculinity and recognises that constructions of masculinity are as contingent as that of femininity. Indeed, in her study, Goodey (1997: 408, 410) embraces the possibilities

enabled by destabilising masculinity. She is critical of the rigidity inherent in the idealised 'hegemonic masculinity' which, she argues, the teenage boys in her study aspire to, and use, to negotiate feelings of fear and safety. The taboo of their own feelings of fear, which challenges their performance of idealised, brave masculinity, means that a 'show of masculine bravado' is necessary to enable boys to negotiate experiences they would otherwise find fearful and so avoid being 'labelled a 'girl', a 'sissy', or a 'poof''. Goodey (1997: 403) suggests that 'hegemonic masculinity presents a hierarchy of oppression' in reference to how appropriately masculine the boy appears to be, interlaced with exclusionary discourses about 'race' and class (see also Valentine & Sporton, 2009). This analysis reveals the complex ways that masculinity is experienced and performed. Complemented by Day et al's (2003) study, Goodey's (1997) focus on masculinity and its relation to fear of crime, moves fear of crime away from the dichotomy of fear/fearlessness, femininity/masculinity identified and critiqued by Walklate (1997) and Gilchrist et al (1998). The complexities of the category of hegemonic masculinity are considered by Connell & Messerschmidt (2005), who respond to some of the critiques offered by Day et al (2003), Walklate (1997) and Goodey (1997) and re-situate a model of hegemonic masculinity which is conceptually relevant to the analysis of gender relations. Drawing on a breadth of research from a range of disciplinary directions, Connell & Messerschmidt argue that some of the difficulties with hegemonic masculinity, as identified by feminist scholars, are the result of the term being used in a number of different, undefined ways. And they warn that this means that 'new usages must be open to critique and may lack some of the substance of the original' (2005: 854). Thus, for Connell & Messerschmidt (2005), the static hegemonic construct as critiqued by Goodey (1997) is in fact not as static as she suggests and should instead be considered as contextual, evolving, with a meaning which must be defined and cannot be proscribed, or treated as monolithic (2005: 847-853).

Like Connell & Messerschmidt (2005), Goodey (1997: 417) does argue, in the context of male adolescents, that the 'stable' stereotype represented by hegemonic masculinity is a myth. She suggests that by challenging the legitimacy of hegemonic masculine biographies, men can be liberated from its imperatives. Whilst Connell & Messerschmidt might agree with Goodey that hegemonic masculinity must be interrogated, they retain the claim that it remains a useful analytical tool with which to think about, and critique, gender ideology. Though Goodey does not explore it here, Connell & Messerschmidt suggest that a similar analysis has been applied to feminine spatial subjectivities (2005: 836). My research recognises this malleability and contributes to the body of work which explores fluid constructions of femininity.

2.6 Women in Space

In pursuance of this heterogeneous approach to femininity in space, it is important to draw attention to the ways in which women and girls occupy public spaces in contexts which are other than 'safe' or 'fearful'. For insights into the playful, subversive, emancipated, or thrilling ways in which women make use of space we might consider two distinct but interrelated bodies of research; those which consider gendered leisure, and those which consider space as a site of sexual expression. These strands interact with space and render it a significant site through which women construct their spatial subjectivities and acquire street-wisdom to negotiate the everyday.

Scraton & Watson demonstrate that fear is somewhat mediated by women's experiences of participating in leisure activities. Whilst some women in their study certainly did have negative experiences of space as sites of sexual and racial harassment (1998: 130, Brooks Gardner, 1995), others reported that the city centre in their 'home towns' afforded them a freedom to 'choose to' take risks by, for instance, not taking taxis home after a night out (1998: 132). Though these ways of 'flirting' with risk are situated along a normative understanding of gendered safe-keeping, they do enable women to participate playfully and autonomously with space. Skeggs's (1999, 2001) work also develops this theme and considers women who use gay bars as social spaces. She identifies that whilst heterosexual women socialise in gay bars to feel safer, their presence in those bars and their performances of normative heterosexual femininity, particularly in the toilets with the putting on of make-up, 'creates instability and displacement' for lesbians in those spaces (2001: 12) and renders the space 'other' to the lesbians whom it is ostensibly for. Whilst heterosexual women in gay bars are able to use the site for their own emancipation and enjoyment, the social cost of this is the spatial well-being of lesbians in those bars. Similarly, Thomas (2005: 588) identifies that whilst occupying public space can have productive, 'affirmative' effects on some young women's spatial subjectivity, it might also rely on normatively exclusionary practices. Thomas (2005: 602) notes that through everyday actions of 'hanging out' in malls, city-centres or green spaces, young women make sense of themselves in space and yet, despite these emancipating uses of space. Thomas argues that girls 'hang about' not only to resist 'adult' space, as Matthews, Limb & Percy-Smith (1997) and Matthews et al (2000a) also identify, but to 'encounter, create and perpetuate consumption' and to 'reproduce social difference' (Thomas, 2005: 592, 602). They therefore could be said to take advantage of unequal 'raced', classed and gendered power relations to construct their spatial subjectivities. As Scraton & Watson's (1998), and Skeggs's (1999, 2001) findings suggest, it is possible to argue that these women use public space creatively to forge their spatial subjectivities; however, these instances of female emancipation in space should not be unproblematically taken for granted. There are

marginalising consequences of empowering the self in space when this emancipation operates along normative lines of inclusion and exclusion (Sibley, 1995). Nonetheless, these examples serve as useful reminders of some of the ways in which women imagine space beyond fearfulness or safety and indeed, disinvest fearful spaces of their potency.

Elsewhere, the queering of space illustrates some of the engaging and subversive ways in which women forge well-being, or 'at-home-ness' in space. In common with Skeggs's (2001) consideration of the toilets in a gay bar, Matejskova's (2007) study of the use of gay space by heterosexuals posits that the space of a gay bar is mutable and has different meanings dependent on how the space is occupied. For Matejskova, the gay bar represents a particular type of public space; one that can be imagined as private, or as an extension of 'the closet'. Echoing the responses in Skeggs's (2001) study, Matejskova suggests that their separation from the 'heteronormative spatial regime' makes gay bars places associated with 'safety from heterosexist violence' for gay men, lesbians and heterosexual women (2007: 139). A heterotopic sanctuary, perhaps (Foucault, 1986). Gay bars thus become significant sites of comfort, or 'at-home-ness' depending on how they are constructed by different people for different purposes.

Similarly subversive uses of public space are evidenced in Murray's (1995) discussion of lesbians who use space in creative ways, to challenge normative constructions of lesbianism, heterosexuality and femininity. Discussing the use of public and semi-private spaces such as the street, the bar or the hotel room to subvert knowledge about gender and sexuality, Murray describes, through a series of vignettes, or 'scenes', how she plays with her identity as a stone/butch/femme lesbian in bars, how she performs heterosexuality in hotel rooms and on the street as a sex-worker and how she performs 'normative' lesbianism for the heterosexist male gaze. Using place to create these performances of self, Murray's account, though not focussed on fostering 'at-home-ness', demonstrates how space and subjectivity are mutually constituted, and how non-normative, convoluted, slightly seditious interplays with space, abound. As she explains 'dykes can choose to adapt to or resist the mainstream and each other, dykes who are also sex-workers are more likely than most to make changes in their performance according to the space that they are in (the client's space, the girl's room, the street, the dyke bar, the prison)' (1995: 67). Indeed, Murray's (1995: 74) account of performing femininities in space in this way, portrays an abrupt, and sometimes brutal, wilful subjectivity that refuses to 'play nicely' with femininity. It strives to stretch the boundaries of how space is thought and forges 'new games to play' in space in order to formulate subjectivities which are subversive, transgressive and 'strange'.

Murray's spatial interactions as a 'dyke whore' indicate the abundance of potentialities that are enabled when imagining space as something other than a container for fearful or safe feeling. This subversive playfulness is also illustrated by the construction of the flâneur in space. The figure of the flâneur has been described and discussed by a number of theorists and writers (See Benjamin, 1973, Matthews et al, 2000a, Munt, 1995, Wilson, 1991, 1992). And, based on a Baudelairian notion of the 'dandy', the flâneur is historically constructed as a masculine figure⁴, imagined strolling around Parisian boulevards and avenues, wandering aimlessly and luxuriously about the space. The female, or feminine flâneur, is much less prolific in existing discussions of the urban, but also evokes one of the ways in which women can claim space, exhibit spatial confidence and forge 'at-home-ness'. Wilson (1991, 1992) and Munt (1995) both problematise the construction of the flâneur as masculine. Wilson suggests that the flâneur, rather than being an always-already masculine figure, is actually an 'attenuation' of masculinity and thus proffers feminine spatial possibilities (1992: 110). Munt (1995) develops this gender fluidity further in her discussion of the 'lesbian flâneur'. For Munt (1995: 120) lesbian flânerie transcends butch/femme/masculine/feminine subjectivities and instead re-situates subjectivities depending on where the voyeuristic gaze of the desiring body is coming from, and where it orientated towards. Munt, (1995: 115) as a lesbian flâneur, feels 'eroticism' or 'humiliation' as she walks the streets of Brighton or Nottingham, UK, as her 'gaze' is extroverted or introverted, as she belongs or is 'other'. The figure of the flâneur, here, is a useful guise through which to understand the many ways in which enjoying space can impact on spatial subjectivity, yet reminds of how this enjoyment is rarely unproblematically accorded. The flâneur must strive to stroll with ease.

Elsewhere, Wilson (1991: 6) describes feminine pleasure in space. Identifying that historically and contemporaneously, 'woman is present in cities as temptress, as whore, as fallen woman, as lesbian, but also as virtuous womanhood in danger, as heroic womanhood who triumphs over temptation', Wilson traces how women are spatially situated and, drawing on her own experiences of flânerie as well those of feminist social reformers, authors and thinkers, suggests that women 'live out their lives on sufferance in the metropolis' (1991: 8).

In a monograph that considers the contrasts between the rural idyll, the 'vulgarity of urban life' and the mundanity of the 'sanitised' suburb (1991: 9, 106), the relationship between appropriate class and appropriate femininity (1991: 30, 35-40), and which contests the

⁴ Interestingly, and as Wilson (1992) suggests in her analysis of the flâneur, though male, the 'dandy' performs a feminised masculinity in the way he moves and the way he dresses. Following Butler (1994a) it could be argued that the 'proper object' of considerations of flânerie is not always-already a masculine construct but can instead flit between sexual subjectivities, affording ludic possibilities in space for all.

inherent 'goodness' of safety (1991: 9), Wilson's approaches have implications for many different themes of this study. However, it is her joyous descriptions of being a flâneur in the 'lively' and 'kaleidoscopic' streets of London, UK, that I draw on here, as they illustrate a way of interacting with space that emancipates the feminine subject from the constraints of 'home towns' as sites of 'danger' or 'safety' (1991, 8-9).

Situating this text within her own autobiographical experience of acquiring 'at-home-ness' and a sense of spatial emancipation by occupying urban space, Wilson suggests that the feminine flâneur is a 'Sphinx'; a monster with the head of woman and the body of a lion. Fantastical and feral, the flâneur-as-Sphinx is 'feminine sexuality, womanhood out of control' (1991: 7). Thus, for Wilson, flâneur is linked to femininity in the same way that femininity and fear might be inextricably linked; if it is 'feminine' to saunter about the 'pleasurable anarchy' of space, just as it is feminine to be the subject of fear; as some discussions above argue, feminine thrill and delight might become just as probable as loathing, disgust and fearfulness (Wilson, 1991: 7-8). In her discussions of cities across the world, Wilson describes the 'magic' of streetscapes (1991: 8), the 'spectacle' (1991: 158) and the 'vitality' (1991: 157) of cities. She takes pleasure in imagining cities as places of possibility for the wayward, capricious, feminine flâneur (1991: 11). Occupying place in this celebratory way is, for Wilson, a way of transcending the polarised binary of women as 'angels' or 'victims' of space and of better reflecting the lived experience of women (1991: 46). This is an approach that will prove instructive in my study and that I return to throughout the analysis.

2.7 Technologising Safety and Subjectivity

A further area of research into the ways that 'knowledges' about space are constructed is in the examination of how safety, space and sense of self are mediated by engagements with technology. The role of technology such as surveillance cameras or mobile phones in the work of safe-keeping has an important place in environmental crime-prevention approaches. These adopt a design-led perspective to reducing fear of crime in public space (Thomas & Bromley 2000, Helms, 2008). Though in itself not a new phenomenon, the use of technologised safety has been analysed and critiqued from a range of directions, most notably by Fyfe & Bannister (1996), Koskela (2000, 2002, 2004), Koskela & Pain, (2000), Atkinson, (2003) and Pain, Grundy, Gill, Towner, Sparks & Hughes (2005).

In their study of surveillance technology in Glasgow, UK, Fyfe & Bannister, like Koskela (2000) draw similarities between the CCTV camera and a Foucauldian understanding of Bentham's panopticon (1996: 37-39). They present an ambivalent discussion about the ways in which

surveillance cameras work to monitor behaviour in public places (1996: 41). Whilst recognising that surveillance technologies are useful to discourage the occurrence of crime, and to foster a sense of 'ontological security' in city centres, Fyfe & Bannister also question the effectiveness of these approaches for securing safety in real terms (1996: 42). Rather than enhancing community safety, enhanced and overt surveillance can create more atomised communities which do not share a sense of responsibility towards each other (Low, 2008). These views are mirrored by Atkinson's (2003: 1841) study, also in Glasgow, of safety initiatives adopted by communities to reduce fear of crime. Atkinson posits that the use of CCTV, promoted by criminologists and critiqued by Fyfe & Bannister, encourages the exclusion of some of the most vulnerable of society, and is not as neutral a safe-keeping tool as it might first appear. In a nuanced discussion of empowerment and exclusion through this surveillance, Koskela (2004) considers the camera as a surveillance device which transcends the public and private sphere. For Koskela, the camera can have emancipatory potentials (2004:206-7), regulatory, objectifying potentials (2004: 207) and resistant potentials (2004:208). Following a Foucauldian understanding of surveillance, she states that the act of safe-keeping through surveillance should not be understood as operating monolithically or benignly.

The mobile telephone is a case in point; as Koskela notes, many people have a mobile phone with them at all times and many mobiles have cameras on them so images can be recorded and disseminated across the public and private sphere. As such, mobile phones can be understood as an alternative means of surveying and making-safe space. Surveillance does not always have to be top-down, like CCTV, but can emanate across all levels of space-use and safe-keeping. Pain et al argue that the mobile offers young people a 'third place' for 'social interaction' (2005: 814). Ambiguous, in that mobile phones enable parents to monitor where their children are, they nevertheless enable young people to have a flexible relationship with space. Mobile phones are considered to enhance personal safety by being tools that young people can use to call for help, yet, ambivalently, they also pose an increased threat to safety, as young people might suffer the theft of their phone. Mobiles therefore 'expand' or 'contract' young people's personal geographies (2005: 815). The various uses of the mobile telephone – though mitigated by access to funds to maintain it, parental license to use it, gender, and class – mean that mobiles are able to 'transform public space into private space as they make location less important' (2005: 821). Thus, feelings of security commonly associated with the private, are bolstered, and young people's spatial confidence is 'boosted' (2005: 821, 824). Whilst young people may use their telephone to reassure their parents, the fact that they have their phones means that they can push the limits of appropriate leisure spaces and activities and occupy spaces from which they are usually forbidden, or visit them at times

which their parents would consider inappropriate. Thus, whilst the mobile telephone may ostensibly be used by young people for safety, it also allows them to skirt the edges of sanctioned spaces and 'flirt' with risk, as well as posing risks to young people in themselves. With this uncertain construct of mobile telephones in mind, Pain et al (2005: 826) suggest that rather than increasing or decreasing risk or safety, mobiles 'reshape rather than reduce' danger. In this research, this ambivalent attitude toward the security afforded by the use of mobile telephones is also evidence, and varies widely amongst participants (see Section 10.4).

An alternative, but complementary analysis of the use of technology to promote safe-keeping is offered by Koskela, who tries to find her way between the 'over-optimism' and 'over-pessimism' of prevailing attitudes towards surveillance technologies (2000: 244). She argues that surveillance and 'visibility' operates to promote and maintain cleanliness and purity and to expose and exclude those who are 'other' or deviant (2000:260).

In this enquiry, I am most interested in the way that surveillance operates to include and exclude in space. Koskela (2000: 250) argues that surveillance techniques such as CCTV or the use of security guards, construct space as a container. Her observations of the role of surveillance in the context of the shopping mall are discussed elsewhere by Matthews, Taylor, Percy-Smith & Limb(2000b), and Koskela notes that the deployment of surveillance in shopping-centres and other semi-private spaces, intended to promote feelings of safety amongst legitimate mall-users, operates to exclude those who do not belong based on the 'person's appearance' and their apparent 'ability to consume' and thus, assimilate (Koskela, 2000: 246, Sibley, 1995).

Developing this Foucauldian approach to space, surveillance and discipline, Koskela (2000: 254) considers the gendered implications of these technologies. She suggests that the gender oppression that women experience in space is exacerbated by the normative gender roles that men and women adopt in public and semi-private place 'where surveillance most often occurs'. She suggests that 'women spend more time shopping than men' and are more likely to use public transport than men, which means that they are more likely to be recorded by surveillance cameras in more places than men. In addition to this, Koskela (2000: 255) argues, those who 'maintain surveillance' and monitor cameras, such as the police or security guards, are usually male. Thus, the power imbalance that is constituted through the lens of the surveillance camera casts women as passive objects 'to-be-looked-at', and men as those who do the looking. The gendered politics of the gaze here, effects a power imbalance where 'looking connotes power, and being looked at, powerlessness' (Koskela, 2000: 255). She suggests that the 'looked-at' might feel 'guilty for no reason, embarrassed or uneasy, irritated

and angry, or fearful...also secure and safe' (Koskela, 2000: 257). Sometimes, she notes, people might feel these feelings simultaneously and ambivalently. The presence of a surveillance camera on public transport might make a woman feel secure at the same moment that she is reminded of her vulnerability. That is, 'the very object that is reminding her of (male) power is, at the same time, supposed to protect her from (male) power' (Koskela, 2000: 258). As I highlight in Chapter 3, the capacity for affect to be expressed as emotion in a number of conflicting and contradictory ways highlights not only the wealth of experience that can be fathomed by analysing emotion, but also casts into sharp relief the relationship between emotion and technology in mediating understandings of home town spaces. These findings also highlight the problems of relying on technology to 'design out' fear and safety. Over-reliance on technologised safety, such as mobile telephones, personal attack alarms, CCTV and 'Mosquito' buzzers, neglects the multivalent ways in which technologies can be adapted, corrupted, manipulated and resisted to enact a number of different effects, which is why it is necessary to ask after the subjective experience of using the technology as well as examining the technology itself. I return to consider these tensions in Chapter 10.

2.8 Geographies of Youth

As this discussion of Pain et al's (2005) and Matthews et al's (1997, 2000a,b) studies begins to suggest, the use of the mobile phone and the mall, the ways that youth is constituted in space also impacts on understandings of street-wisdom. A significant body of work has considered the geography of young people over the past thirty years (Aitken & Ginsberg, 1988, Ward, 1990a, b, Dwyer, 1992, Skelton & Valentine, 1998, Holloway & Valentine, 2000, Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 2009, Valentine, 2000, 2003, Valentine & Sporton, 2009, to name only a few). Both McKendrick (2000) and Matthews & Limb (1999) recognise the plethora of research examining children's experiences of space and try to meet this abundance with some frameworks through which to catalogue and direct this progress. Many of these enquiries explore the experiences of much younger people than those that I worked with in this study, but their insights remain pertinent. I examine some of the general ways that youth is theorised in these discussions and in particular, focus on the constructions of gendered youth and the fetishisation of the childhood idyll, which builds on the discussion of the rural idyll in 2.2. The idyll of the rural and the idyll of childhood, here, could be said to be linked by affective connectivity and to impact on the ways in which researchers have engaged with the category of youth and its intersect with the fear of crime.

2.8.1 Youth and subjectivity

As indicated above, the construction of youthful subjectivities has been extensively considered. In the context of the school environment, Valentine (2000: 265) notes that young people negotiate their 'narratives of identity' through complex relationships with those around them. She theorises this through a Foucauldian understanding of surveillance, which disciplines young people's subjectivities through the imperative to assimilate with their peers in terms of what they like, what they consume or how they behave whilst at the same time requiring an individual young person to 'learn how to articulate their individuality' within these relations. She identifies, for instance, that children who usually eat halal food at home, choose to eat non-halal food at school though halal food is provided for them. This is an indication that these children are 'articulating individual narratives' by rebelling against their parents' desires and are attempting to negotiate 'complex identities as British Asians' by choosing 'English' food to assimilate into their peer group (2000: 260). Valentine argues that in this context, children are able to construct their identities through their experience with consumerism, individualisation and choice.

At lunch-time, they are also less regulated by 'adult' influence, so differences in groups which are marked by age and body size become exacerbated. Amongst these dynamics, echoing Goodey's (1997) study above, 'hegemonic gender identities' are reproduced (Valentine, 2000: 266). For girls in particular, the 'slippery boundary between being acceptably attractive...without being sexualised' must be negotiated (2000: 263). Likewise for boys, a focus on height, indicating 'heterosexual desirability' is a factor that contributes to their 'social statuses within their male friendship groups' (2000: 262). Additionally, and significantly, 'compulsory heterosexuality, misogyny and homophobia' is latent in these environments, and reproduces dominant social discourses that can be found in public (and private) space (Valentine, 2000: 264). The normative reproduction of young people's gendered identities not only reflects how essentialist constructions of masculinity and femininity are expressed in relation to considerations of fear and safety, but is also evidenced in the ways in which participants in my study constructed their own subjectivities through discussions of leisure, belonging and fear and safety (See Chapter 6).

Valentine & Sporton's (2009) work with Somali youths living in migrant communities in the UK also engages with the construction of normative gendered subjectivities and demonstrates the problems that Somalis find when their gendered identity is unable to assimilate with these mainstream constructions. For instance, according to Valentine & Sporton (2009) the normative construction of 'cool black masculinity' was a masculine subjectivity which eluded Somali boys, partly due to their exclusion through latent Islamophobia, and partly due to their

own inability to participate due to their commitment to 'strong family ties' and their different language and culture (2009: 741). Similarly, a normative construction of 'black femininity' which casts black girls as 'loud, aggressive and assertive and therefore variously admired, feared and disparaged' eluded Somali girls who 'enacted more modest femininities' (2009: 742). In the context of my study, this contrast is intriguing. Whilst Valentine & Sporton do not return to consider explicitly the implications of what the impact of 'not belonging' to a sexual construct might mean for the development of spatial subjectivity, my own research engages more with this. If the effect of commencing from the subject-position of a migrant and experiencing exclusion and 'un-at-home-ness' by not being able to speak the English language, and not performing the 'correct' behaviour is the *physical* manifestation of not having the cultural knowledge to assimilate, it could be argued that not belonging to these constructions of gender is the *symbolic* manifestation of this exclusion. To be excluded from the performance of hegemonic and 'cool' black masculinity and femininity not only draws ethnic lines around who may and who may not perform these idealised subjectivities, but also compels those who do not 'belong' to forge alternative subjectivities outside of these normative constructs. These migrants must adapt their behaviour to fit in and, I argue, they do this to foster feelings of 'at-home-ness' where they are ostensibly out of 'home'. In this way, Valentine & Sporton's analysis demonstrates the extent to which a sense of belonging and being accepted impacts on youthful subjectivity and operates along gendered lines, causing individuals to foster hybrid subjectivities which mean different things to different people depending on when and where such subjectivities are performed. The relationship, then, between the construction of gendered subjectivity and of sense of 'at-home-ness' is made explicit in these analyses of 'raced', sexed belonging.

2.8.2 Parental Nostalgia, Stereotype and Anxiety

Elsewhere, in the context of the family, the construction of the childhood idyll contributes to parental attitudes to childhood. Pain (2006a: 222) recognises the tension between parents' concerns about children as 'to-be-feared' and 'to-be-feared-for', which reflects a Western anxiety about youth which strives to construct and contain childhood as 'innocent, free and unfettered'. The instability of this construct makes it difficult to maintain and thus heightens fears about risk.

Certainly, these constructions of childhood as being idyllic and delightful whilst at the same time being precarious and in need of special protection are reflected in studies which examine the ways parents talk about and fear for their children and childhood (Valentine, 1996, Blakely, 1994, McNeish & Roberts, 1995). Valentine suggests that dominant discourses which

represent children as either ‘angels’ (innocent and vulnerable) or ‘devils’ (out of control and threatening) formulates a dominant narrative of childhood which fails to take account of ‘the complex and multiple realities of children’s lives’ (Valentine, 1996: 587). Indeed, whilst some of Valentine’s participants longed for their children to be able to ‘go and wander through the woods and pick bluebells’ (Valentine & McKendrick, 1997: 227), they felt that it was the latency of unknown menace of woodland coupled with the discursive construction of childhood as delicate and sacrosanct that prevented them from allowing this. In this way, it could be argued that the construction of the childhood idyll as that which must remain inviolable accounts for these prohibitions. As both Kraftl (2008, 2009) and Valentine (1996) identify, this nostalgic longing for the idyll renders it unattainable, utopian, and is an imposing influence on the construction of subjectivity.

Holloway & Valentine suggest the stories that we tell about childhood, whether nostalgic or not, inform the ‘meanings of particular places’ (2000: 776). As is argued elsewhere (Kraftl, 2008, 2009, Matthews et al, 2000a), the idyll of the rural is often associated with the idyll of childhood. Valentine (1997b: 140) finds that many parents living in rural areas chose it as an ‘ideal’ site in which to raise children. Participants reported that it was ‘natural’-ness of the rural, and opportunities for nostalgic play – building ‘dens’, ‘collecting conkers’ – and the perceived increased safety of the rural as a place where strangers were easily spotted and everybody knew everybody else, which encouraged them to think of it as the ‘correct place’ for the raising of children. Valentine (1997b: 141-143) also identifies some of the contradictions of the construct of this rural idyll; the increase in the number of ‘rural strangers’ threaten the perceived and desired ‘peace’ of the idyll, traffic and the decline of public transport in rural areas meant that many children had to be driven around by car-owning parents to enjoy the rural idyll. Indeed, the ferrying around of young people by their parents, so that they might enjoy what the rural has to offer, highlights the constructed nature of the rural. One mother reported that she had had to *teach* her children to ‘play’ in the rural; ‘how to make dens and stuff’ (Valentine, 1997b: 146). This highlights the artifice of the rural idyll and emphasises how parents contrive to reconstruct the rural as the ‘place to be’ for their children.

2.8.3 Parentally Gendered Childhood

Similarly, the way in which parental attitudes construct young people’s masculinity and femininity has also been recognised by Leckie (1996), in the context of Canadian ‘farm girls’ and by Gagen (2000: 610-612) in the context of playground design. Whereas for boys, play was conceived as a way to nurture appropriate displays of heterosexual masculinity (the

rough-and-tumble of adventure playgrounds, the sportsmanship of team games) (Gagen, 2000: 607-8), for girls, play which mimicked domestic duties of care for toys and 'keeping house' was preferred. Girls' play was hidden away indoors, unlike boys' play which took place on the sport field and could be seen by all. Thus, the heteronormative divide between feminine/masculine, indoors/outdoors and private/public is reinforced through these divisions of play.

Indeed, Dunkley's (2004: 571) study of young men and women in Vermont, USA uncovered essentialist dominant narratives in the stories told by her participants about their parents. These suggest that the attitude that "boys will be boys'...and given the space to be so, while girls must be protected' prevailed in sanctioning masculine and feminine leisure. In an instructive article, Dunkley analyses how young people's experiences of the 'fourth environment' varied across genders. The 'fourth environment' is understood by Van Vliet (1983) as the environment which is outside the home, playground, school or other child-orientated institution. Places like the street, the bar, the shopping mall could be described as the 'fourth environment' and therefore have developmental importance for young people as they negotiate their subjectivities in public life (Matthews & Limb, 1999:65). As such, the spaces I analyse in this study could be said to be a 'fourth environment' for the participants. For Dunkley (2004: 576), girls had much more limited experience of the 'fourth environment' than boys which led to a 'culture of protection for girls and of 'no boundaries' for boys'. This reinforces, as Gagen's study confirms, the association of the feminine with vulnerability and the masculine with bravado and adventure; an association which delineates the spatial liberty of both, whilst empowering neither.

Similarly, De Groof's (2008: 276) analysis is premised on a gender-essentialist understanding of parenting roles. She suggests it is through education and 'mass culture' that women are 'culturally coded...as vulnerable and helpless'; whereas men are 'fearless and even aggressive'. De Groof posits that adolescent women and men learn 'what it is to be a woman or man' through these cultural codes, and suggests that 'fear is a constituent trait of gender' associated with being feminine (2008: 283-4). Arguing that traits of fearfulness and fearlessness are the result of socialisation, she concludes by suggesting that parents of girls should try to 'stimulate girls...to participate in more 'masculine' activities' such as...sport' (2008: 286). By premising her conclusion on this construction of gender, De Groof intends to address this gender inequity by advising that parents alter the way they 'socialise' their daughters (2008: 271). Yet, by basing her findings on this premise, she fails to problematise the 'truth' of socialisation. Her conclusion is troubling as it reinforces the common association of masculinity with sport and

femininity with passivity. It constructs girls as incomplete, implying that it is they who need to adapt to be more 'boy-like' rather than problematising 'appropriate' masculinity. Valentine's (1997a: 40-2) findings offer us the flip-side to this gender essentialism. She argues that whilst there are some parents who 'maintained a traditional view', like De Groof (2008), and feared more for their daughters' than their sons' safety, there were others who considered that 'girls tended to be more responsible, more rational...than boys'. This construction of young girls as responsible, risk-adverse and orientated towards home, as opposed to boys as irresponsible risk-takers, boisterous and orientated away from home, is also essentialist, and reflects the complexity of negotiating normative and non-normative constructions of childhood. This is a theme that I return to in Chapter 6 and section 10.3.

2.8.4 Children 'to-be-feared (for)'

This paradoxical construction of 'good' and 'bad' young people outlined by Pain (2006a) and Valentine (1997a), is explored by Malone, who argues that, in the context of youth leisure, other space-users demonise young people as 'making the place look untidy' (2002: 161). Drawing on Sibley's discussion of exclusion and inclusion in space, Malone argues that young people are discursively constructed as being either 'legitimate or illegitimate users' of space, and are subject to 'regulatory, surveillance and exclusionary regimes' which erase them from public space (Malone, 2002: 161-3). The effect of this exclusion is, she argues, to refuse the self-determining possibilities of the street for constructing spatial subjectivities of young people, which as a result, propagates a lop-sided community, which constructs young people as simultaneously fearful and feared.

Similarly, Nayak (2003: 304) contributes to this enquiry by interrogating 'the association of youth with crime'. I suggest that the anxiety that he identifies about children as a source of fear of crime, which is coupled with an anxiety about children as vulnerable victims of crime, could be said to represent an additional 'safety paradox' (Stanko, 1996) and to reflect the contemporary anxieties that adults, parents, law enforcers and other non-youths have about young people who are 'out of place' on the street (Nayak, 2003: 208, Malone, 2002). Pain too, notes that the 'common association of youth and crime' is a result of perpetuating 'images of older people as weak, dependent and at the mercy of the young', this despite the fact that 'young people are more at risk from and more affected by victimisation and fear' (2001: 907-908). This paradox demonstrates that whether as 'angels' or as 'devils', the impacts of fear of crime are greater, and more inhibiting on the subjectivities of children and young people than on older people (Valentine, 1996, Pain, 2001: 909). As Nayak (2003:311) states:

Children, unlike adults, do not necessarily equate the presence of other children and youths in public places as a threat. Moreover children appear to have an acute sense of how their actions may be perceived through 'adult eyes'.

Thus, young people operate within a different knowledge network and deploy alternative ontologies when it comes to understanding space as safe or unsafe. In this context, Nayak demonstrates how constructions of children as 'to-be-feared' and 'to-be-feared for' situated them in a contingent space, relative to the way they are being viewed by others around them. He suggests that children in the 'wrong place' are constructed as dangerous. The sign of being in the 'wrong place' is in the act of 'hanging out on street spaces', which Nayak suggests, and Thomas (2005) and Matthews et al (2000a) confirm, is a significant site of leisure which enables young people to 'congregate together and develop a sense of independence outside the...home'(2003: 310).

Like Nayak, Matthews et al (1997) and O'Brien, Jones, Sloan & Rustin (2000) both explore the specific ways in which young people negotiate this ambivalent spatial subjectivity. Just as Malone (2002: 157) suggests that the 'street is the terrain of social encounters' which simultaneously invokes feelings of 'pleasure and anxiety' and experiences of 'domination and resistance', Matthews et al (2000a: 198) identify that young people carve out 'special places', in prohibited places like woodland and forge alternative 'worlds', where they can enjoy their 'newly won independence' by having 'adventures' in otherwise very ordinary spaces such as outside shops or in alleyways (2000a:195). Thus, by being active producers of their own leisure-spaces, these young people are not 'passive recipients' of adult space, but rather, self-determining constructors of their own space (Matthews et al, 2000a: 200-201). Whilst through adult eyes they may appear 'out of place' (Nayak, 2003), Matthews et al have identified that young people devise their own parallel sites of belonging through participation in 'deviant' leisure activities. These analyses of non-normative youth recreational spaces by Malone (2002) and Matthews et al (2000a, b), provide some insights into the contradiction of leisure spaces which young people may occupy even as they are simultaneously denied legitimacy in that space, in the pursuit of 'safe' sites of leisure.

2.8.5 'Subcultural' Childhood

Alongside these anxieties about deviant youth leisure, there emerges a particular anxiety which circulates around deviant subjectivities, or 'subcultures' in space. The heritage of youth 'subcultures' is a well-established field of study (Hall & Jefferson, 1977, Cohen, 1972), even if more recently, what constitutes a 'subculture' has become more problematised as less

homogenous and more fluid than these authors suggests (see Blackman, 2005: 7, Thornton, 1995)

In their formative study of youth in the UK, Hall & Jefferson (1977), building on Cohen's (1972) analysis of 'subculture', offer a Marxist account of the construction of youth-cultures, making explicit the link between 'subculture' and class. This link is one that has more recently been developed in constructions of the 'chav'. The label of 'chav', according to Hayward & Yar (2006: 10), reflects a particular 'reconfiguration of the under-class' in British society.

Though by no means the first or the only example of a 'subcultural' construction of youth over the past 60 years, the specificity of the construction of the chav, is, I argue, the product of an amalgam of a particular set of temporal socio-economic and political imperatives which straddled the 20th and 21st Century. Following Bartky (1990), I argue the construction of this 'underclass' is marked upon the body. This bodily marking is borne out of the intersect of two particular political shifts in the UK; on the one hand, the decline of traditional heavy industry (outside/public) during the Thatcher years – which had previously provided the 'respectable' working-classes with 'respectable' work – meant that the 'pride' associated with this 'masculine' and patriarchal work diminished (Hayward & Yar, 2006: 11, Nayak, 2006, 814), whilst on the other hand this decline was accompanied by the ascent of 'feminised' service-sector work (inside/private) which was more office-based, and did not require workers to have physical strength, but did require them to have sufficient 'soft' skills, such as 'customer service' or clerical skills (Nayak, 2006: 814, 817)⁵. Thus, the gap between the skills that workers had, compared to those they were expected to have, was exacerbated which led to a rise in unemployment and a feeling of disenchantment and disenfranchisement in the affected male working classes. As Hayward & Yar (2006: 12) identify, to 'fail to engage in economically and socially productive labour', is to drop from working-class status out of the classed strata and to form an 'underclass'. The Thatcherite era, characterised in part by de-industrialisation and privatisation, promoted the concept of competition, self-determination and customer choice, a mantle taken up by the second political thrust that I suggest has contributed to constructing the 'chav' in the UK; the Blairite era. During this time, class mobility, the imperative to choose – to participate in society as a consumer, to self-determine through the consumption of products and of lifestyle – has contributed to the construction of the 'chav'. The effect of these principles of neo-liberal choice and self-determination on the body has been explored elsewhere (McRobbie, 2004a,b).

⁵ See also Munt's (1995) analysis of the effect of this economic shift on the performativity of queer identities in Nottingham and Brighton, UK on her feelings of lesbian 'at-home-ness'.

As Hayward & Yar (2006: 12, 18) also suggest, the 'chav' as underclass is one that 'evades employment in favour of exploiting the dole', and yet is one that participates in these neo-liberal imperatives to self-improve through consumption. Crucially, it is this consumption that creates the 'chav'. The 'chav' is the 'flawed consumer...unable to make the right type of consumer choice', and consumes 'vulgar' or 'disgusting' products (Lawler, 2005) such as 'fake' designer clothes or 'fake' gold jewellery (Hayward & Yar, 2006: 22, Tyler, 2008:21). It is these twofold political influences that have disciplined the body of the 'chav' as universally recognisable and as universally loathed (Tyler, 2008, Lawler, 2005, Hayward & Yar, 2006, Nayak 2006). Situated in the site of perpetual 'other', the 'chav' is inextricably linked to the changing fashions of the economy and politics over the cusp of the millennium and, thushistorically contingent, is a construct which must be understood within these socio-politico-economic contexts.

In these discussions, the 'chav' in question emerges as a masculine construct. As McRobbie & Garber (1977) identify, and as is confirmed by Corrigan & Firth's footnotes (1977: 239), feminine participation in 'subcultures' is not something that is widely recognised. Indeed, in their study of 'girls and 'subcultures'' McRobbie & Garber (1977: 211) suggest that women in biker, Teddy Boy, Mod and skinhead cultures are always-already situated as marginal to the masculinity that characterises the centre (cf. Blackman, 1998). Existing on the margins, in this way, they argue that women have less access to the self-determining possibilities of subcultural identities than their male counterparts. Instead, McRobbie & Garber suggest, women forge their own subcultural identities, but these are mediated by performances of appropriate femininity. The authors identify that the 'teeny-bopper', who stays in her room admiring posters of male pop-stars and experiments with romantic expressions (1977: 200), is one such example of a feminine 'subculture'. Elsewhere, they identify that girls are able to forge their own spaces of self-determination through 'giggles' and jokes, which some researchers do not take seriously, but which, in fact, become spaces of deviance (1977: 222, 210). Despite the ethnocentric and heteronormative accounts of these enquiries into 'subcultures', McRobbie & Garber (1977) offer us insights into an erstwhile overlooked aspect of these enquiries into the potentialities of 'subculture' (see also Skeggs, 2001:7). I elaborate on the problems and significance of access to subcultural activity in Chapters 7 and 10. Of course, not all constructions of subcultural activity are self-determining in the way that these accounts suggest. I now turn to consider the implications of detrimental feminine 'subcultural' identities.

2.8.6 The Chav: Pathological Femininity

The 'chav', in contrast to these other 'subcultural' constructs, is one that I argue is constructed as inherently pathological. Unlike the Teds, Mods, Skinheads, Rockers, bikers or Rastas discussed by Hall & Jefferson (1977), McRobbie & Garber (1997) or Hebdige (1977), the 'chav', and in this context, the feminine 'chav' epitomises the person not-be-be (cf. Valentine & Sporton, 2009: 741). It is not an identity that is sought-after, and instead, unlike the 'subcultural' labels above, is attributed to a deviant 'bad' body, rather than claimed by that body.

In this context, the female 'chav' (or 'chavette') performs inadequate femininity by reflecting the 'quintessential sexually excessive, single mother: an immoral, filthy, ignorant, vulgar, tasteless, working-class' (Tyler, 2008: 26). Whilst she simultaneously symbolises the heresy of 'excessive breeding', the 'chav'-mother acts as an allegory of doom for 'ideal' middle-class women by antagonising anxieties about 'fertility and motherhood' (2008: 29, 30). This construction of the 'chavette' performing a malignant femininity is rehearsed by some participants in my study and discussed in Chapter 7. Thus, the impact of the reproduction of the image of the 'chavette' in media discourses contributes to the construction of femininity for all women, not just those who might be considered to be 'chavs'. As such, I argue, the image of the 'chav' looms in the background of the constructions of subjectivities as indeterminate yet ubiquitous, spectral and always-already 'other'.

Tyler suggests that the 'disgust' which is invoked in response to the 'chav', comes about as a result of 'socially necessary snobbery' (2008: 23). By this she means that the pejorative 'othering' of the 'chav' is a strategic tool to distinguish the 'snob' from the 'chav' by 'mock[ing] them into extinction' (2008: 23). This strategic 'othering' echoes Lawler's (2005) discussion, which suggests that the production and deployment of 'common understandings' about this denigrated class, enables the middle class to construct their own class identities in opposition to this 'underclass', through the act of articulating 'truths' about that class (2005: 432). As both Tyler (2008) and Hayward & Yar (2006) highlight, the online dictionary *urbandictionary.com* reflects the vitriol that is attached to the label of 'chav'. Definitions in this online dictionary are provided by forum users and take on a mock-ethnographic tone, describing the 'chav' from the outside, so that they are always 'other'. They elucidate a list of characteristics 'chavs' have:

Chavettes commonly sport at least 6 dangly faux-gold earrings in each ear. Also often seen pushing a pram round shopping-centres while chain-smoking and wearing fake Burberry or nasty velour tracksuits. A favourite accessory is a hideous thick gold chain

around their pimply acne scarred necks. (Urbandictionary.com, accessed 5 August 2010)

This entry is typical of the 315 other entries under this word and, despite the obviously mocking authorial voice, this entry has echoes of the disciplinary lists outlined by Foucault in relation to the 'docile body' which, when subjected to microscopic controls over the behaviours of the body, is rendered 'pliable' and mouldable (Foucault, 1975: 135). Such a disciplinary scheme could be said to be applied to the body of the 'chavette'. Indeed, by invoking the 'chav' through these mock-ethnographic observations of their 'kind', these disciplinary influences on the body continue to conjure the 'chav' in the abstract, rather than identify her in the concrete. A paradox which is highlighted in my own research (Section 7.2).

Also reflected in my work is how Lawler and Tyler theorise 'disgust' and 'laughter' as affective expressions which draw out lines of belonging and not-belonging. 'Disgust' enables the 'disgusted' middle class to distinguish itself from those who are the object of disgust and to 'maintain differences' between the disgusted and the disgusting (Lawler, 2005: 438). Similarly, Tyler (2008: 23) identifies that laughter serves the same boundary-building purposes. She states that 'laughter is always shared with a real or imagined community. Laughter is often at the expense of another'. For the purposes of my discussion, it could be said that being disgusted by 'chavs', and laughing at them, is a way of fostering a sense 'at-home-ness' and belonging with others who laugh at the 'other' too, whilst fixing the 'chav' as perpetually 'disgusting' and perpetually worrisome. Such affective expressions resonate with my own theoretical position; that considerations of loathed or loved spaces, and loathed and loved people, require analyses of the pre-discursive to better understand the influence of affective expressions on the constructions of 'chav' subjectivities, and in particular, 'chav' femininities. Whilst it is evident that discussions of 'chav' must be framed in terms of class and consumerism, my discussion focuses less on the 'chav-as-person', but rather on the 'chav' as phantom. In my analysis I argue that the chav is invoked by participants either as a spectre or as a subaltern; silent and marginalised yet ubiquitous and latently menacing. In this way, my study contributes to this body of work by analysing the impact of deploying symbols of 'other' to foster knowledge and forge 'at-home-ness'.

2.9 Summary

In this Chapter I have analysed many strands of literature whose findings have implications for my own work. I have discussed how belonging and exclusion can be theorised in space by drawing on the work of Ingold (1993), Sibley (1988, 1998) and Miller (2006, forthcoming) in

particular. I have examined some of the extensive bodies of literature which consider street-safety and its intersection with gender, and identified the ways in which my study adds to this existing research by theorising 'fear' and 'safety' through the language of '(un)-at-home-ness', thus making explicit the relationship between resonance and well-being and feelings of safety, and outlining how places of 'home' can be carved up along lines of belonging and not belonging in the pursuit of safe-keeping. In these discussions of safety I have built on early contributions of Brooks Gardner (1995), Stanko, (1990) and Wilson (1991) who examine the specific experience of femininity in space, and draw on the work of Koskela (1997, 1999, 2000), Hollway & Jefferson (1997) and Hutta (2009) to develop approaches which problematise dominant understandings of safety as desirable and fear as undesirable. Notwithstanding the significant contributions to resituating fear, safety and subjectivity that some of these authors make, I have also highlighted the tensions in their approaches which have, possibly inadvertently, relied on heteronormative constructions of gender roles to articulate their findings; a heteronormativity that pervades many participants' accounts of the construction of their street-wisdom in this study. I return to consider this tendency in Chapter 6 and 10. Here, I suggested that a more complex understanding of the way in which spatial subjectivities are constituted was necessary in order to propel discussions of street safety forwards. The discussion then considered how technology impacts on knowledge about gendered fear and safety. Following this discussion, I analysed some of the many ways in which the child in space has been considered in existing studies. In addition to considering the way that classed 'othering' is reproduced in the spectre and subaltern of the 'chav', this section also informs how normative constructions of gender are internalised in the constructions of spatial subjectivity. Here, Thomas (2004), Day (2001) and Goodey (1997) provide useful insights into the range of ways in which normative constructions of femininity and masculinity pervade discourses of 'childhood'. In this chapter, I have established the heritage of the work that this research contributes to, and begun to outline how this thesis contributes to these bodies of work. I now establish the theoretical imperatives which inform the approaches I have adopted in the design, conduct and analysis of this enquiry.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This Chapter establishes the theoretical approaches which have informed the design, practice and analysis of this research. First, I outline the epistemological contribution of queer and feminist theories, which inform my approach, as a researcher, to the conduct of this study as a whole, before moving on to outline the ways in which emotion, affect and feeling, emergent from contemporary debates in non-representational theory, and Foucauldian approaches are employed in this study to more specifically conceptualise the construction of street-wisdom. The chapter concludes by elucidating how these four theoretical strands—feminism, queer, affect and Foucauldian approached—entwine to form a mutually co-existent framework.

As the previous chapter indicates, 'fear' and 'safety' have been variously theorised in a number of discussions. In my study, I move these enquiries forward and I have found the theories of affect and the work of Foucault to be most helpful in this respect. I understand the theories of affect and of Foucault as operating separately but in mutuality, and approach them as distinct, but complementary theories. Similarly, within the affective framework that I employ here, I draw on the separate approaches of phenomenologically-inclined Ahmed and metaphysical approaches of Deleuze and Deleuze & Guattari, as it is examined in geographical work on affect, and bring them into a dialogue with each other to contribute to the epistemological approach I establish here. Rather than thinking about these different bodies of theory as approaches which can be compounded, I understand them accompanying each other, supporting each other and enhancing the potential of each to theorise fear and safety in a way that recognises the complexity of these experiences, without effacing the particularities of each theory.

I am drawn to the way that Foucault theorises power as constructed through discourses which operate on the body to discipline and regulate it in space. The theorisation of power as multivalent, non-monolithic and heterogeneous enables me to investigate the construction of discursive knowledge, as defined in section 1.4, on young women's spatial subjectivities. Moreover, as I discuss more extensively later in this chapter, following Foucault's (1978: 95) well-known statement that where there is power, there is resistance, the idea of resisting dominant discourses of fear and safety is particularly pertinent in this study. As I established in the previous chapter, I am influenced by Koskela's (1997) call for feminist research into women's experiences of fear and safety in public places to accommodate consideration of alternatives to fear and safety in space, such as expression of fearlessness, or expressions which refuse to be affected by fear altogether, and I understand a Foucauldian approach to

analyses of fear and safety to open up the possibilities for these resistant discussions to take place.

Relatedly, in the course of my preparatory research for this study, it became apparent that despite the many discussions of fear and fearlessness in the extensive body of work that considers women's experiences of public space, explicit enquiries into expressions of fear, fearlessness and feelings between or beyond these, were neglected. Instead, I suggest that discussions of experiences of fear and safety and the extent to which these inform the construction of street-wisdom need to garner a fuller understanding of the ways that these emotions are experienced and consequently impact on spatial subjectivities. In this respect I am particularly drawn to Ahmed's (2006a) discussion of 'orientation'. Drawing on a phenomenological tradition which has its roots in Kant's (1992, [1768]), Husserl's (1989) and Merleau-Ponty's (2002) theoretical frameworks, Ahmed illustrates her theory of orientation through the figurative home; the table, the writing-room, the kitchen, the empty house to be moved-out-of, the home to be moved-in-to and metaphors which resonate with the phenomenological 'home' I outlined in section 2.1.1. Ahmed's theories of being orientated, or turning towards or away from things, events or bodies in space is particularly useful to understand the nuances of fear and safety and the impact these have on knowledge about space. For instance, if I am 'orientated' towards a place, if I like it, I will turn towards it, I will feel I belong there, I will feel safe. Likewise, if I am 'orientated' away from a place, I may dislike it and refuse it, I may turn away from it, build boundaries between myself and the place; if these boundaries are broken, I might feel 'unsafe' and 'disorientated'. Thus, by considering the ways in which women might express experiences of fear and safety through the language of 'orientation', this approach allows us to move beyond the language of fear and safety towards the nuanced ways that participants subjectively experience these emotions.

In pursuance of this, I suggest that affective theory is particularly helpful. This theory posits that prior to being actualised, affects exist on a virtual plane of immanence, imbued with the potential to be experienced in an abundance of ways by the ready-to-be-affected body (Deleuze, 1977). This challenges the notion that fear and safety can only be experienced uniformly. It opens the conceptual space for consideration of expressions of affect which are non-normative and which could be subversive, and re-sites the autonomy of affect in the body of the ready-to-be-affected person.

The two bodies of theory offered by Foucauldian and affective approaches operate alongside each other to conceptualise the construction of street-wisdom. Though there are obvious overlaps between Foucauldian and affective theories, such as the subversive potential to

challenge normative, dominant discourses that both hold, I consider them to offer separate theoretical functions to this project as a whole. Whereas Foucauldian theories of power are used to imagine resistance and fathom the multiplicity of ways that power is forged and exerted on bodies in space to organise and discipline them, the haecceity of affective expression captures the complexity, the nuance and subtlety of ways that feelings might be experienced, affects expressed and emotions articulated beyond the rigidity of monolithic 'fear' and 'safety'.

In addition to these two complementary theoretical approaches, it is also useful to outline the ways in which the underpinning epistemology which has informed my approach to this study as a whole is informed by feminist and queer sensibilities. Whilst the affective and Foucauldian approaches discussed most extensively in this chapter have informed the analysis of the data more directly, I begin by discussing my disposition towards feminist and queer theories and how they have holistically informed the epistemology and approach to the design and conduct of the research. I am drawn to the emancipatory and egalitarian possibilities afforded by feminist approaches and have found queer perspectives, which offer creative and subversive potentials for challenging oppressive exertions of power in space which uphold normative, dominant and exclusionary discourses, to be useful.

3.1 Queer-Feminist Thought

As Sharp (2005: 305) suggests, feministly-inclined work becomes feminist 'not just by the processes through which data is collected...but also in the way in which projects are conceptualised and how we as researchers act as people (ethically, politically, emotionally)'. Indeed, the same observations might be made about queer research. Thus, it is with a feminist and queer 'world view' that this project has been designed and conducted. From the feminist focus on women's experiences of space, to the way in which the methods were used, from the queer fluidity of the methodology to the analysis of the findings, the emancipatory, subversive, creative and non-monolithic principles of feminist and queer epistemologies have a considerable influence on this project. In this section I describe queer and feminist theories as they are understood here, and suggest how they intersect and cohere in this study.

Feminism is a broad body of theory. It has a long, complex and convoluted history and encompasses a breadth of perspectives which are diverse; sometimes confrontational, sometimes contradictory and sometimes misunderstood. This heterogeneity occurs partly because there is no specific pioneer of feminism (Hemmings, 2005b). The research which informs this project could be said to have adopted feminist approaches by analysing the lived-

experience of the feminine body in space (Valentine, 1989, 1992, Pain, 2000, Wilson, 1991, Ahmed, 2004a, b, 2006a, b, Stanko, 1995, Koskela, 1997), but feminist theory is more complex than merely focussing on women as the object of enquiry; indeed, research which does examine women's experiences can be unfeminist and feminist research need not always or only focus on women's experiences. For the purposes of this discussion, the way in which I understand and apply feminist thought to this project sympathises with the post-structuralist approaches offered by Foucault and in particular the way in which he theorises power as produced in and productive of discourse, and the impact that this has on the body. Certainly, many feminist theorists find the androcentrism of Foucault's work frustrating, (I return to consider these later in Section 3.6, but see Braidotti, 1991, Ramazanoglu, 1993) and the dismantling of identity categories that post-structuralist thought promotes, disempowering. However, for the purposes of this project, the fluidity and possibility afforded by a Foucauldian understanding of discourse allows Foucauldian feminists to examine how discourses operate on the female body to construct idealised notions of femininity and to penalise those women whose bodies transgress this (Bartky, 1990). The ability to challenge the construction of hegemonic, top-down power, and to refuse the effect of power in subversive ways is a useful tool for feminist approaches which seek to challenge exclusionary norms that oppress people along 'raced', classed, aged as well as gendered, sexualised, ableist or 'other' lines (see Foucault, 1978:95). These polyvalent power constructs are empowering for feminist thinkers as they accommodate the ideological space for subversive challenges to exclusionary power to be imagined.

Related to this Foucauldian-feminist approach, is the way in which queer theory is understood and deployed in this project. Queer, like feminism, is a complex body of theory, which also heralds from a diverse range of epistemological perspectives. It is, however, possible to suggest that queer theory is built on a Foucauldian understanding of discourse (Foucault, 1978: 94). Foucault argues that knowledge – that which is taken-for-granted, or 'normative' – is constructed through discourses which affects and effects the body (see Section 1.4, above). Queer theory uses deconstructionist understandings of power to destabilise and subvert these established hegemonic normativities.

Historically, queer theory has been most boldly appropriated by gay and lesbian theorists and activists to challenge the heterosexist assumptions that structure the constructions of western societies. Halperin argues that 'queer' describes 'whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant' (1995:62). This breadth of interpretation renders queer more liberatory, if sometimes problematic in terms of identifying for whom queer can work. In this

context, queer theory has been criticised for rendering the lesbian and the gay man less visible in official discourse. Both Jagose (1996) and Smith (1992), who are proponents of queer theory, recognise this drawback. In disinvesting identity categories of their importance, queer is accused of effacing the different lived experiences of gay men and lesbians (Halperin, 1995:64, 2003, Jefferys, 1993, Oswin, 2008) and of fostering ‘apolitical quietism’ through the breakdown of identity categories (Jagose, 1996:103).

Despite these critiques, the way I am conceptualising queer here, is as an epistemology which challenges the taken-for-granted, the assumed and the ‘natural’ aspects of how societies are constructed. Indeed, many theorists have recognised the potentialities that are afforded by imagining queer beyond LGBT identity categories. In an interesting discussion, Berlant & Warner (1998: 552) distinguish between heteronormativity and heterosexuality and explain that heterosexuality is not a coherent ideology, but a construct, a ‘provisional unity’ that remains contingent and can remain queer. Thus, its ‘normality’ remains contestable, and its supposed legitimacy questionable. Heteronormativity, on the other hand, is produced at every level of societal life to maintain a ‘tacit sense of rightness and normalcy’ amongst those who cohere (Berlant & Warner, 1998: 554). Thus, when queer has application beyond queer bodies, its potential to challenge structural and societal oppression at all levels of society is enhanced.

For this reason, I suggest that queer is at its most potent and its most subversive when conceptualised as a verb (something which I do) rather than as a noun (something which I am). I argue that by *doing* queer, the potential uses of the theory are multiplied. Queer need not be only an alternative identity category in the way that male/female or gay/bi/lesbian/trans are. It can also be a political position from which to generate action and foster alternative thought. By advocating this approach – by applying queer analyses to more-than-LGBT bodies – I am not suggesting that the bodily experience of queer is not important, rather that this equips those who are marginalised by heteronormative assumptions which underpin these Cartesian binaries with the language to articulate an anti-normative resistance and the location from which to ‘queer’. If disciplinary and regulatory power is understood from a Foucauldian perspective – as multivalent and heterogeneous – it is through the subversion of queer approaches that power, in its multiplicity, might be resisted. Thus, both queer and feminist theory, understood through a Foucauldian lens and in relation to affective approaches examined below, are jointly used to inform this research.

3.2 Theorising Affects

As Thrift (2004) and Anderson (2006) highlight, and as is evidenced in the range of approaches adopted by geographers who work with affect, theories of affect take a number of forms, some of which complement, some of which stand at odds with the feminist and queer epistemological concerns that have informed this thesis. Therefore, in this section I outline the way in which I understand affect and its role in constructing spatial subjectivity.

3.2.1 There, Virtually

Affective enquiries enable us to begin to fathom both the not-known and the taken-for-granted about the human/non-human/more-than-human condition. Theories of affect have, over the past years, become more and more relevant to the ways in which space is 'thought'. Drawing on non-representational approaches such as those of Thrift (2008) and Thrift & Dewsbury (2000) which are developed by Pile (2010), Anderson (2006, 2010), H. Lorimer (2005) and J. Lorimer (2010), affective understandings of space allow us to begin to perceive the haecceity – or 'this-ness' – of the way in which space is constructed and 'known'. Developing the principles of non-representational theory, and mediated by psychoanalytical and phenomenological perspectives (see Pile, 2010: 5), geographies of affect are an emerging field of study which allow us to 'know' knowledge in an alternate way. 'Knowing' affect speaks to 'knowing' knowledge at a visceral, pre-sentimental level. Acknowledging that knowledge of this sort, concerning the construction of space or subjectivities occurs intersubjectively, that is, in the space between human, non-human or/and more-than-human actors in space, requires that enquiries penetrate this intersubjective inter-relationship to begin to unravel some of what it is that operates in this space.

For Deleuze (1977), following Spinoza, affectivity operates on a plane of immanence along with the potential, the virtual, and the haecceitic; where forces of potentiality saturate the plane of immanence with the possibility to be expressed as any one of a number of potential affects. Here, once an affect is actualised – becomes become – it is articulated, possibly, as emotion, or feeling. In this study I not only draw on Deleuzian understandings of the relationship between the actual and the virtual to fathom understanding of the way in which spaces are 'known', but also on the more phenomenological consideration of affectivity offered by Ahmed (2006b). Whilst Ahmed does not particularly engage with Deleuze in her discussion of how spaces are emotionally 'known', and though more established geographical approaches to affect, such as those of Thrift (2004, 2008), Thrift & Dewsbury (2000) Anderson (2010) or Pile (2010) do not engage with Ahmed's phenomenological approach, for the purposes of my study, I consider that the different qualities of both approaches have something mutual to contribute to the texture of affective understanding.

In this discussion, I am drawn to an understanding of affect which reads the world as ‘constantly becoming’ (Thrift, 2004: 61) and, following Deleuze & Guattari (1972, 1980), I conceive of affect as that which occurs when the virtual becomes actualised. The virtual is understood as existing in the not-yet-here and the not-yet-now, so that, outside of a spatiotemporal context, the virtual – that which is not-yet – has the possibility to be expressed as an array of actualised affects. These possibilities are so vast that they cannot be quantified in a meaningful way, it is only when the virtual becomes actualised that we might begin to fathom them. Deleuze captures vividly the distinction between the actualised and virtual affect in this way by describing the actual as ‘falling from the plane [of immanence] like fruit’, and leaving behind the virtual potentialities of the plane as unactual affects (1977: 113). Affects are also understood as occurring intersubjectively. This focus on the relational space between human, non-human or more-than-human bodies echoes Thrift & Dewsbury’s (2000: 415) discussion of performance, and the development of non-representational theories. In this context, affects are enactments of the virtual and are distinct from emotions because they exist at a pre-linguistic and pre-discursive level; if an affect is not actualised, it remains virtual on a plane of immanence. The actualisation of an affect does not need to be an action or an embodiment – for instance the act of remembering and the production of memory can be described as actualising the virtual – but the virtual remains dynamic, fluid and imbued with possibility (see Lim, 2007a).

3.2.2 The Ready-To-Be-Affected Body

When affects become actualised and are expressed as emotion or feeling, it is on the body that these expressions occur. Just as for Foucault (1975, 1978), the body is a site of the exertion of biopower, so too, in theories of affect, the body is a mode through which affective expression is mediated. For Deleuze & Guattari, (1980) the body, in its actualised form, is accompanied by a virtual body which harbours the capacity-to-be-affected and it is through this virtuality that the body is saturated with potentials. These potentials to ‘become’ are enacted through intersubjective interactions with other bodies. In this context, the body is the surface of becoming and cannot be divorced from the cerebral; it exists in parallel to the mind. The implications of this liaison are explored by Buchanan (1997). Drawing on the pathologic bodies of anorexics, alcoholics and masochists, he suggests that their ready-to-be-affected bodies, in becoming dangerous becomings, actually become ‘deformed’ or pathologised (1997: 87). Buchanan suggests that the ready-to-be-affected body needs to be ‘healthy’ in order to have the capacity to ‘form new relations...which in turn permit the body to go on to form other relations’ (1997: 82). Thus, in order to be productive and to perpetuate possibilities, the ready-

to-be-affected body must be a positive, rather than pathological one. Buchanan argues that in order to survive, the pathological body must strive to enhance its capacity-to-be-affected in order to 'enlarge the envelope of what it can do. The more ways the body can be affected the more force it has' (1997: 88). Buchanan's argument is not only useful because it illustrates clearly why theorisations of the actual (body) and the virtual (ready-to-be-affected body) enable us to understand how bodies exist in space; it also makes explicit the relationship between the body and the mind and reinforces the notion that the body is not static, but is the means through which sense is made of place. In its ready-to-be-affected-ness, it is a conduit through which the virtual is expressed, and is also a medium through which affects are articulated; whether autonomously or non-autonomously (see section 3.3.5). I am particularly drawn to this description of the ready-to-be-affected body; it evokes shifting movements, the internal struggles and scrambles as the virtual and the actual contend with each other in constant contest (Deleuze, 1977).

3.2.3 Affect-Emotion-Feeling Systems

The same struggle is captured in the way that Massumi (2002) distinguishes between affect, emotion and feeling. He suggests that emotions are the expressions of affects – which exist in the virtual – and the social representation of feelings which, for Massumi, are internal and mediated by personal experience. Thus, whilst an emotion might be feigned – you may show delight at receiving a book for your birthday that you have already read – your *feeling* might be one of disappointment you have received a gift you do not want, or dismay that you cannot ask where to return it, or shame at your ingratitude (Massumi, 2002: xvi). And you may express these feelings concurrently, or cyclically or unknowingly. The same point is echoed by Pain (2009: 479) who asserts that 'emotions are neither 'actions' nor 'passions'...they are both at once'. Thus emotions are neither chosen nor inescapable fates, but operate in a relational and contextual way. Affect, in this discussion, is not conflated with feeling or emotion. Nor is it privileged over the corporeality of emotion; to do so would be to undo the relationship between the virtual, the actual and the expression of the affect and to obscure the abundance of potentials that are possible in this equation. It is here, in the conceptual space of possibilities and indeterminacy that this theory becomes most useful for my study of the array of ways that participants experience, and talk about experiencing, space. Indeed, McCormack (2003: 501) explains that:

Affect is never reducible to the personal quality of emotion...the pre-personal force of affect denigrates neither geographical thinking nor the ethical implications of this thinking. Rather, to take seriously those relations and powers that give consistency to

our goings-on in the world...is to allow such processes to become...part of the effort to articulate a spatially implicated ethical sensibility.

The 'effort' of articulation of the 'pre-personal' is elucidated by McCormack. In the context of Dance Movement Therapy, he identifies that 'it is an effort to remain faithful to the catalytic potential of affect through a different style of relating' (2003: 500). By this he means that articulation of the affectual in linguistic terms fails to capture the specificity of the affect. The linguistic articulation of affect sometimes lacks the capacity to adequately reflect the impact/effect/haecceity/sensation/indeterminacy of the affect. McCormack explains this in the context of dance, and tries to capture the 'oddity' of affect in his paper by playing with the form and layout of the text (2003: 498). In the context of my study of street-wisdom, I have seen evidence of this linguistic shortfall on the study of women's use of space. Using the analytical lens of affect as I have outlined it here, it is apparent that fearful affects might be expressed in a multiplicity of ways. The language which participants have available to them to utter the ways that towns make them feel and the affects they express, might limit the vocalisation of the nuances of their experiences. I take account of this limitation of language in the way in which the data which informs this study was collected. As a result of these potential linguistic shortcomings, I have designed my project and in particular my methodology in such a way that the indeterminacy of expression is accommodated and nuance is not overlooked. This methodology is discussed in Chapter 4. It is for this reason that I have adopted the language of 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' to try to capture how participants might express feelings of fear and safety, belonging and not-belonging, or an amalgam of all these expressions of affect. The affective approach that McCormack uses is understood here as operating in the intersubjective, the pre-discursive and pre-linguistic, and as ontologically prior to linguistic expression. Despite mention of the pre-discursive and intersubjective – vocabulary that is often associated with the psychoanalytical – and despite throughout this thesis, drawing on Massumi, (2002), Ahmed (1999, 2004a,b, 2006a) and Sibley, (1988, 1995, 1998, 2001) who situate their epistemology in psychoanalytic theory, it is important to distinguish this theoretical approach from a psychoanalytical perspective. As I demonstrate in Section 3.3.5, following Hemmings (2005a), and departing from Massumi (2002), affect is understood here, as non-autonomous. That is, it does not have its own volition, as Massumi suggests. Instead, the virtual of affect is understood as harbouring the potential to be expressed as an array of affects, which, sometimes articulated as emotion, are unfathomably unquantifiable in the terms that we, as beings in space, have available to us. And, dominant understandings of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis preclude such variability (See, for instance, Sibley, 2001: 244). Indeed, as Basaure (2009: 343) identifies, both

Foucault and Deleuze & Guattari are critical of psychoanalytic approaches for understanding society, as according to them, psychoanalysis is both falsely premised (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972), and a monolithic instrument of power in itself (Foucault, 1994). Psychoanalysis has received criticism from a number of feminist theorists for its essentialising, ethnocentric, androcentric tendencies (Milton, Polmear & Fabricius, 2004: 89-92). It might therefore appear theoretically consistent that this study distinguishes its approach from that offered by psychoanalysis. However, as Basaure also states, both Foucault and Deleuze & Guattari, in their dismissal of the relevance of psychoanalysis, 'tend towards continuously misunderstanding' the theory more widely (2009: 357). In this way, they could both be said to be reproducing the same mistake that Hemmings (2005a) accuses autonomous-affect theorists of doing; deliberately invoking a flawed construction of psychoanalysis in order to dismiss it. This dismissal of psychoanalysis forecloses some of the possibilities of the theory, as outlined by Milton et al, (2004), which must be recognised. In concerning itself with the prior and the pre-discursive, psychoanalysis is trying to capture an understanding of something that is intangible, aleatory, obscured and yet that is experienced in a visceral way. Thus, it could be said to be a necessary means through which to better understand the construction of societies, and therefore not at all inconsistent with the approaches of Deleuze, Deleuze & Guattari or, indeed, Foucault. Nonetheless, though I do not wholeheartedly dismiss psychoanalytical approaches, and have some sympathy for what they are trying to do, their structures of knowledge-production remain too rigid to foster the nuanced and fluid understanding of the construction of 'street-wisdom' that I am trying to garner in this study.

Though the distinctions between these differing approaches to theorising the pre-discursive are subtle, they must be appreciated in order to exploit the possibilities of affective approaches for problematising fear and safety. This is not to say that this approach has not been met with ambivalence by some theorists of affect for a number of reasons. I turn to consider these now.

3.3 'Bad' Affects

A number of criticisms are levelled at affective theories. In this section I will consider the ways that theorists critical of aspects of affect have harnessed useful aspects of the theory and distanced themselves from more problematic aspect of it, to move forward with affective theories.

3.3.1 Universalising 'Dirty Words'

The first criticism of affective theories, as it is outlined by Thrift, McCormack and Massumi, is affect's reliance on the pre-social, the ontological and innate. Usually 'dirty words' in social theory, these have the effect of universalising the experience of affect for all (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, Barnett, 2008) and abstracting affect from its complexity and richness of meaning (Thien, 2005), whilst 'strengthening, rather than challenging a dominant social order' of inequality through its reliance on the innate and acceptance of the autonomy of affect (Hemmings, 2005a: 551).

In her critique of Massumi's and Sedgwick's readings of Deleuze and Tomkins respectively, Hemmings (2005a: 550-551) tackles 'bad' affects. Whilst she accepts that adopting affective approaches to social theory might in some cases 'bring about social transformation', affect, if understood as an autonomous construct, is also capable of reproducing social inequality, by enabling the expression of 'bad affects' of the 'delights of consumerism', or 'feelings of belonging [involved with] fundamentalism or fascism', for example. These are examples of exclusionary or otherwise marginalising expressions of affect. Neither Massumi nor Sedgwick according to Hemmings, attend to the propagation of 'bad' affects alongside 'good' ones. It is clear that whilst there exists the possibility for emancipation and subversion through affect, (and indeed, such a possibility is crucial for my study) there will also be instances of oppression of 'others' to promote subjective well-being. Certainly, in my own findings, the existence of 'bad', exclusionary expressions of affect is evidenced and therefore, whilst affective theories offer an alternative way of thinking about the impact of the emotional on subjectivity, they cannot be universally thought of as 'good', or always showing the positive 'way forward' for critical research; rather, understanding and analysing these affects and the expression of these affects enables us to perceive affective oppression as well as affective freedom. And it is through this lens, challenging the autonomy of affect itself, that alternatives for the ready-to-be-affected body can be imagined. It is thus that some of the participants in this study challenge 'normative blind-spots' in the construction of their spatial subjectivities and foster affective alternatives for the ready-to-be-affected bodies (cf. Barnett, 2008)

3.3.2 Ethnocentrism and 'Other' Exclusions

The exclusions enacted by 'bad' affects are considered by Tolia-Kelly (2006:213) in the context of ethnocentrism in affective encounters. She suggests that the universalising invocation of affect, emotion and the impact of the virtual, 'occludes...the power geometries' which affect the body and its capacity to-be-affected. Universalist understandings of affect which promote ethnocentrism mean that the 'marked body' of the 'other', 'cannot be free to affect and be affected similarly to one that is not' (2006: 214). Drawing on 'race' theories, Tolia-Kelly (2006:

216) reinforces, like Hemmings, that 'the figures of the 'terrorist', the 'slave' and the 'camp' remind us of the need to challenge universalising imperatives in social...theories'. Rather than rejecting affective approaches for their apparent disregard for the impact of power relations on subjectivity and for their concurrent blindness to 'bad' affects, Tolia-Kelly (2006:216) and Hemmings (2005a: 550) navigate a way through these critiques to excavate the usefulness of this theoretical approach by de-selecting those aspects of affective theories which are incompatible with their aims to understand society beyond social constructionism, whilst retaining the emancipatory aims for the feminist ethics they invoke elsewhere. In the context of my own study, the perspective offered by Tolia-Kelly is instructive. I suggest that her argument that bodies marked as sources of 'fear' because of their 'race' are less free to express affect has echoes of Buchanan's observations about the pathological body. Whilst the anorexic or the masochist has rendered her own body pathological by refusing its dynamism and capacity-to-be-affected (Buchanan, 1997: 88), here Tolia-Kelly notes that a similar restriction is imposed upon 'raced others' which prohibits their readiness to be affected and renders them less free than other, ethnically 'unmarked', ready-to-be-affected bodies. The implication that this observation has for my own study is in the way that ethnocentric, classed or heterosexist affective expressions through the articulation of 'bad' affects might construct knowledge about 'at-home-ness'.

A related critique of the universalising tendency of affect is posited by Thien (2005), who like Hemmings is concerned about the directions in which some affective thought has been propelled. Focussing on the work of Thrift (2004) and McCormack (2003), Thien (2005: 453) suggests that their concurrent rush to push the affective 'beyond humanity in all [its] diversity, pushes us past the emotional landscapes of daily life' and loses the very nuances and specificities of experience that affective approaches propose to glean from the phenomenon of everyday emotion. She also states that in their hurry to situate affective theories in critical thought, Thrift and McCormack seek to distance themselves from the 'nice and cuddly' of emotion, and get down to the 'downright scary' of affect (Thrift, 2004: 58), thus suggesting an artificial incompatibility between affect and emotion. For Thien, Thrift does this in two ways; firstly by skirting around the 'human' to embrace the 'trans-human' and 'disavow[ing] a feminised 'personal' experience of the human (2005: 453), and secondly by 'jettisoning the term 'emotion' in favour of the term 'affect', which she argues becomes a marginally more 'sophisticated' way of constructing the 'binary trope of emotion as negatively positioned in opposition to reason' (2005: 452).

Thien argues that Thrift's formulation of the construction of affect as 'akin to the networks of pipes and cables' which provide 'the basic mechanics and root textures of urban life' (Thrift, 2004: 58), is a masculinist theorisation of 'urban life' which 'builds over a rich field of potential understanding' (Thien, 2005:452). Certainly, Thrift's visualisation of affective theories as a series of 'pipes and cables' and use of engineering metaphors would appear to have masculinist undertones, but, as McCormack (2006: 330) states in his response to Thien, this assertion in itself is essentialist by constructing 'pipes and cables' as inherently masculine and always without emotion. McCormack (2006: 331) elucidates why 'pipes and cables' matter to him, and explains how he has been able to build an affective attachment to them, resituating them in the 'human'. Nonetheless, whilst agreeing with McCormack elsewhere (2003), I find his response to Thien's critique unsatisfactory as he does not address her concerns about power relations in the 'engineering' approach to affect which marginalises the emotional. Thrift's and McCormack's approaches to affect portray affective theories as a system of thought, where many pieces of theory work together to construct a coherent machine of affect, rather than the more aleatory and malleable ways that Thien (2005) and Tolia-Kelly (2006) suggest and which I echo in my analysis.

3.3.4 Challenging 'Newness'

Whilst Hemmings does not engage with Thrift or McCormack's approaches directly, her observations about the directions that affective theories have taken have implications for the way I analyse their approaches. Hemmings (2005a: 556) suggests that Massumi and Sedgwick promote affective theories out of a keenness to do something 'new for the noughts'. Hemmings argues persuasively that the success of the 'new' is possible insofar as it simultaneously mis-remembers and dismisses that which was prior (2005a: 555). With regard to affect, Hemmings argues that Massumi and Sedgwick make their case by 'overstating the problems of post-structuralism' (2005a: 556) and misrepresenting the work of a limited number of post-structuralist theorists, including Butler (1990), holding her work up as an example of all that is wrong with post-structuralism. Recalling observations about Deleuze & Guattari (1972) and Foucault's (1994) earlier treatment of psychoanalysis, they are not alone in doing this. Indeed, Thrift & Dewsbury attack the same of Butler's works that Sedgwick (2003) does, claiming that Butler's 'strangely austere' theory lacks the 'free[dom]' and 'play[fullness] which would let creativity back in' to theory (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000: 414). I would argue here, that Thrift & Dewsbury have elected to find Butler's theories abstruse and staid. In fact this is by no means always so, as Butler's (1994) later creative analysis of discourses of rape, the street and the feminine 'proper place' illustrates. Though complex, her

theories are nonetheless innovative. As Hemmings (2005a: 555) might suggest, Thrift & Dewsbury 'construct a critical history at the same time that they dismiss it'. It is with this disavowal, according to Hemmings (2005a: 557), that affective theories revalorise the ontological as 'unequivocally good' and as constructed to 'resolve the problem its advocates invent'.

3.3.5 Re-siting Autonomy

A final critique I will consider in this section is that identified by Hemmings (2005a) and developed by Lim (2007a), concerning challenges to the autonomy of affect. In my own study, the autonomy of affect – the notion that expressed affects have their own volition – is problematic for an analysis which seeks to see the potentials of different expressions of affect and alternative ways of being in space. Instead I am drawn, to the way that Hemmings (2005a: 562), like Tolia-Kelly (2006), Thien (2005) and Mehta & Bondi (1999), places 'affective attachment in the context of social narratives and power relations' rather than in the autonomous power of affect.

Hemmings (2005a: 562) argues that for Massumi affect becomes autonomous because in the act of becoming actualised – as opposed to remaining in the virtual – the affect is crystallised, becomes static, it becomes 'become' in the act of sense-making and thus acquires an autonomy of its own. Instead, argues Hemmings (2005a: 564) enquiring further after the body and mind dichotomy, discussed above, in the context of Deleuze & Guattari (1972, 1980), Deleuze (1977) and Buchanan (1997), 'if judgement is always secondary to bodily response, poised above it but crucially tied to it, the intensity of that response must also presumably be curtailed or extended by that judgement, forming an affective cycle'. This observation is described by Lim (2007a) as a 'long feedback loop' which 'doubles back on the body to alter its capacity to act in the world'. It is in this reinterpetative loop that autonomy is extracted from affect and 'reflective or political judgement provides an alternative to dominant social norms' (Hemmings, 2005a: 564). This understanding of the constitution of affective expression not only challenges Barnett's (2008) critique of the fixity of affective ontologies of knowledge but also allows alternatives for ready-to-be-affected body to be imagined, and provides the conceptual space to mobilise subversiveness. As Hemmings (2005a: 565) states, this rejection of the autonomy of affect – de-situating the autonomy of affect – allows us to see the value of affect 'precisely because it is not autonomous'. This reading of autonomy is crucial for my own study, which posits that it is the non-autonomous expression of affect which brings about the capacity for emancipatory space use. Refusing an autonomous 'bad' affective expression opens up the intellectual space for this discussion to occur, as without it, the creative

possibilities of affect to move the ready-to-be-affected body are foreclosed. We would not only be left with a linguistic disadvantage as we struggle to articulate expressions of affect, but also with an ideological one.

3.4 Theorising Emotion: Fear and Fearlessness

It is to these struggles that I now turn. As I noted in Chapter 2, Koskela (1997) warns that many existing studies of the impact of fear and safety on women's experiences of space foreclose discussions of the nuances, haecceities and multiplicities of ways that emotions between and beyond normative definitions of 'fear' and 'safety' occur. In the context of affective approaches, fear and fearlessness has been variously theorised.

3.4.1 Localised Affective Fear

Whether it is a feeling of engagement with space, alienation from community, or love, or loathing of the body, Davidson, Bondi & Smith (2005: 1) argue that emotion is how spaces are constructed and understood. They suggest that emotions 'affect the way we sense the substance of our past, present and future'. Yet in the introductory chapter of their book, they identify the complexity of speaking about emotion and theorising the impact of emotion on everyday subjectivities (2005: 1-3). It is here that the insights afforded by affective theories might help us to fathom the multiple and unstable ways in which emotions occur and impact on spatial subjectivities.

In this context, Mehta & Bondi's, (1999) and Pain's (2009) separate approaches are instructive. Both theorise fear through the lens of affect. Mehta & Bondi's (1999: 69-71) study of male and female students in Edinburgh, UK adopts a particular understanding of emotion, and the 'enactment of [gendered] subject positions' which distances itself from predominant understandings of affective theories as inherently 'pre-social' or 'natural' in the way that is suggested by Massumi (2002), Thrift (2004) or McCormack (2003). Instead they recognise the influence of the discursive on the construction of spatial subjectivities and suggest that the construction of 'understanding [about] the world', is a 'practical knowledge', which operates on the body in ways which are 'not only linguistic' (Mehta & Bondi, 1999: 69). Whilst this recognition of the limits of language resonates with Thrift & Dewsbury's (2000) approach to non-representational theory and McCormack's (2003) approaches to affect, Mehta & Bondi (1999: 70) distance themselves from the psychoanalytically-inclined approaches of McCormack and Thrift. Instead they understand emotions such as fear as being 'cultural products' that are neither freely chosen nor pre-determined but that may escape linguistic articulation. This approach allows the conceptual space to consider those groups who are 'excluded from

participation in particular practices and may thereby be precluded from having certain emotional experiences' (1999: 71), which is a terrain that is explored by Tolia-Kelly (2006) in her critique of theories of affect.

Whilst I consider Mehta & Bondi's approach helpful for my own considerations of fear and safety as emotions, I argue that their understanding of affect as problematically pre-social, and therefore exclusionary, is misleading as it is not necessarily the case that approaches which understand affect as existing at a virtual level are marginalising, nor does an approach which considers the emotional as culturally produced, necessarily always capture the depth and the breadth of possibilities afforded by theorising emotion through understanding the virtual. Nonetheless, Mehta & Bondi's approach accommodates room for discussions of indeterminacy which are important for this study. I argue that, for the purposes of my own project, an acceptance of the uncertain, unfathomable and unarticulatable is necessary to better understand the array of ways that subjectivities are constructed in space and knowledge about space is constituted and deployed by grasping at the affective expression of the virtual, through the language of emotion.

3.4.2 Globalised Affective Fear

Elsewhere, in her study of affective fear, Pain (2009: 479) adopts an approach which echoes Mehta & Bondi's challenges to the virtual, but which embraces affective approaches more widely. Whilst recognising their drawbacks, Pain uses theories of affect, following Thrift (2004) and Lim (2007b), to consider 'globalised fear'. Pain argues that 'affective geographies have offered a different kind of intelligence about the world', one in which bodies are understood as a 'performative force [which encompass] non-verbal communication' (2009: 478). For Pain, affective understandings of 'globalised fear' betray this type of macro-level fear as a strategic tool, utilised by governments and the media to organise societies into fearful docility (2009: 479), an approach which is challenged by Barnett (2008). Here, Lim (2007b) examines the ways in which the so-called 'war on terror' mobilises the body's capacity to-be-affected in a fearful or anxious way by 'containing' its movements into acceptable modes of behaviour, or rendering the body a site of chaos – causing it to 'flee' sites of terror – through the mobilisation of fear and anxiety. In his discussion, Lim recognises the indeterminacy of affective fear and argues that this indeterminacy is challenged by 'politicians and governments' who try to attach some fixed meaning to uncertain affects. Thus, the indeterminacy of affective expressions of fear in response to the menace of terror-crimes becomes mobilised around nation-building and fear of the 'raced' 'other'. Lim argues that by trying to contain affects, and responses to the war on terror, nation-states fail to take into

consideration the abundance of ways that fear can be expressed and mobilised and the multiplicity of affects that might operate on the body. In contrast, Anderson's (2010) examination of how affectivity is mobilised in the context of warfare recognises that it is in this very indeterminacy – the aleatory – that campaigns of war, work. Drawing on military analyses of the effectiveness of attacks on morale, Anderson (2010: 231) suggests that an affective understanding of the implementation of power enables an appreciation of how power operates when it has no object; when the object of the manipulation of power is virtual, as is the case in campaigns to 'shock and awe' military enemies. By trying to contain communities and responses to fear, nation-states are inevitably unable to account for all the affective responses to terror that there might be (Lim, 2007b), and instead allow affective evocations to spill over into all forms of life (Anderson, 2010: 227).

Similarly, Ó Tuathail (2003) also considers fear on a globalised scale. He explores the variety of means by which 'American' affect – that is, affective feeling in America, about America – is invoked, manipulated and disseminated to legitimise the war in Iraq. Ó Tuathail describes how patriotism was fostered in part through public displays of extreme emotion, or expressions of affect, by politicians (2003: 857, 863). By manipulating these affective expressions, and fostering a collective memory of the 'collective experience of trauma and loss' associated with the terrorist attacks in New York, USA, politicians were able to discursively elide this act of terrorism with the justification for a war with Iraq (2003: 858). According to Tolia-Kelly, the impact of this 'metonymical slippage' is universalising, and disempowers the bodies of those pronounced as 'others' (2006: 214). With this in mind, Lim suggest that it is through the invoking of affect that certain 'truths' might become apparent, certain 'solutions' might become obvious, which, because they operate at a pre-discursive level, and are constituted intersubjectively, would have not come about had it not been for the perspective offered by affective analyses (cf. Barnett, 2008, for a critique of this manipulation of ontology). Whilst Lim, Anderson and Ó Tuathail's interesting discussions consider power which operates in a much more 'top-down' manner than the way that power is evidenced as operating in my own study, and though Ó Tuathail, Lim, Anderson and Pain focus on the macro, rather than the micro-scales of fear (although see Lim, 2007a: 62 for a discussion of affective street-fear), I suggest that these analyses highlight the importance of thinking about fear through the lens of affect. They highlight the importance of fear as an emotion with which knowledge is constructed and the extent to which the unknowable can be accommodated within this analytical framework. In this regard, alongside these discussions of Deleuzian understandings of affect, I have found it helpful, when thinking about affective fear and safety, to draw on the perspectives offered by Ahmed.

3.5 Ahmed and Affectivity

3.5.1 Embodied Emotional Affects

For the purposes of this study I find the way that Ahmed considers emotion, from a phenomenological perspective, as a generative force, particularly useful. Emotions, for Ahmed (2004a: 26), like Davidson et al (2005), 'do things'. They are productive and serve to order societies. Ahmed explains that 'affects do not reside in an object or a sign, but are an effect of the circulation between objects and signs' (2004b: 120). For Ahmed, this circulation forms part of an economy of affect where 'emotions circulate and are distributed across a social and a psychic field' (2004b: 120). Thus Ahmed, like Thien (2005), Tolia-Kelly (2006) and Hemmings (2005a), considers affects as occurring within a network of power relations. Emotion-building, according to Ahmed, is a tool by which individuals become 'aligned' together in a 'collective' (2004a: 27). Ahmed theorises affective fear and hate to articulate how communal emotion is used to make contact between bodies and forge closeness; 'together we hate and this hate is what makes us together'. She investigates how such emotion-building gives rise to the metonymic slippages which associate refugees with loss of property or capital (2004b: 118), mixed-race couples with the loss of nationhood, and 'raced' bodies with child molestation (2004a: 26). These observations have echoes of Ó Tuathail's and Tolia-Kelly's arguments about the ways that expressions of affect can be mobilised strategically to draw borders around fear, and to strategically mobilise 'raced' exclusionary feelings. Indeed, in the context of hate, Ahmed observes that 'figures of hate circulate...and accumulate affective value because they do not have a fixed referent' (2004b:123). It is therefore within the circulation of the indeterminate, intersubjective affective frame that figures of 'hate' are constructed. The construction of the spectre of 'hate', or loathing, appears in my own research in the context of 'raced', gendered and classed othering. This highlights the influence affect can have on the subjective; not only constructing 'bogeymen' to terrify, but also to legitimate the mobilisation of 'hate' against unknown and imagined entities.

In addition to this, Ahmed observes that emotions occur through the 'stickiness' of 'impressions left by others' (2004a: 39). Thus, emotions do not circulate with affect and feelings through the body in a vacuum, but rather are marked by the context in which they occur. Whilst the virtual remains the home of the not-yet-here and not-yet-now, the expression of affect in the language of feeling and emotion is situated by the contact our body has with other bodies, and the knowledge we have gleaned from them. Therefore, Ahmed explains, 'we do not love and hate because objects are good or bad, but rather because they seem agreeable or hurtful' (2004a: 31). Thus, the expression of affect, according to Ahmed,

occurs through our own understanding of the affect in relation to the self. 'This dependence', continues Ahmed, 'opens up a gap in the determination of feeling: whether something is agreeable or hurtful involves thought and evaluation at the same time that it is felt by the body' (2004a: 31). The expression of the affect occurs at the point at which contact is made with the body. In the context of hate, when the body 'contacts' the 'other', affect becomes expressed as hate (2004a: 31). In this context Ahmed not only highlights the importance of the body and the mind in the articulation of feeling, but also leaves conceptual room for the indeterminate and ambiguous. Whilst love or hate of an object relies on a body to evaluate the loveableness or hatefulness of an object in relation to the self, the possibility that something loveable or loathable is articulated quite differently, remains. When these intersubjective responses to the impression left on the body by others are understood, Ahmed argues that subjects become 'aligned with or against other others' in an attempt to organise and fathom space and subjectivity (2004a: 32).

3.5.2 Tracing Trajectories of Orientation

The consideration of this alignment brings me on to the second way in which Ahmed's approach is a useful point of departure for my own analysis. Ahmed (2006a) develops the notion of 'orientation' to theorise space, sexuality and 'otherness'. For the purposes of this part of the discussion, I focus the way Ahmed considers orientations in space, before returning to sexuality and 'otherness' in section 3.7.

Ahmed (2006a: 1) begins her argument by explaining that:

To be orientated, is to be turned towards certain objects, those that help us to find our way. These are objects that we recognise, so that when we face them, we know which way we are facing.

This quotation suggests that to be 'orientated', to be figuratively or metaphorically 'turned towards' or away from objects, is to 'know' where we are. The implications of this simple idea for my own project are manifest. In a study of fear and safety, the notion of 'recognising' what is around, being made to feel secure by it, and being orientated towards it captures, in part, what it is I mean when I am discussing 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness'. The second implication that this notion has for my work is in drawing the connection between being 'orientated' and knowledge production; to be orientated towards something is to 'know' it, to be orientated away from something is to not 'know' it. In the context of examining the construction of street-wisdom, this insight is useful.

Ahmed develops this approach further by considering the ways in which ‘intimacy’ impacts on spatial subjectivity. Eliding it with knowledge, she argues that ‘intimacy...can allow us to navigate our way’; by knowing intimately our surroundings we can guide ourselves through space (2006a: 7). This knowledge is also transferrable; ‘even in a strange or unfamiliar environment we might find our way, given our familiarity with social form, with how the social is arranged’ (2006a: 7). From this phenomenological perspective, Ahmed argues, if we have been intimate once with space, we might apply that intimate-knowledge elsewhere, again. The repetition of this intimacy is part of the construction of street-wisdom. Of course, intimacy is not always a positive experience, and the same can be true in reverse – intimate-knowledge of ‘badness’ in space can repel a body, or render that body fearful or anxious – and space understood intimately as a site of loathing can be transliterated onto other unknown spaces. Similarly, sometimes it might not be possible or desirable to transfer intimacies in space. We can feel lost and at a loss in space; Ahmed suggests that loss can still be a presence in space as it becomes a recognition of the unfamiliar (2006a: 7). It becomes a new way of creating knowledge about space, and captures the ambiguity of fathoming space.

Throughout her discussion of ‘orientation’, Ahmed deploys spatial metaphors to illustrate her argument. She talks of ‘starting points’, lines that link ‘blood ties’, lines that align sexual orientation, oblique lines that queer (2006a: 8, 16, 2006b: 557, 556, 560). I understand these lines as trajectories which traverse space figuratively, but which also move the body physically around space. These orientated movements around space mark spaces as being occupied by bodies and also mark bodies, as they take up space. The relationship between the body and the space it occupies is rendered ‘sticky’ by the weight of time and by the texture of space. Thus, the embodied, spatiotemporal experience of being ‘orientated’ towards or away from space not only has a physical manifestation on where and when bodies move in space, but also has a figurative quality, which is where phantom spaces are made. These are constructs that I discuss in Chapter 8. Furthermore, where places, times, experiences, memories, dreams, or nostalgias connect on affective surfaces, they become emotionally associated with each other. These ‘sticky’ connections contribute to knowledge production and inform orientation about and around space, enabling the body to form attachments or detachments dependent on the ‘knowledges’ their affective experiences have brought forth (2006a: 62).

3.5.3 Fear of Faceless Others

A consequence of this ‘stickiness’ is its ability to forge sensations of ‘at-home-ness’ in spaces which are ‘sticky’ with knowledge about belonging or not belonging. As I have already outlined in Chapter 2, fear is a complex phenomenon which can be experienced in a number of

different ways and in response to a number of different stimuli. Fear can be contextualised, it can be personalised, it can be globalised, it can atomise or galvanise communities (cf., Lim, 2007a, Ó Tuathail, 2003, Mehta & Bondi, 1999, Pain, 2009, Anderson, 2010). Ahmed recognises this multiplicity and suggests that fear exists relationally; ‘we feel fear of something’ (2006a: 2). The way in which Ahmed explains the occurrence of fear is through the metaphor of the trajectory. She explains that, ‘we might fear an object that approaches us...the feeling of fear is directed towards that object, while it also apprehends the object in a certain way, as being fearsome’ (2006a: 2). Thus, for Ahmed, fear is in the approach, in the not-yet-here and the not-yet-now; the virtual (2004b: 125). Like Lim, Anderson and Ó Tuathail, Ahmed (2004b: 135) explores the deployment of fear in the context of globalised fear of terrorism. The deployment of affective fear operates to ‘expand the mobility of some bodies and contain others’. I argue that this ‘economy of fear’ can be deployed strategically to organise bodies in space. This organisation, I suggest, has echoes of Foucauldian considerations of the way in which space is organised and bodies disciplined and regulated through discourse. Similarly, Ahmed describes the economy of fear as operating in circuits of affect. For Ahmed, ‘fear does not reside in a particular object’ (2004b: 127). Drawing on Fanon’s (1952) description of being looked-at as a figure of fear by a fearful white boy, Ahmed suggests that the pervasive power of fear is in the circulation of expression of affect between the looked-at and the looker-on of fear (2004b: 126). By circulating between signs and bodies, the boy in Fanon’s extract displays fear by attributing fear to the sign of the fearsome black ‘other’. The signs of ‘Negro, animal, bad, mean, ugly’ are elided (Ahmed, 2004b: 127). Elsewhere, Staples (1986) speaks of his experience of ‘altering public space’ by repelling the bodies of white space-users away from him, as he walked around the streets of New York and Chicago, USA. Similarly, Lorde’s (1982) autobiographical account of experiencing racism in her youth exposes the shame, disgust, anger and fear that having a black, lesbian body expresses and elicits in her body and the body of the beholder. It is in not residing in *any* body, that circuits of fear operate indeterminately and with universality, they ‘slide across signs and between bodies’ (Ahmed, 2004b: 127). For Fanon, Staples and Lorde, they construct marginalised and oppressed subjectivities. Yet they also represent locations from which to foster subversivity.

A consequence of this circuit is that, like Foucauldian understandings of power, fear resides both everywhere and nowhere. As Ahmed expresses in the context of migration of asylum seekers, an economy of fear is deployed to elide the asylum seeker with the terrorist (2004b: 136). Fear constructs ‘raced’ and classed othering by marking bodies which are ‘other’ and to be feared by the ‘us’ of a community. In common with a breadth of research which considers

belonging and exclusion in space (see Sibley, 1988, 1995, 1998, Puwar, 2004, Skeggs, 1999, 2001), in my own research I suggest that unnamed 'others' are invoked as fearful spectres to legitimate exclusionary behaviour and to construct knowledge which promotes safe-keeping strategies through repetition of the signifier of 'other'. Fear, for Ahmed, and in my own study, is understood as being productive, as constructing boundaries of safety between 'known' and 'unknown' bodies and 're-establishing distance between bodies whose difference is read off the surface' (Ahmed, 2004b: 126). This 'reading off' of the body not only reinforces the corporeality of affect and of experiences of 'other', but it can also apply to bodies which are read as classed, aged and gendered 'others', as well as 'raced others'. It also provides us with the conceptual framework through which to theorise othering as 'strategic', that is, consciously exclusionary with the aim to promote safe-keeping, sense of 'at-home-ness' and community-building.

Certainly, this understanding of affective theory, drawing together Deleuze and Ahmed, has many implications for the way in which I have conducted the analysis of how participants express how they feel 'at home', or not, in their 'home towns'. Though a body of theory which is complex and met with ambivalence by some critics, my own approach to affective theory is intended to capture the elusiveness of feelings of fear and safety and the ways in which they might be expressed. A preoccupation of this project has been to not foreclose expressions of feelings beyond fearful or fearless affects. As my analysis of extant theory in this field demonstrates, discussions which only accommodate fear or safety as responses to fearful or unfearful experiences of space do not allow women the voice with which to articulate experiences other than these. This epistemological blind-spot fails to capture the expanse of experiences women may have in their 'home towns'. I find that the approach to understanding experiences of space afforded by an affective analysis in the way that I have outlined it here, enables me to capture the haecceities and peculiarities of experiences of space. In particular, the notion of figuratively turning towards or away from fear or safety, in the way that Ahmed's suggests, captures the bodily experience of fear and safety and also the physical movements of fear and safety in space as trajectory.

3.5.4 'At-Home' with Ahmed?

A final area of Ahmed's work to discuss in the context of this study is the way that she theorises home. The 'home', for Ahmed, is a construct that one forges to try to belong in space, but which, through too much movement and volatility, becomes 'unsticky'. In contrast, Braidotti's (1994: 16) now seminal construction of the philosophical nomad suggests that a nomadic 'subject' adopts an 'intellectual style' that is 'capable of recreating [her] home

everywhere', so whilst Ahmed suggests that this 'unstickiness' might reduce people's sense of affective belonging, Braidotti (1994: 23) argues that it is by relinquishing any 'nostalgia for fixity' that the nomad is empowered by these theoretical/intellectual/emotional/epistemological transitions. Indeed, Knopp (2003: 129) reminds us that it is possible and, indeed, can be desirable to be 'unsticky'. He suggests that the 'hybrid' subject, such as the queer subject, forges 'affection for placelessness and movement'. Being at ease with placelessness in this way, it is possible to conceive of 'at-home-ness' beyond Ahmed's home; by forging 'ontological pleasure' in placelessness, by being 'at-home' in 'un-at-home-ness' in the way that Knopp (2004: 131) and Braidotti (1994) suggest, the possibilities for delighting in non-normative ways of thinking about place, opens up the conceptual space to imagine alternative ways-of-being at home. As I will demonstrate in this discussion, accommodating ulterior ways of constructing selfhood in space becomes a pertinent means through which to reconfigure the affective expression of street-wisdom, which resonates with my own theorisation of 'at-home-ness' as malleable, portable and haecceitic.

Ahmed suggests that being 'at home' is like inhabiting a 'second skin' (1999: 341). Indeed, when trying to articulate what it is to feel 'at-home-ness', it is common to describe a sense of 'feeling good in one's own skin'. The significance of this description of 'at-home-ness' is that it reminds of the corporeality of expressions of affect; that the feeling of 'at-home-ness' is played out on the body, or skin. This common expression, which describes a feeling of well-being, is also more grammatically elaborate than is necessary to convey the meaning of the phrase; 'one's own skin'. This phrase figuratively echoes the interpretative loop of affective expression; the meaning of the phrase 'I feel good in my skin' is coherent and conveys the same meaning as 'I feel good in my own skin', yet the common place interjection of the possessive 'own' of 'my' skin evokes the affective arch that is expressed in relation to this instance of well-being. Therefore, once the 'feeling' of 'good' has been expressed at a pre-linguistic level, and emanates from the body, it is also required to feedback onto one's 'own' body to construct the experience of feeling 'at-home-ness'. Thus, the experience of feeling 'at-home-ness' in my own research, is that it is self-determined. Whilst 'others' may promote or inhibit feelings of 'at-home-ness', the lived experience of 'at-home-ness' can only flourish, or flounder, as it is mediated by the ready-to-be-affected body.

This means that whilst some participants might feel threatened in 'unhomely' spaces, they might also adapt or 'shed' their skin, so as to accommodate their bodies in the 'unhomely' and re-inhabit spaces in alternative ways (See Ahmed, 1999: 342). However, this shedding or

acquiring of skins of 'home' reminds us of the privilege of refusing to wear a skin of 'home' at all. Here, recalling Braidotti's theorisation of nomadism as affording a subversive world-view, Ahmed suggests that it is a 'certain type of Western subject' who can be as placeless and mobile as Braidotti suggests (1999: 345, 2004a: 38). To be able to give up attachment to home suggests a privilege associated with not having to struggle to find it. Indeed, Ahmed suggests, true 'global' nomadism brings about an 'attachment to movement' and this privilege to be able to refuse placefulness has a more insidious manifestation; 'rather than belonging here or there, global nomads now belong everywhere' (2004a: 38); they become 'at home' all over the world. The implication of this privilege and undifferentiated feelings of 'home' echoes the colonial project of assimilation of 'likeness' and exclusion of 'other' that postcolonial theorists have challenged (see Lugones, 1990, Staples, 1986, Fanon, 1952 and Lorde's (1982) story of having her help refused by a white woman in distress). Whilst this is not the intention of Braidotti's work, it certainly highlights the difficulty of theorising 'home' as a construct which inevitably excludes some bodies as much as it includes others.

Considering the complexities of theorising 'at-home-ness' in my own study, what does it mean to suggest that participants in my study have feelings of 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' all the time? If participants have a sense of belonging or not belonging or senses between and beyond these, everywhere they go, does this assume a certain privilege to construct space as either like or unlike themselves? Does it assume that all participants are self-determining in the same way and hold a similar sense of spatial confidence? And what does this mean for subaltern participants, who may not ever have felt 'home', to be able to recognise what it is to feel '(un)at-home-ness'? These questions are all worth considering and despite the difficulties of speaking about 'home', as I outline in Section 2.1, I nonetheless suggest that the language of home can be a useful vehicle through which to access the complexities of the ways that belonging and not belonging in space can be experienced without neglecting the power implications of being 'at-home' or not, and embracing the experiences of those 'out-of-home' in the construction of street-wisdom.

3.6 Framing Foucault

In this section, I consider the ways in which Foucault theorises power, the organisation of spaces, the ways that disciplinary and regulatory discourses operates on the body and the role of resistance in the operation of power. The corporeality of the effect of discourse and the ways in which discourses and 'knowledges' are mutually constitutive of each other mirror how affects have been theorised and how the virtual impacts on the knowledge of the ready-to-be-affected body.

Before progressing further with Foucault's approaches (and given the feminist epistemological framework that is employed throughout this project) it is necessary to consider some of the critiques levelled at Foucault's work by feminist theorists. Foucault's 'androcentric' consideration of the masculine subject throughout his work highlights epistemologically masculinist assumptions, which he does not hold to account. And, more problematically, as Ramazanoglu (1993) highlights, Foucault's construction of power also challenges the fundamentals of the feminist project, whilst Foucault's approach may offer 'productive insights' into power relations, she argues that this is incompatible with a feminist project which conceives of a 'truth' of patriarchy (1993:2-5). Furthermore, the way in which Foucault frames his discussion 'erase[s] women's specific experiences of power' and thus challenges the capacity of Foucauldian theories to be usefully put to work by feminist projects (Hekman, 1996: 8). Indeed, this critique is taken up more fully and forcefully by Braidotti⁶ (1991). In a sustained critique of Foucault's work, Braidotti suggests that his conceptualisation of the multifarious, polyvalent and non-monolithic construction of power is 'both very broad and too reductive' (1991: 96). The breadth of the ways in which Foucault's theories of power are applicable means that they lack specificity, and take on a monolithic quality themselves, whilst their refusal to explicitly consider the feminine subject means that his work lacks applicability for feminists (1991: 96). In addition to this, a further compelling critique that Braidotti levies against Foucault is in this deconstruction of the subject. According to Braidotti, not only does Foucault adopt an androcentric approach to the subject, in his work (1991: 95) but in addition to refusing to see the feminine, he compounds his androcentrism by 'enthroning male homosexuality as the lost paradigm' and renders the feminine invisible (1991: 95). She suggests that by privileging a masculinist construction of the subject, Foucault's work on sexuality effaces sexual difference and silences feminine subjectivity which, she argues, makes it a largely inappropriate approach for feminist enquiries into feminine experiences of being.

Whilst these challenges to Foucault's apparent silence on the feminine are not to be dismissed, I suggest that it is possible to move beyond the content of what Foucault says (and does not say) to examine the implications of the way in which it is said. Indeed, Butler argues that the aim of postmodernist thought is to 'call into question the ways that...paradigms...subordinate...that which they wish to explain' (1992: 5). She suggests that calling the subject into question, in the way that Foucault's genealogical work does, 'is not a repudiation of the subject, but, rather, a way of interrogating its construction' (Butler, 1994:

⁶ Although see Braidotti's (1994: 25) reprisal of Foucauldian approaches to refuse dominant ways of representing the self.

9). Thus, for the purposes of this enquiry, I consider that the approaches offered to us by Foucault, and his discussions of the construction of power, the role of resistance and constitution of the subject, can be used in this feminist project which interrogates the construction of knowledge and subjectivity. Indeed, in this study I use Foucauldian thought, like I use affective theories, as though they are part of a tool-box; selecting the approaches that I consider are necessary to do the work of theorising the construction of knowledge about fear and safety, and the deployment of street-wisdom.

Therefore, though controversial, Foucault's work is useful for feminist approaches and has been employed by a number of feminist thinkers (Bartky, 1990, Butler, 1990, Ramazanoglu, 1993, Braidotti, 1994) as a means through which to analyse the construction and deployment of power relations, the constitution of sexuality, the way this is played out on the body and the influence of discourse on how individuals and societies are ordered in space. Foucault states unequivocally that the objective of his research has been to explore 'the modes by which...human beings are made subjects' (1982: 777). He aims to do this by tracing how practices which draw the line between 'the mad and the sane...the criminals and the 'good boys'' affect behaviours and how subjectivity is constructed by human interactions with space' (1982: 777-8). These imperatives clearly resonate with the research aims of this study.

3.6.1 Discursive Potentialities

Foucault argues that subjects and subjectivity are constructed through discourses. He illustrates this with reference to the construction of the individual as a soldier as 'something that can be made out of a formless clay' (1975: 135). The construction of bodies, like this, through multiply-acting exertions of power is developed by Bartky (1990) who suggests that it is through discourse that idealised constructions of femininity are deployed. In the context of this project, the ways in which normative constructions of masculinity and femininity are produced and deployed by the female participants could be said to be informed by these discursive influences. It is also through the analysis of the discursive that resistances to these normative constructions and deployments of sexualities are perceived and enacted. The construction of subjectivity in space and the performance of 'good' or 'bad' femininities and masculinities are disciplined and regulated by, and through, these relationships to, and with, space.

Whilst discursive subjectivity does not necessarily mean that women's behaviour is performed normatively, there is a common knowledge about what idealised femininity or masculinity looks like and a common knowledge about where it should be (Bartky, 1990: 66). This is

evidenced in my findings which explore how participants interpret and perform their femininity in relation to respectability, pathology and knowledge about fearful or safe spaces or people in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3.6.2 Genealogical Potentialities

As I suggested in Section 1.4, my understanding of the genealogy of street-wisdom is informed by Foucault's work which explores the history of the way that knowledges and subjects are constructed. Tracing a genealogy of how discourse operates on the body to construct 'street-wisdom' illustrates the way in which phenomena which are taken-for-granted, actually come into being.

The study of genealogy, argues Foucault (1984: 76-77), requires a rejection of historical meta-narratives and 'requires patience and knowledge of details'. As Foucault (1984, 1970) suggests, the study of any genealogy is a large but valuable undertaking in order to further understandings of the way that knowledge and truth become constructed and applied to the organisations of societies, and through this, perceive resistances to exclusionary or oppressive orderings of space. In working 'for' a genealogy of street-wisdom, I am conscious that my contribution can only be part of a larger epistemological movement. Though rooted in historicity, Foucault suggests that the study of genealogy does not seek a definitive beginning, is not concerned with going back in time to retrospectively restore 'continuity', nor does a genealogical study imply that the past informs the present or 'map the destiny' of society (Foucault, 1984: 81). Thus, neither static nor linear, this study of genealogy is an examination of the rich variety of ways that disciplinary and regulatory powers impact on knowledge production and dissemination of 'truths' about street-scapes.

In pursuance of this, Foucault (1982) describes a desire to 'create a history' of subjectivity. This genealogical project interrogates the constitution of the subjected subject in space. In the unpublished French version of this translated essay, in which Foucault clarified his position on 'power', this phrase would probably have appeared as 'créer une H/histoire'. When analysed through a deconstructionist lens, this can be understood as a play on words (see 1982: 789); the idea of *creating* a 'history' or, as it also means in French, a 'story' of how subjects are constructed, resonates with my research which encourages participants to tell stories about the ways in which they situate themselves within their 'home towns'. I am interested in the notion of *creating* stories and histories and the possibilities this offers to mount a material challenge to the perceived monolith of 'history' as a measurable fact which one can 'discover'. Instead, the genealogical project allows us to 'create' (hi)stories. In so doing, this might create

alternative (hi)stories to the ones we have always ‘known’, and, as with affective approaches, enable alternative (hi)stories to be told about the construction of street-wisdom. Indeed, it challenges the notion that knowledge of any sort exists outside of the time and place in which it is examined. In this project, the monolith of common knowledge about what makes a street a safe or unsafe space can be examined and subverted.

3.6.3 Heterotopic Potentialities

Finally, in this study of ‘home towns’ it is necessary to consider how Foucault theorises space. As has been touched on Chapter 2, a principal way in which Foucault (1970, 1986) does this is through an analytical construct of ‘heterotopia’. A ‘heterotopia’ for Foucault describes the ‘juxtapositioning’ of diverse entities, and is the means through which these become ‘defined by relations of proximity’ and fathomed as coherent through their relationship with each other as sets, or ‘series’ (Foucault, 1986: 23). For Foucault, heterotopia is constructed in opposition to utopia. Describing utopia as ‘sites with no real place’ (Foucault, 1986: 24), heterotopia is instead a more concrete equivalent which he describes as ‘absolutely real’ (Foucault, 1986: 24). Elsewhere, Foucault distinguishes between the utopia of ‘consolation’ where ‘life is easy’ and the heterotopia of disruption, which ‘shatters and tangles common names’ (1970: xviii). The heterotopia, for Foucault is an ‘enacted utopia’; a physical space that exists separately, but alongside ‘other’ space to reflect aspects of it in both ‘absolutely real’ and ‘absolutely unreal’ places, like a reflection in a mirror (1986: 24). It is also a syntactical construct, or deconstruct; an arrangement of discursive statements which unsettle and which create a form of social ordering through the collocation of the absurd and which acts as a critique of the ‘common’ place (1970: vxiii-xix). Foucault illustrates this ‘heterotopology’ with examples of these ‘enacted’ utopias; the prison, the honeymoon, the cinema, the cemetery (1986: 24-5). These spaces are characteristic of his analytical concerns with how societies are ordered and how subjectivities are influenced by interactions inside and outside of these orders (1982: 326). For Foucault, heterotopia offers an alternate coherence and, as Hetherington (1996: 38) suggests, ‘heterotopias do not exist in the order of things, but in the ordering of things’. These ‘other spaces’ are indeed ‘other’, and it is in not pointing to the ‘one’ that these others are ‘other’ to, that Foucault enables us to imagine these heterotopias as endlessly contingent and possibly resistant, if somewhat ubiquitous. These heterotopias are sometimes constructed in place, sometimes constructed in time but are constructed as separate and relational to the nameless ‘one’ to reflect a very particular and precise societal phenomenon. In the context of my research, this perspective enables an analysis of the heterotopology of spaces of safety and spaces of fear; where participants experience ‘at-home-ness’ or ‘un-at-home-ness’. More

broadly, such an analysis might further understandings of what implications these heterotopias of 'at-home-ness' and 'un-at-home-ness' have for the ways that these 'home towns' are imagined beyond discussions of fear and safety, and how street-wisdom about these spaces is produced and deployed.

3.7 Warps and Wefts of Theory

Weaving together these approaches, in this last section I complete my discussion of the theories which have informed the design, undertaking and analysis of this project and situate my own theoretical standpoint within them. Queer theories which skew, pervert, transgress and refuse the limits of language or the boundaries of radical imagination resonate with the playful, haecceitic, possibilities afforded by affective expressions in space, and in particular those of non-representational theories which delight in the ability to 'flirt and flout, gyre and gimble, twist and shout' with, at and in space (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000: 412). The relationship between affective and queer theory is also elucidated by Lim (2007a) and by Ahmed (2006b).

If we return to the way that Ahmed theorises space, through discussions of orientations and trajectories, the connection between queer and affect becomes explicit. Ahmed argues that those who live a queer life, live it on an 'oblique' rather than straight line, and embody a subjectivity which is 'wonky' (2006b: 565). Though the queer that Ahmed discusses applies to 'non-straight sexual practices' and mine moves beyond this consideration of queer as 'LGBT', Ahmed suggests that to queer is to 'disturb the order of things' and imagine new or different or non-normative orderings (2006b: 565). Not only does this echo Foucault's (1970) concerns with examining the 'order of things' but it imagines alternatives to those 'orders' that may have been taken for granted. Ahmed suggests that queer acts as a 'disorientation device' and in this disorientation new possibilities are discovered (2006b: 566). For Ahmed, the *doing* and *being* of disorientation allows those who exist on the oblique, rather than on the straight trajectory, to bring their politics to the fore. She suggests that this is about the 'potentiality of not following certain conventional scripts...whereby 'not-following' involves disorientation; it makes things oblique, which in turn opens up another way to inhabit those forms' (2006b: 569). In this way, it is apparent that the possibilities of queer are not unlike the latent potentialities of the virtual in the context of affective theory, and the possibilities offered by Foucault's understanding of discourse. The possibilities of disorientation therefore open up the space for the 'oblique, strange and out of place' to mobilise and pervert normative space and knowledge (2006b: 570).

Lim (2007a) makes the potentialities afforded by the convergence of queer theory and affective theory even more explicit. He argues that the application of affective theories to queer politics 'allows one to think about what might take place beyond the limits of normative modes of regulating life and relationships...it can foster a sense of exploration...and new alliances, to forge new pleasures and ways of being productive' (2007a: 55). Theorising affect through a Deleuzian understanding of the body, Lim argues that the potentialities of the ready-to-be-affected body can express an abundance of actualised affects, which means that the ways in which affects might be experienced or expressed are manifold, as I have already suggested.

It is recognised that queer, like affect, can be normative and can reproduce normative power imbalances and exclusions (Lim, 2007a: 62-64, Smith, 1992, Oswin 2008), in the context of queer, this is known as homonormativity and in the context of affect, Lim theorises this as 'virtual memory' (2007a: 61). This is what informs 'tendency' behaviours, or latches of responses to expressions of affect. These are responses which are learnt in relation to specific affective encounters. For instance, if am awkward when I speak to a stranger, and if whenever I speak to a stranger I articulate the affect I express as awkwardness, then this awkwardness about speaking to strangers becomes part of my 'virtual memory'; I might always feel that I will always feel awkward with strangers. But if I decide to try to queer my 'virtual memory', by re-siting the autonomy of affect, the capacity for my ready-to-be-affected body to refuse this normative expression of awkward affect opens up the potential for me to express a completely alternative affective expression. Thus, whilst queer and affect can promote very normative and assimilatory behaviours and responses, both theories open up the possibilities of alternative and creative ways of being, which as Foucault might suggest, can be resistant and subversive (Lim, 2007a: 61). The implications of this fluidity are reflected in the ways that participants in my study speak about their impressions of their 'home towns'. The creative multiplicity of these forms of expression resonates with the way in which queer is theorised in this chapter; as a theory which works to challenge, transgress and subvert exclusionary or oppressive normativity, in as many forms as is possible. Thus, for Lim, the conjunction of queer and affective theory is a complementary one which opens a number of possibilities for experiencing encounters in everyday life. Lim (2007a: 65) argues that 'openness to the multiplicity of affect' enables the body to 'explore new pleasures' and 'cultivate' unexplored possibilities for its ready-to-be-affected body. In the same way, queer is theorised here as a lens through which to perceive the obscure, to challenge the normatively exclusionary and to imagine novel and subversive ways in which to situate the body in space. The perspectives afforded by these approaches enable me to theorise space, subjectivity and the construction

of knowledge as constituted in a contingent, elastic and malleable way, where subversive knowledges might be recognised and creative alternatives for 'knowledges' about space, be imagined.

3.8 Summary

This Chapter began by indicating the four theoretical approaches that have influenced the design, undertaking and analysis of this project. These were queer and feminist approaches, affective understandings of 'feeling' space, and Foucauldian constructions of power, space and subjectivity. Having indicated why these were considered to be the most appropriate approaches for my purposes, I establish the significance of queer and feminist theories as my epistemological starting-point. The two further theoretical approaches which have principally influenced this enquiry – affective and Foucauldian approaches – were then outlined. Having explained how I understand them, work around their limitations and imagine them to work along-side each other in symbiosis, but not in synthesis, I then moved on to the last section of this chapter to elucidate how I imagined the strands of theory to work together and how these disparate and sometimes controversial theories contribute to form a coherent, if not cohesive, theoretical approach to the epistemology, methodology, and analysis of this enquiry into how women construct and deploy 'street-wisdom' about their 'home towns' through expressions of belonging, exclusion and '(un)at-home-ness'. The following chapter goes on to consider more explicitly how I have used affective approaches to inform my methodology and thus develop an 'applied' affective approach.

Chapter 4: Researching Street-Wisdom

In Section 1.3 I outlined the aims of my research. These were to;

1. explore what alternatives there are for women beyond experiences of ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ in their understanding of home townspaces and in their constructions of street-wisdom;
2. discover the ways that women who understand space beyond the limits of ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ use this knowledge in their interactions with space;
3. through the lens of affect, explore alternative possibilities for the construction of spatial subjectivity beyond the limits of articulating ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ to construct street-wisdom;
4. respond to existing critiques of affect by applying an affective epistemology to an empirical enquiry and develop an ‘applied’ affective method.

This fourth aim in particular is addressed here, where I mount a response to critiques of affect which posit that the approaches of McCormack (2003, 2006), Ó Tuathail (2003) and Thrift (2004) amongst others, are both universalising and unempirical, thereby limiting the applicability and usefulness of affective approaches and their capacity to effect social change (Hemmings, 2005a, see also Jackson’s (1981) and Relph et al’s (1977) critique of phenomenology). Instead, by adopting an affective theoretical lens to analyse empirical data, I demonstrate one of the many possible ways that affective discussions can ‘earn their keep’ in the social sciences by stepping out of the recondite conceptual niche that they have co-opted which maintains an artificial division between the theory and practice of affective/emotional studies in geography (see Pile, 2010 and Anderson, 2010, for analyses of this distinction).

As I have established in the previous chapters, the intention of this study is to trace a genealogy of the ways in which knowledge informs street-wisdom, to discover the different ways that it is formulated and to imagine emancipatory possibilities for the female body in space. In order to achieve these aims, 43 participants aged between 15 and 18 and 2 aged 49 and 55⁷ were invited to contribute in any one of the following methods; a Walking Interview, a Map Interview or a Multimedia Diary. I designed these methods in response to three imperatives;

⁷ Two older participants formed part of an intergenerational Pilot Study conducted in Botswana, which was an approach I did not pursue for the substantive research. My reasons for not continuing with an intergenerational study, as well as for including the data gleaned from this Pilot in this thesis are outlined in section 4.6.

- to demonstrate that affective theoretical approaches can have material and concrete implications for the study of gender and fear of crime;
- to foster a collaborative, egalitarian research experience for participants;
- to access the vaguery and uncertainty of expression that participants articulate about their 'home towns', by capturing the embodied, contextual experience of occupying those spaces.

Throughout the design and application of this method, I have paid particular attention to the ethical implications of conducting research with young people and work within the recommended framework of the Economic Social Research Council's (ESRC) 'Research Ethics Framework' (REF) (2005), to ensure that the research that I have conducted has been undertaken ethically, transparently and with integrity.

This Chapter will begin by assessing some examples of the methodologies used in some of the research analysed in Chapter 2. Given the range of approaches adopted by researchers whose work I have discussed, I have selected only a few examples of methods to discuss here. These demonstrate the variety of methods that are employed by researchers in similar projects to this one. Following this grounding, I establish how I chose the sample-sites and recruited the participants. I then discuss the theoretical perspectives offered by feminist and queer researchers on methods and methodologies. I go on to speak in more depth about the rationale for choosing each method. I spend some time considering the ethical implications of conducting research with young people, before discussing the Pilot Studies that were undertaken as part of this project. I then evaluate of the appropriateness of the method to achieve the objectives outlined in Chapter 1, and I elucidate my own positionality as a researcher in relation to the subject of this study. I conclude with four tables providing profiles of the people who participated in this study.

4.1 Examining Existing Research

It is well recognised that conducting research into fear of crime has ethical implications on at least two fronts. Whilst all research must be conducted ethically, research which engages with young people, or which engages with sensitive issues which could distress participants such as discussions of fear in public space, must pay particular attention to the vulnerability of such groups and the difficulty of talking about experiences that may be upsetting or unpleasant. This requirement has been recognised by many researchers (Sharp, 2005, Valentine, 1999, Holloway & Valentine, 2000) and in pursuance of this, a preference for qualitative research

methods has dominated, though not completely replaced, existing approaches to conducting research into women and young people's fear of crime.

4.1.1 Researching Women's Fear of Crime

As has been established in previous chapters, there is an extensive body of research which examines women's experiences of fear in public space. Some of the earliest work which investigates this is by Valentine (1989, 1992) and Pain (1991). Valentine's research draws on feminist, qualitative methods that involved conducting '80 in-depth interviews (with accompanying spatial diaries) and six small group discussions' with women in Reading, UK (1992: 22). Though Valentine (1992) does not expand on the reasons why she chose this patchwork of methodologies, her approach enables her to identify the signifiers that women use to understand spaces as sites of fear or not, in a way that quantitative methods may not have been able to achieve. Pain (1991), and later Koskela (1997), both utilise qualitative and quantitative methods to understand the ways that women experience fear of crime. Pain (1997: 232) uses a survey and 'follow-up in-depth' interviews to 'explore and explain the spatial patterns of women's fear'. For Pain, the benefit of this methodology is that it enables her to ensure a representative sample of ethnicity, class and sexuality in order to 'map' areas of crime and fear. The quantitative data obtained by Koskela were from national survey data and were supplemented by interviews and written stories 'to get deeper into questions of fear and courage, gendered power and taking possession of space' (1997: 303). As a feminist researcher, Koskela is keen to foster an informal and egalitarian research experience for the participants in her study. Additionally, the women who participated in the interviews in Koskela's study did not do so explicitly because of their experiences of fear, but to contribute their opinions about occupying city-space in general (1997: 303). In this way, Koskela was able to accommodate expressions of fearlessness and 'boldness' in the responses of her participants, which is something I also seek out in my own research.

These interview and survey-based enquiries are productive; the surveys contextualise the pervasiveness of fear in a national context (Koskela & Pain, 2000: 5), and the interviews by Koskela, Pain and Valentine begin to uncover the lived experience of occupying 'feared' or 'safe' spaces. Nonetheless, whilst feminist in approach, these perspectives remain rather rigid for my purposes as they require participants to discuss experiences of fear (Valentine, 1989, 1992, Pain, 1991, 1997), or occupying cities (Koskela, 1997, 1999) without accommodating the complexities of emotions expressed in space.

Instead, a methodology which explores the embodied, contextual experience of occupying space more explicitly is offered by Burgess (1998). Burgess's enquiry into the ways that women negotiate their feelings of fear in urban woodland involved taking participants on a 'site visit' to a local wood followed by a group discussion, 'bringing people together and 'grounding' their discussion in a shared landscape experience' (Burgess, 1998: 116-7). Whilst Burgess adopted this methodology to accommodate the fact that some participants may not have had 'personal experiences of walking in woods', which differs to my reasons for adopting a similar methodology, the act of situating research in the context which is being spoken about contributes a phenomenological appreciation of the embodied experience of occupying sites of fear, loathing and dislike.

On the whole, where studies of women's fear of crime were rooted in empirical enquiry, qualitative interviews and surveys prevailed (Gilchrist et al, 1998, Mehta & Bondi, 1999, Day, 2001, Day et al, 2003, Hollander 2001). More experimental methods such as Burgess's site visit, Thomas's (2005) photo-diary or Murray's (1995) auto-ethnographic vignettes remain less established. In my own research I consider that these approaches, though less established than other methods, do offer a fullness in their perspective which enables an analysis of the intersubjective – the space between the body and the data – which is a necessary feature of affective enquiries. I return to consider this in Section 4.1.3.

4.1.2 Researching Young People's Experience of Place

The particular way in which young people's experiences of place and fear has been analysed also varies depending on the focus of the research. Responding to the difficulties of conducting research with young people, identified by Sibley (1991), Philo (2003) notes that conducting research with children requires an approach that is distinct from that adopted by those who conduct research with adults. This complexity is identified by Matthews & Limb who, like Philo, recognise the methodological difficulty of 'stepping back' as adult researchers into childhood (1999: 64). They suggest that this 'crisis of representation' (Aitken & Herman, 1997) should not discourage research into the specificity of young people's lives, arguing that 'partial understanding is better than not attempting to understand...the taken-for-granted worlds of children' (1999: 64). Indeed, the plea of the representational crisis could be said to apply to any number of research topics that we cannot fully understand. Research into experiences of (dis)ability, 'race', violence, animals or solar systems are equally capable of being only partially understood. As Matthews & Limb (1999) suggest, the mere fact of not 'knowing' something fully should not mean researchers should not try to 'know' it. Indeed, it means that as researchers we *ought to* try to 'know' it, whilst remaining aware that our

knowledge can only remain partial and incomplete (Knopp, 2004: 131). Many researchers of children's geographies have tried to 'know' childhood and so whilst there is no formula for 'proper' representation of these experiences, there is an enduring methodological legacy which can inform our approaches.

Wary of essentialising childhood as an incomplete or lesser form of adulthood, Philo stresses that an approach which recognises the specificity of childhood is necessary, not only because of the ethical implications of researching these vulnerable groups (2003: 8), a finding that is echoed by the ESRC (2005: 8), but because 'adults are not children' and therefore there is a 'distance' or sense of 'unbridgeability' between adult accounts of childhood experiences (2003: 7-9). In response to this 'childhood amnesia', Philo suggests the creative and unusual methodology of 'reverie' (2003: 17-19). Drawing on Bachelard's discussion of the potential of a method which examines the daydream or fantastic possibilities of the imagination, Philo suggests that we can build a phenomenological understanding of the experience of childhood (2003: 17). In this respect, Philo argues that an analysis of the mundane 'jottings' by children – examining how they narrate their everyday lives – would better enable researchers to enter the 'fuzzy landscape of childhood' (2003: 16). He illustrates his suggestion with studies of stories written by a child when she was 6 or 7 years old. These stories narrate real and fantastic events, places and people, which Philo suggests indicates what the topography of her childhood might have looked like and how she experienced space as an intersection of 'families and witches, friends and dinosaurs, local streets and...spacecrafts', indicating a forgotten way that childhood might have been experienced (2003: 19). This 'reverie' methodology not only resonates with the affective inflection that I emphasise in my research in its quest to fathom the indeterminate and the vague of daydreams and childhood memory, but also reflects a subversive approach to research methods as it casts an eye over the ways in which children narrate their world themselves, outside of a researcher-researched relationship. It does not seek to draw determined conclusions from this data, but seeks merely to 'rekindle' the 'sense' or affective quality of childhood (Philo, 2003: 8).

Similarly, in my own study, and in response to Matthews & Limb's and Philo's observations, beyond the Map and Walking Interviews, I use the Diary as a medium through which the participants were able to represent themselves without my direct interventions as a researcher. I am encouraged by Philo's creative approach and drawn to it, epistemologically, as an indication of the playfulness one can have with methods. Here, I am hopeful that the methods I use capture 'the incompleteness of human experience' and 'appreciate a place for the unknowable as well as the knowable' (Knopp, 2004: 124). This indeterminacy and fluidity

enables me to pursue my twin aims to develop an ‘applied’ affective approach and conduct research with emancipatory experiences for the participants.

Elsewhere, as with the methodologies used to research women’s fear of crime, qualitative methods prevail. Two contrasting examples of methods adopted to conduct research with young people are evidenced in the mixed-methods approaches of Vanderbeck & Johnson (2000) and Matthews et al (1997, 2000a, b) and their studies of young people and the mall. Vanderbeck & Johnson combine interviews and ‘observation/participant discussions’ in order to understand the way in which young people utilise the mall as a site in which to socialise. The advantage of this method is that it affords the researchers contextual insights into ‘aspects of [participants’] lives apart from the mall’ and therefore an understanding of the reasons, beyond consumption, why young people ‘hang around’ there (2000: 6).

In contrast, Matthews et al’s mixed-methods approach utilises both qualitative and quantitative methods. Enquiring after the opinions that young people have of the leisure spaces that they use, they conducted a quantitative survey, followed by, in-depth focus group discussions (1997: 194, 2000a, 143). Here, this methodology enables them, like Pain’s mixed-methods work, to gain a broad perspective over a disadvantaged neighbourhood, whilst being able to engage in discussions which elaborate on the specificity of their participants’ spatial experiences. Matthews et al (2000a: 143) also recognise the complexity of their location as adults researching the experiences of young people, and the difficulty of adequately reflecting the information they were given by the participants. They endeavoured to present their data as ‘extended, unedited, quotations and narrative’; an imperative which resonates with Philo’s (2003) concerns. However, bearing in mind the transgressive, queer epistemology with which I approach my research, and given the affective quality of the nuances which construct street-wisdom that I am trying to garner, I consider that the methods employed by Matthews et al (2000a) and Vanderbeck & Johnson (2000) reflect a way of conducting research which is too rigid for my purposes and does not access the vaguery and affective expression that I work to capture here. In this respect, the methodology I have adopted leans towards the intangible, drawing on the playfulness that Philo (2003) hints at in his work.

4.1.3 ‘Applied’ Affect

Though I focus on the affective and the indeterminate in this thesis, I distance myself from the somewhat abstruse – or esoteric – approaches that some affective theorists have adopted. Indeed, in pursuance of my research aims, I take this opportunity to demonstrate that approaches which adopt affective frameworks need not produce research which is so removed

from the everyday that it risks becoming irrelevant, and to demonstrate instead that 'applied' affective approaches can, and should, enhance empirical understandings of space in a meaningful way. The criticisms levelled at affective theorists are discussed Chapter 3 in detail. Here I recall Thien's (2005: 452) criticism of the approaches of Thrift (2004) and McCormack (2003) whose work stands accused of marginalising the 'human' body of research in their eagerness to examine the more-than- or non- human body. This critique demands that more affective approaches ask after the lived experience of the ready-to-be-affected body in space. As Thien (2005: 452) elaborates, 'in the desire to push past the humanity of emotional experience, the valorisation of affect through mechanistic metaphors of pipes and cables builds over a rich field of potential understanding'. And indeed, the work of Thrift and McCormack that Thien critiques appears to lack empirical focus. This is of no consequence if affective theories are always to be understood as applying beyond the scope of human experience and articulation, but such an understanding certainly does not resonate with Thrift & Dewsbury's (2007: 414) claim that these non-representational theories offer something more relevant to the everyday than the post-structuralist theories that those authors sought to distance themselves from, do. It belies the importance of the body itself as the site through which affects are expressed and, I argue, is an agent in interpreting affects subversively (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972, 1980).

As I suggest the outset of this chapter, a criticism that is levelled at research which adopts an affective frame, is that in lacking empirical grounding, its relevance in social science is limited. Indeed, whilst some approaches which have adopted an affective theoretical perspective and applied this to a consideration of the manifest effect of affect, such as Lim's (2007a, b) and Ó Tuathail's (2003) discussion of the war on terror, are certainly instructive, they offer only general observations about war and terror which do not take account of the specificity of human experiences that an empirical study might afford. Indeed, in his response to Thien's critique, McCormack, (2006) tries to make the case for affective enquiries beyond the human and towards 'pipes and cables'. However, instead of offering a response which dispels these criticisms about the inaccessibility of affective approaches, he offers an anecdotal and autobiographical account of the significance of 'pipes and cables' for his ready-to-be-affected body, including discussions of his own relationships with cable TV and electric kettles (McCormack, 2006: 331-332). By overlooking the nuances of the challenges to the relevance of affect, McCormack's response offers a frustrating example of why affective theories are approached with such ambivalence by some social scientists. Yet, in promoting an applied affective approach, I do not suggest that empirical research is any more valid than unempirical research, nor that insights afforded by purely theoretical affective analyses are

less useful than those that do engage in research occurring in the field. Instead, my uneasiness with prevailing discussions stems from my impression that affect has the capacity to offer more meaningful insights into the way space is 'known' than these approaches suggest; McCormack's response to Thien's critique is one such example of the unaccountability of the ways that affect tends to manifest itself.

An exception to this is the approach of Caluya (2008) and his consideration of the 'raced' desiring affects that circulate in Sydney's 'gay scene', and Lorimer (2010) and his attempt to express affect through film. Caluya draws on a Deleuzian understanding of affect to analyse his auto-ethnography of gay bars in Sydney, Australia which are known for being particularly frequented by Asian gay men (2008: 286). In his study, Caluya conducted a 'participant observation and informal interviews' to explore how 'the Asian figure is racialised in Sydney's gay scene' and examined the affective, and sometimes oppressive, qualities of 'raced', gay desire (2008: 290). In this study, Caluya was able to adapt traditional research methods to his research needs, whilst engaging in affective theories to produce an analysis which was sensitive to the complexity of the operation of desire, raced fetishisation and exclusion in space. Caluya's enquiry into racialised affective desire is an example of the applicability of affective approaches to empirical research. I have harnessed this for my own research. Similarly, using elephants as a case study, Lorimer outlines how film can be used to 'witness' the intersubjective relationships between elephants and between elephants and humans. He argues that elephants 'inspire awe, love, fear, wonder' in the human (2010: 237) and it is by using film technologies that this intersubjectivity might be perceived. Lorimer examines how elephants foster affective expressions of sentimentality, curiosity and awe, sympathy and shock and to some extent disconcertion, especially in respect of their sex lives and those of other animals (2010: 250). The notion of using film to capture that which cannot be spoken resonates with my study, which seeks to understand how space is 'known' affectively and how this affect informs articulations of knowledge.

4.2 Finding the Sample, Choosing the Space

The data that informs this analysis was collected between July 2008 and January 2010. I conducted this research with 43 young women aged 15 to 18. The data from 2 older women (aged 49 and 55) was obtained from a Pilot Study and is also included here. They were all based in three sites across the South East of England. Tables 3, 4 and 5 at the end of this Chapter indicate the profiles of each participant.

Participation for the bulk of the study was secured through contact with three schools, where a stratified random sampling approach was employed. One school was in a rural site, Anchor, one in a suburban site, Boatswain, and one in a metropolitan site, Chord⁸. Other participants were invited through snowballing in those areas. The combination of these two recruitment methods diversified the sample of participants somewhat, however, due to the randomised sampling approach that was employed, the sample is not systematic and does not proportionately reflect the profiles of the communities in which the study took place. Because the two schools in Boatswain and Chord were fee-paying schools and participants presented as being from similar backgrounds to each other in terms of class and family structure and the school in Anchor was a state-maintained school, the inclusion of participants from the same areas but from different schools, through snow-balling, meant that the sample was broader and included participation from young people from less middle-class backgrounds, though, nonetheless, the sample of participants remained predominantly middle-class.

Anchor, Boatswain and Chord were selected for study because they were the three areas where I received the most encouraging responses to my enquiries to conduct research, and were three areas of which I had prior knowledge (See 4.8 below). Beyond pragmatic reasons for selecting these sites, an analysis of all three side by side indicates the range of ways that street-wisdom is fostered and used in rural, suburban and urban settings. These sites are geographically proximate to each other, meaning that whilst they represent different population densities, the proximity of them to each other, meant that some participants had experience of occupying space in more than one of these sites, and were able to draw on these experiences to inform their street-wisdom. Thus, as a group of research sites, these three areas represent mutually relational, but distinct areas.

Prior to approaching potential participants, permission was sought from their parents by the gatekeepers at the schools. The project was then explained to the potential participants in their class or lunch time and then either individual meetings were arranged with interested participants outside of school time, or lesson time was given over to allow the interested participants to contribute. This decision was determined by the access gatekeepers at each school allowed me. The majority of participants were recruited from Geography, Sociology or Psychology A-Level lessons as these topics were deemed by the gatekeepers to bear closest relation to the subject of this research. Necessarily, this means that these contributions will

⁸ The names of the sites have been anonymised here, in order to preserve participant confidentiality. I chose names that bore no relation to the sites' real names. Note, due to the nature of the Map Interviews, I have not been able to anonymise the places shown in Appendix B, though the participants' names remain confidential.

have been tempered by the disciplinary interests of the participants. This is not, I suggest, to the detriment of the thesis, though it ought to be borne in mind, and becomes apparent in some of the contributions of the participants.

The sample profile was influenced, to a certain extent, by the way in which each gatekeeper at each site facilitated my access to the students. Following initial contact with a member of staff at each school, usually the head teacher, the interested school would appoint a gatekeeper who was usually a teacher in a subject area that touched upon the themes of this study (Geography, Sociology and Psychology). From this initial contact with the teachers, the members of staff approached students in their subject classes on my behalf and proposed involvement with this research. Once the students had been informed about the research, those who were interested met me in person in order to arrange further meetings to conduct the research. In this respect, the students who presented themselves to me as potential participants had initially been selected by the gatekeepers in each school on the basis that they studied a subject considered to be relevant to the focus of this research, and therefore, involvement with the research was deemed to be pedagogically useful. A drawback of this sampling frame is that the research was only proposed to students whom gatekeepers believed had an interest in participating rather than offering the opportunity to participate more broadly across the school. To have done this would potentially have improved response rates and diversified the profile of the sample. Nonetheless, the advantage of adopting this sampling frame was that students studying in the subject-area of the study were more likely to be interested in the study and disposed to freely participate in it. It also ensured that the gatekeeper was able to manage the potential sample size more easily, and would find speaking to the students about the research and organising meetings with me more straightforward. Easing the tasks of the gatekeepers is imperative in order to secure their cooperation, on which the success of this study relied. As such, though the sample of participants is not as diverse as I would have anticipated, this sampling framework was necessary in order to advance the progress of the research.

In each case, except one Map Interview, all Map and Walking Interviews took place with me and the participant alone. I invited each participant for Walking Interviews to bring a friend or a family member to accompany them, so that they would feel more secure about walking around for an extended period of time with a relative stranger, but none chose to do this. The one Map Interview that took place in the presence of non-interviewees was conducted in this way at the participant's request. Meetings with the participants were usually arranged through email or social-networking sites, which, as precursors to the data collection event, enabled the

participants and me to build a friendly rapport and to foster in them a sense of security about meeting me and participating. Whilst no Walking Interview participants brought along a friend or parent to ‘chaperone’, I ensured that each had their parent’s permission participate. Further ethical concerns are discussed towards the end of this chapter.

4.3 The Sites

Table 1 : Profiles of Sites

Site Name	Profile	No. of Participants
Anchor	A rural village. The school which provided the base for recruiting participants was a large state-maintained school which accepted students from a large catchment area, consisting mainly of other rural villages.	12
Boatswain	A suburban, commuter town which links Anchor with Chord by road. The school in Boatswain was a fee-paying school. The students who participated in the study from this area resided in urban and rural places, with some commuting long distances to attend the school. Some participation secured through snowballing.	20 (inc. 4 x Pilot Study)
Chord	A district in South London. Participants were also predominantly from a fee-paying school, the participants who contributed to this study tended to live near the school in London but were also able to build relationships of ‘at-home-ness’ with more central areas of the capital. Some participation secured through snowballing.	13
Total		45

Given the variety of ways that the data were collected, and the variety of time frames in which I was able to collect the data, the methodology I was able to use had to be adapted depending on context. Participants were either invited to select which method(s) they would like to do or they participated in the most classroom-friendly one, and were invited to contribute to more afterwards if they wished to (see Appendix A for examples of communications, with participants and their parents/guardians).

Prior to involvement, all participants were asked to name the place they would like to talk about as their home town. Inevitably, participants in this research had very different relationships with places that they could describe as ‘homes’. Most easily chose many places

that they could speak about; however, some participants had recently moved to the area researched and had few 'sticky' relationship with space; they had places that could be called 'home', but did not feel such strong affection for them as other places that were not ostensibly their homes. As such, participants sometimes spoke about places that were outside the physical space of Anchor, Boatswain or Chord. This flexibility meant that not only were participants talking about the places that meant most to them in the context of feeling 'at-home', but that they often spoke about more than one place, such as a place where their friends lived or where their home and family, in the most straightforward sense, did not live. This demonstrates the fluidity of the category of 'home' and importantly, its portability; a participant was at home in a place, sometimes even a country, which they did not ostensibly live in. For those participants, who had little affective relationship with Anchor, Boatswain or Chord, or who explained that they did not feel 'at home' in these places, but still wanted to participate in this study, we spoke about the ways in which they did not feel 'at home' in these places. These responses are discussed in the analysis and contribute to the broader contention that 'at-home-ness' or 'un-at-home-ness', and experiences between and beyond these responses, all inform the construction of street-wisdom. Tables 3, 4 and 5 provides further details of the number of 'homes' participants spoke about.

4.4 Methods: An Overview

As I have established in previous chapters, the design of this method was influenced by my queer and feminist epistemological outlooks. Halberstram describes queer methodology as a 'scavenger methodology' (1998: 13). That is, a methodology which ransacks established methodologies for their undervalued parts. To employ a methodology that could be described as queer, I tried to capture the fluid, contradictory and playful nature of queer theory to produce a method which reflected queer imperatives. In this, a major concern was to steer clear of dogmatism which can characterise the qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches discussed above.

Hemmings & Grace (1999: 393) suggest that the 'eclectic' range of methods used by queer researchers renders their work 'vibrant and suggestive'. The strength of queer lies, in some part, in its ability to mutate and distort in unexpected and innovative ways. Hammers & Brown (2004: 96) outline a way in which feminist and queer theories can be employed in parallel to theorise space and to challenge oppressive normativity. In the context of project design, Hammers & Brown (2004: 93) argue that it is imperative to recognise the location of the researcher to guard against universalising or exclusionary claims which serve to reinforce dominant ethnocentric, heterocentric and masculinist discourses which, feminists claim, have

informed past scientific inquiries (see Harstock, 1983, Hill Collins, 2000, Lugones, 1990, Rich, 1986). This feminist imperative is, Hammers & Brown (2004: 96) argue, rendered more powerful by combining it with queer analytical frameworks to make subjectivity in research more visible. A creative use of language, awareness of location and reflexivity help achieve this. In this way, location is not merely something to be accounted for, but becomes a constituent part of the project. I outline my own positionality in Section 4.8.

In pursuance of this, a fluidity of approaches has been adopted, which adapts depending on the context in which the methods are practiced. Therefore, though interviews feature in my methodology, they have not necessarily all been conducted in the same way, in the same place or by asking the same questions. In order to scratch at the surface of what it is about 'home towns' which fosters 'at-home-ness' or 'un-at-home-ness', I allowed myself, as a researcher, to be propelled by the interests of the participants themselves in the context of the 'home' that they wanted to talk about, the way that they wanted to participate in the project and the extent to which they wanted to engage in more in-depth discussions about loving or loathing space. Despite the irregular way in which data was collected, key ethical principles such as informed consent and transparency were adhered to throughout. The advantage of approaching a methodology in this way is that it accommodates, in its own multiplicity, the heterogeneous ways in which participants spoke about their 'home towns' and the nuanced ways in which affects can be expressed in research.

4.4.1 Map Interview

The use of maps as a tool through which to conduct analyses of the ways in which people understand, or 'know' spaces, is well-established. In her study of rural teenage subjectivities, Dunkley (2004: 565) used maps to enable participants to identify the places that they frequented for leisure. Likewise, in early work, Matthews (1984, 1985) demonstrated how young people's subjective understandings of, and knowledge about, place could be studied by asking them to draw maps of their journeys to and from school. Elsewhere, in their overview of the 'Scary City', England & Simon make reference to knowledge production through 'mental maps' of fear, which are 'accumulated throughout a life time and are constructs that one uses to make daily decisions' (2010: 202). Indeed, speaking of cognitive maps, Kitchin suggests that 'knowing' and building a map over a life-course enables these 'knowledge structures to develop with age and education, thus increasing the information held' (1994:3). As such, the plotting of mental maps of emotion in space reveals the 'black box' which we, as space-users, draw on to 'guide our everyday movements'. For this reason, in this study which seeks to

understand how knowledge about space is constructed and deployed as street-wisdom and which seeks to situate affect in its spatial context, I suggest that the Map Interview is helpful.

Prior to meeting to conduct a Map Interview, participants were asked to choose an area that they would like to talk about and identified as their home town. I then came to the interview with these maps printed from the internet. When selecting which map to print, I made efforts to choose ones where the scale was sufficiently large to enable participants to identify places whilst being of the correct size to fit onto one piece of A4 paper for convenience. The maps were obtained variously from Google Maps (e.g. Anchor), local authority websites (e.g. Boatswain) or tourist websites (e.g. Chord). Interviews were of 30 to 50 minutes in length. During this time, participants identified areas that they liked and areas that they liked less in their home town, and marked them out in different colours. These interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. In the analysis, the content of the interviews is drawn on predominantly, rather than these maps; however, they provided an avenue through which participants could figuratively walk around their 'home towns' and 'visit' places they liked or disliked. As cartographies of loving and loathing, they marked areas that were loved, safe, enjoyable or hated, avoided and unsafe, and so on. And, more than the Walking Interviews which I also conducted, they enabled participants to 'travel' to places that they might otherwise prefer to avoid (see Appendix B for examples of these cartographies).

This use of the emotion-map is an established one. From Gilmartin & Lloyd's (1991) analysis of the impact that distance and scale has on the emotional empathy towards world-wide crises, to Nold's (2009) collection of work which records 'emotional cartographies' through the body's response to a biometric sensor, the possibilities afforded by plotting emotion on maps are abundant. Nonetheless, both Gilmartin & Lloyd and Nold's emotional cartographies appear to under-theorise emotion, its form, its construction and its usefulness by casting emotion in both finite and abstract terms. For Gilmartin & Lloyd (1991), the emotion that they seek to measure is finite, insofar as it is assumed to exist in the same way and with the same intensity by all participants in their studies, and yet is abstract, in that no attempt to understand this monolith beyond this unrefined state or, in particular, investigate the ethnocentric bias that might influence their participants lack of empathy with countries in the developing world. Nold's collection of emotional cartographies, meanwhile, is engaging and offers an exciting perspective on the range of ways that emotion might be represented in a map, but remains static in its conceptualisation of emotion as something that exists at one point in time and space without allowing the conceptual space to recognise the nuances and contradictions of emotion. Instead, the subversive potential of mapping emotion is more extensively

considered by Pinder, in his examination of the psychogeographical possibilities of maps to challenge hegemonic expressions of topographical power (1996: 422-3) and to re-write knowledge about place with playful, possibly rebellious, alternative topographies. Once such example of this, that Pinder draws on, are the subversive cartographies designed and described by Bell (1992) and his twin topographies of loathing and loving emotions which surround the 'Fantasy Island/Panic Subway'. Here, Bell created two cartographies out of existing maps, and cut and pasted them into new configurations to convey the changing emotional responses to space that occur as time changes place (1992: 72-3). These maps also capture the vagueness and uncertainty of emotion. It is this indeterminacy that I intended to harness in the use of this method.

Indeed, an 'emotion map' equivalent for participants' 'home towns' offered variety in terms of a means through which to contribute to the project as a whole. Basdas, Degen & Rose's study (accessed 2010⁹) of the town centres of Milton Keynes and Bedford, UK used a range of methods to assess how participants experience public art in these places. Whilst they did not examine emotion in the way that I do, as part of their enquiry, they created interactive e-maps of these town centres which recorded smells, sounds or movements, to sculpt a pictorial and aural representation of the space. This innovative and creative use of maps in research shows the potential of this method to capture the sensation of occupying space. However, as with Nold's (2009) map, one limitation is that it cannot reflect the multiplicity of ways that a single space can be experienced by different people, as to record more than one contradictory experience on a map would confuse its meaning. Indeed, as Pinder (1996) reminds us, questions of what is included and what is excluded from maps have significant power-implications for cartographers. And whilst in Basdas et al's study they were able to state that one area smelt of fish and another one was noisy, were I to represent the maps in my study in this way, I would have to mark some areas in the towns as simultaneously loved and loathed or other emotions which are expressed in space, and whilst this would reflect the multiplicity of ways that space is experienced, and would be very interesting, I would not be able to make definitive claims about space in the ways that Basdas et al do.

4.4.2 Walking Interview

A more intensive version of the Map Interview and similar in focus, this part of the research involved the participant walking around their chosen home town area with me and discussing

⁹ Whilst still under construction at the time of writing, examples of these maps can be viewed here: www.urban-experience.net (accessed 18 February 2010)

it. The length of these interviews varied depending on how much time the participants wanted to spend walking, but varied between one and two and a half hours. These interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. This walking 'in place' interview was chosen for a number of reasons. Not only did it enable me as the researcher to experience the physical sensation of being in place, but it also enabled me to capture, in recording the walking interview, the background sounds and ancillary interactions we had in the town as well as the 'work' of occupying that space.

In a methodologically similar study to this one, as part of Basdas et al's aforementioned enquiry into the ways that public art 'makes towns feel' they conducted 'walk-alongs' and accompanied participants as they went about their day-to-day journeys in town. The advantage of this perspective is that it presents the experience of the town from the vantage point of the participant as they habitually use it; the lived experience of occupying space. Though in my study the Walking Interviews are deliberate journeys made for the purposes of the research, rather than 'walk-alongs' in the way that Basdas et al discuss, I decided that being shown around the participants' 'home towns' and asking them to reveal to me their town as they see it would enable me to gain a greater understanding of how they constructed knowledge about space and an appreciation of the embodied experience of operating within that knowledge.

The work of this Walking Interview is discussed by Pink (2008) in her research into the 'Slow Cities Movement' in Mold, Wales. Using Ingold's construction of the 'urban tour', Pink went walking with her participants in order to examine how 'making routes is implicated in the making of place' (2008: 179). Understanding this place-making is an extension of the work that I do with the maps and also speaks to what it is I am trying to capture in these Walking Interviews. Pink described this method as a form of 'flânerie' (2008: 180), and indeed, in my own research, I was led by participants as we strolled somewhat aimlessly around their 'home towns'. My only direction to them was to 'show me around', and therefore, they showed me points of local or national interest, places they had particular memories of, places that they liked or disliked, thus constructing the space as 'sticky', in an affective sense, for them, and for me, across micro and macro scales. Anderson & Jones describe this walking as a 'go-along' (2009: 298-300), arguing that a Walking Interview, in a place chosen by the participant, 'brings the research encounter closer to the practice under study' (2009: 298). They draw the connection between emotion and space by explaining that 'such merging of lifescapes [in the act of 'going-along' with participants]...facilitates access to these often hidden and subtle, emotive experiences in space', thus elucidating the particular quality of information that can

be gleaned by such a methodology (2009: 298). Though in their 'go-alongs' the researchers did not follow a trajectory around space, as Basdas et al's and Pink's study did and as I do, and instead 'hung out' with participants and accompanied them as they ordinarily occupied space, it illustrates the usefulness of occupying spaces with participants in their everyday contexts. Because my study intends to enquire after how the participants understood space as desirable, safe, welcoming or undesirable, unsafe and alienating, or experiences between or beyond these, I decided it was necessary to more actively traverse space so that together, the participant and I might sketch an embodied, emotional, topography of their 'home towns'.

4.4.3 Diary

This part of the research required the participant to keep a diary of their journeys into and around their home town and record events that happened, their thoughts and impressions. They kept this diary for between 4 and 6 weeks depending on their preference, and I kept in touch with them throughout this period, so that they could let me know if they were encountering difficulties, and also to allow me to keep track of their progress. I also used these communications to ensure that they continued to consent to participation. This part of the research had the least involvement from me and the content of the diaries presented subjective impressions of occupying space which were less mediated by my influence than either the Walking Interview or the Map Interview which produced data that was far broader than the focus of my study. In this thesis I draw on the data that was applicable to my research questions, and it is my intention to use the additional insights into the construction of subjectivity afforded by these diaries in future work. Participants were encouraged to enhance their diaries with photographs, audio-recordings, films, drawings or other media to convey the way that they felt about their 'home towns', so that, echoing Lorimer's (2010) findings in relation to films of elephants, the unspeakable of affect could begin to be articulated through visual or aural presentation. Whilst many participants preferred to write a classical diary, some chose to keep a diary compiled of photographs or recordings, which offered an extra texture to the overall impression I was able to glean of the way in which the participants thought about their 'home towns' (see Appendix C for examples). The keeping of diaries in this multi-media way is also adopted by Thomas in her work on young women's experiences of heterosexuality in space. Thomas provided participants with disposable cameras to capture places that they considered were 'representative of their daily lives' and then discussed with them what pictures they had taken and why they had felt they were important (2005: 590). This approach had the effect of creating a collage of their experiences and illustrated the importance that they attribute to certain places in their 'home towns'.

These methods afford participants a degree of control over the research process. An imperative of this research is that it fosters feminist and queer sensibilities. To this end, when asking participants to create the diaries, I left them the choice of how they would like to keep them, the approach that they would like to use and what they would include. I supported them throughout the process, and provided them with the tools that they asked for, but ultimately the nature of the data that was produced was driven by the participants. The use of this method, sometimes in combination with others, attempted to combat the 'inequality' between researcher and participant which is sometimes overlooked in more established research methods, such as the focus group, the ethnography or qualitative surveys (Pain, 2004: 659-660). Extract of these diaries are cited throughout the analysis.

Table 2: Summary of Methods

Site	Total Walking (W)	Total Maps (M)	Total Diaries (D)
Anchor ¹⁰	0	12	0
Boatswain	4	17	8
Chord	1	12	3
Total	5	41	11

As table 2 demonstrates, the coverage of each methodology across the three sample sites varied. The most popular method selected across the three sites was the Map Interview, which was both the least time-consuming and most classroom friendly. The least popular method was the Walking Interview. I would suggest that this is because it was not only more time-consuming, but also the most demanding in that the time necessary to walk around a home town took a few hours and though the Diary required participants to engage with the research over several weeks, they could do this in their own time and at their own pace. It is also possible that the time of year in which I collected the data influenced participants' willingness to participate in a Walking Interview; the 5 Walking Interviews that were conducted all took places on very hot days when participants were probably keener to spend time outside than they were during the winter months when I conducted the research. In

¹⁰ At the gatekeeper's request, parental permission was only sought to conduct classroom-based research, so I was not able to invite participants from Anchor to participate in Walking Interviews or Diaries.

addition to this, as I mention in Table 2, one gatekeeper had safety concerns about the Walking Interview and requested that students only be invited to participate in methods which could take place in the classroom. These reasons account in part for why there is such variance across all three sites and methodologies.

Necessarily, this variability in the coverage of the methodologies has some implications for assessing the usefulness of each method. As I outlined in Chapter 3 and at the outset of this chapter, accessing the indeterminate and the vague through these methodologies was considered a significant means through which to garner some understanding of the pre-discursive in knowledge-production. It was the Walking Interviews and the Diaries which enabled me to access this the most, yet, as more time-consuming and unconventional methodologies, they were the least popular. The Map Interviews, whilst providing valuable insights and fostering interesting cartographies of emotion, were only able to allow me to access this pre-discursive quality obliquely. This tension reflects the difficulties of developing an applied affective method. Nonetheless, as a result of this variability, it is possible to suggest that the use of these methods alongside each other has succeeded in enhancing understanding of knowledge-production about street spaces as a whole. As such, it is by using these methods together, as with the theoretical framework, that I am able to perceive the multiplicity of ways that street-wisdom is constructed, deployed, used and articulated, and thus enhance existing debates about the construction of feminine subjectivities in space.

All participants' names were anonymised prior to analysis and pseudonyms were attached to them. Unusual names have deliberately been chosen by me in order to assist the reader in identifying which participant is speaking at which time. The data then was transcribed and coded. Preliminary codes were identified in the transcription process. Fuller coding was completed by using Atlas.Ti software. All transcribed interviews appear here as they were spoken; square brackets are used to clarify an ambiguous meaning, ellipses are used to signify a pause or fading away of the speaker, ellipses in square brackets indicate that some spoken or written text has been omitted. Table 2 summarises the frequency of the methods used in the study across all three sites.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

The ethical complexities of conducting research with young people have been extensively considered by geographers who work within the field of children's geographies (Sibley, 1991, Matthews et al, 1997, Valentine, 1999, Matthews 1984, 1985, Alderson, 1995 inter alia). In addition to these contributions to the ethical field, the Research Ethics Framework (REF) 2005 also informs the ethical approaches adopted in this thesis. The REF suggests that research with young people involves 'more than minimal risk' and therefore researchers should pay special attention to ensuring their well-being as they participate in the research as they are individuals who are more 'vulnerable' than adults (ESRC 2005:8). In addition to this, the REF suggests that projects which seek to 'research sensitive topics' such as 'experience of violence', participation in 'illegal behaviour' or 'experience of abuse and exploitation', and any research which necessitates the assent of gatekeepers for access, also requires a thorough consideration of the ethical implications of participating in the research (ESRC, 2005: 8-9). Indeed, it is not possible to speak of conducting democratic, emancipatory or feminist research without giving careful consideration the ethical implications of the project.

Valentine observes that young people have 'different values' from adults and should therefore be treated as 'independent actors' when considering ethical questions about their involvement in research (1999:142). Echoing this, the REF highlights the importance of seeking assent to participation from participants themselves, as opposed to accepting 'passive assent' on their behalf from gatekeepers such as parents or teachers. For this reason, prior and sustained contact with potential participants was a crucial part of my recruitment strategy. Indeed, above all, my concern was to 'protect all groups involved in research' and to promote and maintain integrity in research (ESRC, 2005: 2). To this end, ethics were considered at the design stage of the project, as well as throughout. Citing six ethical principles which 'underpin good research', the REF stresses the importance of 'integrity, quality and transparency' in research, 'informed consent', 'confidentiality and anonymity', uncoerced involvement in the research, guarding against harm to participants and avoiding conflicts of interest (ESRC, 2005: 3). These principles inform my research plan and I outline below how I addressed some of them.

4.5.1 Risk to Participants

Risk is defined as 'potential physical or psychological harm, discomfort or stress to human participants' (ESRC, 2005). Whilst difficult to measure in qualitative research like my own, I estimated that risks to participants in this study were not extraordinary. In physical terms, the act of walking around the town to have something to contribute to the diaries or Walking Interviews, may have encouraged participants to enter the town more often and may increase

the probability of harm caused by being in the space (physical injury whilst walking, injury by vehicle or other person), but these are not frequent occurrences and nor are they risks 'beyond the risks encountered in normal life' (ESRC, 2005: 8). Nonetheless, it is possible that in being asked to record diaries of their experiences, thoughts and impressions of town-centre spaces, that participants wrote or spoke about events which disturbed them or that caused them some unexpected distress, and this is a possible risk to well-being. I mitigated the impact of this by emphasising the choice participants had in the way in which they participated in the research, if at all. I also emphasised that participants could opt out of the project at any time, without giving a reason, and indeed, approximately 10 participants across all three sites did this. Additionally at regular intervals throughout the diary keeping process, as well before and after the research was conducted, I kept in touch with the participants to offer support and to address any concerns or queries that they may have had.

Elsewhere, at an emotional level, I was careful to ensure that none of the questions asked would embarrass or offend the participants. Whilst it is acknowledged by Valentine (1999), amongst others, that sometimes research into subjectivity must ask awkward questions, I deliberately avoided asking participants sensitive questions, for instance about their sexuality or criminal activity. I enabled participants to speak to me about these issues in a non-judgemental way, should they want to, but did not pursue lines of questioning that I sensed would hamper relaxed, informal, non-confrontational atmosphere that I was trying to foster. Such data would doubtless have been interesting to gather, however, I decided that there was a risk of unnecessarily jeopardising the research-process and of harming the relationship between the participant and me, by asking such intimate questions, which might have caused self-consciousness and been unpleasant for participants to feel that they had to answer. As such, those risks which faced the participants in this project were readily managed, and though difficult to quantify in precise terms the extent to which each participant might have experienced harm, the risk-reducing measures that were taken guarded against this to the satisfaction of the gate-keepers, participants and their parents.

4.5.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

As I interviewed and received diaries from participants from specifiable areas, the question of securing anonymity in this research was very important. In preparation for conducting the research, I ensured that participants were aware that their anonymity and confidentiality would be secured as far as possible. The ways in which I ensured that they understood this are outlined in section 4.5.3. The REF also highlights that participants should be made aware of the limits to confidentiality- where during the course of the research a participant reveals

information that indicates that they are in significant and immediate danger. The limits to confidentiality were outlined in discussions with participants prior to their participation. Whilst some participants did reveal their involvement in some marginal, sub-criminal activity such as drink-driving, under-aged drinking or other anti-social behaviour, none of these were deemed to demonstrate that they were in significant and immediate danger, and so it was not necessary to 'take action in response to that behaviour' (ESRC, 2005). Should any participant have revealed information that did disclose significant and immediate danger to themselves or others, I would have, depending on the nature of the danger, disclosed this information to the teacher (usually the gatekeeper), or provided the participant with resources for help and assistance in order to initiate support for them. Whilst it was not necessary to implement these measures in this project, it would have been irresponsible on my behalf to not have put in place a strategy to address these potential problems.

In order to preserve confidentiality and anonymity in the dissemination of the data and to manage the data more easily, I chose pseudonyms for each participant. Rather than inviting participants to choose their own pseudonyms, I decided to do this myself to ensure that no names were either similar to each other, and so confusing to follow in the analysis, nor that they were similar to any other participants' real names, so that participants would not believe that their anonymity had been insufficiently secured. It is interesting to note, as Valentine (1999: 148) identifies in the course of her own work, how many participants were reluctant to be anonymised and who wanted to give their voice to their own opinions. However, in keeping with the requirements of the REF I did decide to anonymise participants' names and did this by choosing names which bore no relation to the participants' real names, so as to ensure there was distance between the real names and places mentioned by the participants and the fictionalised presentations that appear here.

Another challenge for securing confidentiality concerns the location in which interviews and discussions occurred in schools, as Anderson & Jones (2009) and Valentine (1999) both recognise. Anderson & Jones conducted their research in a store-cupboard to ensure that they maintained the privacy and confidentiality of participants, and Valentine recalls conducting research on the 'floor of the carpeted hallway outside of the head teacher's office' in order to secure privacy (1999: 146). Like Anderson & Jones and Valentine, the Map Interviews also occurred in a range of places to ensure privacy and anonymity; some in coffee-shops outside of school, some in the sixth form common-room, some in a specially booked lecture-theatre, or empty classroom, and many in a busy thoroughfare or a corridor, which, in its placelessness and flux, provided privacy to the participants who were confident that no-one passing was

lingering long enough to hear them. All places were chosen either by the participant themselves (the corridor or the coffee-shop) or the gate-keeper (the class-room or the lecture theatre). I also changed the names of any places they mention which may identify the participants, such as mentions of schools, roads or areas that they frequented. Another problem of anonymity arose with the photographic and film images the participants collected. I used discretion in deciding the appropriateness of images to use. Where individuals were recognisable in photographs, if they were the participants themselves, I decided that their informed consent was sufficient to be able to use the images. If they were of people other than the participants, I used them for analysis, but decided not to reproduce them in the public domain.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning the ethical implications for confidentiality inherent in conducting research alongside participants' parents. Whilst the intergenerational interviews I conducted formed part of the Pilot Study only, they had their own ethical particularities. In her own range of studies, Valentine has identified the difficulty ensuring that when participating in research together, parents and children respect each other's confidentiality; indeed, she identified that confidentiality of the sort that is usually desired by researchers runs counter to the habitual relationships that some parents have with their children where they are used to 'look[ing] through their [children's] personal possessions, hav[ing] free access to their rooms' (1999: 148). As such, it is recognised that preserving the confidentiality of young people who participate in research with their parents can be more complex than where research occurs without them. In the three interviews and diaries which involved mothers and daughters that I conducted as Pilot Studies, I ensured that confidentiality was achieved to the satisfaction of both participants in each pair by asking them to choose whether to be interviewed together or apart. Two decided to be interviewed apart, one preferred to be together. I asked each pair if they had read each other's diary; whilst one mother read her daughter's diary 'to check [they] were doing it right' (Alana, Pilot Study), no other participants had expressed an interest in reading or listening to each other's diaries. In many respects, given the ages (16 to 18 years) of the daughters in these Pilot Studies, the parents were respectful of their children's autonomy, and had not sought to know what their contributions were. In this way, I was able to keep confidential each person's contribution to the study. If this had not been the case, and participants had wanted to read each others' diaries, I would have referred to the undertaking of confidentiality that I had made at the outset of the research process and would have asked participants to agree between themselves whether or not they consented to sharing their dairies, though, of course in the course of everyday life beyond the interview, there is little to stop participants from reading each others' diaries in

the way that Alana read Jolene's. This perhaps is a limitation of this method, and is one that would have needed to be addressed if more sustained intergenerational analyses were to follow on from this initial Pilot Study.

4.5.3 Informed Consent

In order for the research I conducted to be ethical, I required the participants to have a good understanding of the project. Valentine (1999: 143) defines consent as what occurs when 'someone voluntarily agrees to participate in a project based on full disclosure of pertinent information'. She distinguishes 'consent' from 'assent', which for her is where a 'parent or guardian agrees to allow a minor ward to participate in research and the child assents to be the subject of the project' (1999: 143). Valentine challenges the suggestion that until they are legal adults, children can only assent rather than consent to research, suggesting instead that as long as the child understands, and has the ability to choose to participate or not, they should be able to consent for themselves (1999: 144). This observation is noted by the ESRC, who recommend that consent is sought from young people themselves to participate in research. Whilst it recommends that parents should also consent to their child's participation, it also highlights that this alone is not usually sufficient and that where possible, young people's informed consent should take priority. In order to ensure that consent was informed, and bearing in mind these ethical imperatives, I adopted a range of tools. At the request of some gate-keepers I wrote letters to the proposed participants' parents for young people to take home with a consent slip to return, giving permission (see Appendix A). For those young women whose participation was secured through snowballing, usually in Boatswain, but also in Chord, I had little or no contact with their parents so I asked them to confirm by email that their parents would be happy for them to talk to me. Those intergenerational diaries involved the involvement of both parent and child, and so, parental consent here was assured, but as discussed above, in the context of confidentiality in the intergenerational diaries, parental consent alone would not suffice. It was important to ensure that both participants separately consent to participation rather than one or the other.

Prior to commencing each interview, I followed up this initial consent by ensuring that participants understood the project, what their role in it was, how I would anonymise it and what I would do with the results. I ensured that this information was conveyed both in written communications with participants and when communicating with them face-to-face. In addition to setting out what the research would entail, I continued to remind participants throughout that they did not have to participate in the research if they did not want to, and

could drop out at any time without giving a reason. I continued to ensure this was emphasised, in discussions throughout (Valentine, 1999: 144, ESRC, 2005).

Of course, in the context of a school environment this was much more difficult to establish as some participants may have been under the impression that because their teacher had arranged for them to speak to me they had to do so and to refuse to would be seen as disobeying the teacher (See Anderson & Jones, 2009: 294-296, Valentine, 1999: 145, see also 4.8 for more discussion of the problems of my positionality). Where this access arrangement was the case, I mitigated against it by explicitly stating that the participants did not need to stay and talk to me if they were reluctant, and made it clear that I was not a teacher and would not mind if they did not want to participate. Otherwise, when introducing the research to participants I usually spoke to them as a group, so some may have felt compelled by peer pressure to say they would participate. Following Alderson's (1995) 'opt-in' suggestion, I mitigated against this by asking participants to *elect to do* the research as opposed to passively assent to 'go along with' it because their peers were doing it. I tried to achieve this by asking for their email addresses in the first meeting in order to communicate with them about further meetings. This gave them time to think about whether participation was suitable or interesting for them (Valentine, 1999: 145) and I suggest it was a successful approach because whilst all members of the group would give me their email addresses, many would subsequently, in the private space produced by an email conversation, either say they were too busy or choose not to respond to me. This ensured, as far as possible, that those who participated did so because they wanted to rather than because they felt coerced. Indeed the level of involvement required to participate in the study – especially the Diary and the Walking Interview – meant that the participants had to do a lot of work themselves, or give up a sizeable amount of their time outside the classroom, so that it was unlikely that a reticent participant would assent to this undertaking. In this way, though eventually a draw-back of this methodology (see 4.7, below), the complexity and intensity of the methods may have been one of the more obvious ways in which informed consent was assuredly obtained.

Valentine's (1999) approach and the REF (2005) also reminds that with ongoing research, such as that characterised by the diaries, which each participant kept for between 4 and 6 weeks consent may need to be 're-negotiated'. As I have outlined elsewhere in this chapter, I kept in regular communication with participants throughout the period for which they were keeping the diary and used this opportunity to ensure that their consent 'endured'. In this respect, I consider that appropriate steps were taken to ensure informed, ongoing consent was obtained from participants. Having established the ways in which ethical considerations were

addressed in the design and conduct of the project, I now illustrate the ways in which these methods were tested and evaluated through the conduct of a Pilot Study.

4.6 Pilot Studies

4.6.1 Pilot Study One

Prior to undertaking the research, I conducted two Pilot Studies. Because my initial intentions had been to conduct a study with mothers and daughters, these were intergenerational Pilots which enabled me to test my methodology and investigate the possibilities of intergenerational analysis. Study One took place from July 2008 to August 2008 with two participants, Alana (aged 41, mother) and Jolene (aged 16, daughter). They kept Multimedia Diaries for 8 weeks. Follow-up interviews took place in August 2008 to enable me to investigate further some of the themes of these diaries and uncover any methodological problems that they may have come across. Interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes and were recorded and then transcribed for coding and comparison. At the end of the interviews, I asked some general questions about the process of participating in the research as experienced by the participants. Both of them agreed in their separate interviews that they had ambivalent feelings towards keeping the diary for different reasons. When asked how she found keeping the diary, Jolene, the daughter answered that she found it difficult to remember to fill it in. She worked around this by keeping her diary in her bag to complete as she went, and she would speak to other people she was with to prompt her memory. Alana's experience was that keeping the diary 'was fine at first. But then [she] started to worry that it was getting a bit repetitive... it was not hard keeping the diary but it was hard to make it interesting' (Alana, Pilot Study One).

A practical consideration affected Jolene's enjoyment of keeping the diary, but once she had negotiated this, she said that she did find it interesting as it 'made [her] pay more attention to what [she] was doing'. Alana's problem with the diary was more challenging. The fact that she felt it was repetitive and not interesting caused her considerable concern, which was an anxiety that I took on board when speaking to future participants; I emphasised that their diaries would not be boring to me and that they should not worry if they thought that it was repetitive and I also shortened the length of time that the participants would keep the diaries for.

Both Alana's and Jolene's diaries predominantly took the form of quite traditional journals. Once they were left with the materials to construct the diaries, this was their preferred mode of keeping the diary. When I asked them why this was their preferred choice, Alana explained

that she 'didn't really want to use the Dictaphone' from the outset and that she found it easier to 'write stuff down' (Alana, Pilot Study One).

Jolene's concern was also practical. She said that she had intended to use both the Dictaphone and the diary, but once she started, she worried that to do so would make it 'jumbled up' and she 'wouldn't be able to keep track of what [she] had done' (Jolene, Pilot Study One). Following this Pilot Study I learned that it was important to continue to ask questions at the end of each interview about the process of participating in the research itself. In addition, I decided that I would include a note reminding the participant of the project and what I was interested in, to jog their memories about the sorts of things they might talk about in the diary (see Appendix A). This way, I provided guidance for those who wanted it without being prescriptive for those who were happy to keep the diary as they chose.

Whilst the information that was gleaned from Alana's and Jolene's contribution was instructive, and helped me in the further design of this project, I do not draw on the content of their diaries in the analysis, because this study did not take place in Anchor, Boatswain or Chord where I based the rest of my research.

4.6.2 Pilot Study Two

Building on Pilot Study One, I decided to conduct a second Pilot Study with Silver and Edith and Janis and Shulamith. I decided to repeat the format of the first Pilot Study in Boatswain, as it was in this place that I subsequently intended to do the research. These participants also kept multimedia diaries for 6 weeks between November 2008 and January 2009. The feedback I got from this was that it was a time-consuming under-taking, which imposed a lot on them. This informed the development of the methodology, and as such I decided to incorporate the Map and Walking Interview to offer alternatives to participants. It was here, however, that I had to depart from my original research plan.

As a result of the fact that my principal point of contact with potential participants was through schools, it became increasingly difficult to secure participation of both mother and daughter in the research. For this reason, Janis and Shulamith and Silver and Edith's contributions are the only intergenerational accounts I discuss in this thesis. I have analysed the data offered by these intergenerational pairs as separate entities, rather than as comparative pieces of data as I had originally planned to do. Despite the change in focus, I have decided to retain the data created by the older women because it offers a broader comparative perspective on the meaning of places; these older participants drew on knowledge that had been acquired throughout the course of their lives. Whilst the influence of

life-course on the construction of street-wisdom was evidenced in the discussions of young people interviewed as well, it was more acute in the contributions of older women and illustrated the extent to which knowledge about fear and safety in space is constructed and deployed in relation to memory, nostalgia, longing, and the building and losing of 'homes' (see especially Section 5.4). Indeed, those insights offered by Janis and Silver, who drew on memories of childhoods in other towns to inform their knowledge about their current 'home towns' and who, having lived in their 'home towns' for years longer than the younger people in this study, tell tales of 'home towns' which, as I demonstrate in the analysis, become 'sticky' with emotional memory. They are rich with examples of the construction and deployment of street-wisdom and enhance the overall discussion.

4.7 Evaluation of the Method

As I demonstrate in the second part of this thesis, the methods adopted in this project have enabled me to achieve the aims of this project as set out in Chapter 1. However, as with any research, it is useful to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the methods used to achieve these aims. Whilst these three methods used alongside each other have afforded broad and deep insights into range of ways in which street-wisdom is constructed and deployed, there were challenges encountered in employing such a complex range of methods. One limitation of this study is that the methodology, in its variety, produced an array of data of different forms that could not be incorporated as fully as I would have liked in the analysis. This applied, in particular, to the diaries. These were sometimes creatively presented and in some cases were made into quite personal snapshots of the participants' lives during the course of the study. I would have liked to engage more with their content in this discussion but did not have the scope to incorporate them more fully because of the breadth of content that they contained and the specific focus of this project on the constructions of street-wisdom. Nonetheless they stand as riveting insights into the lives of the participants, and it is my intention to work more closely with these diaries in the future.

A further possible limitation to this study is in recognising the possibility that the participants were repeating to me rehearsed narratives about respectable femininity and safe-keeping that they either thought I wanted to hear, or that they thought they should say (see McRobbie & Garber, 1977: 222). Occurrences like this became apparent to me during the transcription rather than the interview itself, as I re-listened to what was being said. I have addressed these cases in the analysis where they occurred, and to a certain extent, the pre-occupation to be seen to be saying the right thing is also of interest in understanding the construction of street-wisdom. Rather than dismissing these contributions as artificial and false, I analyse these

decisions to rehearse dominant discourses as a feature of the construction of street-wisdom, where it occurs, rather than a limitation of this study as a whole.

A final limitation of the method of data collection was that in its intricacy it required participants to be involved in a variety of activities and, in the conduct of the diaries, to do so without much guidance from me. The reasons why I chose to adopt such a complex methodology are outlined above, but in this assessment of my research, I suggest that this might have been off-putting for some participants. Indeed, in some cases it was difficult to recruit participation, and this is why I decided to conduct Map Interviews, as it was a more 'class-room friendly' activity than the more out-of-classroom methods. If I were to conduct this project again, I would maintain the use of the Map Interview and Diary and develop this further to present a topography of emotion of the Anchor, Boatswain and Chord in the form of an interactive resource similar to, but more flexible than that under development by Basdas et al (accessed 2010), and evidenced in the fluid emotional cartographies of Bell (1992). This would streamline the methodological approaches as well enable the data to be presented at its fullest. However, despite these drawbacks in the complexity of the methodology and associated difficulty in recruiting participants, the methods that were employed in this project succeeded in enabling me to achieve the aims of this project, they reflect a creative and playful way in which to examine the construction of knowledge and demonstrates how 'applied' affect can be 'put to work' in social science enquiries.

4.8 Situated Research

In addition to considering the complexity of the design and ethical conduct in this study, it is also important to recognise the complexity of my positionality as a researcher in this project. As Harding (1993: 63) points out, and as is recognised by a range of feminist researchers, there is no view from nowhere when conducting research. Echoing observations made in 1.4 about knowledge, research claims are always 'socially situated', and researchers' perspectives on their research are inevitably informed by their own location (Harding, 1993: 54, Rich, 1986). In order to preserve the feminist and egalitarian approach that I have fostered in the design and practice of this method, before going on to consider in more depth the intricacies of how I analysed the data, it is necessary to outline where I situate myself as a researcher in relation to both the participants of this study and the sites that I am studying, and to comment upon how this might have affected the process of conducting the research. Unlike what Harding (1993) would refer to as 'pre-feminist' research, where the holder of knowledge is invisible or at least not clearly visible in research, the physical space that I take up in the data is included in the excerpts that I use to indicate how street-wisdom is constructed. The silences, absences,

words left unspoken, where meaning is constituted intersubjectively between me and the participant, as well as when I help them find places on maps, or words on the tip of their tongue, are included in Part 2 (see particularly Chapter 8). Just as spaces and subjectivities mutually construct each other, so too do the researcher and participant 'influence and constitute' each other and the data that they produce (Finlay, 2002: 534).

4.8.1 Positionality

Having worked and studied in Higher Education Institutions for the past nine years, and coming from a background where such endeavours were encouraged and supported, I cannot deny the class privilege which has given me the opportunity to pursue these interests. In addition to this, as a white woman, I am also afforded privilege along 'raced' grounds. In speaking as a white, able-bodied, Anglophone, middle-class scholar, I am not alone, and there are certainly many other researchers who must navigate their way through their comparatively socially-privileged positions in order to conduct ethical research which is not dismissive of, or impatient with, views of participants whose backgrounds are dissimilar to their own (see Finlay's 2002:538 account of being frustrated with occupational therapists that she did not agree with and McCorkel & Myers' (2003) discussions of disliking some activists against violence against women). A way of reducing the effect that this privileged subject position has on the research process is by exercising what Harding (1993) refers to as 'strong objectivity'. The ways in which I attempted to do this are outlined below.

As I mentioned in section 4.3, one of the reasons why I chose to conduct research in Anchor, Boatswain and Chord, was not just because I found it easier to secure interest from these places, but because I have, over the past few years, had some experience of those sites as places I have worked, lived or studied in. Certainly, it is probably the case that the first reason for choosing these sites was precipitated by the fact of the second. As such, because I already had an existing relationship with these sites, this meant that when I was conducting Walking or Map Interviews, I often had some knowledge of the places that the participants were speaking about. Nonetheless, as I argue in Chapter 5, particularly drawing on the experiences of the two older participants in the study, what a town means, how it is 'known', varies from person to person depending on the time in which they occupied that space. Therefore I consider that it does not unduly impact on the research process that I have prior knowledge of these towns. As has been suggested in 1.4, knowledge cannot be complete and is always partial. Therefore, my knowledge of Anchor, Boatswain or Chord was informed by my experience of those places at the times in which I experienced them. Participants were aware that I was not a stranger to the places that they were speaking about, and if anything, this shared experience enabled me

to foster a comfortable and friendly rapport during the Walking Interviews or Map Interviews, even when we had different opinions about the townscapes. It is well recognised that just as two people can have different opinions about food, music or films, so too can they have different opinions about places. As long as discussions take place in a non-judgemental and non-confrontational manner there is little reason to suppose that participants' contributions were affected by my prior knowledge of those towns. Most participants, as Harding suggests (1993: 65), recognised the possibility for differences of opinion when talking about their 'home towns' and compared their opinions with those of their family or their friends, speaking authoritatively about what their 'home towns' were like, whilst accommodating difference of opinion. This sort of relational experience of 'home towns', in some cases, was a constituent feature of how participants made sense of place and constructed street-wisdom (see for instance Agatha, 9.1, Saxona, 9.3 or Giselle, 10.6.2). Therefore, my positionality, and my experience of occupying these spaces as a teenager and young woman myself, enhanced rather than obstructed the research experience.

Nonetheless, it is possible that some participants may have been too shy, or worried about my position as a researcher to express opinions about their 'home towns' which they thought I would not agree with. As such, I made sure that I did not talk about my own experiences of the towns unnecessarily, using these stories only where I thought they would help make the research experience smoother. Where I thought they might overpower the intersubjective relationship between me and a participant, I did not speak about them and worked hard to encourage participants to speak freely about where they live. As Rich (1986: 223) highlights, it can be difficult, even embarrassing to speak about positionality in this way. What is more, when trying to assess a researcher's own subjectivity, it is possible that some things that the researcher does not think impacts on her attitude to the research may not be considered. In order to guard against this, it is important to continually practice reflexive research.

4.8.2 Reflexivity

Like positionality, there is an awkwardness to practicing reflexivity, and, as Finlay warns, it must not become an exercise in 'naval gazing' at the expense of conducting productive research (2002: 541). However, as I conducted my research, I became aware of how useful reflexive approaches were in order to assure egalitarian and feminist research practices. As I have suggested above, my own position in the research process as an 'ex-local' of the sites influenced the data, to a certain extent, but, I suggest, did not challenge the relevance of my findings untowardly. Instead, as I was conducting the interviews, I was aware that my classed and aged positionality did cause me difficulties in understanding the data, in the ways that

Finley (2002) and McCorkel & Myers (2003) identified in their own research. I found that as a middle-class researcher, and as a person who was on average, almost ten years, older than my participants, in the 'small talk' and paraphernalia around the data-collecting moment, when talking to participants about their hopes and aspirations for the future, or about their studies, I initially was unable to make as much of a connection with people whose backgrounds and outlook were very different to my own. When these participants told me about their experiences of their 'home towns', there was much more dissonance between our common understanding than when I felt 'on the same page' as other participants. For example, when I asked Edna, whose participation I secured through snow-balling from sports-club, about her positive and negative opinions about Boatswain, she explained:

Edna: Err I know someone who got hit by a car. I know someone who thinks the police are watching her house.

Alex: Are the police watching her house?

Edna: Well yeah.

Alex: Why is that?

Edna: Because they think she is a drug dealer.

Alex: Really?

Edna: Yeah she has dodgy guy friends going in and out all the time.

Alex: Wow. [laughs]

Edna: And then this guy was riding his bike across the road and at a crossing he got run over.

Alex: Oh gosh.

Edna: Yeah [laughs]

Alex: Oh gosh, I don't really know what to make of that, it is a bit dramatic isn't it? But yourself haven't had a similar experience?

Edna: No.

In this extract Edna talked to me about three significant themes which constituted her street-wisdom; participation in criminality, fraught relationships with the police and concern about road injury. My responses to her comments almost entirely shut down these discussions. They had taken me by surprise and I was struggling to make sense of them in the context of what I 'knew' about Boatswain; they indicated to me that Edna had a very different understanding of Boatswain from that which I expected to talk about, and so I found it difficult to engage with the interesting stuff she was telling me. In my post-interview notes, I had written that I did not get much from Edna's interview, that it was not as 'good' as other interviews. It was whilst

transcribing the interview that I realised that it was not that she had not told me anything interesting, it was that I was 'hearing without listening' (Rich, 1986: 223). I had failed to pull my weight in the intersubjective relationship between us in that moment. Edna's interview was among the first that I did, and in order to prevent this dissonance from occurring again, and to atone for the way in which I had allowed my classed preconceptions of Boatswain to colour my responses, I drew on the approach promoted by Lugones (1990) of 'loving perception' and practising 'world-travelling'. Whilst Lugones (1990), Rich (1986) and McCorkel & Myers (2003) talk of a failure to engage fairly with participants based on their 'raced' privileged subject positions, I argue that the same failure occurs with classed privilege. Lugones (1990: 391) urges feminists to approach those around them with 'loving eyes', rather than with 'arrogant perception'. She suggests that feminists do this by 'travelling' to the worlds of other people, and with empathy for their position, seeing things from their perspective, rather than dismissing their 'world' as always-already 'other'. In order to do this, I was careful of how I presented myself to participants, and took care to listen closely to what they were telling me without shutting down areas of discussion that I was not prepared for. As Finlay (2002) points out, this was an ongoing process, which I had to practice throughout the data-collecting period. I was able to 'check' my progress by transcribing as soon as possible after the interview so that the discussion was fresh in my mind and so that I could be continually aware of whether I had allowed the discussion to falter as I had in Edna's case. Naturally, there were some instances where I did this better than others, but, as I was continually practising the challenging skill of reflexivity, these became less and less common (see Cecily's discussions in 5.5, 7.3 and 10.6.1, which are thematically similar to Edna's interview, but which I undertook in a more reflexive way, as a result of what I learnt from my interview with Edna). Indeed, as Bailey (2000) and Finlay (2002) both insist, it is through the overt practice of reflexivity, and recognition of classed/'raced' privilege of the researcher, despite being difficult and sometimes unpalatable, that research can make claims to 'integrity and trustworthiness' (Finlay, 2002: 531).

4.8.3 Authenticity

The third factor to consider in situated research is in this question of trustworthiness. How does the reader know what I am saying is correct? Materially, one of the ways in which authenticity of the data was assured was by verbatim transcriptions of the interviews and use of the diaries. In addition, all participants were given the opportunity to comment on the transcript of our interviews, and to keep a copy of their diary for their records. In the analysis in Part 2, I have treated the contributions, whether written, spoken or pictorial, as texts upon

which I have conducted a discourse analysis. Therefore, when I make my arguments about what the participants are saying – the discourses that they are operating with or affects that they are expressing – I indicate to the reader the way in which I have formed this assertion. The difficulty, when dealing with either discourse or affect is that, to an extent, they are intangible, unarticulatable and uncertain. As such, it is possible that another researcher, or even the participants themselves, would interpret these texts differently. However, by making clear how I have analysed the texts of the data, by taking account of my positionality and by practicing ‘strong reflexivity’ through ‘world-travelling’, I anticipate that the reader will recognise the fairness with which I have reflected the views of the participants.

4.9 Codes, Approaches and People

During the data coding process, 43 different themes were identified across the Map Interviews, Walking Interviews and Diaries. As Basit (2003: 152) reminds us, the coding of qualitative data in this way is an ‘intense and prolonged process’, the doing of which must be worked and re-worked. Therefore, in order to make this number more manageable, and analysis more meaningful, these themes were re-processed in Atlas-Ti and refined until they could be aggregated into the following themes:

- constructions of space – including discussions of desirable and undesirable places, experiences of fear and safety in space, the perceived contrast between urban, suburban and rural spaces;
- constructions of self – including discussion of emotional responses to events, memories, sense of belonging, positionality, the impact of consumption and construction of the gendered self on street-wisdom, the sexual self and the consuming self;
- constructions of other – including gendered constructions of other, classed or ‘raced’ othering as well as the interaction with deviant/sub-criminal acts and the marginal other; and
- marginalia –
 - i. peripheral data, that which was excluded from discussion or which only became apparent in an oblique sense, in answer to another question for instance;
 - ii. silences and absences;

- iii. any feature of the data which reflects the way in which it was collected such as background noise, temporally salient events for example.

Though it was not necessary in this study, as I was working alone, to create a formal code-book in the way that McQueen, McLellan, Kay & Milstean(1998) suggest in order to facilitate coding, I found their approaches to managing the volume of this data informative. In order to ensure that the codes were applied consistently across the data, McQueen et al (2008: 31) suggest that making notes of what the code means, with examples that illustrate the code, act as a helpful prompt when working with the data. Atlas-Ti enabled me to do this as I was establishing each code. This was especially useful because, as Basit suggests above, and as confirmed by McQueen et al and my own experience with this data, the coding process was ongoing, over many months, including during the writing-up process. Defining and reworking codes in this way is good scholarly practice and will facilitate my future use of the data in other enquiries.

Part 2 develops the themes identified with this method and, through an affective analytical lens, examines the way in which each theme enhances understandings of the research aims. Although constructions of space, self and other are explored separately at the beginning of Part 2, it is important to bear in mind that each construction is informed by, as well as constitutive of, the others and that they operate in a mutually coexistent system rather than as discrete categories. The deployment of each does not operate in isolation from the others. There are many overlaps between the ways that participants constructed knowledge about themselves, about others and about spaces and how they used this to inform their street-wisdom. Likewise, through my analysis, it became apparent that the way in which participants constructed and deployed this street-wisdom was formed by their own positionality as 'raced', aged, classed and sexed bodies in space. Throughout the following chapters, I trace the ways in which the intersections of these positionalities contribute to their expressed knowledge of space, self and other. In the last three chapters of this analysis, I examine the silences and absences that are expressed in the telling of the story of street-wisdom (Chapter 8), how street-wisdom itself is constructed (Chapter 9), and finally, how it is deployed in the unmaking of 'un-at-home-ness' (Chapter 10), once more, indicating throughout how the positionality of participants impacts on covert and overt knowledge production.

4.9 Profiles of Participants^{11 12}

The following three tables outline the profiles of the participants. This data was gathered in interview when asking participants their age, how they would describe their ethnicity and class. Questions of class were difficult to differentiate from each other and the majority of participants identified as middle class. For this reason, I have included the educational background of participants to provide a more nuanced picture of the classed backgrounds and

¹¹ Biographical data which is represented in these tables was obtained by asking participants these questions in the interviews.

¹² All participants identified as able-bodied, so this category is not shown. Section 4.5.1 outlines why I did not ask most participants about their sexuality which is also not shown here.

potential positionalities of the participants; positionality which becomes salient in forthcoming discussions of class, race and gender (see in particular Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Where specific comments about a participant's class are especially relevant for the analysis, I have outlined this.

Table 3 : Anchor

	Name	Age	Ethnicity¹³	Background¹⁴	'Homes'	Method
1	Cecily	17	White UK	Rural State-School	2	M
2	Heidi	16	White Irish	Rural State-School	3	M
3	Hermione	17	White Irish	Rural State-School	3	M
4	Hydra	17	White UK	Rural State-School	3	M
5	Janet	16	White UK	Rural State-School	2	M
6	Joy	16	White UK	Rural State-School	2	M
7	Lola	17	White UK	Rural State-School	3	M
8	Lottie	17	White UK	Rural State-School	2	M
9	Maud	16	White UK	Rural State-School	1	M
10	Nell	17	White UK	Rural State-School	3	M
11	Nora	17	White UK	Rural State-School	3	M
12	Persephone	17	White UK	Rural State-School	3	M

Table 4: Boatswain

	Name	Age	Ethnicity	Background	'Homes'	Method
1	Ada	17	White UK	Suburban Private School	3	M
2	Agatha	17	White UK	Suburban Private School	2	W,M
3	Allegra	16	White UK	Suburban Private School	1	M
4	Ariel	16	British Indian	Suburban Private School	1	M
5	Athena	16	White UK	Suburban Private School	2	M, D
6	Audrey	16	British/Chinese	Suburban Private School	1	M

¹³ Each participant was asked how they would describe their ethnicity. These are reflected here in their own words, and there may therefore appear to be overlaps or inconsistencies in how these categories are applied, but they reflect how each participant answered the question 'what is your ethnicity?'

¹⁴ Educational background implies class category but should not be read as unproblematically doing so; most participants identified as middle-class, but even this category was subjectively understood as changeable, with participants distinguishing between 'more' and 'less' middle-class in relation to themselves. Furthermore, as transpired in some of the interviews, whilst some students at fee-paying schools were from wealthy backgrounds, others had obtained scholarships to attend those schools. Similarly whilst some participants from the state-school were from less advantaged backgrounds, others were from very wealthy families, owning large rural estates. The classed positionality of some participants is explored further in Chapter 7.

	Name	Age	Ethnicity	Background	'Homes'	Method
7	Cleo	16	White UK	Suburban Private School	1	D
8	Edna	17	White UK	Suburban State-School	1	M
9	Enola	17	White UK	Suburban Private School	2	W,M
10	Eve	17	White UK	Suburban Private School	2	M
11	Koryn	17	White UK	Suburban Private School	1	W,M
12	Kye	16	British Asian	Suburban Private School	1	M
13	Leda	17	White EU	Suburban Private School	2	D
14	Olive	17	White UK	Suburban Private School	1	M
15	Suki	16	White UK	Suburban State-School	1	M
16	Vera	16	White UK	Suburban Private School	2	M, D

Table 5: Chord

	Name	Age	Ethnicity	Background	'Homes'	Method
1	Dora	17	British Asian	Urban Private School	2	M
2	Enid	17	White UK	Urban Private School	2	M, D
3	Esme	17	White UK	Urban Private School	2	M
4	Giselle	17	Black Caribbean/White	Urban Private School	2	M
5	Holly	17	White UK	Urban Private School	2	M
6	Iris	17	White UK	Urban Private School	2	M
7	Juno	17	Chinese	Urban Private School	2	M, D
8	Lilly	17	White UK	Urban Private School	2	M
9	Rhona	17	Middle East/White UK	Urban Private School	2	M
10	Rita	15	White UK	Urban State-School	2	W
11	Rula	17	British Indian	Urban Private School	2	M, D
12	Saxona	17	British Indian	Urban Private School	2	M
13	Sybil	17	White UK	Urban Private School	2	M

Table 6: Intergenerational Pairs¹⁵

	Name	Site	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation ¹⁶	Homes	Methods
1	Silver	Boatswain	49	White UK	Librarian	3	M, D
	Edith	Boatswain	18	White UK	Student	1	M, D
2	Janis	Boatswain	55	White EU	Teacher	3	W, M, D
	Shulamith	Boatswain	18	White EU	Student	1	M, D

¹⁵ From Pilot Study Two¹⁶ Also included here as a potential marker of class

Part Two: Analysis

Chapter 5: Constructing Spaces

In this Chapter, three aspects of the way spaces are constructed are examined: firstly, the malleability and potentiality of constructions of 'home', and of rurality, urbanity and suburbanity; secondly, the effect of affective time, nostalgia and longing on constructions of space, and thirdly the significance of the periphery in understanding home town spaces. All three reflect aspects of the ways in which participants think about home town spaces and contribute to the construction of their street-wisdom. This section draws on Ingold's (1993) consideration of the ways that spaces and selves 'resonate' with each other, or are mutually constitutive. It is through understandings of 'resonance' with space, that I argue participants experience and foster affective 'at-home-ness' or 'un-at-home-ness' in their 'home towns'.

5.1 Wherever I Meet My Friends (That's My Home)

A predominant and emerging theme in this study was the fluid and malleable way in which participants were able to talk about 'home'. In preparation for meeting the participants to conduct the interviews or diaries I asked them all which place(s) they would like to speak, write or walk about. On the whole, most participants reported that they recognised more than one place as 'home' (see Tables 3, 4 and 5 in Chapter 4). This demonstrates the ease and fluidity with which participants were able to adapt their knowledge of 'at-home-ness' to a variety of places. For instance, those participants from the metropolis of Chord were able to distinguish between the peripheries of the capital where their houses were, and the centre, which they were also able to define as 'home'. The participants identified these as places in which they felt at ease, or places where they belonged. Juno, for instance, outlined the different localities of 'at-home-ness' in her diary. Living in Chord, and travelling to her father's restaurant in London, she explained:

I love it here as it feels like a second home because I used to go to town with my mum to visit my dad and have lunch there every week. [London] hasn't changed much as I've grown up (though I've stopped going every week). (Juno, Chord, Diary)

Her sense of 'at-home-ness', in the context of her 'second home', was tangible. She was explicitly able to make her 'home' in her father's workplace, and this was constructed by her memory of her childhood and of well-being in that place. This echoes Miller's findings in the context of China Town in Vancouver, where participants understood themselves as belonging in space by recognising the presence of those around them and of being 'like' 'others' (Miller, forthcoming). In this study, Miller suggests that people construct 'enclaves' in space through which they foster a sense of

belonging through sameness; in China Town, the resonance of their bodies with others in space evokes a sense of being at ease or of 'at-home-ness' in space. I return to this theme of safety through affective expressions of sameness later in this section. Here, for Juno, a participant from a Chinese background, her ability to make a 'home' in her parents' Chinese restaurant also illustrates a way in which signifiers of 'home' are interlaced with ethnic, as well as affective, expressions of belonging.

Indeed, this portable sense of 'at-home-ness' which I take as a departure point for exploring the ways in which participants in this study felt 'safe' or otherwise in space, could be understood, through this malleability, as an affective construct which ebbed and flowed depending on the subjective understanding each participant had of the place they were talking about, in the moment that they are talking about it. Recalling Ingold's (1993) discussion of the temporal nature of landscape, 'home' and the feeling of 'at-home-ness' can be understood as expanding and contracting depending on the time, space and affective memory the speaker was using as frame of reference. Such sentiments were expressed by Shulamith and Rhona:

Because I have been born here[...]I have spent most of my life in Boatswain, I think that it makes a big difference. Had I moved...for example when I lived in Nonesuch [a large northern UK town], [it took me] a long while to make me feel that it was my second town. To make me feel comfortable in it. Erm...I only did when I had a job there. When I finally felt part of the town itself... (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

I guess it makes me not like Chord so much and makes me want to leave. Because my Dad's from Israel. He lives there. I am really used to like, I mean I go there every holiday. I am used to going to a completely different place. (Rhona, Chord, Map)

Rhona's sense of 'home' operated transnationally. She was able to situate herself as 'belonging' and feeling 'at home' in a place that was far from where she lived in Chord. Recalling Braidotti's (1994: 4) emancipatory understanding of the nomad, this yearning for placelessness might reflect a form of spatial subjectivity that was freed from a need for rootedness, or which could be said to be 'at-home' out of 'home'; a theme I return to in Section 10.6. Shulamith, in contrast, had a very localised understanding of where her 'home' was:

I would call myself a 'Boatswain-ian', I feel comfortable in this town, I don't feel like an outsider, I feel safe because I know the streets, I know that area. (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

Belonging in Boatswain, feeling ‘comfortable’ and ‘feeling safe’, not feeling ‘like an outsider’ translated, for Shulamith, into street-wisdom; ‘knowing the streets’ and ‘knowing the area’. This link between ‘belonging’, sense of safety and knowledge is what I am exploring here in the context of ‘home’. Unlike Juno or Rhona, for Shulamith, ‘home’ was not portable. As she explained:

People[...]say they feel comfortable at home, because most people do feel more comfortable at home but not to the extent that they would not go away because they feel scared not being in the areas they know[...]but I don’t feel good about that (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

Shulamith felt confined by her narrow definition of ‘home’. She ‘didn’t feel good’ about having to rely on such a rigid construct of home to feel ‘comfortable’. She did not have the fluid scripts of ‘home’ that Rhona expressed and attributed this lack of ‘at-home-ness’ outside of Boatswain to affective expressions of fear. These contrasting discussions of ‘home’ reflect the role that the home plays in constructing knowledge about street-wisdom.

5.2 Urban Rurality/Rural Urbanity –the ‘more-or-less’ of places

As with ‘homes’, constructs of rurality and urbanity were also imagined as moveable, malleable entities. The contrast between the rural and urban was mobilised in a number of ways to forge ‘at-home-ness’. One way in which this was fostered was by reproducing normative constructions of the rural as idyll and urban as animated and chaotic, echoing Vanderbeck & Dunkley (2003) and Dunkley’s (2004) studies in the context of North American young people. The participants from the rural Anchor in particular, articulated these normative differences between the rurality of villages in contrast to towns and cities:

I moved [to Anchor] about four years ago from the next door village and I used to live, about there [on the map], so the middle of nowhere. We moved to[...]live next to my grandmother so she lives next door and I really like it cos it’s the first time we have actually lived close to people, cos I have got neighbours both sides and I am almost opposite a shop so I like having the amenities nearby. But it is also very rural [...]actually I really like it. It used to be separate villages but actually they have merged over the years. (Persephone, Anchor, Map)

Participants from Anchor suggested that they felt at home in the quiet and isolation of the smaller

community. This provided a sense of well-being and enhanced their affective expression of 'home'. For them, the contrast between more urban Boatswain and less urban Anchor was about the physical differences between the village and the town, or for Persephone, between a village and a smaller, more rural village. This 'more' or 'less' of urban, rural and suburban sites reminds us of how places are subjectively understood on a relational, rather than finite, scale. Similarly, Ada, who lived in Anchor, socialised in Boatswain and had experience of Chord, utilised the knowledge of the rural, suburban and urban, acquired here, to inform her street-wisdom;

Ada: I suppose since going to Chord it made me feel very safe here [Boatswain].

Alex: Is that the same in Anchor?

Ada: Well I suppose because Anchor is really isolated in some respects it's probably less safe because you think if something happened to me then no one would be around and no-one would know. (Ada, Anchor, Map)

Here, the street-wisdom that she acquired in the metropolis of Chord informed her sense of well-being in suburban Boatswain. However, Boatswain, though smaller and less urban than Chord, is a town. The knowledge acquired in Chord was not applicable in the rural space of Anchor. None of the knowledge Ada had about safe-keeping could be employed there, because her knowledge was based on understandings of what she considered to be the more urban. It would not operate in the 'isolated' environs of Anchor.

These straightforward contrasts between the urban and the rural tended to valorise the latter as good place to grow up, characterized by impressions of security and the idyllic nature of the countryside. These constructions of the supposed dichotomy between the urban and rural are discussed and contested in Valentine's (1997b) and Matthews et al's (2000a) studies of attitudes to rural children's safety. In these studies, both Valentine and Matthews et al find that despite experiences of the contrary, the parents whom they interviewed articulated knowledge about the rural and urban which continued to reproduce this essentialised distinction between the peaceful rural and chaotic urban. However, for some participants these firm distinctions between more or less urban or rural were less evident. This was illustrated by the way that Shulamith talked about Boatswain:

I find it relaxing that there is a town down the road but also I can just be here and feel a million miles away, if you know what I mean (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

I mean that in a city I felt like anybody, I didn't feel like a somebody. I would be able to go into town and not know anyone. Whereas in Boatswain you are part of the collection of...you are always guaranteed to see somebody that you know and I think that is part of the reassurance and the comfort of being here? That there is always somebody around that you know. (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

Boatswain for Shulamith operated as a place where she could enjoy the rural, whilst still enjoying a town 'down the road'. The sense that Boatswain was 'villagey' is an observation made by other participants;

It's a village in a town...which is lovely so it avoids being a village which can be very sort of cliquey and a bit in-looking, because it's part of a town (Silver, Boatswain, Map)

This rural-ness was cast as a positive aspect of Boatswain. It was one of the benefits of the town of Boatswain as opposed to being 'only' a village (Silver) or a city where one can 'feel like anybody' as opposed to 'somebody' (Shulamith). The pleasure that Shulamith and Silver experienced in their 'home towns' was because although Boatswain was not a village, parts of it were 'as if' it were a village. It was in this construction that the pleasure was experienced. They appreciated being near a town, but were grateful it was not too 'in-looking'. Here, the distinction between what counted as urban and rural became conflated to manage the desire of the participant at the moment in which they were thinking and speaking about their 'home towns'. Indeed, as Shulamith explained in her diary, the sense of the rural was of considerable importance in enabling her to construct her sense of 'at-home-ness':

Generally, I feel very safe in Boatswain. It is a town that is so small, one feels they are never too far from someone they know. A small sense of community, I feel inside me. I feel very much protected and a part of something as opposed to living in the big cities where I felt another line on a page, in this small town, I feel like another cigarette butt in quite a large ashtray. lol. (Shulamith, Boatswain, Diary)

Shulamith made explicit the relationship between sense of belonging, or 'community' and expression of affect that she 'felt inside her'. Whilst the imagery that Shulamith invoked in this extract was peculiar, when asked about this passage in the subsequent map interview, Shulamith explained that whilst in 'big cities' she felt she could be anyone – as anonymous as a line on a piece

of paper – it was the slightly dingy, contained and predictable feeling of being part of a ‘large ashtray’, that made her feel ‘at home’ and feel that she belonged. Shulamith’s unusual description illustrated the diverse ways in which some participants were able to foster a sense of ‘at-home-ness’. Indeed, Shulamith’s imagery here, demonstrated a bit more about how she interpreted what it meant to belong; whilst a person may have no particular feeling towards, or against, or about lines on a page (though, of course, they might have lots of feelings about lines, that Shulamith might be unaware of in her imagination of the paper), the cigarettes in the ashtray could be said to have more of a feeling attached to them. Not unlike Ahmed’s (2006a) consideration of Husserl’s table, the cigarettes may have had a context attached to them when they were smoked and deposited in the ashtray, they may have been smoked in anger, or in defiance, or in relief. They may represent both the spectre of the decaying body in the same moment that they might promote feelings of glee. The complex network of emotions surrounding the cigarette situates it in time and place; the cigarette has a history and, following a Thriftian (2004) understanding of affect, an emanating affective autonomy. Thus, for Shulamith, the cigarette-like inhabitants of the ashtray of Boatswain also embodied a spatiotemporal locality, they all had a history, a shared commonality, and in their similitude, a emanating sense of belonging, and significantly for this discussion, ‘at-home-ness’. Though Shulamith’s depiction of ‘belonging’ was unusual, it did highlight the ‘sense’ and ‘feeling’ associated with belonging in a suburban town like Boatswain, compared with a metropolis where inhabitants were all anonymous lines on a page, and space, for Shulamith, was decidedly ‘unsticky’ (Ahmed, 1999, 2004a).

Indeed, in their own discussions of belonging in Chord, the participants also invoked the contrast between the urban and the rural to embellish their sense of ‘home’. The majority of participants distinguished between the place that their home was and the rest of the capital. Some invoked the language of the rural to describe their home town:

It’s like, well it is not actually the countryside, but it has got a sort of rural feel. Which all the suburban people like I think. (Holly, Chord, Map)

It is kind of like a nice village, and it is kind of scenic and they have kept all the old kind of features. Yeah. It is not very exciting it is more just like a nice village. (Rhona, Chord, Map)

It is like being in the country but like in the middle of town. So we like know all our neighbours which I think doesn't really happen in other places really. (Rita, Chord, Walk)

For Holly, Rhona and Rita, the relative quiet of the areas that they lived in compared to the centre of London encouraged them to think about it as being 'like' a village, having a rural 'feel'. Once more, this village-ness was invoked. The areas that they lived in were not rural –they were all in the metropolis of London – however, mobilisation of imagery of the rural reflected how, like the home town, the rural was a portable spatial construct that could apply to spaces which were not remotely remote. Esme described her home town thus:

I mean it is not as amazing as a rural area where you can have, you know all your neighbours, because we don't know all our neighbours but um... we have got to know a lot of people on the road and...I mean people are trying to make it more community based, um, it's a really friendly area. (Esme, Chord, Map).

The language used by these four participants to describe the rural-ness of their 'home towns', reflected two significant aspects of the way in which the distinction between the rural and urban was invoked. Firstly, the language and imagery that was used to describe their 'home towns' in this rural way elided a 'rural feel' with something that inhabitants appreciated. The sense that 'everybody knew their neighbours' was either longed for (Esme) or valued (Rita) and evoked a rural idyll, based on what the participants imagined a rural place would be like (See Valentine, 1997b). The rurality here, is imagined. Not only is the place in London not rural, but the rurality is constructed based on stereotypes of the idyll. Secondly, the evoking of the rural in this way had an affective manifestation; –it was 'liked'. Through it, participants were able to express affective sentiments that where they lived was 'friendly', which encouraged them to express 'at-home-ness'. In this latter context, the invoking of the rural idyll in order to foster a sense of 'at-home-ness' echoes Ahmed's (1999: 341) consideration of 'home' as a feeling of inhabiting 'a second skin'. For Ahmed, as for the participants, 'home' in this context was an affective expression which was felt on the body; the rural was not solely a place, it was a feeling. It was an impression and a response to an affective expression of the rural idyll.

However, the 'rurality' of the areas that were described by some participants were not always so unproblematically longed for:

I think in London you don't get, like stick, for you know, being who you want to be, for dressing like [you want to]. But in Chord, I think if you were to be like in an extreme kind of

group you would be kind of singled out a bit more, because people just stick to what they know. The boys are kind of the same with shirts and jeans and the girls are kind of the same with like Ugg Boots, jeans and Abercrombie top or something. But I don't...like in London you can just be who you want to be you won't get stick or anything but here I think you have to fit in more. With the normal. (Rhona, Chord, Map)

For Rhona, the village-ness of Chord had its disadvantages; echoing Silver's earlier concern, it was presented as an inward looking and cliquy place where she and her peers felt they could not 'be who [they] want to be' and this impacted on her construction of self as well as of place. The urban and rural distinction impacted on her perceived ability to determine her own identity without capitulating to the imperative to 'fit in'. The 'rurality' of Chord promoted assimilation for Rhona. She read this 'rural' space as one which was less emancipatory than the space of London. She adhered to the dress and behaviour codes that she 'knew' were imperatives to 'fit in' in Chord. Elsewhere, Saxona also recognised the drawbacks of this construction of the urban.

When I go to Chord, yeah, you know you get whistled at and it is not very nice um [...] Especially...I don't experience much of that in London as opposed to when I go to Chord. (Saxona, Chord, Map)

Here too, Chord, in its rural-ness, was a site where Saxona experienced the harassment of being whistled at. Explaining that this was not something that she experienced in the urbanity of London, this experience cast Chord, for Saxona, as a site where she experienced something 'not very nice'. It was not explicitly the 'villageyness' of Chord which caused her this discomfort; rather, it was the fact that it was not the 'urban' space of London that meant that for her, this was a unpleasant, local, site-specific occurrence. I return to consider the gendered implications of Saxona's experience in Chapter 6.

The distinction between the urban and rural, therefore, was one which was evoked multifariously, in sometimes contradictory or paradoxical ways. The relationship between the rural and urban was expressed not only as a physical construction, but also as an idea or notion, based on assumptions about the idyllic nature of the rural compared to the savvy, street-wise, diverse urban as articulated by Matthews et al (2000a) and Valentine (1997a, b). In these constructions, the physicality of the urban or rural was not pertinent to how it was imagined and spoken about. And this imaginary not only constructed knowledge about home town spaces and expected behaviours in this space, but

also fostered affective responses to the rural and the urban. They became much more than spaces, they became ideologies and epistemologies which guided appropriate behaviours and appropriate thoughts in these spaces. The urban, the rural and the suburban, in these contexts, like the aforementioned 'home', became subjective, portable, affective constructs.

5.3 Time–Textured Spaces

In the same way that the urban-ness and rural-ness of places was constructed as malleable, so too was the construction of spaces which were experienced as temporally as well as spatially contingent. Ingold's (1993) analysis informs how knowledge about 'home towns' is fostered and stretched by the experience of time in space. In the course of discussions, participants framed their descriptions of their 'home towns' in temporal terms, giving the landscape a 'time-textured' quality. The relational experience of 'home towns' when tempered by time and space and subsequent affective expression of 'home', reminds us of the intersubjective quality of affect. The body, the space and the time is interpreted through this affective expression that vacillates between and beyond the three. The 'timeliness' of place was evidenced in the ways that the older participants in particular spoke about their 'home towns' and were able to chart their feelings of 'at-home-ness' as being in flux; waxing and waning as their experiences accumulated or disappeared:

[Boatswain is] more a town that was meaningful in the past, than is meaningful in the present. My children are old. And gone. Therefore there is very little reason for me to associate myself with the town and I haven't got very many friends here so, you know, it is not the kind of place that I can find very meaningful[...]I think I was more 'in it' 20 years ago than I am now. Put it this way, I was more of an insider then, because you have children, you take them to school, you belong in a community, you go to all sorts of places [which are in Boatswain] and I don't do that anymore. If I go out, it is not here. (Janis, Boatswain, Map)

My perception I think is very different [to my daughter's] because I was brought up somewhere else, I lived somewhere else, I only came here a few weeks before Edith was born. Under protest slightly [laughs]. And I thought Boatswain was the Back Of Beyond. I really honestly did. Because I had lived in Chord and I have lived in Paragon [...]and I really didn't like it and I thought I'd come to the most boring place in the world. But then once I was here I liked it and I appreciated it much, much more. (Silver, Boatswain, Map)

Both older participants who participated in this study with their daughters, for Silver and Janis, the

meaning of their 'home towns' changed over the years that they lived there. Closely linked with their experiences of motherhood, their separate impressions of Boatswain was that it is through their children that they built a sense of belonging or 'at-home-ness'. For Janis, the sense of 'being 'in it'' or of 'belonging in a community' made Boatswain a place that was 'meaningful' only in the past. In the present, she did not 'associate [herself] with the town'. Similarly, for Silver, up until she became a mother, it was 'under protest' that she lived in Boatswain – a place she loathed as 'the Back of Beyond'. She attributed this loathing to her experiences of living in other places. As she explained elsewhere:

I am quite happy here, but I think I am bound to feel different to Edith, you know, because it's, I still don't quite think of it as home. I sort of do, but there's lots of other places I have enormous affection for. (Silver, Boatswain, Map)

Thus her sense of 'at-home-ness' was one that had a history and was one that she carried with her to inform her sense of 'home' in Boatswain. For Janis, who had a much more ambivalent relationship with Boatswain than Silver, her sense of belonging in Boatswain ended when her need to care for young children also ended:

In fact walking in the town centre like that, during the day, when not much is happening and when there's no big hustle and bustle reminds me of when I was walking there as a young mother with my children in a pushchair or walking beside me, at the time the town looked much more exciting. Obviously they were seen through the eyes of a child and my attention was always drawn to funny things. Now my attention is not distracted by that look of the child and I am just focussing on people, as other fellow human beings who seemed pretty ordinary really. There is no magic in it. Which tells a lot about walking in town with children. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

This extract from Janis's diary demonstrates that her sense of 'at-home-ness' in Boatswain was very much informed by her changing experience of using the town over time. Her discussion resonates with Ahmed's theorisation of the 'stickiness' of places. Ahmed (2004a: 39) argues that understanding about spaces is informed by the 'impressions left by others' on space. For Janis, the perspective of the 'child' enabled her ready-to-be-affected body to express excitement about the town. Without a child to entertain, she felt that Boatswain was 'pretty ordinary'. It had become lacklustre and 'unsticky'. The sense that the 'magic had gone' illustrated the affective quality that

'not belonging' in a town had for Janis. The language evoked an extra-dimensional feature to the space and began to suggest the texture of place. Elsewhere in her diary Janis continued:

This is a tree where I remember once we believed a cat was stuck up there and couldn't get down. That was quite an exciting afternoon as we were walking back from town. So there is a lot of history really in that walk. To the town centre, and I often am reminded of things like that. Of time when we were cycling in the park when we were playing in the playing field. Things like that. From that perspective it's a really quite nice personal journey [...] I really like it... I really like the church, though I don't go there very often and it is linked to rather sad memories of a time when we went for [the children's] Dad's funeral (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

Describing Boatswain in this way, Janis illustrated how her home town was textured for her. As she walked around the town, she was influenced by her memories, how the space had changed and how she had changed. The memories were 'exciting' or 'sad' and they saturated that landscape, so that when she traversed the space, she took with her her affective expressions about place. This was demonstrated in the way that she spoke about the church; she 'really liked' the church, but in the same breath explained that it was a sad place for her because of a funeral she attended there. Evoking Ahmed (2004a) and Ingold (1993), these contrasting and simultaneous 'sticky' and affective expressions about the church demonstrate the way in which spaces 'resonate' with multiple, mutable meanings. They effected and affected responses to 'home towns' in a specific temporal and spatial context. Thus, the meaning of 'home towns', and what it means to belong or not to a home town, was changeable. And it was in this changeability that spatial subjectivities and spatial 'knowledges' were negotiated, constructed and deployed. Janis described this affective expression in her own words:

It is [a] recognition of something that has happened and that is still living in my mind and that is related to a space. I may remember that when [Shulamith] was small that there, here on the pavement when she was small she got off the pavement. Or I nearly lost her. Or I have parked the pushchair and pushchair has moved. You know these types of things. So there is that impregnation of something past, [...] like a feeling, you know, that is linked to the town. (Janis, Boatswain, Map)

Janis's descriptions here demonstrate the intersubjective quality of affective knowledge. The feeling that is linked to the town speaks to the relationship between the ready-to-be-affected body and

space. Here, Janis's ready-to-be-affected body actualised the virtual meaning of the town and used this to construct her knowledge of it. Leda's diary, too, illustrated the changeability of the meaning of her home town through temporal frames. Leda had decided to present her diary in a table format, with one column entitled 'Area', for the space that she was writing about, and one column entitled 'Feelings', to describe her impression of the space. On 29th July 2009, her entry read:

Area: Home [Boatswain]	Feelings: Happy, so comfy, familiar.
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By contrast, the following day, on 30th July 2009, Leda wrote:

Area: Home [Boatswain]	Feelings: Bored, tired, mundane, too familiar, small, trapped.
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The following day, the 'happy' feelings that she initially expressed had further deteriorated:

Area: Home [Boatswain]	Feelings: Bored, sooo bored, too small, too familiar, trapped, tiny, missing my boyfriend (Leda, Boatswain, Diary)
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These three consecutive entries demonstrate the swift and fluid ways that the affective expression of the home town could change. By the third entry, Leda's anguish was palpable. It is interesting to note that Leda's decision to present her diary in this way with columns of 'Area' and of 'Feelings' was not directed by my instructions, but was her own decision about how to present her diary and, like Janis's, makes explicit the intersubjective relationship between the body's capacity-to-be-affected and the space and time in which it was situated. Though she wrote her diary in this note form, her description of her feelings cast her home town space as one which expanded and contracted, from feeling 'cosy' to feeling 'trapped'. The meaning of the home town oscillated for Leda and when she enjoyed it, it was comfortable to occupy, neither too big not too small, but as she started to become 'bored', it became uncomfortably restrictive. The final line in these extracts, concerning how Leda 'missed her boyfriend' made explicit the relationship between emotional experience and emotional space. In this way and the same way that Miller (forthcoming) describes feelings of belonging or not in 'gay space', 'home towns' had emotional and 'living' facets, they had a history which ebbed and flowed depending on the ease of the body in that space. As Miller reminds us, the construction of space is 'bound up in an engagement of emotions, relationships [and] intimacy' and therefore can be experienced in the intersubjective way that Leda describes. Places became 'sticky' with meaning

and significantly, through this combination of ‘feeling’, memory and space, acquired their meanings as senses of belonging were fostered, or lost (Ahmed, 2004a).

In addition to its emotional influence, time–textured space also had an ontological impact on expressions of affective ‘at–home–ness’ as was evidenced in the ways that participants talked about how the meanings of spaces changed as they became more familiar with them:

Ada: I suppose [I don’t] like the train station... I am just not sure why.

Alex: Do you have to go there a lot?

Ada: No so I suppose that's kind of in a way why I am not too... cos I am not really sure where it is...

Alex: So if you were more familiar with it, would you like it more?

Ada: Yeah generally cos like some of the areas on this map in Boatswain that are now ‘green’ [places liked], probably a while ago would have been ‘red’ [places disliked]. (Ada, Boatswain, Map)

Here, Ada’s description of areas that she liked and disliked in Boatswain captures the indeterminacy of affect; that Ada did not ‘like’ the train station, and was ‘not sure why’ was suggestive of the linguistic difficulty of articulating the expression of affect (McCormack, 2003). Similarly, this vagueness, which is theorised as a constituent feature of how places are ‘known’ by Miller (2006), also features in what Knopp (2004) refers to as ‘humble ontology’. Recognising the limits of ‘quests for truth’ and certainty, Knopp (2004: 127) suggests that we should honour the ‘messiness of experience’ and the way in which this ‘messiness’ itself might forge knowledge. Here Ada’s shifting ontologies of the train station, which remain indeterminate, actually helps her to articulate seemingly contradictory, unarticulatable feeling.

In the following extract Rhona also illustrated how the indeterminate impacts on her own spatial subjectivity living in Chord. She outlined the development of her spatial subjectivity as a result of interacting with these time–textured places:

When I was younger, I never used to travel out at all. I only kind of started travelling into town at all[...]when I was about 14, 15. Because[...]I wasn’t really used to it. I had never travelled out that far. I was always a very local kind of person. So only started kind of appreciating the city when I was older cos I was kind of old enough to use public transport

with friends alone and I wanted to know my city a bit more. And so the first kind of place I went to in London was [a main shopping street] because I had heard so much about it and at first, I didn't like it at all, it was too busy and it was just a bit of a culture shock. And I am so used to Chord. And in Chord, everyone knows everyone. If you walk down the street you are going to bump into about four people you know[...]Erm so it was a bit kind of weird to go into London for the first time[...]I mean there were so many people, it was like 'wow!'. So I didn't really go into London very frequently after that because it was a bit 'wow!'. And now I use London[...]a lot more, but it is with the places that I know quite well. So I guess that is limited, but I love London, like now, because I kind of feel there's so many things to do. There is always something to do. Like in Chord, in the local area, there's limited things you can do, you have already kind of drained, the things there are to do. [In London], I don't know...there is always something to do. (Rhona, Chord, Map)

In this extended extract, Rhona mapped the genealogy of how her knowledge about Chord and London had adapted and changed along her life course. During the period of time described in this extract, Rhona's subjectivity shifted from one which was that of a 'local kind of person' to one which 'loved' 'her' city of London. The transition from one spatial competency to another was not smooth however, and in the same way that home town spaces become 'sticky' with memory, Rhona's home town became 'sticky' with emotion. Following her first independent journeys into the centre of London, Rhona was struck by a culture shock which overwhelmed her. Once more, drawing on Miller's (2006) discussion of vagueness and McCormack's (2003) elucidation of the shortcomings of language to express affects, by describing this experience as 'wow!', Rhona's affective register is clear, even if her meaning is more ambiguous. As an adjective, 'wow!' might mean to be impressed. An expression of 'wow!', might also suggest delight and an excitement, but an impression of 'wow!' can also express shock and ambivalent surprise. In her use of this word, to twice describe her emotional response to being in London, Rhona invoked all of these responses. At first uncertain about being in London, Rhona found it 'weird', and 'didn't like it', yet now, as her spatial confidence increased, Rhona felt much more delighted by London. She 'felt' there was 'always something to do'. In this way, as Rhona's knowledge about London increased, her affective response to it was one which was much more assertive. Revelling in the 'so many things to do', she constructed her home town, as a place of possibility and pleasure against which her other home town of Chord compared unfavourably.

Other instances of spatial confidence linked to familiarity and time-textured stickiness were

evidenced in the experiences of older participants:

When we first moved to Boatswain, and I used to go down the pub to meet my mates or to see my friends, I hated it. I hated ... well I hated the walk to the pub and back and I used to feel very vulnerable if I was on my own. Cos Edith was a baby so we [Silver and her partner] would do it in shifts and, you know, take it in turns to go to the pub and see our mates while the other one was babysitting. And I felt more unsafe in Boatswain than I did in Chord. In Chord there's always someone about. Roads are busy. (Silver, Boatswain, Map)

For Silver, in contrast to Rhona, moving to a quieter home town became a source of concern for her. She felt 'very vulnerable' in a home town which she would have to walk around 'on her own', as opposed to the busyness of Chord, which was a source of comfort for her, in the same way that initially, it was a cause of concern for Rhona. Panelli et al's (2004: 501-503) study of women living in rural and urban New Zealand also found that women reported ambivalent feelings about these quieter and busier places, with regard to safety. Indeed, it would appear that the stickiness of places, rather than their size or location is what fosters confidence, knowledge and 'at-home-ness', once more making explicit the link between affective expressions of 'home', street-wisdom and safe-keeping practices. As Silver suggests:

I suppose the difference is that I can make a quantified judgement because I have actually lived in a lot of different places, but then again, I have lived in different places at different times of my life so, you know, if I had lived in Boatswain when I was Edith's age I might have felt entirely different about it (Silver, Boatswain, Map)

Silver articulated the relationship between time and space in this description of how she constructed her own subjectivity. The home town of Boatswain, she suggested, had a different texture for her, than for her daughter. Thus, the meanings of space became differently textured as participants' lifetime experiences of it increased or decreased. For Ada, familiarity changed her map from red to green; as Rhona's knowledge of Chord increased, her affective relationship with her home town adapted, whereas for Silver, the loss of her home town of Chord and her 'hatred' of her new home town of Boatswain disinvested her of her spatial competency. Being 'new' in her home town made the texture of it less 'sticky' – she felt 'unsafe' and was less familiar with it. However, in the interview, her reflections of that time, textured the space. Her memory of the experience became retrospectively 'sticky' and it was this texture that informed her current spatial subjectivity. The

concept of this 'stickiness', recalls Knopp's consideration of spaces which 'haunt'. For Knopp (2004: 126-7), following Thrift, places become 'known' through situated 'knowledges' which 'haunt' as we 'pass' through them. The different, situated nature of the 'knowledges' produced by Silver, Ada and Rhona, as they subjectively experience them through their positionality as it was variously tempered by age, had been evidenced here. The notion that spaces become 'know(n)/able' before and beyond being occupied by ready-to-be-affected bodies as a result of these hauntings also proves instructive for understanding some of the ways that participants spoke nostalgically or aspirationally about their 'home towns' and used these sticky 'hauntings' to create knowledge about space.

5.4 Retro– and Pro– Spective Longing

Subjectivities and 'knowledges' were also constructed and deployed in the ways that participants spoke about themselves in a longitudinal spatiotemporal context. That is, as individuals with a history and a future, invoking aspirations in space, and nostalgia for space.

When discussing which spaces that they liked and disliked, many participants invoked feelings of longing, or sadness, for long gone places, or for places which they no longer recognised as their 'own'. In these extracts, Koryn and Janis elide these retrospective longings with nostalgia for childhood:

I used to go with my parents quite a lot, for a walk, and its got like a lovely little pond and you can sit there and have a picnic...it just reminds me of younger times and memories. Yeah...I think I will miss these parts of Boatswain. It is always nice to just have a park (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

To me it [merry-go-round] epitomises childhood. I can't think of that without thinking of an idyllic childhood in a very rural place and surrounded with fantastic landscape and sense of timelessness and security that you only get when you are a very young child. I love that. I love that thing. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

For both Janis and Koryn, the spaces that they spoke about in Boatswain invoked feelings of longing for a childhood 'idyll'. Kraftl has argued that the elision of childhood with an idyllic sense of perfection and idealism is a common, though not necessarily coherent one (Kraftl, 2008, 2009). For Kraftl, this construction of childhood essentialises it as an idyllic state which reinforces the distinction between 'adulthood' and 'childhood'. This distinction fetishises the child as a repository

of innocence and boundless joy (Kraftl, 2009: 72, Philo, 1992, Matthews et al 2000a). For Janis, this essentialised feeling about space was manifested in the sense of ‘timelessness and security’ that she associated with childhood. Whilst both Janis and Koryn associate this idyll with rurality, ‘fantastic landscapes’ and ponds one can picnic around, Janis’s nostalgic longing differed slightly to Koryn’s; the ‘idyllic childhood’ that Janis invoked when observing the merry-go-round was one of an imagined childhood, an abstract childhood, whereas for Koryn, her retrospective longing was based on her own memory of picnicking by the pond with her parents. This, as Philo has argued, demonstrates that whether retrospective longing is based on real or imagined memories or not, it can affect the meaning of space in a similar way. Philo identifies that ‘childhood lasts all through and ‘flickers’ and ‘hints’ of it pervade the everyday’ (Philo, 2003: 12). Here Philo describes these glimmers of childhood as being manifested in ‘reverie’. In the context of this discussion, I suggest that the idyll invoked by Janis and Koryn demonstrated the affective effect of eliding childhood with a nostalgic idyll. Indeed, both Janis and Koryn used the nomenclature of ‘love’ to describe their wishful, retrospective longing.

In contrast, an affective expression of mournful retrospective longing was evidenced in expressions of loss in place.

Bit quiet...it is sad and empty and cold and wet and no humans in sight except rows and rows of cars. So presumably people are somewhere...hiding in their houses...Gosh. It’s absolutely deserted, a deserted approach to the centre[...]No idea where the people are. [Sings ‘Where Have All the Flowers Gone?’ on tape in German] Yes. Very melancholy I think. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

The impact on subjectivity of the deserted town was illustrated in this extract by her affective expression of the ‘sad’, ‘empty’, ‘cold’, ‘wet’ street and by her performance of a song describing nostalgic loss and ‘melancholy’. In this context, it was ‘sadness’ that informed how Janis read this space. Her ready-to-be-affected body was constructed through a ‘sad’, retrospective longing for idealised place.

In contrast, prospective longing was constructed around more optimistic aspirations for the future. These prospective longings or desires invoked constructions of the urban and rural to promote feelings of safety and familiarity, as well as excitement and possibility.

Thing is...I would like to live...I like a busy place. But not like...I don’t want to bring my children up like there [Boatswain] cos...it’s hard[...]I’d say I’d live in a little village near

enough to go to town if they wanted to, but so you are safe. (Cecily, Anchor, Map)

Cos I would like to live somewhere in the countryside[...]I would rather live more of on sort of a little estate sort of thing...Like not like a council estate, like a country estate sort of thing. You know that everybody who will be there, will be there at a certain time and everybody is safe and everything. (Hermione, Anchor, Map)

Cecily and Hermione, who both lived in a rural area, idealised that space as one in which they would like to live where they would know everybody and which was 'safe'. As Valentine (1997b) has argued, and as I suggested at the beginning of this section, the construction of the rural as safe and sedate is a common one, but is one which is not limited to the rural locality. Even in urban settings, the rural is invoked in an aspirational context:

I think if I was older I would rather live somewhere... I was thinking the other day that I would like to live by The Common when I was older because...I don't know it has just got everything there. And then it has got like the common which is open space...I will stay in London, definitely. I probably wouldn't go anywhere else in England. I would probably go abroad. But not in the countryside. (Lilly, Chord, Map)

Even as she dismissed 'the countryside' as the last place which she would like to live in the world, Lilly evoked the idyll of the rural 'open space' of the Common that she would like to live near when she was older. The prospective longing expressed here was of an urban future accented by the perceived positive aspects of rurality. The contrast between the rural and the urban, in the context of prospective longing was also expressed by Iris:

I think personally, if I was old I would move out of [London]. Purely because, I don't know, I'd prefer to live in the countryside. I mean at the moment, being young I much prefer to live in the city, I really wouldn't like to live in the countryside, but think when you are older I guess it would be nice to have like open space and not have all like the transport and busy rush of [London]. (Iris, Chord, Map)

Here again, the 'open space' is invoked to illustrate what an idyllic prospective aspiration might look like. In this quotation, Iris drew a trajectory between the urban and rural, and the passage of her life course. This association of old age and rurality, and youth and urbanity reproduces normative

constructions of the urban as the lively, youthful, vibrant one, to its parochial, slow, peaceful other (cf. Saegert, 1980 and Wilson, 1991 for a similar discussion of the essentialist and gendered constructions of urban and suburban places). It was based on this construct of age and of space that many participants articulated their prospective longing.

Nell: I think I might sort of end up in a tiny little village somewhere where you know everyone by name and sort of commute to somewhere to work or sort of thing.

Alex: Like Anchor?

Nell: Um maybe. Something along those lines, maybe. But at the same time I am sort of...I am hoping to go to [University] in London which I think would be quite a big experience like having grown up in like an averagish town so...I think if I like that, I might sort of be tempted to stay in the city maybe. Like later on. (Nell, Anchor, Map)

For Nell, as for many participants, her future hopes were uncertain, but were expressed along the same essentialist construct of the urban and rural. The deployment of these constructs was significant for mobilising constructions of subjectivity:

I am quite a countrified person so I think I'd stick to more the suburbs and country parts. It's all I've known really. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

As Lola described here, situating her subjectivity in the 'countryside' plays a considerable part in her own construction of her prospective longing. She had become 'countrified' and so 'belonged' in the rural. The rural was entwined with her subjectivity, was where she had a sense of 'at-home-ness' and was why she would 'stick' to the 'country parts' in the future. Whilst many participants, like Lola, wanted to stay in rural or urban areas that they knew well, for others, their 'home towns' had become mundane, and they felt the urge to 'try something different'. Whilst some expressed a desire to emigrate entirely to other countries or to move to specific places in the UK, for others the sense of prospective longing was expressed in more abstract terms:

When I am older I don't want to live here but that is just because I am the kind of person who wants to move away and try something else, see something else. (Rita, Chord, Walk)

I don't want to live here when I am older just because like it is kind of...I find it really boring and I think I will just move out because... it kind of gets a bit samey here. It gets a bit boring.

So I think erm when I am older and want to move out I will try new places and stuff. Yeah I am kind of bored of it. (Rhona, Chord, Map)

Both Rita and Rhona expressed an urge to 'move away' and 'try new places' without articulating anywhere in particular that they might like to 'try'. In her discussion of the fourth environment, and how access to it is limited for girls living in rural Vermont, Dunkley also identified that 'having no place in the rural landscape, girls imagine a future in cities and suburbs' (2004: 575); their malaise and limited opportunity to engage with space in the same way that boys could, encouraged them to reject their rural 'homes'. For both Rita and Rhona, this apparent restlessness was also linked to a sense of adventure, reflecting an autonomy or desire for positive self-determination that was not explicitly reflected in Dunkley's findings. Rita identified that she was 'the kind of person' who would 'try something else', whilst Rhona's increased spatial confidence had caused her to find her home town 'samey' and 'boring' and she was desirous to leave it. Here, once more, the metropolis of Chord has echoes of the rural-ness of space that is examined in Dunkley's study, and illustrates how these notions of the urban, rural and suburban are social constructs, subjectively applied in the work of making sense of place. Their discussions recall Valentine & Sporton's (2009) analysis of the mutual constitution of space and subjectivity for Somali young people. For their participants, as for Rhona and Rita, the relationships between the space their bodies occupy and the ways in which they experience their sense of self, and 'at-home-ness', are mediated by each other. For Rhona and Rita, their prospective longing neither leant towards or away from the urban; it was without spatial centre and manifested itself in a directionless, yet enthusiastic, aspirational wandering away from what they 'knew', towards the peripheries of their imaginations. The hope expressed here is potent and dynamic and reveals the stretchiness of how spatial subjectivity is constructed. A final, pertinent area of analysis of the ways in which space is used to make sense of 'homes', is through discussing the margin and periphery. I turn to consider this now.

5.5 Skirting the Outskirts: Subjectivity and the Margin

Interrogation of the peripheries reveals the multiplicity of subjectivities that liminal places can produce. The liminal spaces I discuss in this section were located not only at the outskirts of the sites, but also marked places of transition between spaces, such as paths or alleyways. And, recalling Turner's (1969) consideration of the role of the liminal in the construction of subjectivity, and Knopp's (2004) and Creswell's (1998) discussion of the possibilities afforded by operating with marginal subjectivities, it is these spaces of possibility and transformation that I consider here. As evidenced in the maps which the participants drew, these peripheral spaces were geographically, as

well as figuratively marginal. They marked spaces that were 'other' to the spaces around them:

It is a really weird passage. It often stinks and only one person can go through it at a time. It is a very quiet area so that you are cut off from the buzz of the high street (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

In addition to narrow roads and paths, which people transition through, places of arrival and departure such as rail or bus stations were also constructed as peripheral and 'other':

I just want to take you round to the Bus Station. It's like one of the places where I hate coming in to but I have to do it to get transport. There's always someone being arrested around here. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

Dirty and poor and kind of despondent this part of Boatswain looks like, but of course it is not strictly the town centre. It is the bit between the town centre and the station, which is quite a busy part of Boatswain, because a lot of people use it to commute to London. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

These 'othered' places were by no means always constructed negatively; the maps illustrated the places where feelings about peripheral spaces were positive as well as negative. With Cresswell's (1998) discussion of Reitman's *Map of the Peninsular of Submerged Hope* in mind, they became cartographies of love as well as of loathing through which participants carved boundaries of 'belonging' and 'not belonging' across their 'home towns'.

It is not actually so much the town centre as much as the approach to the town centre. I love walking to town. Um, it's like a space in the country really, walking through the park. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

If you stay on the outskirts you will see the true beauty within it, sort of thing[...]It never feels untidy. It's funny, you've got like other ends of the town the [river], the park, you've got nice things about Boatswain. But in the middle it's a bit grotty. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

Here, once more the imagery of the rural idyll was invoked to describe the affective experiences of 'love' and 'beauty' in 'home towns'. Both Koryn and Janis took pleasure from the outskirts of

Boatswain as opposed to the centre which was 'grotty'. Yet a town can have many marginal places, and not all of them peripheral. The following are expressions of loathing about a certain alleyway in the middle of Boatswain:

Tramps hang around [here] as well. Yeah it's disgusting. I actually hate this place...Yeah. It's not very nice. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

Enola: I stopped going down here cos my friends think it's creepy.

Alex: You stopped going down here?

Enola: Yeah. It's just a short cut.

Alex: Why do your friends think it is creepy?

Enola: Well they used it when it was dark so that's probably...not good...a lot of other people think it's creepy so...

Alex: Ok. And what, they said that it was not a good idea?

Enola: I wouldn't go down here anymore.

Alex: You thought that they were probably right?

Enola: Yeah

Alex: Would you go round the long way usually then?

Enola: No...I actually do this [take the short cut] on my own. (Enola, Boatswain, Walk)

For Koryn and Enola, the marginal space of this alleyway was constructed as a site of 'disgust', and a 'creepy' site of fear that they avoided. For Enola, the meaning of this space was even more fluid. She would avoid it to keep her friends happy, but would take the short cut alone. This demonstrates how knowledge about this site was constructed in flux. Enola participated in reproducing the idea that this space was to be avoided, but it was not a construct that she agreed with and so, in private, would use the space that was so loathed by others. Comparing Koryn's and Enola's separate accounts of the alleyway, it is possible to suggest that the loathing of the alleyway was based on a classed knowledge of space; it was the 'tramps' who render the space 'disgusting'. Demonstrating how 'knowledges' about spaces are circulated, a question I return to in Chapter 9, Enola fostered a sense of belonging with her friends by reproducing classist scripts of exclusion in relation to the alleyway. Like Koryn, wielding her class privilege over the 'disgusting tramps', Enola made knowledge about the space which reinforced the exclusion of marginalised 'tramps' in order not to receive the condemnation of her friends (who would perhaps view her body as polluted by her occupying the 'disgusting' alleyway space (See Sibley, 1995 and discussions of femininity in Chapter

7), However, outside of this relation, Enola admitted to using the alleyway as a short cut, and to refusing the expression of loathed, fearful affects in relation to ‘tramp’ ‘others’. Significantly for this discussion, this could be said to reflect the ways in which interpretations of expressions of affect might be autonomous and affect, itself, non-autonomous. The indeterminacy of the ‘short cut’ – at once a welcome site used to traverse space quickly, and a fearful, ‘creepy’ alleyway to avoid – reflects the fluidity of the ways in which expressions of affect about space might be deployed and understood, and in particular, how expressions of exclusionary, ‘bad’ affects might be autonomously resisted. This indeterminacy is an important theme that I return to in Chapter 9.

These figurative cartographies of the periphery not only show affective love and loathing of a space, they also show practices of loving, loathing and expression beyond and between these, through activities of leisure and experiences of class. Similarly, Eve’s particularly evocative cartography of loathing was illustrative of the way in which she imagined Boatswain as a topography of delight, disgust or disorder (See Appendix B). In this context of marginal space, Eve’s cartography gave some indication of the ways that space was categorised. Like other participants, Eve used two colours to indicate places she liked and disliked and then, in the course of our discussion, identified a further category of place that she named ‘a world of its own’. This discussion of the ‘world of its own’ is particularly interesting, in that it evokes Foucauldian ideas of heterotopia (Foucault, 1986). Eve explained that places which were in a ‘world of their own’ were there because they were ‘horrible and scary’;

Eve: That's red [colour chosen for the map] cos I would never go there even if you paid me.

Alex: So that's especially bad?

Eve: It's terrifying, it's like a whole other world.

Alex: Really why, what's it like?

Eve: It's just it's like you know the 70s tower blocks? It's all like that and it's all horrible and it...they know that you're not...(this sounds really bad doesn't it?)...like them, they know you're not one of them...(Eve, Boatswain, Map).

Thus for Eve, the estate that she described reflected a marginal site that she would not visit ‘even if you paid [her]’. Eve’s discussion here recalls some of the way that Foucault theorises space. The heterotopia, for Foucault (1986), as I outlined in Section 3.4 is a way of ordering, or making sense of space. A significant feature of Foucault’s heterotopia, and relevant for the way in which Eve spoke about the council estate, is in the sanctioning of entrance and exit (1986: 26). Here, the physical and

figurative 'whole other world' of the heterotopia was one that Eve could not enter 'even if you paid [her]'. She was the wrong type of person, so if she were to enter, she would be 'terrified', and everyone who legitimately occupied the heterotopia of the estate would know she was 'not one of them'. This understanding of marginal space as existing in a heterotopia is particularly useful as it demonstrates, as Foucault (1986: 24) suggests, that the heterotopia serves to comment, mirror, and remark on that which exists outside of it. Here, we can understand Eve's comments about not being 'like' those who occupy the heterotopia of the estate as an example of how she understood class or 'race' and her classed or 'raced' position in relation to these people. Eve, as Table 4 indicates, and as transpired in our discussion, was from a white, middle-class background and, like Koryn above, and Shulamith and Agatha elsewhere, constructed some of her knowledge about space by reproducing the privilege of whiteness and middle-classness in her affective expressions about space. The symbol of the '70s tower block', standing in for descriptions of the socially immobile and underclass 'other' (see Hayward & Yar, 2006), illustrates how theorising space through heterotopia physicalises expressions of 'bad' affects and exclusionary loathing. In its undesirability, it also emphasises the physicality of fearfulness; it is 'terrifying', but it is also ugly, 'horrible' and alien. Eve's deployment of the heterotopia to understand marginal, peripheral spaces operated to situate herself and these 'others' in an unequal relationship. It was also used to highlight areas, or symbols, that she disliked intensely, including prisons and hospitals:

Eve: They are horrible and scary, the prison, I would not go if you paid me cos like you can go past it, but even going past it is horrible. So this one is 'world of its own'. Because that's where [a notorious murderer] is.

Alex: Is it really?

Eve: Yeah and you can just like tell...like even being outside of it, the amounts of guards and things it's horrible...The hospital I don't like because we go past so early we see all the drunk people and stuff...Hospital I don't like any hospitals. They freak me out. (Eve, Boatswain, Map)

For Eve, it was the mention of the people who occupied the heterotopia that caused her to dislike this space; not only the well-known criminals who may or may not be in the prison, but also the guards, who ostensibly were charged with defending non-criminals from criminals such as the ones

that Eve feared, became a symbol of fear for her¹⁷. Similarly it was the ‘drunks’ of the hospital that ‘freaked [her] out’. Indeed, for some participants, these heterotopias of control were understood as pollutants in the area of Boatswain. On walking past a girls’ school which was near to the prison in Boatswain, Koryn stated that ‘the girls there are called ‘jailbait’’ (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk). Thus, for Koryn, the proximity of the heterotopia of the school to the heterotopia of the prison had polluted the femininity of the young women who attended the school, which perhaps reflects Eve’s own anxieties about being near the prison. The boundaries of the heterotopia became permeable, and, foreshadowing discussions of pathological femininity in Chapters 6 and 7 and recalling discussions of Tyler (2008) and Lawler (2005), have spoilt the femininity of the girls who attended the school next to the prison. Here, Koryn cast her own femininity in opposition to that of the ‘jailbait’ girls. Unlike Eve, it was not fear that she expressed in the proximity of the prison, but relief that unlike the girls in the school, her proper and unpolluted femininity remained safe.

There are a number of discourses of sexuality which circulate about the institution of the prison. Here Koryn constructed the prison as an ordinarily masculine space where the overt, hyper-heterosexuality of the male inmates saturated the heterotopia to its limits, such that it permeated the passive, feminised heterotopia of the girl’s school adjacent to it. The men were constructed as rampant and out of control of their sexuality, whilst the girls, with no males to protect them at the school, were constructed as helpless, inevitable victims of this aggressive masculine heterosexuality. These findings echoes Day’s (2001) observations of men’s perceptions of feminine fear. Day argues that the separate notions of masculinity as the ‘youthful badass or chivalrous man’ inform how the young men in her study situated themselves, and their behaviours in relation to normative constructions of masculinity (2001: 116). Similarly here, Koryn reproduced knowledge about this peripheral site that was informed by equally normative constructions of masculinity and femininity from her perspective as a young woman. By casting the girls at the school as ‘always-already’ victims of aggressive masculine sexuality, such as that discussed by Day et al (2003) and Walklate (1997), Koryn displayed how perceptions of sexuality, as well as perceptions of class, were used by her to understand these marginal sites and construct knowledge about them as places where ‘good’ femininity became polluted and deviant sexuality prevailed. The pollution of the self through proximity to others recalls Sibley’s (1988) observations about the use of ‘boundary erection’ to contain and segregate categories of people. Whilst the walls of the school and the prison might appear to be sufficient to protect against the pollution of passive, appropriate femininity from

¹⁷ Interestingly Eve’s focus on the hospital and the prison echoes Foucault’s own concerns with these institutions as means through which societies are organised (Foucault, 1970, 1975, 1986).

deviant, aggressive masculinity, for Koryn the polluting potential of the heterotopia was so strong that it appeared to infect the girls in proximity to it. The need to protect and cocoon the body from the polluting influences of sexed, 'raced' and classed 'others' like this, is considered again in Chapter 10.

Further instances of classed loathing were also expressed by Eve and Kye in their Map Interviews and by Cleo in her Diary (See Appendix C). These three participants described what they all separately called 'Tramp Island'. Kye described the heterotopia of 'Tramp Island' thus:

It's like a like a road island...a traffic island, and it's like...there were loos there and there used to be benches all round it and that's where the tramps go and then they took the benches away to try to get rid of the tramps, but the tramps just sit on the ground. (Kye, Boatswain, Map)

And Eve:

Alex: What is 'Tramp Island'?

Eve: It's just this little island that we call Tramp Island. I don't think that's its real name. The tramps live there and when the boys get their drugs, that's where they get them from. (Eve, Boatswain, Map)

This knowledge about the traffic island circulated to construct it as a site of loathing and of the subclassed 'other'. Once more, the combination of the place, time and the persons described by Eve and Kye created this site as a heterotopia of loathing. And, once more, it was from a relatively privileged subject position that Kye, Cleo and Eve articulated affective expressions of loathing about Tramp Island, characterised as being occupied by people who were 'other' and reproducing knowledge about space along exclusionary lines of self and 'other'. This reflects how a heterotopia works to comment on space and to comment on those who comment on space. Thus indicating how these marginal sites come to be 'known' as loathable or indeed, loveable, as in Koryn's and Janis's earlier comments about some of the geographic margins of Boatswain. I return to consider more thoroughly the role of the 'other' in knowledge-making in Chapter 7.

Beyond these classed and sexualised heterotopia of loathing, an understanding of the margin, and the constructions of heterotopia of pleasure reflects the importance of the periphery for understanding and creating knowledge about space:

Agatha: [I go to] pretty much all the places on the [Main Road] then I think, ever since I have been going out, we just steer clear of the side roads and just go down the [Main Road].

Alex: Why do you think you don't go down the side roads?

Agatha: I just like...they are not as packed like, and full and it's just, I don't know. I don't know actually. It is a tradition that you just stick to the [Main Road]. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

Edith: Oh, what so you won't go out on Fridays?

Silver: No yeah we do sometimes. But I would choose the pubs on the outskirts of the centre. Not...I mean not suburbs but you know pubs like [the Dog and Duck], or [the Primrose], or [the Crown] or some...maybe [the Blue Cow]. Although that is a bit too far in, and at night... but those sorts of pubs where you can have a chat. (Edith and Silver, Boatswain, Map)

For Silver and for Agatha, the periphery became significant in choosing where to participate in the night-time leisure economy, and for both, marked a cartography of where they would and would not go in Boatswain. The peripheral space off the Main Road in Boatswain acted as a boundary to keep Agatha inside the centre and Silver outside of it; each dependent on their separate desires for a particular night out. Agatha desired somewhere that was 'packed' with people, Silver on the other hand desired a 'pub where you could have a chat', and so knowledge about these seemingly contrasting desires was informed by the periphery each had separately constructed. Sibley's (1988: 114, 120) discussions recognise the variety of ways in which 'boundary erection' is strategically utilised to order space, to include those who belong and exclude those who do not belong. The ways in which Silver and Agatha separately described 'boundary erection' across the leisure-space of Boatswain reflected this aspect of Sibley's discussion, but also illustrated how boundaries of belonging and exclusion were carved across space in resistant ways, as those who enjoy quieter leisure-space excluded themselves from the town-centre and those who enjoyed the 'packed' town centre heterotopically cocoon themselves from the periphery, in ways which are coexistent and potentially agentic. The cocoon, as a safe-making strategy, is one that I return to consider in Section 10.5. In addition to this, as Cresswell (1998) and Sibley (1988) remind us, the outskirts as a site of leisure can also encourage the practice of marginal, sub-criminal activities. Out of sight of the main thoroughfare, these outskirts, or liminal places of transition (Turner, 1969), provided the shelter to engage in activities which skirted the margins of legality:

Cecily: The[Lake]...I don't where that is...there...yeah everyone goes there at night. Parks up and drinks and stuff. Yeah...there's nothing really to do. Like you can see your friends and

stuff but there's nowhere else for people my age.

Alex: It is interesting actually to think about the different places you go...Like[that you say]people drive there...

Cecily: That's the thing, I have seen people drive to...in their cars with their bottles of wine and stuff and...

Alex: Rather than go to sit by the river? People probably like it cos it's like out of the way.

Cecily: Yeah...but there's like loads of fights and stuff. Like people generally go there after they have been to town like on a Saturday night. Like at 3 o'clock in the morning. It's like absolutely packed cos you can play like loud music there and nobody gets annoyed and stuff like that. (Cecily, Boatswain, Map)

The Lake that Cecily talked about was on the outskirts of Boatswain and was where she and others engaged in the sub-criminal activities of drink-driving, under-aged drinking and fighting. Cresswell's consideration of Reitman's work suggests that there is a transformative potential afforded by operating, both spatially and subjectively, on the margin (Cresswell, 1998: 208). For Cecily, the peripheral location provided protection from the scrutiny of figures of authority, or other people, whilst enabling her to establish a spatial subjectivity which was empowered by engaging in this sub-criminality. The spatial emancipation that Cecily contrived here, through participating in marginal activities in these liminal spaces, illustrated some of the alternative and wilful ways in which participants forged 'at-home-ness' in 'un-at-home' spaces. I return to consider these more in Chapter 10. Here, Cecily stated that 'nobody got annoyed' by them using this space for leisure. In this context, the liminal space of the Lake was a site of recreation and possibility whilst also being an ambivalent site of marginal behaviour. This space was marginal because of its marginal geography as well as the marginal activities that occurred there. Janis described the area thus:

Now, there is a park as well and there in one area of the park that is very well trimmed and lots of flowers and dogs, etcetera, but then the park turns into a kind of wild area towards the Lake, and really the wild. You can walk for miles without seeing anything and again that kind of transitory place between the wild and park which is not, you are not quite sure what it is, whether it's public or wild or domesticated and that area sometimes I feel you meet weird people there. It seems to attract people these liminal place. You know. Between two places. So that's another area which I always walk fast between the two, between the Lake and here. Err what makes them dangerous? It's that. It's their location. They are at the edge or between places. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

Here it was the transitionality of this peripheral site that rendered it as one of concern. When she saw people 'inhabiting' that space, Janis interpreted them as 'weird'. She read the space as 'dangerous' and 'walked fast' between the 'wild' Lake and the more orderly, 'well trimmed' park. In contrast to Cecily's relationship with the same place, Janis cited this area as a site of concern in her Diary. In Cecily's account, the sense of thrill and delight at doing leisure in a site where they could 'play their music loud', have 'loads of fights' and enjoy the isolation of not being interfered with by other people, demonstrated some of the ways that some participants were able to revel in sites of loathing, and delight in being able to use them for leisure, in a way that older participants like Janis did not. This begins to illustrate the ways in which some participants, like Cecily here, use places where some experience 'un-at-home-ness' as sites of spatial emancipation, where they could test the boundaries of marginal behaviour and gain pleasure in risk-taking in these geographically and socially peripheral sites.

Comparing these several accounts of the same spaces – Enola and Koryn's separate discussions of the alley-way in Boatswain, Silver and Agatha's complementary, if oppositional, uses of the Main Street, in Boatswain as a site of leisure in the night-time and Cecily and Janis's relationships with the Lake at the edge of Boatswain – captures the indeterminacy of affects that might be expressed in these peripheral, or peripheralised, spaces. This reflects the 'fuzziness' of boundaries of exclusion (Sibley, 1988: 417) and highlights the fluidity of 'knowledges' about spaces that can be fostered. Indeed, these last two discussions, those of the Lake and the Main Street also compare participants' intergenerational attitudes to space. As some of the older participants, Janis's and Silver's views about the loveableness or loathableness of Boatswain might also indicate how spatial subjectivity, and sense of 'at-home-ness', might alter in relation to age. As has been argued in 5.3, in the context of time-textured spaces, Janis's and Silver's age and spatial experience provided them with an increased volume of experiences from which to forge knowledge. Thus, in this latest context, whilst Janis may express a dislike of the Lake, with her spatial subjectivity more established as an older participant she may not need to make so much use of the marginal site of the Lake to experience spatial emancipation in the way that Cecily, excited by the possibilities afforded by that liminal space, described. Similarly, the contrasting accounts offered by Agatha and Silver of places in Boatswain that they enjoyed during the night time could be said to illustrate the intergenerational differences in spatial subjectivity. In this way, the same marginal sites were interpreted as places of desire and enjoyment for some, and antipathy and concern for others.

The fluidity of meaning attributed to space is nothing new; however this discussion demonstrates the mutability with which knowledge about space is constructed. That the same place meant different things to different people emphasises that interpretations about those places, and knowledge constructed therein must be interrogated rather than taken at face value, to enquire after who is speaking, what do they mean and why are they meaning it. Here, it is by taking account of the situatedness of the knowledge that participants are creating, as it is mediated by age, 'race', class, or sex that such a contextual analysis of knowledge is enabled. This study also indicates the ways in which participants situated themselves and others in space, and from this, constituted safe-keeping and street-wisdom. It is here that the embodied experience of space becomes salient for my discussion; how the self comes to understand space through relationships with the other. It is that that I turn to consider in the following Chapters.

Chapter 6: Constructions of Self

As I began to touch upon in the previous chapter, the way in which place is understood – is ‘known’ – is in the intersubjective relationship between the body and space. In the course of my research, it became apparent that some of the ways in which participants framed knowledge about space was through discussions of bodies as ‘self’ or ‘other’. I examine this here and in the next chapter. How the body comes to be ‘known’ in space, how participants understand themselves as being ‘at-home’ or ‘not-at-home’ in space contributes to the construction of street-wisdom or knowledge about space. One of the ways in which the participants across all three sites constructed a sense of selfhood was through their separate discussions about gender, and how they situated their own ‘femininity’ within that, as mediated by the positionality of their classed, ‘raced’, aged body. Within these discussions, the repetition of heteronormative constructions of gender, as mediated by age, class and ‘race’, becomes particularly apparent, and serves as an example of the social harm done by reliance on dominant discourses to construct knowledges about space. Two themes in particular became apparent in these discussions of gendered experiences of space; that of gendered leisure pursuits and those relating to impressions of safety.

6.1 Shopping and Football: Gendering Leisure

For girls really we just walk around. We have a bit of a gossip cos that's what we do. Boys, they just sort of go play some football on the field or they stand around. They are mainly more active than we are really. (Lottie, Anchor Map)

We girls hang around in the village whereas I think[boys]always go places and they always get lifts and[are]going somewhere[...]and also cos there's a sporting aspect, there's football, and rowing and cricket so they can play that, whereas the girls haven't really got anything like that[...]and um...I don't know it just seems like for guys hanging around the village it's not particularly cool. Whereas we don't mind it. Like we will go for a picnic or go for a walk and it's fine. (Persephone, Anchor, Map)

Like there's a cricket club and that's boys'. But yeah, girls can't really do that, and boys are probably a bit more ready to like cycle to the next village to see friends, but I would rather not. It's probably just me being lazy but yeah...or they might be more[...]independent but even if you are independent you still have to drive everywhere. (Maud, Anchor, Map)

As Persephone, Maud and Lottie suggested, boys were perceived as always on the move, they were 'always getting lifts and [were] going somewhere', they were 'mainly more active', 'more independent' than their female counterparts. They did 'not find it cool' to stay in the village. Thomas's (2005: 588) study of young women's leisure activities in South Carolina, USA suggests that participation in leisure activities, beyond the scrutiny of their parents, is important for the forging of spatial subjectivity of young people. Therefore it is significant that in this extract the participants identified that the supposed mobility of the boys, compared to the static nature of the leisure activities preferred by the girls, such as having a 'bit of a gossip' or 'hanging around the village', reproduced a heteronormative construction of gender which essentialised 'feminine' activities as more passive than 'masculine' activities (See Saegert, 1980). Furthermore, by invoking this passivity in their accounts of perceived gender differences in their choice of leisure activities, they associated female leisure with the feminised private sphere; they 'didn't mind' hanging around the village, or were 'too lazy' to cycle to the next village. This presentation of these participants' leisure discursively tied them closer to the sphere of their home. It was the boys in the accounts who were presented as having the initiative or means to leave the confines of the village, and as Walklate (1997) suggests, who were valorised as 'risk-takers'. This reproduced the essentialist construction of masculinity as proactive, physically strong and detached from the domestic sphere, contrasted with the passive, domestic, feminine 'other' (Walklate, 1997: 43).

Their own construction of girls being associated with home spaces and boys with the outdoors did not reflect the range of spatial competencies that some participants appeared to demonstrate, which indicates the extent to which traditional gender ideology might be internalised and reproduced by the read-to-be-affected body. The pervasiveness of these heteronormative constructions of self reflects two issues. Firstly there is the possibility that it was a methodological issue that encouraged participants to outwardly express a normative performance of 'proper' femininity; static, passive, secondary to normative masculinity and masculine leisure activities. I have considered this possibility and the potential limitations of the method employed here in Section 4.7 and will return to evaluate these in Section 11.1, particularly with regard to the middle-class positionality of the majority of the participants and the importance of being seen to be doing 'correct' performances of self. On the other hand, the lack of apparent willingness to disrupt gender binaries in these discussions could be said to indicate how common-place it is to perform these correct genders – that it is taken-for-granted, that it is so ordinary as to not merit comment by these participants. Given that many participants gave engaging and animated accounts of their interaction with street-space, and in many other contexts refused to speak in normative terms (see for instance

Section 8.1), I suggest that rather than being exclusively a methodological issue, which accounts for this apparent lack of evidence of subversive gendered behaviour, it is the pervasive mundanity of these constructs which inhibits such subversity; a pervasiveness which is pernicious in its ubiquity as it hampers the possibilities of the ready-to-be-affected-body to be ready-to-be-otherwise-affected. Similarly in Chord;

If I am going up town[...]I think most boys don't tend to go shopping that often. I mean I know some do...but most of the boys I know don't really shop. So I guess in that sense I would say that girls use urban space more than boys so I say personally, cos I don't like sport and stuff so they use open space more so I guess in that sense sort of use it differently but[...]in the day times yeah I think they play more sport and stuff so don't use it in quite the same way. (Iris, Chord Map)

This also portrays an essentialised construct of gendered leisure; that boys 'play sport' and girls 'go shopping'. This rhetoric was reproduced frequently and unproblematically across all three research sites, constructing boys as natural athletes and girls as shopaholics. When identifying how she imagined the experience of Boatswain varied for different people in the town, Athena explained:

Probably the high street is more [geared] toward more adults or girls cos it's all...there's a [lot of] shops and stuff but then all the other places are more towards boys like there's lots of sports grounds and things I wouldn't use and you always see groups of boys on it. (Athena, Boatswain, Map)

As discussed in Chapter 2, these contributions echo those of Hollander (2001: 92, 100) in the context of women who perpetuate essentialised constructions of gender by dismissing expressions of feminine fearlessness and De Groof (2008: 286) who fails to problematise children's supposed socialisation into idealised masculinity or femininity. Instead, I posit that despite stereotypical gendered constructs, these participants' discussions suggest a fixity how they understand gender that belies the multifarious attitudes that the participants actually held about places and what they meant to them. Whereas many participants appeared to demonstrate spatial confidence and to take pleasure in space, these discourses of vulnerable femininity permeated many accounts of space use, which indicates the impact of traditional gender ideologies on spatial subjectivities.

That participants might have articulated these normative constructions of gender, whilst appearing, in their accounts, to have much more emancipated relationships with space, might demonstrate a

methodological difficulty whereby participants wanted to present performances of respectable femininity and to rehearse established discursive scripts about women in space in response to my questions. However, I suggest that by understanding the difference between what the body *says* and what the body *does* here, through the affective theoretical lens, we can argue that these seeming incoherences illustrate the work of autonomous affective expression. If, as Massumi (2002) suggests, affects operate autonomously and cannot be freely chosen, then the doing of feminine vulnerability becomes an inevitability for these participants. Instead, I argue that it is through disinvesting affects of their autonomous expression, that a ready-to-be-affected body can become 'capable' and can respond to space in heterogeneous, playful ways which are less confined by normative expressions. The more limited way in which participants chose to articulate gender in the context of leisure here, had implications for the more expansive way in which they framed their discussions of safety.

6.2 'Feeling' Gendered Safety

As suggested in Chapter 2, gendered safety has received and continues to receive considerable attention from researchers. The work of Pain (1997, 2001), Valentine, (1989, 1992), and of Koskela (1997, 1999) amongst others is formative in this context. In common with the findings of much existing work on fear of crime, the goal of being safe and of practicing safe-keeping was a commonly-held one amongst participants. Many of the themes identified in this body of research were echoed in the responses of the participants. The more subversive approaches offered by Hutta (2009) or Hollway & Jefferson (1997) which problematise safety as inherently desirable were not espoused by the majority of participants, though this problematisation was certainly significant for forging the street-wisdom of some, and I return to consider these in Chapter 10. However, as the following quotations demonstrate, when discussing their opinions of experiences in their 'home towns', many responses rested on normative understandings of gender and the centrality of safety in general:

I think boys have this perception where they are supposed to put up a fight. But then girls are like easy targets cos like people think 'oh girls don't put up much of a fight'. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

I don't know, in my opinion, I feel that boys are actually fine because they have obviously got the strength to like hit people or whatever whereas, we are more of the weaker sex, so they say, so we can't...yeah so girls...well certain girls go into Anchor feeling afraid whereas

boys go feeling 'yeah man this is going to be a good day' type thing, yeah... (Lottie, Anchor, Map)

Eve: Yeah...boys don't mind walking down the river but they're...cos they're boys and are bigger, they would know what to do in that situation whereas it would really freak me out.

Alex: What would they do?

Eve: Fight back. And I would probably think about it but, cos I am smaller...I don't know I think boys just have an easier time walking around because they are bigger. They can just be...bigger (Eve, Boatswain, Map)

In these examples, a gendered difference was recognised and expressed in a way that situated women as more vulnerable than their male counterparts; as the 'weaker sex', as 'easy targets'. This also reminds of Hollander's (2001) study of the perpetrations of 'traditional gender ideology' in safekeeping. It is also interesting to note that for Lottie and for Eve, this essentialist gender construction was played out on the body; it was Eve's body that is too 'small' to fight an attacker, it was Lottie's 'weakness' that informed her understanding of gendered safety. These constructions were iterated in Day's (2001: 120) observations of masculine interpretations of gendered safety, where participants attributed women's increased fear in space, when compared to men, to their 'biological weakness' and the increased likelihood, that by being weaker, they would live more static, domestic, spatially limited lives. However, this opinion was not expressed by all participants by any means, and in some instances participants felt that boys are more vulnerable than they themselves were:

...It's probably even more unsafe [for boys] to be honest because girls don't actually get picked on. In term of fighting or anything. (Saxona, Chord, Map)

I think I think it must be harder for boys because there is always that...they are a lot more hostile than girls I think. They are sort of more...they are more argumentative. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

Audrey: I think boys get picked fights with more and girls just get yelled at more. If you are wearing like certain clothings and people just make rude comments whereas boys actually just get picked on.

Alex: So you think it is worse for boys?

Audrey: Um...I think it kind of evens itself out, cos the reason boys get picked on more would be cos in general they're stronger and they can take care of themselves whereas...and so they get picked on, whereas girls don't get picked on as much but they're also susceptible to this kind of thing (Audrey, Boatswain, Map)

The concerns expressed by Saxona, Lola and Audrey for boys across all three sites were associated with boys as aggressive, violent or susceptible to violence, and feminine passivity in contrast to this. Here too, an essentialist discourse about masculinity which mirrors the feminine discourses of vulnerability, expressed earlier by Lottie, Koryn and Agatha and identified by Day (2001) and Day et al (2003), is reproduced. Day (2001: 120-1) suggests that the construction of men as either 'badasses' or 'strong-hearted and selfless' heroes continues to sustain a masculine/feminine subjectifying and disempowering binary. Similarly, though Saxona and Lola believed that spatial experiences in their respective home town spaces were less unsafe for boys compared to girls, their expressed impressions operated on the same essentialist binary which cast boys as 'risk-takers' (Walklate, 1997) whose masculinity circulated around discourses of violence and 'toughness' (Day, 2001: 117, Goodey, 1997).

6.2.1 Sexualised Harassment

Recalling Brooks Gardner's (1995) and Kelly's (1987) earlier discussions of the pervasiveness of sexual harassment, and echoing observations above of how gendered safety is played out on the body, a number of participants expressed how experiences of sexual harassment informed their understandings of themselves and their movements around their 'home towns'.

The number of times me and another girl have been walking around and had men whistling at us and calling at us so you know...that wouldn't happen if [we] were boys (Allegra, Boatswain, Map)

For me, as a girl walking through town on a Friday night past the pubs and bars is a bit horrible whereas as a guy I don't think would find it too bad...You get guys making comments at you and all that sort of stuff. Um...a load of drunk guys come and hassle you and stuff whereas guys it doesn't really happen to. (Ariel, Boatswain, Map)

I think that the guys that I meet in town they are quite like forward with things and then for a girl that is intimidating. (Joy, Anchor, Map)

I don't like walking by the river terribly much, because there's quite a lot of flashers there and sometimes the [local newspaper] make a fuss because we are a girl's school and they crouch really low and take pictures of girls' skirts saying they are really short and stuff...(Eve, Boatswain, Map)

These extracts reveal a breadth of ways in which participants experienced and anticipated sexual harassment; being 'whistled at', 'hassled', 'intimidated' by men's comments or flashed-at. Echoing Seamon's (1980) phenomenological description of the place-ballet, I suggest that these participants came to understand their feminine bodies in space as endlessly menaced by heterosexist, masculinist interactions. Without resistant behaviours, such as those I explore in Chapter 10, this readiness to expect and negotiate this harassment renders the phenomenological experience of being-in-space one which is perpetually threatening and perpetually exacted on the body. Buchanan (1997) might argue that for these participants, this perpetual exposure to perceived harassment has rendered their ready-to-be-affected body pathological, which limits the capacity of what the body 'can do'. As I go on to argue in Chapter 10 with reference to safe-keeping strategies, it is through the ready-to-be-affected body that alternatives for the body in space become fathomable or imagined. It is by nurturing the healthy ready-to-be-affected body that discussions of street-wisdom might move beyond desire for safety which essentialises the safe as inherently good and away from fear as essentially bad. For Allegra, Joy, Ariel and Eve, their readiness-to-be-affected was rendered pathological by perceived sustained exposure to harassment, which undid their capacity-to-be-affected, and as I argue again in 6.2.2 and Chapter 7, inhibited their capacity to express affects other than those which situate their vulnerability as inherently endless. In this context, Eve's observation is particularly illustrative and demonstrates how experiences of being harassed are expressed in other areas of her life. Echoing Frug's (1992) assertions about the ubiquity of gendered oppression, in her description of the experience of walking along the river – an experience which many participants enjoyed – she elided the threat of being flashed-at by a flasher and the threat of being flashed-at by a photographer from the local paper as a form of sexual harassment. In the first instance it was the spectre of the body of the flasher which worried her, in the second; it was her own body, and her own skirt which may have caused her to feel harassed by being in that space. These concurrent threats against her feminine ready-to-be-affected-body in space construct knowledge about the river as a place of loathing and 'un-at-home-ness'. These very real experiences of sexual harassment on the street or in green areas, as well as the loathing or dread which was expressed about these experiences, reflects a form of sexual violence which is associated with women's everyday experiences of streets in their home towns (Brooks Gardner 1995, Stanko, 1990, 1996, Kelly, 1987). Indeed, Saxona continues;

As much as, you know, people whistle and tease you, that just happens and you ignore it. Whereas if you were a guy I think you could get caught up in something. More...it's probably more likely that you will. (Saxona, Chord, Map)

Saxona presented herself as an individual who internalised this form of gendered violence and understood it as normal, as something that 'just happened', that you 'just ignored', in contrast to the supposed perils that faced 'guys'. Saxona's strategy to diminish the impact of this harassment involved the adoption of a passive attitude; one that ignored. In contrast, the 'guys' were more likely to 'get caught up' in violence. The binary of feminine/masculine and passive/active was upheld. However, it would be disingenuous to suggest that Saxona, and others who also adopt this apparently 'passive' stance, were wholly disempowered by this approach. Saxona may have performed 'passive' femininity, but in so doing, she reduced the impact of this sexual harassment on her spatial subjectivity which, as Koskela (1997) argues, should be recognised as a means through which to 'undo' expression of fear, and the impact of fear in space. By allowing the conceptual space to accommodate Saxona's response as agentic and resistant – as actively and strategically passive – alternative possibilities for the ready-to-be-affected body in space can be fathomed. In this context, Saxona's well-being is maintained through the adoption of this passive stance in contrast to the violence anticipated by more active 'guys'. Though she continued to operate within a stereotypical gender binary nexus, and did devalue her experiences as less important than those she imagined boys may experience, this quotation should not be read as an example of a wholly oppressed subjectivity. Indeed, in contrast to the pathological body discussed above, this can be read as an example of what the healthy ready-to-be-affected body 'can do' (Buchanan, 1997). By refusing to acknowledge the dread that was manifested by this experience of sexual harassment, Saxona's capacity-to-be-affected in a non-normative and self-determined way enabled her to manage her ambivalent affective response agentially. It is this sort of autonomy in response to affective expression, which, I argue, is a pertinent tool in order to re-theorise the ways in which the feminine body might construct and use street-wisdom.

6.2.2 Bad Boys and Nice Guys

In addition to harassment, a further example of the ways in which feminine subjectivities were constructed through gendered experiences of space was evidenced in discussions of experiences and expressions of fearfulness about actual and anticipated gendered violence:

I think [it is proper] for a man to behave himself and to be looking after women and each other, rather than to have fights. I don't...I don't find that very safe...it doesn't make me feel very safe and also there is something about how all male [door-staff], all bouncers in Boatswain tend to be male and I think that says again something about the attitude of[...]people that fight in town, [it] tends to be male orientated. (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

Here, once more, the men that Shulamith commented on in her experience of her 'home towns' were constructed through normative understandings of masculine gender. Shulamith's opinion was that the 'proper' place for men was to be 'behaving' themselves and 'looking after women', rather than fighting. Shulamith's observation here echoes Day's (2001: 122-3) findings in relation to masculine attitudes to feminine safety. The construction of the 'chivalrous gentleman' was a common one amongst her participants who presented themselves as 'nice guys' protecting women from 'bad guys'. Furthermore, Shulamith's observations were interesting because of the way that she elided the chivalry that she thought was 'proper' behaviour for men with the night-time economy in Boatswain, and with the fighting that she also considered to be 'male orientated', thus constructing Boatswain, by night, as a 'masculine' space, with fighting, male figures of authority in the form of door-staff and male chivalry. These two essentialised constructions of masculinity – the knight-in-shining-armor and the thug – resonate with Goodey's (1997) observations about the construction of idealised and denigrated masculinity in boys' accounts of 'being male' in school and her critique of hegemonic masculinity (cf. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). What is more, Shulamith's constructions of 'good' and 'bad' masculinity, here, can be understood as classed and 'raced', and mirrors findings analysed later in Chapters 7 and 10 regarding the types of people that participants identified as 'good' and 'bad' strangers. I return to elaborate on this theme of 'raced', classed and sexed others in the next chapter.

Certainly it was not just through proximity to 'nice guys' that participants constructed their sense of self in space; discourses of 'bad boys' also permeated other discussions;

[If] I am walking somewhere on my own and I get a group of, *you know*, lads, coming towards me, *you know*, a big group. I think they expect you to move out of the way for them and that gets a bit intimidating and, *you know*, if they say something or comment, *you know*, it's...I do feel a bit uneasy. (Joy, Anchor, Map)

Usually when you are walking along and there's a group of guys there. It is just not nice. To have to walk past them. (Enola, Boatswain, Walk)

Feeling 'intimidated' and that it was 'not nice' to have to pass 'lads' or 'guys' in a big group is not the same as feeling unsafe, in the way that Shulamith described above, but revealed negative expressions of loathing in the proximity of that group. The sense of dread apparent in these separate accounts of the approach of groups of men begins to illustrate the ways that some participants constructed their own spatial subjectivity in opposition to those of boys in their 'home towns' and begins to point to how, without refusing the autonomy of affective expression, their body's capacity-to-be-affected might become circumscribed by normative expressions of affect which then limit the variety of ways in which they construct knowledge and use street-wisdom. Certainly, in Day's own study, she asserts that prevailing constructions of masculinity which operate along the 'bad boy/nice guy' dichotomy meant that 'men [were] unlikely to reject stereotypes of women as fearful and weak when these stereotypes reinforced desired masculine identities' (2001: 120). Just as the men in Day's study may have upheld this binary to safeguard idealised masculinity, in this section, Enola, Joy and Shulamith could be said to be upholding the same binary to safeguard the same appropriate, domestic and fearful femininity. Indeed, Joy's reiteration of the phrase 'you know', four times during this short extract figuratively reinforces the inevitability of such a construction.

6.2.3 Bad Girls and 'Bitches'

Counter to this feminine normativity, but still within a hegemonic understanding of violence as masculinised, the pathological femininity of violent women was raised as a source of anxiety. Violence, for Cecily, was an image that repeated itself throughout her discussions of her home town, and was a threat she negotiated both from boys and from girls who, challenging normative constructs of gender, acted like boys;

Alex: So it's the boys mainly that you worry about?

Cecily: Yeah and if you meet girls, like I don't know if Perchance is on here [the map]? It's over here somewhere um...the girls from there are just...I would never go [there] on my own. Cos the girls like, they like making a show of themselves like...

Alex: So how do you know that?

Cecily: From friends that have like...there's a girl in the year below called Duluth, she got hit over the head with a bottle. (Cecily, Anchor, Map)

Cecily, as I suggest again in Chapter 10, was one of the participants who enjoyed participating in the thrill of marginal, sub-criminal behaviour. Her account of experiencing space in her home town told of many similar incidences of serious violence, or the threat of serious violence; she hung out with gangs of youths in Anchor and Boatswain, some of whom are rumoured by her to carry knives to use as weapons. Through relationships with violence and latent violence Cecily made sense of how she belonged in space. Here, the influence of her loathing of the village of Perchance constructed by the knowledge she had acquired from her friends informed her mobility in her home town. Cecily explained that she would 'never go' to the space that 'knew' was a site of violence from girls. The violence of women against women was not something that was expressed as a cause for concern for all participants, though for Cecily and Lottie it influenced their behaviour in the proximity of these individuals:

Alex: And what are the[...]girls like?

Lottie: Um...bitchy you could say that um...they do mouth off at you like if you walk past them and you make eye contact accidentally they are like 'what you looking at?', you know what I mean? (Lottie, Anchor, Map)

Here, Lottie and Cecily both deployed a common knowledge about girls who occupied these sites of loathing; that they were aggressive, 'bitchy' and violent, in contrast to the 'proper' femininity that participants might be trying to perform in their 'home towns' and which cause them to cast their own feminine subjectivity as passive, static, domestic and 'good'. Cecily's account of the girls of Perchance is particularly illustrative; she elides the fact that girls 'make a show of themselves' with violence. Here, overt displays of hypersexualised femininity also spill over into acts of violence or, for Lottie, 'bitchiness'. Both Cecily and Lottie, like Koryn in the preceding Chapter, distinguished their constructions of self from constructions of these 'bad', pathological femininities and reinforced the status of their 'proper' femininity through this positionality. Elsewhere, for Edith, girls fighting each other were also pathologised and yet were considered to be less significant than fights between men.

Edith: I think[...]probably, like, men get more rowdy don't they? When they are out and they tend to get in fights more? So...

Alex: Do you see lots of fights?

Edith: Yeah, you do see a lot of it.

Alex: Do any girls get into fights?

Edith: Yeah they have done. And like I don't know. It's like quite scary sometimes because people have had like glass and stuff chucked at them. But I think that's more like catty. Like bitchy. Instead of just doing it for...I don't know. (Edith, Boatswain, Map)

Female violence for Edith was less significant than male violence, it was 'just' 'catty' and 'bitchy'. This, despite the fact that the violence described here – the throwing of glasses – was a named form of violence, unlike the abstract 'fights' that Edith suggested that men got in to. The naming of this extreme violence, and the simultaneous dismissal of it because it was between women, diminishes the significance of it in a similar way that the sexual harassment described by Saxona was dismissed. Though I have suggested that Saxona's act of dismissal might in fact be a strategic way of preserving her sense of well-being and belonging in her home town, here Edith dismissed the possibility of women as violent agents altogether. Whilst I do not suggest that violence is a desirable quality, to refuse to attribute it to the women who 'glass' each other the way that Edith and Cecily have both separately described, is to reproduce, once more, normative constructions of femininity which are docile and passive, in contrast to the construction of a masculinity which is aggressive, boisterous and noisy, which echoes Walklate's (1997) analysis of the polarised construction of masculine and feminine space-use. Edith's question, 'don't they?' after she asserted that men get 'more rowdy' demonstrated the assumptions that underpinned this assertion, that it was normal and predictable that men will fight. Like Lottie, her use of figurative, pejorative language, which described women as 'catty' and 'bitchy' compounded these stereotypes of the diminutive importance of female violence despite her own apparent experiences to the contrary. Similarly, Hollander's (2001) discussion of her participants' incredulity at the prospect of feminine aggression and Mehta & Bondi's (1999: 77) study of male and female students in Edinburgh, UK, both suggest that men and women were likely to dismiss the possibility of the feminine body as a cause of violence whether physical or sexual. They were instead more likely to situate fear in the bodies of 'raced', classed, masculine 'others', mirroring Edith's and Lottie's opinions here and echoing the heteronormative, assumed perpetuity of masculine sexual aggression considered above in Koryn's discussion of the prison in Boatswain. The influence of classed and 'raced' 'othering' is something I return to consider more extensively in Chapter 7. Just as the threat of pervasive, masculine sexual violence pollutes femininity here, the impenetrability of masculine sexual safety, and ineffectuality of feminine aggression preserves the dominance of hegemonic masculinity over precarious, pollutable femininity.

6.2.4 Play/Fighting

I conclude this chapter by considering the intersection of these themes of gendered leisure and gendered safety. As has been demonstrated in this section, across all three sites, whether discussing leisure or fear of crime, participants mobilised fairly normative constructions of femininity and masculinity to situate themselves subjectively as belonging, or not, in their 'home towns'. These findings echo the gender essentialism evidenced in Hollander's (2001), Goodey's (1997) and Valentine's (2000) observations, discussed in Chapter 2. However, in a departure from more dominant discussions of the construction of self, the following quotation demonstrates that by subverting these stereotypical constructions of leisure and safety, alternative discourses of belonging might begin to permeate this discussion;

Obviously I am going to enjoy shopping more than the boys or something[...]I feel quite safe in most areas cos I do taekwondo so...that's like...no I feel quite safe I don't think a boy would be more safe in an area than I would. (Hydra, Anchor, Map)

Here Hydra constructed shopping as a 'feminine' activity which was not practiced by boys, but attributed her sense of spatial security to her experience of practising taekwondo, which, she argued, rendered her as safe in space as a boy. Her sense of being able to 'handle a [fight] situation' echoes Gilchrist et al's (1998) findings in their comparative study of Scottish men and women and their feelings about fear of crime. In their study, they found that some of their male participants reported fearlessness as a result of having martial arts training and being able to 'cope' with the threat of violence (1998: 293). Interestingly, none of the women in Gilchrist et al's study reported this sort of spatial surety through acquiring knowledge of this sort in the way that Hydra describes. However, it is clear for Hydra that this knowledge was a constituent feature of how she forged her spatial subjectivity. Similarly, this idea was developed in Giselle's discussion of the way that she constructed her subjectivity in space;

[...]cos I am quite a sporty girl, like since we [she and her brother] were young we have always played loads of sport together and stuff so I always spend loads of times in the park and, you know, playing football, play this, playing cricket, playing whatever kind of sport so you know, I think because of the kind of personality that I am, I don't mind getting my hands dirty and I have always been a tomboy...it's always been more backwards for me. Like it is only recently that I have started like going out and to like shopping on the weekend[...]that is more of a recent thing as I have changed my kind of slant on my personal interest and

stuff. But [...]I've always spent lots of time in parks, as I say, and lots of time with the boys, kind of thing, well I do think it does have an impact[...]I have always been more kind of a person to use open spaces for like physical things as opposed to like just going to the shops or staying in the mall or staying in[...]I think for quite a lot of people um...who from a young age might have gone shopping with their mum and then all of a sudden they are like doing it independently it makes them less aware of like dangers[...]I think I feel a bit more street-wise, and as I say, because I have always been, from a young age, hung around with boys I kind of feel like maybe I understand their mentality a bit more, their need to kind of assert their territory or whatever (Giselle, Chord, Map)

This extended extract from Giselle's discussion demonstrated the ways in which her ideas about leisure and safety came together. Giselle was a keen sports player and mentioned hanging in parks with boys playing sport several times in this extract. It was participation in the 'masculine' leisure activities of playing sports and 'getting her hands dirty' which encouraged Giselle to suggest that she was a 'tomboy'. She described her feminine subjectivity as having been constructed through masculinised experiences. She continued by describing her femininity as having developed 'backwards' –she had only just started 'going out shopping', a recent development which reflected a 'change in slant' of her interests. At this point it is useful to return to Ahmed's discussion of orientation, and of operating on 'straight' or 'oblique' trajectories (Ahmed, 2006a: 8, 2006b: 565). Following Ahmed's consideration of being 'orientated' towards or away from objects in space, it is possible to suggest that Giselle's discussion of her spatial subjectivity and fostering of street-wisdom was closely entwined with her 'orientation', or 'slant' towards or away from her interests. Nonetheless, despite having mobilised an autonomous sense of self, as demonstrated in her own sense of her street-wisdom, Giselle, like Hydra, continued to construct her sense of self through this normative feminine/masculine dichotomy. Although as a 'sporty' girl she had managed to shift subjective localities across this dichotomy, it was still within this framework that she operated.

Significantly, according to Giselle, it was because of her tutelage in parks with boys that she considered herself to be more street-wise than those who had always performed a normative femininity; it was her insights into boys' mentality that had enabled her to acquire this street-wisdom. And here also, the construction of the masculine as 'out-of-doors', 'getting its hands dirty' and being 'territorial' operates on a normative plain. It was this insight into masculinity that Giselle suggested gave her advantage over those who had not had it, and who had always 'gone shopping with their mum'. Nonetheless, despite the fact that both Giselle's and Hydra's subjectivities were

constructed in part by their engagement with 'masculine' leisure activities, much like Saxona's 'feminine' and 'passive' response, discussed above, their sense of spatial confidence and autonomy should not be discounted as, in her own words, it was through these experiences that Giselle became street-wise. In terms of constructing street-wisdom, this knowledge premised on fluid interplays with sexuality has, for Hydra and Giselle, given their ready-to-be-affected bodies a spatial competency to experience space outside of normative gender frames, and stretches the limit of what the body 'can do' when affects are imagined as non-autonomous (Buchanan, 1997).

In Chapter 10, I develop this aspect of this discussion further to explore other ways participants work to feel 'at home' in their 'home towns' and use the capacity of their ready-to-be-affected bodies to refuse to be unsettled by affective fear. Here, this discussion demonstrates that although many participants constructed their sense of self in a relational manner to normative masculinity and femininity, they were also able to slide across and around this dichotomy to enhance their sense of 'at-home-ness' street-wisdom. Although for most participants normative constructions of gender were upheld, for some, especially Hydra and Giselle, these normative constructions acted as a source of ontological security, and encouraged them to feel confident through the acquisition of 'masculine' knowledge. Likewise, for Saxona, whose perceived passivity helped her to refuse affective expressions of intimidation as a result of sexual harassment, and for Shulamith, whose construction of chivalrous masculinity enabled her to deny the effects that male-on-male violence had on her sense of 'at-home-ness' by night, it is possible to suggest that the participants separately and distinctly deployed strategic feminine normativity to promote safe-keeping and well-being and to construct an alternative street-wisdom which refuses expressions of normatively fearful affects.

Chapter 7: Constructions of 'Others'

Just as participants constructed knowledge about space through accounts of the self in relation to the masculine/feminine binary, the construction of the spectre of the 'other' was also a significant means through which participants constructed street-wisdom and of senses of '(un)at-home-ness'. It was through constructions of positionality of the 'other', as mediated by the positionality of their 'selves', that, for some participants, street-wisdom was made. It was also here that expressions of 'bad' affects, as theorised by Hemmings (2005a), came to the fore. An analysis of the influence of these 'bad' affects on constructions of knowledge which inform street-wisdom, enables us to interrogate fear, problematise safety, and imagine alternatives to these 'bad' affects for the 'raced', classed and sexualised ready-to-be-affected body.

A particularly common way in which participants mobilised 'bad' affects was in discussions about areas that they disliked and which were 'other'. 'Bad' affects are, according to Hemmings (2005a: 550), those which 'cement sexed and raced relations of domination' in society, as opposed to those which might 'transform' societies in which we live. This 'othering' took many forms and could be broadly categorised as 'raced' othering, 'classed' othering and what I will call 'messy' othering – that is, othering of people from other schools and areas, for a number of tangible and intangible reasons, and less explicitly linked to classed or 'raced' affective expressions of loathing. As I will demonstrate, sexualised 'othering' permeates each of these discussions. Here too, Sibley's (1998: 120) discussion of 'boundary erection' is instructive; it is in these discussions of 'others' that imperatives to exclude and to 'purify' space to foster feelings of 'at-home-ness', become more apparent. Such othering was not solely mobilised to construct spaces or selves but also used difference to construct the 'other', to project affective knowledge about space and to determine who did, and who did not, belong there. For this reason, it receives specific attention in this chapter. The chapter closes with some consideration of how expressions of these 'bad' affects can begin to be resisted, and how fearable 'others' can begin to be unfeared, foreshadowing the discussion in Chapter 10.

7.1 'Other' Classes: Negotiating Privilege

Echoing Pain's (1991, 1997, 2000, 2001,) extensive studies of experiences of fear of crime in public spaces, and Nayak (2006), Lawler (2005) and Tyler's (2008) separate analyses of the role of class in constructing knowledge of space, classed othering was the most prolific form of othering occurring across all three sites. Indeed, as Thomas suggests in her study of young women, constructing selfhood in space, to a certain extent, requires that girls 'reproduce spaces imbued with normative

social meaning...which assume normative social differences and identities' (2005, 588-589). Thus, normative constructs of 'other' which saturate accounts of occupying space are, according to Thomas (2005), somewhat inevitable. In my study, opinions of class ranged from those who believed that their contemporaries were not sensitive to class issues, to those who judged others unfavourably based on classed assumptions, to those who recognised their perceived class 'privilege' in space. Each used these constructions of class to build 'knowledges' through expressions of affect.

Those who mobilised classed discourses as a projection of their subjectivity expressed a sense of 'not belonging' in the area in which those discourses were mobilised. Esme, who told me that she attended a fee-paying school on a scholarship, offered this description to illustrate this point:

This is the private school, I have never really been to a private school before[...]and it's quite a difference between the people, I find. The people I find...they are not...it is not that they are socially unaware but I find that they have...don't like...to connect with people and are unable to understand um...people in different situations, so people who are in state-schools or things like that...Like the other week I was at a party and there were some[...]boys there and they were called 'scum' because they were at a state-school. And 'peasants' and things like that. And there is this whole kind of barrier between the two. Which I can't stand being around. Um...because they are so...they have no idea of it, kind of thing. And I just feel that Chord is just not an area that I feel comfortable being in because of that reason. And they are quite upper-class and arrogant as well (Esme, Chord, Map)

This dis-identification with 'others' was echoed in the village of Anchor:

I mean it's not exactly the place-to-be. It's not exactly the place I would say 'hey you know...' to...especially to my friends here, cos I moved here at the beginning of this year and obviously Anchor is known to be quite an affluent area and there are lots of kids around with far too much money for their own good. And um [laughs] yeah and I wouldn't necessarily sort of say, 'come to [my house]', it's not exactly a hub. (Nell, Anchor, Map).

Here, both Nell and Esme felt themselves to be from less wealthy backgrounds than their peers and thus felt a discord between their own 'knowledges' about their 'home towns' and the knowledge that others have about those places. For Nell, this dissonance manifested itself as shame or embarrassment that her home was 'not exactly a hub' (see Ingold, 1993), once more making explicit

the link between expressions of affect and knowledge, here mediated by class. Esme's account invoked Sibley's (1995: xv) theorisation of the spatial manifestation of difference; she spoke of 'a barrier' between the schools and the backgrounds of students who attended those schools. It was a boundary of exclusion; an attempt by the private-school students to 'purify' the space of the party by erecting a boundary of difference, premised on classed 'othering' that Esme 'could not stand to be around'. Her figurative proximity to the erection of the classed boundary was abhorrent to her, made her feel 'uncomfortable' and, like Nell, that she did 'not belong' in this space, around people who had not interrogated their own class privilege.

Elsewhere, some participants did express an awareness of their perceived privilege, as demonstrated by Agatha's account of living in Boatswain:

I am sure there are some people that see Boatswain as nice though. But I just don't see it as a very nice area I think I have different opinions[...]it is because I have been on holiday to very nice places. I get to see other nice towns, like if people haven't seen that, then I don't think they would [know it is bad]. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

As well as giving her this knowledge, her class privilege also designated the space that she belonged in:

You get...a lot of the [private-school] people, they just hang out in the same places so if you are going out in an evening, they will be there. It won't be anywhere different. It will be the same place. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

This was a view that was echoed by Kye:

Kye: Around here, you don't get like a nice atmosphere, I don't why that is, probably around the park that's quite nice, and I feel better round there.

Alex: What is it about the atmosphere?

Kye: Probably because they are quite nice houses, like just experiences, around here I have never had a bad experience, people are generally nice, but around here, some places you just get quite hostile reception from people. (Kye, Boatswain, Map)

Though she found it difficult to articulate why she felt uncomfortable in the area, by explaining that she preferred other areas because they had 'quite nice houses', Kye demonstrated that one of the

ways in which her sense of at-home-ness was informed was by recognising 'nice houses' where she had 'never had a bad experience' as opposed to where there were less 'nice' houses, and she had received a 'quite hostile reception from people'. Here, her expression of affect, and her street-wisdom, was informed by classed knowledge about people who live in 'nice' houses as opposed to people who did not, and the threat that they have might posed. The impact of this sense of privilege also affected Shulamith's sense of belonging in Boatswain:

Alex: Are there areas in Boatswain that you dislike?

Shulamith: Yeah. Um.....places where you get more of a collection of people who haven't had such a good upbringing, as in they haven't been taught that education is a good idea. They haven't been attending schools. They have been having children young, living on council estates. (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

Shulamith, like Agatha and Kye above, interpreted her class privilege as an element of her subjectivity which also delineated where she should feel 'at home' or where did not belong. Shulamith's expression of her class privilege was framed in terms of 'bad' exclusionary affect and stereotype. It also recalls the anxiety that Tyler identifies as circulating around 'respectable' femininity, as opposed to 'sexually excessive' deviant 'chav' femininity (2008: 26). Similarly, Holly's account of pathological femininity demonstrates this affective 'bad' othering:

Most of my friends go to private schools and I wouldn't feel comfortable talking to people from like...not like *from* state-schools because obviously like...you know. But like lower or more lower, more very low, lower class people like, you know, cos I just wouldn't really know what to say. Like some people from my old school, I see them in the street, it is like; 'Oh, what are you doing?' and they are like 'Oh, we have dropped out of school and am a nanny', and it's like, there's no...common ground really. Our lives are really different. (Holly, Chord, Map)

Here, Holly makes explicit the link between class, belonging and femininity. Attending a private school herself, she 'wouldn't feel comfortable talking to people' not from that background because there is a lack of 'common ground'. Discursively, this notion of the 'common ground' figuratively echoes Sibley's (1988) discussion of boundary erection; occupying a common ground means that you are 'with' those that are 'like' you, where you belong (Miller, forthcoming). Sharing 'no common ground' meant that Holly and people at her old school were not on the same piece of ground, or that they shared uncommon ground – they were both ill-at-ease on this ground – because their lives

were 'different' and they did not belong with each other, which echoes Eve's earlier discussion of the '70s tower blocks' in Section 5.5. It is also interesting to note the convoluted way that Holly distanced herself from these 'others'; they were 'lower or more lower, more very low, lower class people', each utterance of 'low' erected more and more linguistic boundaries between her 'self' and these 'others', whilst also exonerating her from very 'bad' othering. Here, she was not distancing herself from 'normal' working-class people who attended state-school, but from the very, very lowest class, echoing the constructions of 'chav' discussed by Hayward & Yar (2006) and Nayak (2006) that I develop in the next section. A final observation about both Shulamith's and Holly's contributions are the performances of these deviant femininities. It is at this intersect, interpreting the 'collection of people' as undesirable because of their class and their deviant performances of femininity, by 'having children young', that Shulamith understood the 'council estates' they lived in as sites that she would dislike. Whereas, for Holly, the fact that some people from her old school had left school to become 'nannies', a typically feminine job, and which echoes the young motherhood that Shulamith found so abhorrent, acts as an 'other' display of femininity, one which does not work hard at school, and which does not aspire for more prestigious employment. Though in these discussions some participants, such as Agatha, somewhat acknowledge their own privilege, which in itself a reflexive and potentially useful thing to do, the ways in which they constructed knowledge about space, reproduced 'bad' affective knowledge, exclusions and erected boundaries of belonging which reinforced the 'other' as loathsome (See Sibley, 1988).

7.2 Between the Spectre and the Subaltern: The Ubiquity of the 'Chav'

By internalising class as part of their subjectivity, these participants informed their knowledge of 'belonging'. By speaking about class, the spatial knowledge presented by these participants could be said to be relatively self-aware and situated. In contrast, some participants articulated unambiguously unproblematised, exclusionary and a-contextual classed 'othering'. A principal way in which this occurred was through deploying the classed construct of the 'chav'. As Shulamith's discussion began to illustrate, the pathological discourse of the 'chav' who lives on council estates was reproduced as a source of anxiety in space by most participants from a range of backgrounds. Following Nayak (2006) and Hayward & Yar (2006), the link between the construction of the 'chav' and the socio-political context in which discourses of the 'chav' occur is explicit. It is for this reason that the 'chav', both as spectre and subaltern, appeared so uniformly in the conversations of the participants. As I argued in Chapter 2, the construction of the 'chav' was contextually, politically, socio-economically contingent, and in his/her indeterminacy, most potent.

Lawler (2005) and Tyler (2008) separately identify that one of the ways that the 'chav' is constructed, excluded and dismissed, is as a figure of pity or of ridicule;

A lot of the time they are just a young gang of people who just seem to dress in the way that a supposed chav dresses. And more than anything I feel a bit sorry for them. They do get a lot of stick and they don't usually mean any harm, they just don't really have anywhere else to go. (Rita, Chord, Walk)

I am standing with my friend and standing opposite a clothes stall selling[...]tracky bottoms and joke, cos that's the chavvy stuff her ex used to wear (Edith, Boatswain, Diary)

Here, Edith's 'joke' at the expense of her friend's chav-like 'ex' reflects an element of affective expression of 'disgust' that is identified by Lawler as a means of 'maintaining difference' between her middle-class self and 'chav other' (Lawler, 2005: 438). The forging of difference in this way is reminiscent of Sibley's (1988) earlier discussion of the use of boundaries to promote belonging and exclusion. He suggests that erecting figurative boundaries of this sort is a strategic means through which the self is protected – remains pure – from the pollution of the excluded other (Sibley, 1988). Beyond disgust, 'chavs' are also maintained as 'other' through their construction as signifiers of fear or loathing:

I don't like it [fast-food restaurant] anymore because an incident happened. I, basically what it was, I was sitting with my friends and stuff but then this, well, chav, came in and one friend pointed to him, his trousers were a bit low. You know? And I sort of giggled and he saw that I giggled at him. And he came over and he was like, 'What do you think you are doing, looking at me?' And then, oh it was so embarrassing, my boyfriend got up and was like 'Yeah? Yeah?' and I was like 'Sit down you are going to get hurt' [laughs] and he was like 'Yeah?', he got his Coke and flushed it all over me and then someone came up and was like 'Can you please leave?' And it was absolutely awful. I was so embarrassed. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

Allegra: One time I was waiting for my friend and this big group of chavs came along and they started to walk towards me so I walked across the road and they followed me and scared the life out of me. I was like 'Oh my gosh' panicking but...

Alex: Did they say anything to you?

Allegra: Yeah they were sort of shouting odd things to me and whistling and that but...intimidated in a way. (Allegra, Boatswain, Map)

The 'chav' as a social construct was always constructed negatively and always classed. One particularly interesting observation of the way in which the 'chav' was constructed as 'loathable' was evidenced in the ellipses at the end of Allegra's observation. Describing her experience of encountering a group of 'chavs' in Boatswain, Allegra explained that they were 'whistling and that but...intimidated in a way'. The missing words here –'[I was] intimidated in a way'– are further illustrative of the way in which Allegra manoeuvred her fear of the 'chav'. By omitting the articulation of the 'I', of herself, Allegra's account has the effect of diminishing the impact of this encounter on her spatial subjectivity and sense of 'at-home-ness', by figuratively extracting herself – her 'I' – from the encounter. Lottie, on the other hand, was far more explicit about her positioning and proximity to the spectre of the 'chav':

I think no matter where chavs are, they would scare me and I wouldn't like to be anywhere near them. Oh, I would I definitely be scared in Boatswain because I just think it is rather rough at night in certain places. (Lottie, Anchor, Map)

The 'chav' in these discussions was always an unnamed and unidentifiable construction. When asked whether she thought 'chavs' would identify as 'chavs', Lottie answered;

I guess eventually they would class themselves as chavs but...you only really need to take one look at them and you would be like, 'yes they are chavs' [laughs]. (Lottie, Anchor, Map)

To label someone a 'chav' was always to be pejorative (Tyler, 2008). Unlike an 'emo', another social group that was mentioned by Lottie and Enola, a 'chav' was constructed as an identity that no-one would want to be, or to identify with. The 'chav' in these discussions was always 'other' and strategically so, because throughout the discussions, evidence of the existence of a 'chav' was hard to come by. Certainly, the boy who poured Coke over Koryn in the fast-food restaurant was judged by her to be a 'chav', and his action in response to her giggles at him was unpleasant, causing her such embarrassment that she had never returned to that fast food restaurant. However it is not clear whether he would have identified as a 'chav', just because she labelled him as one. If the 'chav' is a label so universally rejected, then it is possible that he threw the drink over her out of offence at being so maligned. Notably, Koryn's account of laughing at the 'chav' reflects the perspectives offered by Lawler and Tyler, and their accounts of disgust which 'mocks' the 'chav into extinction'

(Tyler, 2008: 23). The 'chav' is everywhere, and yet nowhere; in no discussion did a participant describe themselves or their friends as 'chavs', whereas 'goths' or 'emos' or 'sloaney girls' were identities that were adopted more positively by Sybil, Rhona, Enola and Lottie, echoing McRobbie & Garber's (1977) discussions of the female 'subcultures' which young women used to forge their own self-determination. This could be because these particular identities do not challenge young women's performances of respectable femininity, in terms of appearance or sexual behaviour, in the same way that the 'chavette' does (cf. McRobbie & Garber, 1977, 213-219 for a discussion of other 'appropriate' feminine 'subcultures', including being a hippy or riding on the back of motorbikes). Instead when asked to describe a 'chav', the descriptions varied from describing that they 'hung around on street corners' (Rita, Chord, Walk), that they have a certain 'look' (Lottie, Anchor, Map) and that they wore a certain type of clothing (Rita, Chord, Walk). These rather vague descriptors demonstrate firstly that the parameters that make a 'chav' are uncertain and imprecise, and secondly that the image of the 'chav' was so universally understood that it did not need more specific descriptors:

Alex: How do you recognise them?

Vera: By what they were wearing. Like trackies and stuff.

(Vera, Boatswain, Map)

Alex: Why are they chavs?

Athena: Well they wear hoodies and stuff. (Athena, Boatswain, Map)

Alex: What are [chavs] like?

Eve: They don't like you if you appear to be...like they... I don't know...you just know... cos I don't wear like, I wouldn't run around in like trackies all the time and I don't like pit-bulls and things [laughs] so I am not...I am not with them. (Eve, Boatswain, Map)

For Vera and Athena, 'chavs' were identifiable by the wearing of tracksuits, hooded tops 'and stuff'. These imprecise descriptors illustrate how knowledge about the chav was taken-for-granted and assumed to be universal. Certainly, when asked about 'goths', 'emos' or 'sloaney girls', the participants who mentioned them were able to describe a very specific list of clothes worn, interests, or music listened to, demonstrating that these labels might be far less taken-for-granted. For Eve, the 'chav' was not only dressed and appendaged with certain clothes, possessions and 'things', but was also marked in opposition to her; because she was not a 'chav', the 'chavs' 'didn't

like [her]'. The 'chavs' that Eve talked about erected their own boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, so were defined by what they were not. She was 'not with them' and they were not with her. Through this discussion, the 'chav', for Eve and others, remained endlessly 'other'. Thus, I argue, the 'chav' becomes both a spectral and a subaltern figure; one who never 'is', whose perspective we never hear, whose actions we must always interpret from afar and yet paradoxically, one who always 'is' in places, and who is always to-be-feared. To become a 'chav', to be near a 'chav', is a 'pollutant' to the subjectivity of those who invoke its spectre (Sibley, 2001).

Indeed, the 'chav' as pollutant was another cause for concern for some, especially in terms of subjectivity, femininity and belonging. Echoing earlier discussion of pathological, polluted, femininity in relation to prisons (Section 5.5), and reflecting a further instance of the impact of 'bad' affective expressions on spatial subjectivities, Rhona explains:

Rhona: My best friend lives in Unworthy, she used to live in Chord but she moved[...] and when you look at the two of us, from coming from the same place, but she moved down there, she'd changed so much, from like the kind of girl that's like kind of the one who is kind of very 'labelly', kind of like, big on labels and kind of dresses...smartly, won't go out in trackies or a t-shirt, is more kind of prim, kind of [groomed], and whereas if you went to Unworthy it's a lot more chavvy there are lots of people in trackies, people who like, I don't know it is kind of hard to describe, but like everyone [here] is well-spoken and just a bit...

Alex: And so she moved to Unworthy and became chavvy?

Rhona: Yeah, not like completely, it's just like in Unworthy it is just more kind of clear, like you'll see a group of kind of grungy type of people, or like chavs wearing their trackies but in [Chord] it's a lot more, the girls kind of dress similarly[...]all the girls kind of, dress, to kind of, fit in, kind of thing. (Rhona, Chord, Map)

For Rhona, the elision between living in a 'chavvy' place and losing your 'prim' and 'groomed' appearance was an easy one to make. Here, the intersect of class and femininity became explicit; Rhona's friend not only became more 'chavvy', but also lost elements of her femininity, by wearing 'trackies and a T-shirt', and because she moved from middle class Chord, lost the social capital that came with the class privilege associated with that place. This friend, in Rhona's eyes, had lost the element of her subjectivity that allowed her to assimilate with the other girls in Chord. Reflecting Tyler's (2008: 26) association of the 'chav' with the production of 'immoral' and 'filthy' femininity, Rhona's friend could no longer belong, because she had begun to perform a 'chav' identity. 'Chav'-

ness, for Rhona, and for her friend, like other elements of femininity, was written on the body (See Bartky, 1990, Nayak, 2006) and was marked by not having the cultural, social or economic capital to perform 'proper' femininity. Here, not being 'well-spoken' or having the means to buy the right sort of clothes through which to 'fit in', to be like the other girls, rendered the feminine 'chav' inevitably 'other'.

The link between commercial consumption, 'chavs' and belonging was further highlighted by Koryn's descriptions of where she spent her leisure time in Boatswain:

Alex: Do you sit there [coffee shop] for hours and hours?

Koryn: Yeah [laughs] I do. It's not so bad for chavs cos it's quite expensive. Yeah, yeah...It's one of my favourite places as well. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

The coffee shop Koryn mentioned as one of her favourite places in Boatswain was a favourite with most participants from Boatswain. Indeed, it formed such a focal point in the town that most participants mentioned it as a place that they liked. Only Enola, when asked, explained that it was too expensive for her and she preferred a cheaper, less central coffee shop. The expense and the popularity of the coffee shop acted to exclude 'chavs' from the social hub of Boatswain, to deny them access to social and cultural capital, and this appeared to be one of the reasons why it was so popular. In this way, as Sibley's analysis of exclusion suggests, exploiting class privilege without interrogating that privilege became another feature of the way in which some participants constructed their spatial subjectivity and their sense of belonging, through expressions of these 'bad' affects (See Hemmings 2005a, Sibley, 1988).

7.3 'Raced' Others: 'Raced' Spaces

Racialised othering was another form of 'bad' affective expression that became apparent in discussions about places that participants disliked, but was expressed in a much more subtle and trepidatious way. Participants were reluctant to name their dislike of places as being based on racial or ethnic prejudices, in contrast with their openness when discussing class. This suggests that class prejudice might be considered to be more acceptable to express and less easily to mobilise resistance against than racial prejudice. For instance, here Kye explains how the topography of Boatswain was divided along 'raced' lines, whilst trying to negotiate the complexity of speaking about 'race' without being racist:

There's like the ethnic minority people and they kind of live in the not-as-nice areas, like, not being racist, but that's just generally, the thing you get, like you would get...there's quite a lot of um...Asian people living around here and quite a lot of Polish people around here...cos there's quite a lots of Chinese restaurants and there's quite a lot of Polish shops and stuff.
(Kye, Boatswain, Maps)

Though she did not express this topography in the same terms of loathing that were evidenced in above discussions of class, Kye's explanation illustrated that because these ethnic minorities in Boatswain lived in 'the not as nice areas', her sense of 'un-at-home-ness' was exacerbated in places inhabited by 'raced' 'others'. The impact of this intersect between class and 'race' is emphasised in Kye's account; she suggested that this spatial arrangement which situated the less wealthy as the spatial 'other' was 'generally what you get'. Other white participants framed their sense of 'un-at-home-ness' more explicitly with reference to 'raced' spaces:

Vera: I never really go there, and it's like different community as well...like in the people.

Alex: In what way is it different?

Vera: Like racially different and I know that sounds kind of racist...but I am scared, but yeah sometimes it makes you feel intimidated, like if there's a large group of Asian people, like walking, if I am on my own, then it's scary. (Vera, Boatswain, Map)

In contrast, Audrey, one of the participants from an ethnic minority background, described her un-at-home-ness when the views articulated by Vera were manifested more threateningly:

It's like quite a leafy area and it's usually been fine but recently there's been graffiti on the pavement and Nazi signs and white pride. And obviously it's like it's quite a Caucasian populated area, and so makes me feel a little bit...unsure. (Audrey, Boatswain, Map)

'Raced' othering contributed to Audrey's unease in the area, and, much like Saxona and Allegra in the context of managing sexual harassment, above, she diminished the impact of these expressions of racism by explaining that it made her feel 'unsure'. This tempered expression of affect in the face of potentially violent, racist expression demonstrates not only how Audrey managed her 'at-home-ness' in the face of such confrontation, but also reminds of the impact of these 'bad' affects beyond the expression articulated by Vera and others in this section.

For some participants of Anchor and Boatswain, racial discourses permeated the same area within Boatswain, known as Wheywould, which participants 'knew' was a less desirable place to be than

other areas either in Anchor or Boatswain. This peripheral and maligned site was significant in informing Cecily's spatial subjectivity:

It's going to sound really racist but I don't know anyone down there and they all hang out in huge groups. It's intimidating. (Cecily, Anchor, Map)

Cecily elided the fact that she did not 'know anyone' in Wheywould with a racist sentiment, despite the fact that she did not express a racist opinion. The unnamed 'they' remained unnamed, and 'raced' 'others' objectified in her comments were absent, reflecting the ways in which her 'raced' knowledge about space was implicit and intangible and expressed in an affective register. Though she did not express racist opinions in relation to that space, her knowledge about that space had rendered it 'sticky' with affective, racist understanding (Ahmed, 1999). It is through this 'bad' affective expression that Cecily built street-wisdom about her home town. For Cecily, Wheywould remained a place of conflict and during our discussion she mentioned fifteen separate incidences of violence that she had experienced or heard about. This was many more than any other participant from any site. When asked why in her opinion there is so much conflict in Wheywould, Cecily explained:

[It's] especially [the] boys and like...and as well, there's a group of like Black and Asian people and they hate the Polish boys so they are always fighting as well. And I remember at Christmas, for a Geography [school] trip [around the area] to see about like migration and stuff, two days before, someone had been stabbed and killed there so we had to be like really well-behaved and like not ask questions or anything. (Cecily, Anchor, Map)

Here, Cecily explicitly links the violence of Boatswain with the ethnic diversity of the area, illustrating how her street-wisdom might be informed by these experiences of 'raced' tension. The area in question stands at the periphery of the town and, recalling Creswell's (1998) considerations of the possibilities afforded by operating on the 'margin' of space, for Cecily, in addition to being peripheral and a site of conflict, this area was also a place where she used to participate in subcultural activities such as under-aged drinking, as this was the only place that she could do so without being interrupted by police:

I remember when we were younger and we didn't have ID [proof of identity] or anything, everyone always used to get alcohol from all the shops down there [Wheywould] cos they never ask for ID or anything but, I just, we didn't used to go unless there was about ten of us

cos it's just so...oh it's horrible. Like people get stabbed there and stuff. (Cecily, Anchor, Map).

So, for Cecily, this peripheral, liminal place of loathing was one which she had understood as a site of violence, a site outside the scrutiny of police and also a site which, whilst affording her certain privileges, was ethnically diverse, where this diversity was a cause for concern. The affective elision of these features of space reflected the ways that fearful scripts of place were made. The construction of this peripheral area as a racialised, undesirable site was reflected by Koryn's and Agatha's observations of their physical and emotional responses to the space:

Oh there's like quite a lot of Indians that hang around, like round the corner shops and stuff, and they just hang around outside like betting-shops as well and they all just like just standing there talking. And whenever I go past they always just stop talking and just look at me. And I am always, something like, 'hmm, oh dear'[..]I am like 'Oh god'. Um...that's a dodgy area. I just usually stay in the centre cos that's where my friends usually meet. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

It's got all these like Chinese takeaway shops and I would just never walk down there on my own. And that is the one road that I have walked down on before with people and I am literally walking at a fast pace cos I just want to get out of this road. But I don't know whether that's just me, but I don't like that area. I think it is probably it just seems like a dodgy area to go down. There are certain areas where I think it would be stupid to walk alone in Boatswain. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

Here, both Koryn and Agatha described the area that they disliked in racialised terms; the 'Chinese takeaway', the 'Indians that hang around'. In this same spot they both separately described this place as one which they disliked. In the area they described, the affective expression of 'un-at-home-ness' had strong physical and emotional manifestations; from 'walking at a fast pace', to 'staying in the centre' and avoiding the area completely, from 'not liking' that area to expressing 'oh dear', 'oh god' in the space. The affective expressions of despair, anxiety, uneasiness and sense of dread that were articulated in this area by Agatha and Koryn were, to a certain extent, caused as a result of their racialised reading of the space and the knowledge that this reading created. It also reflected their 'race'-privilege as white middle-class girls, whose own whiteness marked them as 'other' to the spectre of these men and women of colour, who, echoing Eve's discussion of classed council-estates in 5.5, are constructed by Koryn and Agatha as legitimately occupying this 'raced' space, where they,

themselves, do not belong (See Fanon, 1952, Lorde, 1982, Staples, 1986). Their decisions to avoid the space and to exclude themselves from it demonstrate how 'bad' exclusionary affects inform street-wisdom in the pursuit of safety.

7.4 'Messy' Others: People and Places

The sentiments of 'messy' othering that were expressed in discussions of what participants liked and disliked about their home town also fostered knowledge in this way. The 'messy' othering that was expressed was the othering of people or groups that was not overtly linked to sexed, 'raced' or classed difference, though, of course, these permeated the discussions obliquely. They intertwined with each other to form messy, indeterminate expressions of 'other' in the construction of knowledge. Some 'othered' groups were distinguished from the perceived selfhood of the participants by age:

It's the younger people who have got a bit of attitude and think that they are a priority (Joy, Anchor, Map)

Heidi:[They are] gangs of youths mostly.

Alex: What sort of youths?

Heidi: Like err...troublesome ones

Alex: Troublesome ones?

Heidi: Well they may not be causing trouble but a stereotypical view that they would be but...

Alex: Are they younger or older than you usually?

Heidi: Probably about the same age. 17-ish

Alex: And what distinguishes you from them?

Heidi: Probably by what they wear and the language they use and where they hang around and things like that. (Heidi, Anchor, Map)¹⁸

Or because of the activities they were doing:

¹⁸ Here, it is interesting that Heidi and I skirted around what she was talking about. She struggled to articulate what it was about the youths that she did not like, and distanced herself from a 'stereotypical view' that they were trouble-makers. It is in what was unsaid between us and yet mutually understood, that she was able to articulate that she thought about 'gangs of youths' as 'troublesome' without actually speaking badly of them, highlighting once more the intersect of classed and aged othering in the construction of knowledge.

[There are] quite a few people in big groups and stuff and you feel a bit intimidated by it, if you are on your own. (Janet, Anchor, Map)

There are always groups of young people who are kind of loud and playing their music and you don't really want to go near cos they'll always be shouting at people on the street. (Allegra, Boatswain, Map)

Or they were 'other' because they were participating in a marginally criminal or anti-social activities or performances of identity. These identities are not 'subcultural' in the way that Hall & Jefferson (1977: 14-15) describe, but describe behaviour which fringes legality, such as fighting, trespassing, under-aged drinking or drunk-driving. This sort of marginal behaviour also impacted on some participants' construction of gendered 'others':

Alex: And what are the[...]girls like?

Lottie: Um...bitchy, plastic, you could say that um...they do mouth off at you like if you walk past them and you make eye contact accidentally they are like 'what you looking at?'. You know what I mean? But...

Alex: So why do you call them 'plastic'? I have never heard that before.

Lottie: Haven't you? Ok, well they are like Barbie dolls; bleached blonde hair, makeup out to here, fake tan, everything on show, tiny shorts um...only in it for the boys. (Lottie, Anchor, Map)

Here, Lottie identified a group of people that she disliked. Recalling the previous discussion in section 7.2 of pathological, polluted, 'chav' femininity, Lottie, singled them out as 'plastic girls', distancing herself (normal) from them (other) and used gendered scripts to do so. The hyperfeminised, heterosexualised subjectivity that Lottie projected onto the 'plastics' was denigrated, and she situated herself, and her own femininity as more 'proper', more acceptable than that performed by the 'plastics'. The complexity of hyperfeminine performances is considered by Skeggs (1999, 2001) in the context of heterosexual women in gay-bars whose performances of hyperfeminine heterosexuality was unsettling for lesbians in those bars and made them feel 'un-at-home'. Appropriate femininity was also a concern for Eve. Speaking of a place that she disliked in Boatswain, she explained that:

It's an estate which has the highest teenage pregnancy rate in the whole of Europe or something...they know you're not one of them cos you don't have a baby. [Laughs]So you get like shouted at and stuff. (Eve, Boatswain, Map)

Echoing Tyler's (2008) findings regarding the deviancy of the overly-reproductive feminine 'chav', like Lottie, Eve constructed her femininity as appropriate and correct, in opposition to the pathological polluted femininity of the teenage girls who occupied the estate and thus, who she was 'not one of'. This sense of not being 'one of' the 'other' resonates with Miller's (forthcoming) observations that feelings of well-being in space are fostered by identifying those who are 'like' each other as opposed to the 'disdain' caused by not being 'like' everyone else. People who loitered in the towns rather than performing normative tasks such as working, commuting or shopping, were also constructed in opposition to the normative 'self' of the participant:

Nora: Well the people who like hang around are people who, I don't want to say they are not nice people because that is just rude, um...are like groups of heavy people who probably don't have much else to do in their lives.

Alex: People with no jobs?

Nora: Yeah

Alex: Older or younger people?

Nora: Um...mixed actually. No-one really in the middle. We have, especially up here a lot of older sort of people who appear to be wearing rags and alcoholics, drinking, smoking, but also have really young children on them. (Nora, Anchor, Map)

There's normally like homeless people around that kind of time[...]I kind of feel sorry for them a bit because they haven't got a home, but then, some of them are creepy. Then there's kind of like gangsters. Groups of boys. They are quite scary, especially when they walk round in like gangs and stuff. (Suki, Boatswain, Map)

However reluctantly they framed this othering of marginalised people, Suki and Nora constructed a precise figure of who was 'other' here, through what they were doing or not doing. As Heidi, Joy, Lottie, and Suki's contributions suggested, the othering of 'others' in this way circulated around issues of class, race, age, aggressive masculinity and pathological femininity, as well as around feelings of disorientation in the proximity of these others. The effect of this 'messy' othering was also outlined in Leda's diary. Writing about a day in her home town with her family, she explained that she felt:

Fresh, clean, airy, free, light, safe, romantic (Leda, Boatswain, Diary)

She then drew an arrow under this list and wrote:

These feelings altered throughout the day and we passed different people. When we passed younger people they stared at me and I felt they were judging me so I felt uncomfortable. However, once they had passed us I felt how I originally felt. (Leda, Boatswain, Diary)

Leda's sparse writing style and note-like record allowed an analysis of the way in which she collected certain thoughts and words together. Eliding the feeling of 'safety' with that of 'romance', Leda presented a sense of 'at-home-ness' that was unencumbered by awkward interactions with 'others', however, she qualified this list of delight by tracing a trajectory of her 'feeling' as her proximity to 'different' unnamed people waxed and waned. These affective responses to her body in space, and how it was 'judged' by other people, illustrate how easily the meaning of 'home towns' can flit from carefreeness, to concern and back again to carefreeness; all mediated by interactions with the 'other'.

7.5 Unfearing Fearful 'Others'

The acts of constructing others in this way – through expressions of essentialist, and exclusionary affects about class, 'race' and ethnicity and 'otherness' which was alien to their construct of their selves – had the effect of situating the participants in place, in such a way that they knew where they belonged, where they did not belong and where others belonged and did not belong around them. This spatial ontology served to order space and align it to the subjectivity that each held and projected (Foucault, 1982). Following Ahmed (2006a,b) these orientations towards and away from signifiers of 'belonging' and 'not belonging' have an affective quality in that, at a pre-discursive level, through hunches and presentiment, they informed 'knowledges' about space – sometimes based on exclusionary premises – which constructed street-wisdom (Hemmings, 2005a). The sense of 'at-home-ness' that the participants either had or did not have in a certain space, or around a specific 'other', informed their behaviour, their subjectivity and the quality of their street-knowledge. By centralising the goal of safety within the applications of this street-wisdom, 'bad' affects which may be inadvertently exclusionary, continued to be manifest. It was by refusing to express normative affects that such exclusions might be countered. Giselle provides us with an example of how this might operate:

I have always thought it was a bit of a front really, all this gangster demeanour. Like, I don't engage with those people, if someone is like 'oh yeah [shouting their mouth off]', I don't [...] I am not like that, I just kind of ignore and I think that's kind of the best thing. I think it's very rare, I feel that someone is going to physically threaten me, but, I suppose, if you are out all day and then all of a sudden you are still out in a certain area and it is getting dark, it kind of does run through my mind but I think I've been out quite...not quite a lot but just, I think that's the subconscious rather than something that really, really bothers me. So hopefully I don't jinx myself but it doesn't really...bother me too much. (Giselle, Chord, Map)

Unlike some of her peers, Giselle refused to adhere to the normative expressions of affect which situated the 'gangsters' as 'other'. Indeed, she recognised that this 'demeanour' was an affected one. She also attributed any fear or uncertainty to her 'subconscious'. In this way, Giselle's response to fearful, subcultural, possibly raced, and classed 'others' was to refuse the normative expression of affect that was associated with them. Thus, she exhibited affective agency through this refusal. She re-read these emotions as contrived rather than centralising them as constituent features of street-wisdom in the way the some other participants did. Her ability to do this – to autonomously refuse to express affects which exclude – is key to the tenet of this argument which contends that an affective analysis of how places are 'known' to be safe or unsafe enables different, alternative affects to be expressed in space and demonstrates 'what the body can do' if the ready-to-be-affected body re-aligns and re-orientates itself away from normative expressions of affect and towards more creative and subversive expressions of affects (See Buchanan, 1997 Ahmed, 2006a,b).

The effect of Giselle's refusal is two-fold; on the one hand, refusing exclusionary, 'bad' affects about the 'gangsters' refuses to essentialise them across potentially classed, 'raced' or gendered lines, unlike the preceding comments of Nora and Suki, and therefore works to undo exclusionary 'othering' of the expression of 'bad' affect, whilst on the other hand, and simultaneously, by refusing to express affects of fear in the face of the 'gangsters', Giselle disinvested them of their intimidating or fearsome qualities. The 'gangster', disarticulated from his or her image of fearsomeness, which promoted expressions of fearful affect, became unfearable. The fear which 'gangsters' might be trying to promote did not 'work' at an affective level, and in Giselle's refusal to express it, it remained virtual – potential and possible on the plane of immanence – but not actualised as affective expression. Thus, it could be argued that in her refusal to express fearful affects, Giselle was making herself safe; by denying the possibility of fear, as an affective expression, there was no

room for it to exist in her spatial subjectivity. It is interesting to note that despite her apparent disavowal of normative expressions of fearful affects, Giselle still used affective language to describe the indeterminate by hoping that her professed spatial surety had not 'jinxed' her. This demonstrates not only the multiplicity of affects that interactions with space fostered, but also the pervasiveness of affect as an unquantifiable, intangible and ambiguous influence on street-wisdom, reminding of the latency of affect, its relationship with the virtual and the notion that it remains potent under the affective surface. Indeed, the ambiguity and indeterminacy of affect is one of its more creative possibilities. As Miller (2006), Tuan (1974) and Buttimer (1980) suggest, that which is not 'knowable', which remains ambiguous, is pertinent in analyses of subjectivity. It is to these gaps in the 'knowable' that I now turn and it is through this affective analytical lens that these indeterminables might begin to be fathomed, and the role of the ambiguous in construction of street-wisdom, appreciated.

Chapter 8: Silent Selves: Ethereal Places –The Significance of ‘Lack’

In this Chapter, I investigate the indeterminate by analysing features of the data which are characterised by silence, absence, refusal and self-censorship. These silences and absences are, I argue, useful for examining the ways in which spaces and selves were subjectively constructed through ‘lack’; that is, a lack of spatial competency, or awareness, lack of speech and lack of expressions of feeling. The ‘lacks’ that I explore here are those which are characterised by linguistic absences and self-censorship. Another ‘lack’ is a spatial lack – one which sees places appear and disappear on maps, or which evokes spaces as myths or illusions.

8.1 Silent Selves

The censorship which some participants practiced revealed their reluctance to express ‘bad’ affects unproblematically and their unwillingness to centralise experiences of violence, fear or loathing as part of their spatial subjectivity or deployment of street-wisdom. Much like the silences surrounding Heidi’s earlier discussion of ‘troublesome youths’ in Chapter 7, as part of their discussions, some participants were careful to frame their observations in phrases that they imagined would neutralise their comments, or at least make their meanings appear less controversial or exclusionary.

It’s going to sound really racist but... (Cecily, Anchor, Map)

If I can say that without sounding really unpolitically correct. (Shulamith, Boatswain, Map)

I don't want to stereotype. (Audrey, Boatswain, Map)

I don’t [like to] talk about people like that, I see them as just people (Lola, Anchor, Map)

These precursors, provisos and parentheses framed discussions which were primarily about ‘others’, but were also about how the participants saw *themselves* in the context of relationships with these ‘others’. Whilst Cecily and Shulamith might have continued to make comments based on prejudiced assumptions about ‘others’, Lola and Audrey declined to engage with similar stereotyping. In these contexts, the possibilities that ‘bad’ affects might be expressed remained latent – on the plane of immanence – but, by remaining virtual, rather than actualised, the exclusionary and inhibiting effects of their affective expressions remained unarticulated. Instead, the possibilities of expressing any one of an abundance of affects, which do not ‘other’ in this way, remained manifest. These

comments suggest that the subjectivities that these participants presented and the 'knowledges' that they reproduced were self-aware, contextually situated and reflected a spatial and ontological agency. By consciously refusing to speak in the terms they imagined were expected of them (sexist, racist, classist ways), these participants exerted an affective autonomy which was assured and which refused, in that moment, to operate in exclusionary or territorial ways.

Elsewhere, pervading this linguistic silence was a lack or dismissal of feeling. In a number of accounts, participants described negative events that happened to them as they occupied their 'home towns'. The absences and the words and ideas that they refused to articulate demonstrate some of the ways in which they managed their spatial subjectivity.

Lola: About two years ago in Boatswain someone asked me for the time, and um, they took my purse. But luckily it didn't bother me....it had nothing in it cos it was my holiday purse, so it had nothing in it.

Alex: So you had your purse in your hand?

Lola: Yeah I went like that [shows gesture] and he was like [shows gesture]...yeah but it didn't bother me cos there's nothing in it.

Alex: It's horrible for you to lose your purse

Lola: I was like 'Oh ok', so that's why I don't really like going to Boatswain anymore

Alex: Where did it happen?

Lola: Outside [Department Store in town centre] so it's quite visible. It wasn't like anywhere no-one was. It was quite 'witnessable' but it didn't upset me. It's like well...if it had a bank card or something important I would have been upset but it wasn't so...

Alex: Was that in the middle of the day?

Lola: Yeah on a Saturday so...but it didn't bother me. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

In this discussion, Lola repeated four times that the incident where her purse was stolen had no effect on her and 'didn't bother' her. As she was practicing normative behaviours such as being 'visible' in the centre of town, not being where 'no-one was', she was quizzical that that the crime should have happened in such a 'witnessable' area. Whilst it was possible that Lola had no negative feelings of upset as a result of her purse being stolen, the fact that she also said that this event made her not 'like going to Boatswain anymore', indicated that the event did have some effect on her sense of 'at-home-ness' when in Boatswain. Like Saxona's experiences discussed in Chapter 6, and Allegra and Audrey in Chapter 7 concerning her feeling of being 'intimidated' by 'chavs' or racists, it

is possible to suggest that this disavowal of upset, or 'bother', may have been strategically deployed to diminish the effect of this incident on her spatial subjectivity. As Koskela (1997: 305) reminds us, in order for research to remain fully feminist and fully emancipatory for participants, the safe-making potential of these denials must not be overlooked. Similarly, Rula told of an event that occurred as she was returning home from school:

One time at night there was a time when I got vaguely mugged like right near my house which was really weird. (Rula, Chord, Map)

Here too, describing the mugging in the passive language of 'vague' and 'weird', belies the intrusive nature of mugging. Whilst it was possible that she experienced this crime in a passive way, and it was possible that she did not experience it as a violent or frightening act, merely a 'weird' one, when asked how this event affected her, she responded:

[It was] round about there-ish [on the map]. On one of those side roads. Like, I was walking home from the tube station and it was me and my sister so that was just really scary because it is obviously somewhere so close to home that you feel really safe so that's sort of made me rethink the sort of safety of the area. (Rula, Chord, Map)

This demonstrated the extent to which the event affected Rula's sense of 'at-home-ness'. She began by framing the event in ambivalent language, suggesting it was unexceptional. However, when she developed the story, the ordinariness of the journey and its proximity to her home made her feel 'really scared'. One way of thinking about Rula's comments about being 'scared' of the mugging, is that it might have invoked the affect of shame or embarrassment that either she let the mugging occur, or that she let it affect her, hence her reluctance to speak about it as 'scary' from the outset. This may reflect a methodological problem of speaking about experiences of space, in that it not presenting a 'safe', 'respectable' femininity (Skeggs, 2001), her spatial competence became flawed or 'pathological', and the cost of this was the mugging (see Buchanan, 1997). Indeed, the impact of this fear caused her to reevaluate what she thought of as 'safe' and how she felt about her 'home' space. However, the effect of not speaking about the fear at the beginning of the story, as with Lola, above, could be said to promote a sense of spatial confidence in the face of actual incidences of violent crime. It could be that Lola and Rula were not suggesting that crimes against them did not matter, rather that they did not define their spatial subjectivity, or their confidence, by these events, and refused to concede to them the linguistic space to impact on their sense of 'at-

home-ness'. This sentiment was expressed by Dora:

I do fear, but I can't just stop going somewhere just because it has happened once cos you've got to keep going about your daily life. (Dora, Chord, Map)

The negotiation of feelings of fear through silence, as described by Dora, was a feature of many of the participants' discussions. When asked to list places that they liked and disliked in their 'home towns', Enid and Holly were both able to list a variety of places where they felt 'at home'. Like many other participants from Chord, they struggled, however, to name places they disliked.

Actually I am alright with most places[...]I kind of actually like everywhere. I don't really... I haven't been everywhere,[but]there are no places that stand out for not like liking. (Enid, Chord, Map)

I don't really avoid anywhere. Like, I would go if I had to. I just don't really [dislike places] (Holly, Chord, Map)

However, later in the discussion, both rephrased their expressions to articulate feelings akin to dislike, fear and loathing.

Um sometimes like at night, not necessarily in the day but at night time if you are walking alone. Like behind [The Park] and on [The Hill] sometimes it can be quite scary on your own. Like sometimes if I am walking back from [Chord] quite late like you get a bit paranoid by lack of light sometimes. (Enid, Chord, Map)

Well like places like Pendulum. I don't really...because I go there because I take the train in the morning and so I go via Pendulum sometimes, it just seems a bit like scary. Um...so I wouldn't go there if...for fun, but I have to. And then and I don't really like going to Cringe like, not that I have ever been, but I don't want to go. I am a bit scared about that because apparently it smells like drugs there [laughs]. I don't really want to go there. Like round Knifedge there is a council estate and we used to go there in primary school. We used to walk through the council-estate and people would like throw cans at us, as we were walking through so I don't really like going there. (Holly, Chord, Map)

Whilst they initially did not express feelings of dislike, loathing or fear in the context of their 'home towns', these were feelings and impressions that they had and that they were able to articulate about at least three places within these spaces. The significance of this absence in the stories that they told, echoes observations above, about the possibility of 'shame' being attached to expressing fear and demonstrated that whilst they lived with and negotiated feelings of loathing, it was not an affective expression that overwhelmed them nor was it at the forefront of the construction of their subjectivity. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 9, this may have been a feature of how their street-wisdom might be constructed, but was not so overwhelming as to be amongst the primary constituents of that knowledge. The silences could be said to deflect the influence of more negative emotions and promote the fostering of well-being and 'at-home-ness' in 'home towns'.

8.2 Ethereal Places

The marking of fearful feeling by absence was also illustrated in the maps that the participants annotated and spoke about. It was through the marking of this cartography of fear and loathing places on maps that phantom spaces were invoked, material spaces disappeared and participants became 'lost'.

The contrasts between the ways that participants spoke about their 'home towns' was most marked in the various cartographies they constructed. It was here that the absences received a physical manifestation. It was here that we could glimpse at their embodiment.

8.2.1 Placelessness: Phantom Places

Examining the maps of all three sites, participants were able to identify places that they expected to encounter feelings of fear or loathing, but they also revealed that did they did not 'know' or have tangible experience of those spaces. In Boatswain, participants separately identified three spaces which they disliked in this way. These were the Bus Station, the Train Station and the district of Wheywould. When asked to annotate the maps with places that they liked and disliked, most participants discovered that they had relatively little topological appreciation of the areas that they were talking about.

In Boatswain? Wheywould. I wouldn't go down there. Although I don't really know [it] that well either to be honest (Hermione, Anchor, Map)

I don't know where it [Wheywould] is on the map... (Cecily, Anchor, Map)

If I could find Wheywould, [on the map] that's where I don't go. I can't see it on here so shall I just write it on? (Joy, Anchor, Map)

The Train Station is the worst place...there's quite a lot of crime there, but I don't know where it is. (Koryn, Boatswain, Map)

Heidi: I have forgotten what it's called. Um...what's that place called? Um..I can't remember...

Alex: What's it got in it?

Heidi: It's near the Train Station

Alex: Oh right. Wheywould?

Heidi: Yeah cos I have been there once before and it was quite scary. (Heidi, Anchor, Map)

These comments illustrated how Wheywould and the Train Station in particular were constructed as places in which to be fearful, yet were also places that participants had difficulty identifying. As Miller (2006: 456) suggests, the vagueness, or 'unmappableness' of space is a significant feature of the construction of place. It is in the indeterminacy of space, that the nuances of the meaning of place might be fathomed. Here, the Train Station, the Bus Station and Wheywould can be understood as existing on an ontological periphery, casting a new cartography of affective loving and loathing, beyond a physical manifestation of place (Creswell, 1998):

Well the whole stories about Wheywould, you know it's a really rough place and so I don't really go there (Lottie, Anchor, Map).

This comment illustrated the complexity of situating Wheywould in participants' spatial subjectivities. Whilst these areas existed in the area of Boatswain, participants had difficulty finding them on the map, echoing Matthews's (1984, 1985) research concerning young people and their capacity to make sense of place through maps. As Kitchin (1994: 6) argues, mapping, and the ability to build relationships with maps, illustrates how everyday subjectivities are formed and deployed in a dynamic, interconnected framework of knowledge. In the contexts of these participants, they effectively lost the places of loathing on the map. All disliked sites were on the maps they annotated but the participants' inability to locate them reflected how the space, particularly that of Wheywould, was constructed as a liminal site, neither wholly illusory nor wholly physicalised in the

subjectivities of the participants (See Bell, 1992). Indeed, participants' responses to not being able to find these places on the map were, as Joy stated, to 'write [the names] on' the margins of the maps. By physically marking the places at the peripheries of the map, they illustrated the marginal and figurative affective impressions these places had on them. They were emotionally and actually pushing them to the back of their minds. In the Walking Interview too, an inability to situate these loathed places was also apparent:

[Wheywould is]...just...I don't know... it's just I can't...I think it is probably it just seems like a dodgy area to go down. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk).

Here, Agatha struggled not only to find Wheywould, but also to articulate her dislike of the place. In 'thinking' it 'seemed' like a 'dodgy area to go down', she invoked an affective, loathing response to this place that she did not frequent, and could not find.

Constructing these sites in this way, as places which existed more as affective spectres, as phantoms in the spatial imaginaries of the participants, rather than as physical places, these accounts demonstrated that the participants constructed loathed spaces in as mutable a way as they constructed home town spaces. This reflects the abundant potentialities of the virtual. Most participants avoided these places where possible, yet they constructed their spatial subjectivity, and their knowledge about their 'home towns' under the spectre of these loathed places. These topographical absences demonstrate the portability of loathing and the influence that unidentifiable spaces of loathing had on subjectivity. They also demonstrated, in the context of this enquiry, that it was the emotional expression of affect through presentimental hunches that informed street-wisdom and which fostered feelings of belonging or not, in home town spaces, as much as it was tangible and concrete experiences. Though, as the following section demonstrates, phantom spaces were by no means always constructed as sites of loathing.

8.2.2 Placefulness: Excess Space

In discussions of places that they liked and disliked, participants from Chord demonstrated that they had few experiences of disliked places in London or in Chord. As such, their cartographies of loathing in these places were mostly blank. The majority were not able to identify any places to avoid or where they experienced negative feelings. Esme's observation reflected the opinion of most participants from Chord:

It [Chord] is not an area which I don't feel comfortable with or I worry about getting lost in...you know it's easy. (Esme, Chord, Map)

This quotation should not be understood as evidence that participants from metropolitan 'home towns' have more spatial wherewithal or street-wisdom than those from less urban environments; rather, further enquiry demonstrates that there were nuances in the ways that the participants from urban, suburban and rural spaces constructed their spatial subjectivities. Leaving their maps of loathing blank, some participants explained:

I don't really avoid anywhere it is just I have no reason to really go there. (Lilly, Chord, Map)

Well it's just that I have never been there so I don't really want to go somewhere I don't know[...]I will use these stations. I am not as familiar with them, I like to stick with what I know (Rhona, Chord, Map)

I wouldn't say there are places I avoid specifically. I mean London's only...I kind of go there when I kind of need to...so there is nothing really that I avoid, I just go to where I need. (Saxona, Chord, Map)

Iris: I don't really go to any of those [places].

Alex: Ok, are those places that you avoid?

Iris: Oh no, no, I don't actively avoid them at all, it just seems to be nothing there really[...]I don't really have any need to go there so I don't go there[...]Normally I don't go to places I don't know, if my friends are there or if they are kind of useful like if they have the shops or the Commons for instance because it is a nice place to go, but apart from...I don't know there are just some areas that I have no reason to venture to. (Iris, Chord, Map)

Thus, participants from Chord did not identify as many places as loathsome, because they did not 'need' to visit them. They did not actively avoid spaces, as the participants from Anchor and Boatswain did, and instead had no need to use them. They preferred to not to go to 'places they didn't know' or places they were unfamiliar with. They 'stuck to what [they] knew', they went to where they 'needed' to. The locution of 'knowing' places, coupled with the spatial security that they felt, demonstrates the importance of interrogating street-wisdom, as it is through examining these 'knowledges' that discursive belonging and exclusion can be perceived.

As was demonstrated on the maps, participants from Chord used only a very small proportion of the metropolis. They separately frequented the same street for shopping, the same area for eating in restaurants, and the same areas to do 'expensive' flâneur-like window shopping. Within this microcosm in the metropolis, the participants were able to access all the activities they 'needed' to and therefore had no 'need' to venture into other areas with which they were less familiar. They did not have to negotiate other spaces in which they may have had to tackle more negative affective experiences. In contrast, in Anchor and Boatswain, participants routinely had to manage their loathing and 'un-at-home-ness' in the context of unavoidable areas.

Koryn: I just want to take you round to the Bus Station. It's like one of the places where I hate coming in to but I have to do it to get transport. There's always someone being arrested around here. It's like really, really rundown and the people[...]are really horrible. My bay is down there but I never sit there.

Alex: Oh you have to come here all the time?

Koryn: Yeah I have to get my bus here from school. It is absolutely horrible. I am always here. There's all these really awful people who like hang around here as well. It's just really...graffiti everywhere, birds' poo everywhere, but you know it's something that you have to do so... (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

Koryn's disgust in the Bus Station was palpable. The 'awful' and 'horrible' people, the dirt, the presence of loiterers 'hanging around' or 'getting arrested' caused her to 'hate' that place. In this section she mentioned three times, how she was compelled to occupy the place. In the last phrase, she explained rather stoically that it is 'something she has to do so...', she got on with it. Agatha also negotiated this same sense of loathing;

Actually round at the Bus Station, it is so skanky. It is just gross. It's gross but I don't know[...]like out of my friends, I catch buses from there quite often so some of my friends don't ever go near it cos they don't have to, they are never like 'oh I am going to get the bus'. I have got buses to school since, since [I was nine years old]. So it is kind of like a thing that I do. So if someone, like one of my friends is like 'oh I have to catch a bus from like Boatswain'. I am like, yeah, whatever. (Agatha, Boatswain Walk)

Quite resentful of her friends who did not have to negotiate the 'gross' and 'skanky' Bus station, Agatha constructed this ordeal as one which was closely linked to her spatial subjectivity. Echoing

the experiences of the participants in Chord, Agatha's friends had the choice whether or not to use the bus station in Boatswain. When her friends did have to use the space, that she had to endure for so many years, she was dismissive of them. Getting the bus, and tolerating it, was 'kind of like a thing that [she did]'. And it was her own coping strategies that enabled her to have boldly continued doing so for so long. In contrast, in Chord, no participants reported having to negotiate a space they loathed in the same way. Having such a large place as their home town, and using such a small part of it, they did not 'need' to confront unpleasant places in their day-to-day movements in the ways described by Koryn and Agatha.

The lack of topographically expressed fear in the accounts of those participants from Chord, and the presence of sites of loathing in the accounts from Anchor and Boatswain, should not suggest that participants in Anchor or Boatswain are more fearful, dissatisfied or disgusted by where they live than those in Chord; rather that they have less choice of which places to occupy in order to go about their daily lives and go shopping, go to parks, hang around, go to school or work and do the same activities as participants from Chord did.

Chordians were able to choose to frequent places they knew and felt 'at home' in and did not have to confront spaces that they did not know and felt less 'at home' in. In this way, in Chord, participants had an abundance of place; never needing to explore places they felt were undesirable or unknown to them. And though some participants did express fearfulness in Chord, this excess space meant that they had never needed to formulate an answer to the question of places they disliked. Indeed, it is worth noting that just as there is value in not feeling fearful, loathing or disgust in home town spaces, spatial subjectivities can be equally well constituted in environments where individuals must negotiate 'everyday fear' (Stanko, 1990, 1995). The construction of spatial confidence, either through fearlessness or through managing daily disgust and loathing (See Koskela, 1997, 1999, Koskela & Pain, 2000, Hollway & Jefferson, 1997), was evidenced in many responses to space. I examine these in Chapter 9 and 10.

Chapter 9: The (Re)Production of Ontological Street-wisdom

In this Chapter, I draw on Miller's (forthcoming) and Ingold's (1993) considerations of 'resonance', and Ahmed's (2006a) discussion of orientation, to examine how participants constructed knowledge. As has been demonstrated in this thesis, spatial subjectivity – the feeling of belonging or not and of feeling 'at home' or not in space – is constituted by everyday interactions within and between spaces, selves and others and is articulated linguistically as well as through intersubjective expressions of affect. Certainly, as I have demonstrated in the discussion up to now, these distinctions are somewhat artificial; constructions of spatial subjectivities overlap and are mediated by participants' 'raced', gendered, aged and classed subjectivity.

By expressing their sense of 'at-home-ness' through a network of knowledge about spaces, selves and others and the intersect of their positionality, participants constructed street-wisdom in relation to their understandings of where they belonged; where they were safe, where they were 'at home', where they were like 'others'; where they were less at ease, felt less 'at home', and the extent to which they felt 'at-home-ness', or not, along this scale. These expressions, and the extent to which they are mediated by the positionality of participants, are outlined in this section.

'Knowledges' about spatial strategies in 'home towns' were produced and reproduced through a number of coexisting discourses. A predominant way in which knowledge about belonging in 'home towns' was exchanged was through the expressions of shared 'truths'. As has been identified by the early work of Valentine (1989, 1992) Stanko, (1990) and Pain, (1991), these 'truths' were presented as 'common knowledges' which were either sourced from named third parties, or through engagement with baseless rumours or myths about places. Constructions of knowledge were also evidenced through descriptions of feelings, or hunches, about the environment and through the influence of familiarities and mundanities on spatial competence.

9.1 'Common Sense': Myths and Warnings

Two prevailing constructs of knowledge about 'home towns' were reproduced in discussions which focussed on wisdom received from identifiable third parties, such as schools, parents, the local press and on wisdom received from more ambiguous sources. The influences of both named and unnamed sources of wisdom had a considerable impact on spatial subjectivities:

One time someone told me they were walking down there [an alleyway], and they could hear someone there, but they couldn't see them, and they suddenly realised there was someone standing right next to them and that has always freaked me out so...(Allegra, Boatswain, Map)

I tend not to want to come out when it's dark. Or anything like that. I mean I haven't had any bad experiences, but I know a few friends have (Enola, Boatswain, Walk)

Allegra and Enola were able to identify a specific person who had indicated that certain places were sites of 'un-at-home-ness' and translated this knowledge into their own affective expressions about the space. Allegra was 'freaked out' by the space, whilst Enola, despite not having had any 'bad experiences' in this home town space, used the knowledge provided by her friends to inform her movements 'after dark'. Elsewhere, as Valentine (1996, 1997a, b) and De Groof (2008) found, for some participants, the knowledge about 'un-at-home-ness' which informed their street-wisdom was informed by their parents' constructions of their own spatial subjectivity.

Alex: Are you influenced by what your parents think about Boatswain?

Suki: Erm, I think quite a bit actually, because my parents grew up in Boatswain as well so[...]they would know, I guess where you shouldn't go and where perhaps you should go[...]so when they say 'stay away from a certain area' then I wouldn't go there. (Suki, Boatswain, Map)

Suki, like many other participants, followed her parents' advice about where she 'should go' and where she should 'stay away from'. Having grown up in Boatswain, her parents' increased exposure to her home town made their advice worth following. However, as Agatha expressed, not all participants constructed street-knowledge through this lens. Agatha explained how her parents had less influence on her knowledge of Boatswain:

Alex: Does your parents' opinion about Boatswain influence your opinion?

Agatha: Not at all. My parents don't come to Boatswain at all. I know why they are cautious of me coming here. But it still doesn't stop me from coming here. It makes me aware, cos I am not naive and think that everyone is nice. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

Agatha's parents did not interact with Boatswain, and therefore they did 'not at all' influence her knowledge about the town, as from her perspective they were unqualified to, as they did not go to Boatswain 'at all'. Whilst, she attributed their wariness to her construction of street-wisdom, and explained that she was 'not naïve' because of their caution, their wariness did not impact on her mobility into and around Boatswain. Olive also dismissed her parents' influence on her spatial subjectivity:

Alex: Do your parents have any opinion about Boatswain?

Olive: Not really because I think I spend a lot more time in Boatswain than my parents do, because neither of my parents work here and I always...I am always in here. They probably have [some opinion] but theirs is probably worse [than mine] because of what they hear about it. Articles in the paper, they hear about the bad things and not necessarily the good things. Like parks. They are never out in parks and that so their opinion's probably worse than my opinion. (Olive, Boatswain, Map)

Like Suki and Agatha, Olive attributed lived experience to the construction of knowledge, and in this context, the influence of their parents had varied impacts. Olive's parents received their information about Boatswain from the press, they 'heard about the bad things' without 'knowing' the good things. This demonstrated that for Olive, it was through experience and being in place that knowledge was best produced in contrast to 'hearing' about places, which only produces 'partial' knowledge. Elsewhere, this knowledge was also constructed through engagement with the media:

Just if you're around at night you just are aware of the publicity that there [are] bad things, you just are much more wary of like a van passing you[...]standing on the street kind of thing. (Rita, Chord, Walk)

Silver: [Wheywould] just strikes me as iffy.

Edith: It's meant to be really dodgy down there.

Silver: I think it is partly because it's in the paper you always see...any nasty criminal activity and people up to no good, they always come from that area[laughs]Maybe it's a perception one has because of reading the local paper. (Silver and Edith, Boatswain, Map)

As Rita explained, echoing the findings of Valentine, (1989, 1992) and Frug's (1992) observation of spaces which construct women as vulnerable through media discourses, it was the 'publicity' concerning safety that made Rita aware of 'bad things' and 'wary' as a result. She used the knowledge produced by the media to inform her street-wisdom and her responses to signals of danger such as 'vans passing' and the effect of 'standing on the street'. These signifiers also recall research by Stanko (1990, 1996), Kelly, (1987) and Brooks Gardner, (1995), whose separate feminist discussions examine the social, legal and spatial signs of unsafety, through which women build a repertoire of 'knowledges' about space. Stanko (1996) and Valentine (1989, 1992) recognise the difficulty of relying on these signs to interpret space. Indeed, as Silver explained, reliance on media-constructed knowledge was not a straightforward wisdom-gathering strategy to adopt. Silver laughed in the middle of her sentence, suggesting that she was aware of the problematic

consequences of constructing street-wisdom based on knowledge from the media. Whilst Edith unproblematically reproduced knowledge about Wheywould as ‘really dodgy’, Silver recognised that it was a more elusive ‘perception’ fostered by ‘reading the local paper’. Aside from potentially offering biased perspectives, and recalling the photographers who Eve feared tried to photograph her skirt on her way to school in section 6.2.1, local media can unproblematically reproduce sexist, classist and racist stereotypes in its reporting, mirroring the exclusionary discourses articulated by some participants elsewhere in this study (cf., Thomas, 2004). As such, reliance on media reporting can unproblematically continue to reinforce exclusions along raced, classed and gendered lines, which would not encourage recipients of this information to interrogate the assumptions that underpin these stories in the way that I suggest is necessary in order to foster more emancipatory spaces for all space users; the excluded and the excluders. This complexity was reflected in Esme’s observations of the influence of ‘publicity’ on young people’s spatial subjectivities:

I think one of the main problems you get with this publicity you get at the minute...I mean I know there is a lot of crime happens in Chord, I think it is kind of hyped up in a sense of how people think it is really rough. Like I know that people [at school] would never go to [area in London] and they have this whole idea that walking through it at 6 o’clock at night someone is going to kill you or something but I mean it’s usually fine. (Esme, Chord, Map)

Esme, exhibiting a Foucauldian resistance to dominant discourses and reflecting an autonomous expression of affect, dismissed knowledge produced by ‘publicity’ about an area in Chord as ‘hype’. Whilst her peers at school were influenced by the knowledge produced by publicity, she resisted this imperative because she reasoned, ‘it was usually fine’. Whilst the media was significant in constructing knowledge and ‘wisdom’ about places, the recipients of this knowledge did not necessarily always accept it uncritically; rather, whether the knowledge came from their friends, parents or the media, it often acted as only one aspect of the complex influences that structured the construction of street-wisdom.

Elsewhere, the influence of myth and rumour was also a significant factor in this network of knowledge production. These rumours circulated around spaces that participants had identified as undesirable and that were ‘othered’ either through constructions of class, or ‘race’ or experience of criminal activity. These ‘knowledges’ about othered spaces and othered people were compounded by the dissemination of rumour:

That would be Holesome, which is one of the... I don’t know if you have heard anything about it? It is famous for its drug raids and crime and...it’s a council-estate anyway (Nell,

Anchor, Map)

Along the River its quite scary for me[...]if you go down the River. Down the bottom. The boat house. I walk past really fast because like, I have heard really bad things about it (Enola, Boatswain, Walking Interview)

Enola and Nell must both confront spaces that they have heard rumours about – that were ‘famous’ for deviant behaviours. Whilst they both confronted these loathed spaces frequently, neither of them had experience of the ‘bad things’ that happen there. Yet the rumours about those places turned them into places to avoid, spaces that were ‘scary’ and that they must ‘walk past fast’. In this way the rumours impacted on their day-to-day spatial confidence and mobility. Indeed, in Nell’s account of loathed space, she mentioned an apparently notorious place for drug-dealing and concluded by stating that it was a council estate ‘anyway’. This illustrates once more the pervasiveness of classed othering in fostering understandings of the meaning of space; that the fact of the site being a council estate ‘anyway’ meant that it was an always-already, inherently deviant space, regardless of whether the story told about the space was true. Similarly, rumours impacted on knowledge about spaces which participants had little experience of:

It [is] not very nice[...]sort of round The Park, which I’ve only been[to]once or twice, but I have heard about all the stuff that goes on there. (Allegra, Boatswain, Map)

I am not going to walk through Wheywould on my own just because of that image that’s its got. It has a bad reputation there and I’ve been brought up, you know when you walk through there just be careful. (Joy, Anchor, Map)

Up here is the renowned bad area of Boatswain. I have to say, I avoid it as much as I can. Even in cars. It’s not that nice a place. (Olive, Boatswain, Map)

In these extracts, Allegra, Joy and Olive avoided places of their home towns that they understood as ‘renowned’ for being ‘bad’ or ‘not very nice’. The impact of this knowledge acquired through rumour meant that they avoided these areas ‘as much as [they] could’, which is a recognised strategy for safe-keeping in response to ‘un-at-home-ness’ in street-wisdom. In this context, however, Allegra and Olive had little actual experience of those spaces. Which reflected the pervasive influence of rumour on their spatial subjectivities and construction of street-wisdom. This nuance was illustrated by Agatha’s observation:

There is a road that runs near the Train Station that is actually, like, known as being so dodgy for drugs and stuff. And if you look at it, it just looks dodgy and there’s...there's some like

myth and I don't know if it's true or not[...]people say that like, sometimes[...]that house sells drugs. And you would never even notice it. It could be a complete made up story but just kind of...it tells you about the area, really (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

The house that Agatha identified was in an area of Boatswain that was 'known' by her and many other participants, to be 'so dodgy'. When Agatha described it as a drug dealer's house, she was aware that this assertion may be a 'myth', but it did not detract from her knowledge about the area. She dismissed the significance of it as being a 'completely made up story' and explained that nevertheless, the existence of the story, whether made up or not, 'tells you about the area'. For Agatha, this knowledge did not have to be constructed in 'truth', rather the 'raced' and classed discourses that were reproduced in telling this story about this house were sufficient for her to construct her knowledge about it and adapt her street-wise responses to it.

9.2 Affective Ontology – 'Feeling' the Environs

In many instances, the significance of rumour on the construction of street-wisdom was entwined with expressions of intuitive feeling, or hunches:

Hermione: I think it's just kind of your instinct, kind of, don't go to the areas that you have heard stuff about.

Alex: How do you get your instinct?

Hermione: I think it's mostly like word of mouth like what people have said and then you get like a feel for a place when you sort of go through it whether you feel you should be there or not. (Hermione, Anchor, Map)

The knowledge obtained by 'word of mouth', was translated by Hermione into an impression of getting a 'feel for a place'. Recalling Ingold's (1993) and Miller's (forthcoming) separate accounts of notions of resonance, feelings of being 'like' others, this presentiment, or hunch, indicated to Hermione whether she 'should be there or not' in a place. It was through the reproduction of this affective ontology that Hermione's knowledge about places in which she belonged or did not belong was constructed. Similarly, for Lola, this affective impression of 'un-at-home-ness' influenced her movements in Anchor:

It was just, I felt really uneasy, like I always felt that someone was either watching you or someone...You just never know what is going to happen because it is, was quite like, what's the word? Not hostile people, [but] not all of them were really pleasant. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

Affective ontologies were used by Lola to negotiate ambiguous street scenarios in her home town.

Where she ‘never [knew] what [was] going to happen’, the nuanced possibilities afforded by presentimental hunches provided her with a framework around which to structure her knowledge about that street space. In these circumstances, where the ‘feel’ of the space was ambiguous, where people were ‘not hostile’, but were not ‘really pleasant’ either, where menace was latent and indeterminate, Lola was able to express knowledge through this affective indeterminacy (See Miller, 2006). This affective expression provided her with a framework through which to fathom and negotiate a space that she had ambivalent feelings about. Here, embracing the indeterminacy of knowledge, and fostering what Knopp (2004) describes as ‘humble ontology’, Lola manoeuvred a space about which knowledge was unstable. Not unlike Giselle’s engagement with affective expression, analysed in Chapter 7, it is significant here that it is through the indeterminacy of affect that Lola was able to build knowledge about uncertain spaces. Indeed, it is through the possibilities afforded by this affective analysis that the ways in which this street-wisdom was constructed could be perceived. Affective expressions which recognise the complexity and uncertainty of the meaning of spaces also proved useful to promote ‘at-home-ness’:

Like, I feel safe walking around, during the day, but in the evening, I am always a bit cautious. It is not like I am [always] scared but you are always just a bit cautious. (Agatha, Boatswain, Walk)

For Agatha, the feeling of safety and ‘scaredness’, was something that she negotiated simultaneously. It is interesting to note, in this extract that Agatha shifts her description of safe-keeping from ‘I’ to ‘you’; ‘it is not like *I* am always scared, but *you* are always just a bit cautious’. Though this linguistic switch is a common one in the way that people speak, it also figuratively illustrates the interpretative loop of affect; that Agatha ‘owns’ her feeling of not being ‘always scared’, but distances herself from the ‘you’ of who is cautious. Not only does this illustrate the loop of interpreting non-autonomous expressions of fearful affects, but it also suggests that one of the ways in which Agatha rejects fearful feelings, and manages unsafety, is by refusing to own the need for caution. This affective expression, in the context of promoting safe-keeping and sense of well-being, illustrated her response to her hunches about the changing texture of place by day and by night (See Ingold, 1993, Ahmed, 2004a,b). This expression demonstrates that affective ontologies are not fixed and immutable, as Barnett (2008) suggests; rather as Knopp (2004) highlights, they can be adapted and contextualised, which recalls my earlier discussion of affect as a tool to open up the conceptual space to imagine alternatives for ready-to-be-affected bodies in space beyond normative responses to fearful or unfeared affects.

9.3 Ontologies, Mundanities and Familiarities

For some participants, the construction of street-wisdom through the deployment of these affective ontologies produced a knowledge which was influenced by their day-to-day, mundane experiences of spaces and increasing or decreasing familiarity with it:

We normally go down to like a local pub down there cos obviously we know the people...well they know the people that are in the area who like run the pubs and that sort of thing so we know we are going to be alright. (Hermione, Anchor, Map)

I come into Boatswain all the time, and I couldn't say I don't like it. Because if I wanted to go to other places I could. It's a lifestyle. It's just a town. It's pretty much like every other place so there's no point worrying about it. (Edna, Boatswain, Map)

Here, Hermione 'knew' the people and therefore the area, of Anchor, and so she 'knew' she was 'going to be alright', likewise Edna's complacency toward Boatswain was fostered in part by her familiarity with the town. Her knowledge became mundane; it was 'just a town', 'like every other place' and therefore, was nothing to 'worry' about. The familiarity that they both experienced in their home town contributed to their sense of 'at-home-ness'. Knowledge forged through familiarity was additionally mobilised by some participants to refuse the expression of fearful affects that were circulated around some home town spaces:

I mean parts of it along here[...]they can be a bit more dangerous, but I don't really worry about this sort of thing because I know I live close by and I know my way around, so if I get lost, or...I can sort myself out. I have only lived here for a few years and I used to live in like a much rougher area of Chord[...]where I was kind of used to that sort of actually feeling scared, because there was actually a chance that something was going to happen, whereas here, [the risk] is absolutely tiny...[but] one of my best friends gets so nervous at just walking around at like 11pm even if it is still like semi-light in Summer and but for me, I just...know what to do if I get unsafe, or feel unsafe. (Enid, Chord, Map)

It was with some disdain that Enid compared her own street-wisdom and spatial confidence to that of her friend. As Enid suggested, her lack of worry was formed by two influences; that she was near home and would be able to find her way, and that she had previously lived in 'much rougher' areas where she had experienced a level of 'scared feeling' that was related to perceived 'actual' risk rather than the 'absolutely tiny' perceived risk in her current home town space. Enid's experience translated into street-wisdom, and with this experiential knowledge she was able to develop a spatial confidence that she contrasted with that of her friend. In this extract, Enid cast herself as a pragmatic and assured space user who 'knew what to do' to 'sort herself out'. The last sentence in

this extract is of particular significance in the consideration of the construction of spatial competence and street-wisdom. By distinguishing between 'getting unsafe' and 'feeling unsafe', Enid's comments indicated that despite the distinction between actual unsafety and perceived or 'felt' unsafety, the influence of each has a similar impact on sense of well-being and spatial confidence. Whether she 'felt' unsafe, or actually was unsafe, Enid's safe-keeping strategies would be the same. Thus, whether real or imagined, impressions of safety would appear to have similar effects on her spatial subjectivity. This paradox is well recognised in literature concerning fear and safety. Pain (1991), Koskela (1997, 2000), Stanko (1990), and Valentine (1989, 1992) all identify that the *fear* of crime can have as much of an effect on well-being as the actual *risk* of crime. This tension reinforces why enquiries into spatial subjectivity and the construction of street-wisdom must pay attention to affective knowledge about the construction of space, as well as to the circulation of less emotionally-informed 'knowledges' about space.

In addition to this, it is important to recognise the role of familiarity in the construction of knowledge about safe-keeping. The development of experience over the period of a lifetime was a substantial factor in the construction of street-wisdom for some participants:

I mean...[my parents] used to tell me when I was younger that around the station it was dodgy. Which was because I was younger. And now I know [that it is]. (Saxona, Chord, Map)

In this comment, Saxona constructed her knowledge as one which had become more complete as she had become older. As she explained, because she was 'younger', her parents gave her some knowledge about 'dodgy' areas in her home town, and now she was older, she 'knew' the knowledge. Here, Saxona presented a street-wisdom which improved with age and experience. In contrast, Enid articulated an enhanced spatial confidence outside of advice from older people:

So I guess Chord would worry some people more who had not experienced it, but because we are younger, we have kind of, we know what happens and it is not actually that bad. (Enid, Chord, Map)

Enid's life experience as an occupant of Chord, and her youth, enabled her to construct her own spatial subjectivity as closer to the ground, more street-wise or alert than that of people who 'had not experienced it' as much. By comparing Saxona and Enid's comments, it is apparent that 'youth' is not constructed as essentially more or less street-wise in the context of occupying 'home towns'; rather, it is constituent feature of knowledge production in the same way that experience and familiarity might be. As young people, their spatial competency increased over time, and their knowledge improved as well; but in being younger, they simultaneously perceived themselves as

being more aware of an 'authentic' knowledge of 'what happens' than either older or even younger people. This age related transition was also outlined by Rita:

When I was younger, I would be a lot more stressed out. Now, because when you are younger, and you hear about random acts of violence you think it is going to be everywhere. But when you are older I think you are going to be a bit more worldly-wise and so are a bit more conscious of what you do. (Rita, Chord, Walk)

Through the increase of experience, as she became more 'worldly wise', Rita became less 'stressed out'. As she became older, her understanding about the likelihood of risk increased and with it her knowledge about how to manage risk. In this context, her spatial competence increased, as her anxiety about 'random acts of violence' decreased. Here too, there was a sense that her street-wisdom became more complete as she became older and that through this 'consciousness' was able to foster 'at-home-ness'.

In this chapter I have demonstrated some of the ways in which participants constructed street-wisdom and the role that expressions of affect play in this. In addition to this, the discussion of Lola's knowledge about space demonstrates that rather than being static, the use of 'humble' affective ontologies can work in a fluid way to 'fill in the gaps' where knowledge about space is otherwise unstable (See Knopp, 2004). Having established some of the ways that street-wisdoms are constructed, the next chapter considers the strategies that participants deployed to unmake 'un-at-home-ness' and to deny the effects that expressions of fearful affects have on their spatial subjectivity in pursuance of 'at-home-ness', including being 'at-home' with 'un-at-home-ness'.

Chapter 10: Unmaking 'Un-at-home-ness': Managing Loathed Spaces

Through constructions of knowledge of space, self and other, as well as recognising the significance of 'lack' in the construction of street-wisdom, in Chapter 9, I outlined some of the ways in which street-wisdom is constructed to forge 'at-home-ness' in, and with, space. This chapter builds on that to demonstrate how street-wisdom is applied to unmake 'un-at-home-ness', by living with, or avoiding 'un-at-home-ness', by revelling in the riskiness of place or being 'at-home' in the 'not-at-home'.

The strategies which women use to promote feelings of safety have been examined by Koskela (1997), Valentine (1989) and Brooks Gardner (1995) amongst others. The analysis which follows contributes to these findings and enhances them by offering a perspective, which, as Koskela (1997: 305), Hutta (2009) and Hollway & Jefferson (1997) urge, accommodates feminine fearlessness and agency and challenges the construction of fear as 'bad' and safety as 'good'. The following pages outline five of the ways in which participants worked in space to unmake the effects of 'un-at-home-ness' on their spatial subjectivity.

10.1 Avoidance

A principal and possibly more obvious way in which participants reported undoing the effect of 'un-at-home-ness', was by avoiding those areas which their street knowledge had indicated were to be loathed, and by extension, to be avoided:

I try to avoid it. But sometimes you have to [go there] and it's like 'urgh!' But no I wouldn't say unsafe. Just a bit more cautious around areas like that but otherwise, I don't really care [...] I don't think about it until you are there and [then] it's like 'arghh!'. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

Lola explained that she 'wouldn't say [she felt] unsafe' in space, rather, recalling McCormack's (2003:200) observations about the unarticulatableness of affect, her expression of 'urgh!' and 'arghh!' emphasised the influence loathed spaces had on her spatial subjectivity. She did not feel 'at-home' in this area of her home town and so she 'tried to avoid it'. She felt that she did not belong and thus she extracted herself entirely from its impact on her spatial well-being. Similarly, when managing conflict, Hermione explained:

I don't...no-one really shouts anything abusive towards you. You know, I know there's like a minority that would but if I avoid the areas where that sort of happens, it doesn't happen to me. (Hermione, Anchor, Map)

In this instance, the abusive shouting that Hermione was aware of 'didn't happen' to her, because of

her avoidance of the spaces where this conflict happened. Echoing the discussion in Chapter 8, Lola's and Hermione's perspectives on avoidance demonstrate the role that absences play in the construction of loathed places. And these strategic responses to loathed spaces might account for this. In avoiding the places that they disliked, or 'knew' to be loathable, the surface area of the places that they encountered in their home town was less expansive than if they had not 'known' of any loathed spaces, did not loathe spaces, or had no choice but to engage with those places. Though avoidance appears, at first, to be a negative response to spatial insecurity and managing loathed spaces, the effect on these participants' subjectivities was that they had a predominant sense of well-being at most times when they were in their 'home towns'; Lola 'didn't really think about' the sense of loathing that she had in this area, whilst Hermione 'knew' that the abusive shouting would not happen to her. Thus through avoidance, Lola and Hermione were empowered to construct an ontology of spatial wellbeing which denied the impact of 'un-at-home-ness', whilst nonetheless reducing the amount of space they had available to occupy. Similarly, for Rula, physical avoidance enabled her to manage undesirable space:

Normally I walk down those side streets but instead...if it is at night I will just walk down the main one as opposed to the side one even though it is two minutes longer. Like it is not a big deal. It is just the way you normally go it is just a bit changed.
(Rula, Chord, Map)

Thus, Rula altered her trajectory on the way home to manage the loathsome space she would otherwise have had to confront. In this extract, Rula explained that this change took 'two minutes longer' than the way that she would take if she was not influenced by a sense of loathing, and once more illustrated the temporality of negotiating disliked spaces. It was something she had to tolerate for two minutes, was 'not a big deal', her trajectory was 'just a bit changed'. Indeed, like Lola and Hermione above, such a choice not to use spaces of loathing might, at first glance appear fearful, but could be considered agentic; a decision not to live with, or within, experiences of loathing.

Of course, for some participants, avoidance of loathed places was not such a straightforward task and, as I discussed at the end of Chapter 8, simply not using space was not a possibility for many participants. A number of strategies were employed by those participants who had no choice but to enter those spaces their street-wisdom indicated would be unpleasant. Most responses to confronting loathed spaces were marked upon the body and took a number of forms. I consider each of these in turn.

10.2 Performing Avoidance

When compelled to enter spaces that were 'known' as loathsome in their 'home towns', many participants explained that they altered their behaviour to unmake the effect of the undesirable space on their sense of spatial well-being:

Alex: So when you are in those areas do you act in a different way?

Heidi: Walk quicker [laughs] get out of there. No, keep your head down, don't make eye contact. (Heidi, Anchor, Map)

Um...in Boatswain, urgh in Boatswain, when we came back from the cinema one time along the River and um it was really, really dark and loads of gangs hang round there err and that was really freaky so we had to quickly walk through there (Lottie, Anchor, Map)

I dislike it by the Bus Station. I tend to walk quite fast in that area (Janis, Boatswain, Map)

The quickening of pace to traverse areas that were constructed as loathsome illustrated how the changing meaning of space had an embodied manifestation. By 'walking fast' or more 'quickly' Heidi, Lottie and Janis were keen to minimise the length of time that they were in that space. Rapidly traversing a space in which they suddenly did not feel 'at home' was similar to avoidance and in some ways mimicked the characteristics of avoiding space. For instance, Heidi's response indicated that as well as getting through the space as fast as possible, she tried to be as small as possible by 'keeping her head down' and as inconspicuous as possible by not 'making eye contact' with anyone. Where avoidance of loathed space was the 'ideal', this performance of avoidance was an appropriate substitute. Heidi, Lottie and Janis described the feeling of wanting to walk through areas quickly as a sudden response which punctuated otherwise '*Geborgenheit*' – or nested – feelings in their home town (Hutta, 2009). Thus, in the same way that the notion of 'at-home-ness' altered, the sense of belonging or not belonging also fluctuated. For the moments that the participants were in the locality of loathed space – the Bus Station or the River – their bodily response altered, reflecting the ways in which experiences of spatial oppressions are marked upon the body and recalling the relationship between the virtual and actual body in the expression of affect (Bartky, 1990, Brooks Gardner, 1995, Hemmings, 2005a).

Similarly, the following extract outlines what happens when avoidance of a threat was not possible and participants had to find ways to traverse a fearsome place. Recalling Brooks Gardner's (1995) observations of the feminine body as one in existing in constant negotiation of harassment on the street, Suki explained her experience of a time when she was made to feel vulnerable on her way to work:

Suki: Once when I was in the car park, this man appears out of nowhere. And it was like pitch black and he just appeared out of nowhere. That was quite scary. I think it was because I felt I couldn't go anywhere, like the only thing I could do is run. I didn't feel very confident.

Alex: And what did you do?

Suki: I parked my car, because I didn't want to be seen. So I got in my car and he kind of hung around the car park for a few minutes and then wandered off toward the building and I just got out of my car and power-walked to the town centre, because then the lights were on there and fine that's where the market traders all are, and I felt better then. (Suki, Boatswain, Map)

The presence of the male stranger 'scared' Suki, making her feel trapped and exposed, that she 'couldn't go anywhere' and that she ought to run. She associated this immediately with a loss of spatial 'confidence'. Her decision to hide in her car and then to 'power-walk' to where it was lighter, and she felt 'better', illustrates the variety of physical responses that were sometimes necessary to negotiate this expression of fear. The proximity of streetlights and market traders improved her sense of well-being, even if she had to rush to get there. The significance of proximities away from dangerous to 'others' and near to safe 'others' was also a consideration for many participants in the unmaking of feelings of 'un-at-home-ness'.

10.3 The Recruiting of 'Good Samaritans'

In this context, a different sort of 'othering' to that discussed in Chapter 7 was evidenced, yet it was one which was equally marked by classed and 'raced' discourses. Here, the proximity of the ready-to-be-affected body to 'good' 'others' worked, for some participants, to counteract the latent menace of 'bad' 'others'. Miller's (forthcoming) and Ahmed's (2004a,b) observations about the feeling of being with people who are 'alike' reflect this attachment to proximity to 'Good Samaritans'. It is through forging a connectedness, or as Ingold (1993) states, a resonance, with others, that 'at-home-ness' might be forged. Lottie and Edith explained:

Lottie: We stay to the...stay in the safe areas. We don't go up any alleys or anything um...we always stay near other groups of people who we know would help us if we were in trouble.

Alex: Like friends? Are they people you know, the people you stay close to?

Lottie: Um usually strangers but yeah, people who look OK (Lottie, Anchor, Map Interview)

Edith: [I don't mind it when it's busy] cos you run to their house or something...

Alex: Is that what you would do if you were scared?

Edith: I suppose

Silver: I wouldn't mind, but ringing on somebody's door bell in the middle of the night...

Edith: They would be like 'argh!' (Silver and Edith, Boatswain, Map)

Lottie and Edith both planned to rely on the assistance of 'Good Samaritans' for help, should they get in 'trouble'. The assumption that Lottie and Edith both made was that they would be able to identify people who 'looked OK' as opposed to the strangers of whom they would usually be wary, and who they 'knew' would help them if they were in trouble (cf. Miller, forthcoming). In the same way that assumptions were made about people to avoid, it was their understanding of what imagined safety would look like that informed which strangers to approach for help. Recalling previous discussions of figures of fearfulness in space – 'chavs', Indian men, gangs of youths – it is possible to suggest that the assumptions made about the identity of the 'Good Samaritan' are also likely to be informed by 'raced', sexed or classed assumptions. Echoing Miller's (forthcoming) analysis of the way in which selfhood and well-being are informed by people being 'like' those around them, it is probable that Lottie's and Edith's positionality as white, middle-class young women would inform the classed and 'raced' construction of this 'Good Samaritan'. Similarly, Koryn's observation about the contrast between isolation and the presence of 'good' strangers indicated the way in which such knowledge about unsafety had informed her safe-keeping strategies:

And tramps hanging around [there] as well. Yeah it's disgusting. I actually hate this place. And it is out of public view so if anything did happen...yeah. It's not very nice. (Koryn, Boatswain, Walk)

Here again, Koryn's classed positionality informed how she constructed a space of loathing. In this extract Koryn made the discursive contrast between the 'tramp' and the 'public'. In an expression of 'bad' affect, both were strangers to her, but whereas the 'tramp' was the 'bad stranger' who caused her to 'hate' the place she was talking about, the nameless and faceless but 'good' public were invoked as potential saviours from these 'tramps', should 'anything happen'. This assumption that 'stranger danger' might be mitigated against with the aid of the 'Good Samaritan' reflected the way that participants constructed their 'knowledges' through normative, classed and 'raced' understandings of 'good' and 'bad' people. In addition to people they did not know, participants also relied on proximity to familiar people to promote safe-keeping:

I always make sure that I am walking home with friends cos I have friends who live sort of three streets over from me. But I wouldn't want to walk home by myself. Definitely not.

(Nell, Anchor, Map)

If I am with a group of girls it does make me feel safer but [I feel] even safer if I am in a mixed group or obviously if I am with my Dad or something. Like if I am in a mixed group and then, I don't know, have said something or bumped into me or...the boys say 'Look, you know, just leave it'. (Joy, Anchor, Map)

I have my brothers with me cos they are older than me so they look after me. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

Proximity to friends was important to Nell as she would 'definitely' not walk to her house without being accompanied by her friends. Thus she practiced her street-wisdom along certain trajectories in her home town. For Joy and for Lola, however, proximity to known others was also elided with enjoying the projection of men or boys; whilst Joy felt safe in a group of 'girls', she felt 'even safer' if she was also with boys, or with her father, Lola relied on her brothers to 'look after her'. This impression of 'feeling safer' with boys or men echoes the participants' essentialist constructions of sexuality and gender that they expressed in the context of constructions of the self (see Chapter 6). Indeed, this resonates with the research conducted by Day et al (2003) and Goodey (1997) in their studies of the performance of masculinity in the practice of safe-keeping. The notion was, once again, commonplace that men should protect women, or that men are strong and able to ward off (other male) attackers. Certainly, for Leda, her spatial competence was often presented as being mediated by her proximity to her boyfriend:

I noticed a lot less things about my environment because I was with my boyfriend and he was looking after me on my behalf (Leda, Boatswain, Diary)

On another occasion she described an area of her home town where she felt:

Scared. [It was] messy, untidy – felt intimidated by the people, so kept very close to [my boyfriend]. (Leda, Boatswain, Diary)

Thus, when 'intimidated' and 'scared' by the 'messy' part of her home town Leda's strategy was to stay 'close' to her boyfriend. In this context, her proximity to her boyfriend was not only a strategy to promote safe-keeping, but also a means by which Leda felt she could surrender elements of her spatial competency. By stating that by being with her boyfriend, 'he was looking after her on her behalf', Leda's boyfriend was taken to have assumed responsibility for 'her behalf', a 'behalf' that ordinarily she and other participants would have had to take charge of in order to promote safe-keeping. Proximity to her boyfriend also reduced her spatial awareness of her home town and she

'noticed a lot less things' about the area she was in, when she was there with her boyfriend. Awareness of space was considered to be important by participants in the promotion of street-wisdom, thus, by deploying this strategy in this context, Leda's actions could be said to undo some of her street-wisdom and inhibit her body's capacity to-be-otherwise-affected than in circumstances where she did not rely on her boyfriend to mediate her spatial experience.

Joy's, Lola's and Leda's strategic response to the concern that they felt, was to rely on essentialist constructions of femininity as vulnerable and of masculinity as protective, in their search for the 'Good Samaritan'. The consequence of relying on the essentialist construction of gender was that for some, spatial competency was diminished and 'at-home-ness' remained a construct that was only ever contingent on proximity to the masculine chivalresque (See Day, 2001, Day et al, 2003) and thus could not be agentic in a way that might be considered emancipatory beyond the masculine/feminine binary. And, whilst some men were cast as objects of fear in the context of safe-keeping, other, 'good' men acted as guardians and mediators of conflict. These constructions of masculinity can be understood as operating within exclusionary discourses of 'race' and class, as well as essentialising masculinity. Day (2001) and Goodey (1997) recognise and critique these contradictory constructions of masculinity in their respective studies of male students of university and school age. In her study of Californian students, Day found that whilst many of her participants considered feminine fearfulness along this binary, some suggested, as I do, that the perpetuation of this construct of 'good' stranger and 'bad' stranger, circulating about the fearful feminine body, 'solidified women's own feminine self-presentation' (2001: 122). That is, by continuing to think along these lines of 'good' and 'bad' others, women would always-already be cast as inherently vulnerable in their own eyes, and in the eyes of other people. Such a construction disables the feminine ready-to-be-affected body's ability to express anything other than fearful affects in response to loathed spaces. The effect of these expressions of 'good' and 'bad' 'others', therefore, is to not only impair the spatial agency of these participants, and to limit their spatial subjectivity to being enacted along the disabling limits of the masculine/feminine binary, but to also forge harmful, exclusionary subjectivities for those masculine 'others' as figures of fear. Whether constructed as 'good' or 'bad', the 'others' are essentialised, and therefore the construction and deployment of their subjectivities might also render their own ready-to-be-affected body, 'pathological' (Buchanan, 1997).

Thus, it was through ambiguous and sometimes ambivalent construction of 'others' who were constructed as 'good', that these participants worked to unmake 'un-at-home-ness' in their 'home towns'. Other similarly contradictory strategies which considered explicitly how 'at-home-ness' could be mediated by technology were deployed elsewhere to promote safe-keeping and feelings of

'at-home-ness'.

10.4 Technologically Mediated Safe-Keeping

As the following quotations demonstrate, and as has been identified by Pain et al (2005) in the context of the mobile telephone and Fyfe & Bannister (1996) and Atkinson (2003) in the context of surveillance, the use of technology was considered to be a double-edged sword, promoting both security through surveillance, complacency through 'locatability' (See Low, 2008), or vulnerability through exposure (See Koskela, 2000, 2002, 2004):

I sometimes get my phone out and pretend I am talking to someone! [laughs] (Lola, Anchor, Map)

Because you do get quite a lot of people who, like for me like I'll always be careful, my mobile phone and my MP3 player and make sure they are not really visible and stuff like that, but I think for quite a lot of people um.. [they are] less aware of like, dangers[...]Something bad has to happen before they realise that you can't walk around in a certain area after dark and be flaunting your nice new [mobile] around. (Giselle, Chord, Map)

The very act that made Lola feel more secure in a threatening space is that which was scorned by Giselle as 'dangerous'. Lola explained that 'getting her phone out' made her feel that she was connected with other people and was 'place-able':

Alex: So do you think being in touch with people makes you feel better?

Lola: Yeah, cos I always think that if they see that I have got a phone or something, then they won't bother me, because I can easily just contact someone. (Lola, Anchor, Map)

The 'they' of this comment was the nameless and faceless stranger that might try to intimidate her; recalling earlier discussions in Chapters 7 and 10.3 which suggest that the interference of 'bad' 'others' can be combated by the intervention of 'good' 'others'. Though she laughed at the absurdity of 'pretending' to speak to someone on the phone, her sense of safety was fostered through her ability to 'contact someone' and be contactable by someone, in a very material way. In contrast, and echoing the contradictions identified by Pain et al (2005: 826) regarding the perceived safety of carrying a mobile phone, Giselle considered that 'flaunting your nice new mobile around' was naive and only practiced by those who were 'less aware' than her. This concern was echoed by Rita:

To stay safe, like, you don't get your phone out in the street or you [don't] like...parading

around, sort of, in a way that would attract attention or anything (Rita, Chord, Walk)

Rita and Giselle used the language of 'flaunting' and 'parading' to express disdain at perceived unstreet-wise behaviour. Their descriptions of flaunting and parading evoked a construction of someone who was carelessly extroverted; naively dangling their gadgets about their person. This language is also highly gendered; flaunting and parading are activities associated with a feminine show-off. In the same way, the warning not to 'attract attention' to the self reinforced previously expressed constructions of femininity where passivity and invisibility prevailed (See Bartky, 1990, Stanko, 1990). An ambivalent attitude towards interactions tempered by technology was echoed by Iris:

Alex: If [the streets are] not busy what do you do?

Iris: Um...I will sometimes put my MP3 player in which is probably really stupid but I find it just easier to just...I don't know, I just walk quickly and do kind of like check quite a lot which must look pretty weird to people [laughs]. (Iris, Chord, Map)

Though she considered that it might be 'probably really stupid' to use her MP3 player to make herself feel more at ease in quiet areas of her home town, Iris did this nonetheless. The immediate comfort of the MP3 player was more significant to her than the more unpleasant, but less likely, eventuality of it being stolen because it was visible. Indeed, for Enid the use of technology to unmake un-at-home-ness was neither absurd, naive nor stupid, but was a pragmatic response to unsafety:

I kind of know what to do if I get unsafe, or feel unsafe. Because I have my phone in my hand on speed-dial, and I just speed-dial whoever I need, if I need. (Enid, Chord, Map)

These divergent attitudes to the role that technology can play in the practice of safe-keeping demonstrate the contextual, subjective way in which street-wisdom is formed. Here, Lola, Giselle, Rita, Iris and Enid managed their feelings of unease in ways that were coherent to them. Whereas Giselle and Rita considered that those who 'flaunted' their gadgets were courting danger and Lola and Iris were slightly critical of their own uses of technology to make themselves feel more confident in space, as Enid suggested it was perhaps by resisting dominant scripts of street-wisdom, where it was 'known' that to show off expensive gadgets was to expose oneself to risk of theft, that feelings of 'at-home-ness' would be fostered in spite of occupying a loathed space. So whilst Iris 'knew' it was 'probably stupid' to use her MP3 player to unmake her 'un-at-home-ness', her decision to do so anyway, enabled her to challenge this dominant knowledge and forge an agentic spatial subjectivity

where she was at ease, in spite of prevailing street-wisdom.

In some respects, the role that technology played here was in securing 'at-home-ness' through the construction of a heterotopic cocoon, as conceptualised by Foucault (1986). In his work on heterotopia, Foucault suggests that the bounded quality of heterotopia 'has a precise and determined function' in society (1986: 25). Here, the use of technology to mediate safety constructs a figurative, invisible, but real heterotopia which isolates and distinguishes a participant's ready-to-be-affected body from surrounding space that may be threatening. This notion of the heterotopic cocoon as a tool through which to unmake 'un-at-home-ness' is an approach that I now consider more extensively.

10.5 Heterotopic Cocooning

In earlier considerations of the construction of space, my discussion of Eve's account of her home town in 5.5 demonstrated how the heterotopia was used to understand the meaning of space. In addition to this, there was also evidence that participants deployed heterotopia as a strategic tool to protect themselves from loathed places, people or experiences. On occasions when participants were not able to avoid loathed spaces, or able to recruit the assistance of friends or strangers to negotiate loathed space, they resorted to constructing figurative heterotopian 'cocoons' around themselves to unmake the effect of feelings of 'un-at-home-ness'. Reminiscent of Shulamith's earlier description in 5.2 of cocooning herself in her 'ashtray', and Hook & Vrdoljak's (2002) use of Foucault's and Sibley's (1988, 1995) boundary-erectations, the 'cocoon' was created by adapting behaviour to separate the self from the 'other' effects of 'un-at-home-ness':

When we drive through [Wheywould], by the Train Station, [my sister] always locks the car doors because she is scared someone might come in and jump in the car so that's kind of affected me, so I don't feel secure there. (Allegra, Boatswain, Map)

I drive through [Wheywould] and I drive through places that I think are a bit dodgy, [but] I lock the car door (Joy, Anchor, Map)

You wouldn't feel really comfortable walking down there, like my Mum, when she is near the hospital she always makes sure she has locked the car...it's not a nice area. (Kye, Boatswain, Map)

Kye, Joy and Allegra responded to un-at-home-ness by 'cocooning' themselves into their cars; by 'erecting boundaries' of exclusion around their heterotopia (Sibley, 1988). In this heterotopian space, they extended their sense of 'at-home-ness' to the internal boundaries of their cars. The act

of locking their doors, punctuated their movements through their home town space; as they entered the 'dodgy' place they locked the doors, and they unlocked them when they left. This act of locking and unlocking the doors at the entrance and exit of the loathed space reflects its heterotopic construction as one which was fearsome, which they should lock themselves away from, as well as enabling them to manage their 'scaredness' that someone will attack them in their cars. As Foucault reminds us, the heterotopia, with its sanctions of who may or may not occupy it, can operate as a site of purification. Here, Allegra, Kye and Joy were shielded from the polluting effects of it even as traverse it, thanks to this impenetrable cocoon (Foucault, 1986: 26). Similarly, Iris's use of her MP3 player, and Lola's pretence of speaking to someone on her mobile phone to foster a sense of security, could be said to be fostering a heterotopia of 'at-home-ness'. By enveloping themselves in music, or connectivity with 'good' 'others', both Iris and Lola repelled anxiety and bolstered their sense of ease by unmaking 'un-at-home-ness' as they negotiate ambiguous spaces.

The value of thinking about this cocoon as a heterotopia, is that a heterotopia works to critically reflect, like a mirror, the power-structures which underpin space that is 'other' to heterotopia (Foucault, 1986: 24). Hook & Vrdoljak (2002) apply this Foucauldian understanding of heterotopia to an analysis of South African gated communities and argue that these heterotopias reflect the 'raced' and classed exclusion inherent in the constructions of this heterotopia. Such an analysis is instructive for understanding these cocoons. In Allegra's case, it was her sister who imparted on her the knowledge that the area in question was 'scary'. She said that it was the locking of the doors which 'affected her' and that, as a result, she 'didn't feel secure there'. Just as Kye recognises her mother's act of locking the doors as a symbol of unsafety, so too did the act of erecting this heterotopian boundary encourage Allegra to express fearful affects. Somewhat paradoxically, then, it was her sister's act of safe-keeping that made Allegra feel insecure. Unmaking the 'un-at-home-ness', here, reinforced the place as a site of loathing. This affectivity reflects the influence that Allegra's and Kye's families had on their spatial subjectivity. Similarly, Enola's 'cocoon-making' was somewhat determined by her mother's safe-keeping practice:

I mean, in London, when shopping, my Mum always does this [holds and covers her handbag]. So I automatically do it without thinking, because people get up close to you don't they? (Enola, Boatswain, Walk)

The heterotopia that Enola constructed by 'automatically' clutching her bag was one that marked space as fearable by the act of cocooning, like that constructed by Joy and Allegra. In clutching and covering her bag, Enola marked the space in which she performed this gesture as one in which she should be wary. The cocoon that Enola created by covering her bag in this way had the effect of

repelling others, in a way which is characteristic of heterotopia and salient for considering the inclusions and exclusions of 'safety' (Foucault, 1986). By explaining that she created this cocoon, 'because people got close', Enola highlighted the bounded quality of the cocoon. By holding her bag, she protected herself from interactions or interference from unknown 'people'. In this cocoon, Enola was able to unmake the 'un-at-home-ness' that she felt in Boatswain.

By employing these strategies to unmake unsafe space – by avoiding space, mimicking avoiding space, by relying on others or on technology and by creating exclusionary heterotopic cocoons – the participants responded to the knowledge that they had constructed as part of their street-wisdom. Whilst many of the safety strategies employed by the participants might seem to be negatively, or passively, constructed – avoidance, mimicking avoidance, reliance on others, reliance on technologies and cocooning – they enabled the participants to negotiate spaces where they felt 'un-at-home-ness', and to forge a sense of well-being or 'at-home-ness' in spite of the knowledge about loathsome spaces that they had constructed. In this context, strategies to unmake 'un-at-home-ness' could be understood as agentic reactions to affective loathing, even if they do not initially appear to be conventionally assertive responses to fear.

10.6 Waywardness, Worldliness and the Revel

As this chapter draws to a close it is useful to consider a final way in which some participants unmake 'un-at-home-ness'. As has been suggested in discussions above, and as Koskela (1997) and Wilson (1991) remind us, some participants may occupy space with subjectivities which are comfortable with, and indeed delight in 'un-at-home-ness' rather than merely work to refuse the effects of 'un-at-home-ness' on their well-being. Here, participants did not so much 'unmake un-at-home-ness' as revel in the unpredictability of spaces where they felt 'not-at-home'. Whilst the strategies analysed above could be said to be linked with safe-keeping by reducing the effects of feelings of 'un-at-home-ness' on subjective well-being, in this final part, it is those participants who thrill in, and actively seek out sites of 'un-at-home-ness', that I consider.

As discussed in Chapter 2 and elsewhere throughout the thesis, the approaches of some theorists of fear of crime have begun to problematise safety as inherently desirable and fear as inherently awful. In particular, Hollway & Jefferson (1997) remind us that fear of crime need not always be a limiting or debilitating force. Drawing on two narratives of fear of crime from a working-class estate in the North of England, Hollway & Jefferson (1997: 163) suggest that in some instances, where individual's lives are disadvantaged in other ways – financially, health-wise, in terms of employment – harbouring fear of crime, and managing it, can provide one means through which an otherwise

disempowered person can gain 'control' and 'mastery' of their lives. Thus, in some instances, fear can be productive; 'knowing' how to manage fear can promote feelings of self-worth and a certain type of emancipated spatial subjectivity, despite the apparent paradox of needing to be fearful to be empowered. Likewise, Hutta (2009: 269) offers us the other side of this paradox; in order to be 'safe' one must live with a relational tie to fear. To live fully without fear, insofar as this is possible, or desirable – bearing in mind the productive possibilities of fear (Hollway & Jefferson, 1997) – a subject must not seek safety, but rather, ought not 'know' of fear at all.

In this section I examine this tension, and expressions of delight in 'un-at-home-ness' are considered. These are articulated in three ways; those who are avowedly wayward and deliberately conduct themselves in ways that intimidate, or cause fear in others, those who are worldly and 'at-home' with 'un-at-home-ness' due to their experiences of space, and those who revel in 'un-at-home-ness' and seek out fearable spaces as places of pleasure or delight.

These three constructions of knowledge about fearable space are not wholly distinct from each other and somewhat overlap in the following examples. It should be noted that whilst the majority of participants did not operate within wholly fearful and spatially limited lives, they predominantly thought of safety as a desirable aim. There were only a few participants whose contributions are analysed in this section, who delighted in the 'un-at-home'. The methodological difficulties of speaking to participants about their risk-taking, marginal or criminal activities have been considered in Chapter 4, and the possibility that participants wanted to present to me a performance of respectable femininity, and therefore not report wayward, or otherwise non-normative behaviour, should not be forgotten. Nonetheless, the instances here, of wayward behaviour, wordly-wise behaviour or behaviour which revels in riskiness offer intriguing insights into what Wilson (1991: 5) refers to as the 'seduction...of the shoddy and awful'.

10.6.1 Waywardness

As I suggested in Chapter 5 and in section 7.3, Cecily was one participant in particular who made use of liminal, or otherwise 'other' space, in order to establish an emancipated subjectivity (see Turner, 1969, Deflem, 1991). Referring to the Lake that 'everyone' in Boatswain went to at night, Cecily explained:

Cecily: There...yeah everyone goes there at night. Parks up and drinks and stuff.

Alex: So there is quite a lot of going out and drinking that goes in Boatswain?

Cecily: Yeah...There's nothing really to do...but there's like loads of fights and stuff. Like people generally go there after they have been to town like on a Saturday night. Like at 3 o'clock in the morning. It's like absolutely packed cos you can play like loud music there.
(Cecily, Anchor, Map)

The Lake, as already outlined above, was a site where Cecily was able to participate in the marginal and 'anti-social' activities of under-aged drinking, drink-driving and fighting. Though a site which was a cause for concern for other participants (such as Janis in section 5.5), this space represented a necessary and important, liminal site in which Cecily was able to promote her spatial autonomy and sense of subjective well-being by being wayward (Thomas, 2005, cf., Turner, 1982). This site of conflict, and of potential 'un-at-home-ness' was a significant place for Cecily in which she acquired and practiced street-wisdom. Elsewhere, Rita and Persephone recall instances when the exercise of their emancipated spatial subjectivity had been challenged as deviant or wayward by those around them:

Persephone: We have a park in the centre, somewhere. Up there [on the map] that...Occasionally go it, got told off the other evening.

Alex: What for?

Persephone: We were making too much noise apparently. But we are not thugs!
(Persephone, Anchor, Map)

Rita: Old people are not too keen on us hanging around on street corners and things. But a lot of the time we don't mean any harm.

Alex: Do you hang around on street corners very much?

Rita: Erm...I mean it is more that we sort of, like you are sort of, walking around in a big group of people maybe, and then you are maybe just like going to the park, or something, but then you look a look as if you are being really rowdy and things.

Alex: Do you ever act really rowdy when you are with your friends?

Rita: Yeah sometimes (Rita, Chord, Walk)

Matthews et al (2000a, b) recognise that 'hanging around on street corners' is a significant means through which young people establish a sense of selfhood, and create 'special places'. Thus, the activity that Rita and Persephone describe, though a more benign example of waywardness than that described by Cecily, was a necessary ritual through which these participants were, as Thomas (2005: 591) suggests, able to forge spatial subjectivity and selfhood. Indeed, both Persephone and

Rita 'knew' that their acts of 'hanging around' attracted criticism from other 'old' people, and that from the outside they appeared 'rowdy' and 'noisy'. Despite exclaiming that they did not mean any harm, and 'were not thugs', Rita and Persephone both negotiated a positionality as young people who were trying to forge their spatial subjectivity from under the critical gaze of 'older' others. This antagonism reflects the dynamic between age groups and touches on the difference between the ages of the participants who contributed to this study. It is in their subjective position as youths as opposed to as 'old people', that Rita and Persephone express spatial emancipation by being wayward. Yet without this relational link to those older people, their relatively harmless act of 'hanging around' cannot be understood as the emancipatory act that Thomas (2005) and Matthews et al (2000a) suggest it is. Disparity in age provides an axis along which younger participants behaved 'waywardly' in the eyes of older participants and defined their subjectivity and foster 'at-home-ness' in the 'un-at-home'. By using loathed sites such as the Lake or the street-corner and by performing deviant activities in these sites, Cecily, Rita and Persephone were able to construct street-wisdom outside of the nexus of fear and safety.

10.6.2 Worldliness

Elsewhere, it was young participant's experiences of fearable space which made them feel 'at-home' with 'un-at-home-ness':

Really in my area I mean there quite a lot of teenagers and younger people but, if I am honest, the kind of gang culture that you are[...]seeing more and more [of], I don't really have a problem with it. Because to me, like, I might feel...sometimes when you go down there and it's a bit dark or something like that you might feel a bit threatened. But because know quite a lot of people I don't really have a problem with it, but like for my Mum and Dad and when I am with my younger brother and sister, it is like a big deal for them (Giselle, Chord, Map)

As has been outlined elsewhere in this thesis, Giselle expressed views about her home town which did not necessarily reflect those of her peers. Here, her ease in the area in which 'quite a lot of people' experienced concern, including her family, reflected how she autonomously attributed her spatial surety to being familiar with the area and 'knowing a lot of people'; she experienced 'at-home-ness' in an otherwise fearable area because she was more 'worldly' than other people. Indeed, her ease in this space reminds of Wilson's warning that in overly sanitised, safe spaces, such as those which other participants might be trying to foster with the strategies above, we 'have the worst of all worlds: danger without pleasure, safety without stimulation, consumerism without

choice' (1991: 9). In spite of the 'gangs', in spite of feeling 'a bit threatened', in spite of those around her continuing to loathe the fearable space, Giselle used the space for enjoyment; to meet people she knew, to hang around with her friends and to develop her spatial subjectivity, through the application of this street-wisdom.

10.6.3 The Revel

This sense of the fearable as a site of possibility and enjoyment, mediated by age and experience is reflected in the third theme emerging out of those participants stories who found pleasure in fear.

In an amusing sense [I do not often find it] weird...there is often murder around, people being...falling into the river because they are too drunk...you know these kind of things, but I love weird and funny. (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

I've just come across a gang of, not of gang, a group of three very, very drunk people, two men and one woman. They couldn't hold [up] on their legs, and looked really drugged and drunk or whatever, and one of them fell from the pavement onto the road right in front of a car and then he was kind of helped out of that position back onto the pavement by the other boy who was equally drunk, and then they just dropped him there and just carried on. Being slightly less drunk and able to walk away from the scene! It's extraordinary the things you see in Boatswain! Oh my god there is an atmosphere of festivity! (Janis, Boatswain, Diary)

I quite like Wheywould and, sort of, what some people might think are the slightly 'iffy' areas. Because they are interesting and there are some really interesting shops. I don't go to Wheywould very much, but when I do it's...err it's quite, you know...interesting. (Silver, Boatswain, Map)

In these separate accounts, Silver and Janis, two of the older participants of Boatswain, described how they delighted in loathed spaces. Janis in particular spoke of an 'atmosphere of festivity' when encountering drunk people – an experience which some participants found intimidating elsewhere – and finding stories of chaos and crime in Boatswain 'weird' and 'funny'. Similarly, Silver stated that it was the 'slightly iffy' parts of Boatswain that 'interested' her. As Wilson (1991: 7) suggests, 'the city normalises the carnivalesque' and 'offers freedom to women' where the carnival is embraced. Certainly Janis's account of the drunken men almost being run over by a car evokes the 'zoo-like' quality of the carnival. The thrill that they both feel is echoed by Athena:

This was a friend's party. It was really enjoyable but the evening ended very early. This was because a group of...chavs turned up and started trying to get in. We locked the doors and moved to the back room. Surprisingly I found this exciting and almost fun. (Athena, Boatswain, Diary)

Athena enjoyed a relaxed relationship with Boatswain, elsewhere she talked of feeling 'free' in the town, being 'excited' by the 'buzz' of it. Here, once again, the exhilaration that Athena felt was tangible and, recalling the discussion in 7.2 of the prevailing construct of 'chavs' as figures of fear and loathing, her delight at having to fend off such a pack, is evident. The clear structure of her sentences, and the way that she described movements in the party to lock the 'chavs' out, to hide themselves away, to create heterotopia next to heterotopia, conveys to the reader of the diary the mounting pace and tension in this confrontation with the 'chavs'. There is a sense of glee in this extract, and Athena was 'surprised' that she enjoyed herself so much. Clearly delighting in what had become a game played along classed lines – with the middle-class party-goers inside and the 'chavs' outside – Athena's expression of affect was excitement, and, on reflection, surprise that she expressed this affect. Revelling in places or situations which not many other people might do, such as in the presence of threatening 'chavs', distinguished Athena's spatial subjectivity from that of most other participants and demonstrated what was possible when safety is problematised in the way suggested by Hutta (2009).

These diverse perspectives on wayward, worldly and revelling behaviour afford us a glimpse at some of the more subversive ways in which participants made use of street-wisdom. Rather than only unmaking 'un-at-home-ness' through practices of safe-keeping, these participants also unmake it by being 'at-home' in 'un-at-home-ness'. By being wayward, worldly or by revelling in fearable space, we can perceive still more ways in which women interact with space to forge emancipated spatial subjectivities in their 'home towns', all through expressions of non-normative affects which refuse expressions of fearful feeling. Being 'at-home' in 'un-at-home-ness' was one of the more creative ways that participants used street-wisdom to inform behaviour and attitudes to space.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

This study of the genealogy of street-wisdom demonstrates the potentials afforded by using an affective analytical lens to conduct analyses of the ways in which 'knowledges' are constructed about public space. Examining how sense is made of place and how this knowledge is constructed and deployed as street-wisdom adds a richness to enquiries into the gendered experience of occupying public space. This richness is afforded by applying an affective theoretical perspective, without which these insights would be absent. This examination has critically interrogated contemporary constructions of 'safety' and 'fear' and has problematised some of the ways in which these can, possibly inadvertently, insidiously create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion by reproducing knowledge about who or what is 'safe' and who or what are the signifiers of fear (Sibley, 1988, 1995).

This thesis has argued that knowledge which is deployed to inform the body's safe-keeping activities might better be understood through non-autonomous affective expression. Unproblematised discourses of fear and safety can, I argue, run amok and situate, through a Foucauldian understanding of subjectivity and power, a subject whose knowledge and street-wisdom is disciplined and regulated within normative and potentially exclusionary expressions of affective fear and safety (see Tolia-Kelly, 2006, Lim, 2007a, and Ó Tuathail, 2003 for a discussion of these complexities). Thus, not only does this thesis have implications for understanding gendering practices in space; it also challenges dominant discussions in fear of crime studies. Indeed, I have demonstrated that in these debates, constructions of fear and safety can be, and are, unproblematically premised on classed, 'raced' or gendered expressions of the loathsome 'other' and that for many participants in my study, fearful proximity to a loathed 'others' is sometimes premised upon classist, ethnocentric, heteronormative and masculinist discourses about themselves, 'others' and space. In order to undo the harm that such othering can give rise to, both for the 'other' in question and for the participants who express loathed 'othering', an affective mode of analysis enables challenges to the normativity of these constructions and deployments of knowledge to be mounted. As Foucault (1978:95) reminds us, 'where there is power, there is resistance'. In this thesis, I have argued that affect provides us with the tools to imagine resistances to exclusionary constructions of 'fear' and 'safety' which constitute street-wisdom. Such resistances are evidenced in the ways that Giselle, Hydra, Saxona, Rula and Lola, to name a few, deploy an emancipated spatial subjectivity, freed from the constraints of the Cartesian constructs of fear/safety, feminine/masculine, self/other in the constructions of subjectivity.

As we saw in Chapter 6, Hydra attributed her spatial confidence to her experience of participating in masculinised leisure activities, and Giselle's contributions throughout indicate that she refused to adhere to normative constructions of 'race', class and gender in expressions of affect about place. By refusing the autonomous expression of affect, Giselle presented an emancipated spatial subjectivity. Elsewhere, Saxona, Allegra and Rula discussed their experiences of sexual harassment and personal attack, and used affective linguistic frames to diminish the effect of these fearsome experiences on their spatial well-being, as well as illustrating how pervasive heterosexist experiences of street-spaces are, these participants' discussions elucidated the subversive ways in which their performances of normative femininity might challenge the impact of this on their spatial subjectivity. Similarly, it was the indeterminacy of affective expression that captured the nuances of the ways in which Lola spoke about places about which knowledge was uncertain, thus illustrating the capacity that affective approaches have for dealing with disorderly knowledge.

Certainly, as I argued in Chapter 3, following Hemmings (2005a), the way in which this emancipation is achieved is by disinvesting affective theories from a Massumian (2002) understanding of autonomous affect – where the affect expressed has its own will – and instead, re-siting autonomy within the healthy, ready-to-be-affected body of the subject (Buchanan, 1997). Thus, not only does an affective approach to fear of crime allow a plethora of affects to be expressed and considered, it also captures the nuances, the details and the peculiarities of experiencing space beyond the monolithic language of 'safety' or 'fear' (McCormack, 2003). It enables the subject in these enquiries to choose to reconfigure affects, and in so doing deny fear, or manage fear, or enable the imagination of fear as other than what fear is commonly understood to be, including revelling in fearfulness.

In this study I posit four theses; firstly, that the notion of 'home' is a fluid and malleable construct which can be 'known' and experienced in an array of ways; secondly that when the language of fear/safety is set aside in favour of the more precise and nuanced term of '(un)-at-home-ness', we can perceive the abundance of affects that are expressed in/about space, including 'good', 'bad' and indeterminate affects; thirdly that these affects contribute to the construction of knowledge or street-wisdom and inform spatial subjectivity; finally that participants manage to subvert, avoid and live beyond spatial fear in a number of creative, emancipated ways, many of which are perceivable only through an affective analysis as they rely on understandings of the vague, indeterminate and intangible to be fathomed.

As such, recalling discussions in Chapter 2.1, I argued that the 'home' was, following Ingold (1993) and Miller (forthcoming), constituted through a sense of being 'like' other people. Feeling 'un-at-

home' was understood as being 'unlike' other people; not 'resonating' with others. Ingold and Miller theorise the idea of 'home' as a site of belonging. Sibley (1988, 1995, 1998) contributes to this discussion by theorising spaces of belonging as sites which can, problematically, be constructed as places of purification and exclusion. His extensive discussion of the spaces of belonging and 'boundaries of exclusion' enhances Miller's and Ingold's discussions by suggesting that the ways in which people forge senses of belonging in space is, in part, by erecting boundaries around who may or may not occupy space. In this thesis, I have, particularly in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, illustrated how this form of 'boundary erection' is evidenced in the construction of street-wisdom by some of the participants, as they describe how they construct spaces as 'like' or 'other' to themselves. However, this thesis propels this body of work further in two ways; firstly by expanding the definition of 'home' by applying the construct of '(un)at-home-ness' to this discussion of fear and safety in space, and secondly by understanding the belongings and exclusions of 'home' as affective constructs. This two-fold theorisation of the place of 'at-home-ness' in discussions of fear, safety, belonging and exclusion, not only enables us to problematise what it is that makes us feel 'at-home' – feel that we 'resonate with' or belong with those around us – but also provides us with tools with which to mount resistances to exclusionary and marginalising 'bad' affects, where they occur.

Similarly, in this thesis I have also built on previous approaches to theorising the feminine subject of fear of crime by drawing on the formulations of fear and safety offered by Koskela (1997), Hutta (2009) and Hollway & Jefferson (1997) amongst others. Once again, as outlined in Chapter 2, whilst these approaches to fear are innovative as they not only problematise the feminine subject of the fear of crime literature as inherently fearful, but also challenge constructions of fear as inherently 'bad' and safety as inherently 'good', here too, heteronormative discourses permeate the discussion, reminding that this, as well as class, 'race' and aged othering must continue to be identified and subverted in the construction of street-wisdom. In my study, I am sympathetic to the conceptual approaches of Hutta (2009) and Hollway & Jefferson (1997) and use them to enhance understandings of discussions with participants, in particular in discussions of problematised fear and safety. In addition to considering alternatives to fear for the feminine ready-to-be-affected body in space, I also outline some of the ways that participants actively seek the thrill of risk and danger in space. Here they construct street-wisdom, still within normative understandings of what is to-be-feared and what is not, but do not express normative affective expressions in response to fear or safety and instead delight in the unpredictability of their home town (Wilson, 1991). Once again, it is through an affective analytical frame that I am able to perceive these deployments of street-wisdom. Certainly, not unlike Wilson's (1991) 'flâneur', or Scraton & Watson's (1998) risk-taking participants, this study indicates that many participants enjoyed a ludic relationship with space and

celebrated their ability to forge emancipated subjectivities here. Thus, taking in the contributions to feminine ‘fear of crime’ research and research into feminine flânerie, this study advances understandings of how subjectivity is fostered in space by examining how empowered, independent and adventurous spatial subjectivities are forged through street-wisdom, as well as exposing the social cost of unproblematised discussions of ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ in extant approaches.

In order to more fully demonstrate the contribution this study makes to existing research, it is useful to reconsider the research questions set out in Chapter 1.

1. *Explore what alternatives there are for women beyond experiences of ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ in their understandings of home town spaces and constructions of street-wisdom;*

In the course of this study, the perspective afforded by an affective understanding of fear and safety has enabled examination of the multiple ways in which these are experienced and expressed. In this discussion I have used the terms ‘at-home-ness’ and ‘un-at-home-ness’ to express this multiplicity. Though rather ungainly terms, as I outlined in section 2.1 they serve to capture the sense of security/well-being/unease/concern that participants may experience in space and enunciate as ‘safety’ or ‘fear’ as well as encompassing the experiences between and beyond these definitions. Additionally, they accommodate the indeterminacy and ambivalence of feeling that people might experience in space. By propelling the discussion beyond the limits of ‘fear’ and ‘safety’, alternatives can be perceived and resistances to exclusionary expressions of affect, identified and imagined. It is a combination of the Foucauldian and affective approaches that I have applied in this research that provides us with this perspective. The advantage of adopting these approaches is that the ways in which participants spoke about their feelings in their ‘home towns’ could be more precisely represented. This enabled expressions of affect about ‘home towns’ which were unusual, or non-normative, or appeared to have nothing to do with ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ at all, yet which informed the construction of street-wisdom, such as weirdness (Janis, Boatswain) or boredom (Maud, Anchor) or shame (Nell, Anchor).

2. *Discover the ways that women who understand space beyond the limits of ‘fear’ and ‘safety’ use this knowledge in their interactions with space;*

This thesis has identified that women foster ‘at-home-ness’ through avoidance of fearful spaces, the performance of avoidance, reliance on the ‘Good Samaritan’, through mediating their safety with technology and through creating heterotopic cocoons of safety. Whilst some of these safe-keeping strategies may, at first glance, appear to be unassertive responses to fearful feelings, this analysis, employing a feminist-Foucauldian understanding of power and an affective understanding of

expressions of feelings, reads some of these responses as empowering tactics through which participants managed 'un-at-home-ness'. These strategies enabled participants to negotiate places in which they did not feel 'at-home', whilst allowing them to continue their everyday lives without the excessive intrusion of affective fear on their spatial mobility. Thus, whilst relying on a 'Good Samaritan', using a mobile to phone home, or walking through an area 'known' to be unsafe without making eye-contact with anybody may appear to be passive, and cast a vulnerable spectre of femininity in space, I suggest these strategies can also be understood as 'strategic passivity'; employed by participants to foster 'at-home-ness' in places which they might otherwise find intolerable. Elsewhere, some participants fostered 'at-home-ness' by becoming 'at-home' in 'un-at-home-ness'. By being deliberately wayward in space, through their worldliness in space and by simply delighting in the danger of space, some participants dismissed the impact of fear, altogether, on their understandings of space.

It is here that the notion of the portability of space that I outlined in Chapters 2 and 5 in the context of 'home' becomes useful; by being able to carry around a portable sense of 'home', participants can make 'home' spaces in hostile places. Of course, as I also argued in these chapters, these homes can be exclusionary places which delimit those who may or who may not occupy the 'home'. And when examining how participants apply street-wisdom to forge 'at-home-ness' it is important to recognise the possibility that such feelings of ease and well-being may be founded on exclusionary premises. It is by reading and reconfiguring these signifiers of 'home' through non-autonomous expressions of affect that these premises might be dismantled and that non-exclusionary and liberatory 'at-home-ness' might prevail.

3. Through the lens of affect, explore alternative possibilities for the construction of spatial subjectivity beyond the limits of articulating 'fear' and 'safety' to construct street-wisdom;

Examining how street-wisdom is constructed, what it is used for, and its relationship with spatial subjectivity, is a necessary enquiry in order to better understand the role that fear plays in how 'home towns' are understood, and, more insidiously, how it works to cast some as 'other' and perpetuate exclusionary constructions of spaces and selves based on gendered, racist or classist discourses (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Echoing the findings of Sibley (1988, 1998), I argue that knowledge about sources of fear operates to erect figurative boundaries around and across 'home towns' to divide those spaces into sites where people and places were either 'like' or 'other'. These dividing 'knowledges' about space are portable, transferable and mobile; they can apply to more than one space simultaneously, apply to a space in

some circumstances and not others, and they can apply to spaces which are new, phantom, imagined or about which knowledge is not-yet-formed. The pervasive influence of these 'knowledges' demonstrates that they play a considerable role in the construction of space. This reinforces why this thesis is 'for' an examination of the genealogy of street-wisdom; in order to understand what these 'knowledges' do, it is necessary to examine how they come to be. Not only can the construction of knowledge perpetuate societal exclusions, as suggested above, they also construct 'home towns' as patchworks of loving, loathing, '(un)at-home-ness' and so on. Therefore, knowledge about safe-keeping and safety which is sought after by some participants should not be considered as benign or neutral, but as being constructed in a network of Foucauldian power relations which operate on the ready-to-be-affected body to orientate it towards, or away from selves or 'others' (Ahmed, 2006a,b).

Understanding how knowledge is constructed, through an affective lens, we can also begin to fathom the ways that such exclusions might be resisted; how the ready-to-be-affected body might be ready-to-be-otherwise-affected. Certainly in this study, many participants described ways in which they refused to express fearful affects in the face of menace. By asking after how the knowledge which informs divisive, 'raced' or classed expressions of fearful affects is constructed, we can begin to examine how to dismantle these fearful and divisive 'bad' expressions of affect (Hemmings, 2005a). The benefit of this is not only to undo the exclusions upheld by normative understandings of fear and safety in space, but also to empower participants into feeling feelings other than 'fear' in the face of fearful affects and to imagine feelings other than safety in the pursuit of safe-keeping, including undoing the 'fear' of fear. By recognising the multiplicity of expressions of affect beyond those of 'fear' or 'safety' which are based on exclusionary discourses of 'other', I have proposed an approach which I consider to be emancipatory for the feminine subject of fear of crime studies. One which understands participants as doing more, or less, or other, than feel fear or seek safety in space.

However, in advocating approaches which move beyond fear in this way, we must be careful not to abandon studies of fear altogether. To do so would be to silence the very real impact that affective expression of fear has on some people's subjectivities, at a pre-discursive level, but which, through the re-siting of autonomy, might be resisted. Discussions which overlook fear entirely would neglect the ways in which fear is multiply constituted and constitutive of street-wisdom; it would also overlook the productive force of fear, which provokes assertive, autonomous or courageous responses such as those identified by Panelli et al's (2004) study of women in New Zealand, and discussed in Chapter 10. Instead the approach I offer here – of examining fear through an affective

lens – understands fear as just one of a catalogue of affects that might be expressed in response to knowledge of fear. By understanding fear as one of many feelings that are apparent in fear of crime enquiries we can grasp at the ways in which women in this study unmake ‘un-at-home-ness’, refuse the impacts of fear on their spatial subjectivity, and forge emancipating/ed street-wisdoms.

4. Respond to existing critiques of affect by applying an affective epistemology to an empirical enquiry and develop an ‘applied’ affective method.

As I have demonstrated in Chapter 3, some of the affective theoretical approaches that I have used to inform this study, most notably those of Thrift (2004) and McCormack (2003, 2006), have received considerable criticism from, for instance, Thien, (2005), Tolia-Kelly (2006) and Hemmings (2005a). Whilst these critiques range from questioning the abstruse, masculinist nature of affective theories as they are conceived by Thrift and McCormack (Thien, 2005), to criticising the ethnocentricity of affective approaches (Tolia-Kelly, 2006) to interrogating claims of ‘newness’ (Hemmings, 2005a), an additional concern, which is latent throughout these critiques is that affective approaches do not ‘do’ very much. It is true that even excellent and engaging analyses of the effect of affect on understanding fear, particularly in the context of the ‘war on terror’ do not situate their analyses in empirical findings, but rather speak broadly of phenomena, such as war, as if it is always-already ‘known’. The unempirical nature of these affective enquiries does not reduce their significant contributions to the field, but does leave affective approaches open to criticism for their lack of everyday relevance, which, as theories which seek to tell us about the everyday and the ordinary, they perhaps ought to do.

In response to this, in this study I used methods which allowed participants to record their affective expression, either in a cartography of ‘(un)at-home-ness’ or in the embodied experience of occupying the home town. The recordings of the walking interviews capture the texture of the town – its busyness, its noisiness, its dirtiness – and enabled me to gather an aural ‘slice’ of the affective expressions that occur in the ‘home towns’. Similarly, many diaries exposed emotional responses, or affective expressions, about the participants’ ‘home towns’. In this respect, I ensured that the methods that I used were suited to uncovering the nuanced range of affects that might be expressed in a home town. Furthermore, as I suggest in Chapter 8, the analysis of the indeterminate and the vagueness of affect preserved the conceptual space for these unsayables, which are a feature of affect, to be recognised as elusive, barely perceivable influences on the construction of street-wisdom.

Finally, through the analysis, I have made explicit the link between affective theories and the data they help us to understand. In this respect, I have been able to demonstrate one of the ways in which affective theories might stand up to scrutiny from critics such as Thien (2005) who might rightly wonder as to their usefulness beyond their construction as theoretical paradigms. Instead I have demonstrated that rather than remaining an abstruse body of theory which might be applied to empirical analyses, affective approaches form an integral part of understanding constructions of knowledge. It is through this 'applied' affect that I have been able to make these observations about the genealogy of street-wisdom.

11.1 Evaluative Comments

I suggest that the approaches adopted in pursuance of the completion of this research were appropriate to respond to my research questions, and contribute perceptive insights into the field of 'fear of crime' research. In particular, the theoretical framework used has advanced key debates in the field by providing an instructive lens through which enquiries into feminine fear and safety in space might be analysed. The methodology adopted here also yielded informative and interesting observations about how participants construct street-wisdom, and demonstrates how theory and practice can be brought together to enhance this understanding.

As outlined in Section 4.7, one of the challenges that I encountered as I was undertaking this research was related to the complexity of the methods I used. I found that by requesting that participants engage in methods such as the diary and walking interview it was difficult to inspire enthusiasm and participation from many people. For this reason, the data collecting phase of this project started very slowly. It was only when I introduced a more conventional and classroom-friendly map interview that responses to the more challenging aspects of the method were forthcoming. At the outset, I did not seek to base my work solely in schools, as I wanted to acquire a broad range of responses from girls from a range of backgrounds, so in addition to approaching schools and youth clubs, I practiced snowballing. However, even in this out-of-classroom environment, it was the map interviews that proved the most popular. I suggest that not only were these the least time-consuming methods, but they were methods that most closely resembled those that potential participants might have expected, and so probably anticipated being most comfortable with. As such, the complexity of the method stalled the progress of the research at first; however, once I had moved forward from this problem by introducing the map interview, I was able to proceed with the more complex walking interviews and diaries.

A further issue to address in this study concerns the charge that participants were predominantly (though by no means entirely) middle class. Whilst it is the case that this focus on the experiences of relatively privileged participants offers a partial understanding of constructions of street-wisdom, I argue that despite this fact, the analysis remains pertinent. By exposing how women and girls who occupy otherwise privileged subject-positions use this positionality to delimit lines of 'like' or 'other' and thence inform street-wisdom, the effect on 'fearsome' spectres from other backgrounds can be perceived and the alternatives afforded by decentring the centre through resisting autonomous expressions of exclusionary affect, can be enacted (cf., Bailey, 2000, Rich, 1986). The construction of middle-class street-wisdoms continues to inform how knowledge about space circulates.

11.2 The Future

The combination of the theoretical and methodological originality of this research opens up a number of further directions for these conceptual discussions into the construction of knowledge to go. It promotes the possibilities of 'applied' affect which, rather than remaining predominantly useful in abstract discussions of intangibles actually harbours excellent potential for empirical analyses. I have exemplified this in this thesis, and such potential is also illustrated in the recent work of Anderson (2010) and Lorimer (2010), amongst others. This research makes considerable contributions to these emerging directions in contemporary research.

Otherwise, in this project I predominantly explored the construction of street-wisdom among teenage girls between 15 and 18 years of age and I explained that I chose this group because they could be said to be on the cusp of 'adulthood' and be acquiring new spatial skills, such as learning to drive, or going to work, which increased their spatial mobility and might impact on their spatial subjectivity. A similar project could be undertaken with younger participants of early teenage years when young people might also be said to be on the cusp of a different sort of 'adulthood', taking trips out of the home without their parents or staying overnight at friends' houses.

Similarly, as this study has begun to trace a genealogy of street-wisdom, the possibility exists for future work to continue this enquiry into examinations of how different streetscapes are 'known'. For instance, how do disabled, aged or migrant bodies construct senses of 'at-home-ness' or street-wisdom? Additionally men and boys' experiences of masculinity has received some attention (Goodey, 1997, Day et al, 2003, Day 2001), but a broader genealogical project could return to consider how they fathom expressions of affect to construct street-wisdom.

A further area for future research made possible by this thesis is in developing some of the themes of the findings in relation to girlhood. In particular, it would be interesting to pay closer attention to

the ways in which risk-taking subjectivities are forged in femininities, to develop the findings of Section 10.6, by examining more explicitly the femininities of those who are avowedly wayward, as well as taking this examination beyond the street into the home, the school, the bar, the workplace and more abstract spaces such as in sexual relationships, family units or exam preparations. How young women navigate the terrain between respectable and unrespectable femininity has received attention elsewhere (Skeggs, 1999, 2001, McRobbie, 2004b, Valentine & Sporton, 2009, Thomas, 2004), but there remains scope for more attention from affective enquiries into the construction and deployment of 'knowledges' of femininity.

A final area of research that emerges from this thesis builds on Chapter 8 and concerns the margins, both physical and figurative, of townscapes, and in particular the idea of ethereal or phantom spaces. An enquiry into how spaces are spoken or written about, and how they are imagined, the impact of myth and superstition on the way that they are 'known', is a perspective that I find absorbing, perhaps furthering the work of Wilson (1991) in her studies of how cities such London or Paris are 'known' and constructed as real-or-imagined places.

11.3 The End

This project not only furthers existing enquiries into fear of crime by developing an approach which accommodates experiences of spaces beyond the limited lexicon of 'fear' and 'safety', proposing instead the language of 'at-home-ness', it posits that, through an affective theoretical framework, it is possible to interrogate how what is 'known' as 'fear' or 'safety' is constructed, and how it might be resisted, by making use of this theoretical lens. It is through this interrogation of the construction of knowledge that I begin to trace a genealogy of street-wisdom. I posit that the way in which knowledge and in this context street-wise knowledge is constructed, is changeable, intangible, uncertain and subjective. This thesis suggests that there can only ever be partial understanding about the constitution of knowledge especially when analysed through an affective lens, where this partiality and unpredictability is allowed to flourish (Knopp, 2004, Harding, 1993). Indeed accommodating such indeterminacy could be said to enhance knowledge about knowledge (Miller, 2006). By being 'for' the genealogy, I promote investigation of the construction of the genealogy and begin to interrogate its existence. And it is in the examination of its existence – how knowledge is constructed, how the knowledge is used – that I argue we can better understand the ways that street-wisdoms work in constituting spatial subjectivity.

The contributions that this project makes to fear of crime studies enables us to speak more meaningfully and precisely about the multiplicity of ways 'home towns' become 'known' and used in

the construction of spatial subjectivity, whilst recognising the problematic nature of speaking about 'fear', 'safety' and 'home' without thinking of the boundaries and exclusions these ideas might conjure and exploit. And, whilst this project makes no policy-orientated claims, the findings will be useful for informing approaches to fear of crime, including recognising the multivalences and indeterminacies of fear as well as the inclusions and exclusions that unproblematised 'fear' and 'safety' can foster.

It is through this more nuanced and heterogeneous understanding of fear and safety, and its role in constructing street-wisdom, as enabled by this affective analytical lens, that alternative 'knowledges' might be perceived. Indeed, when participants do not express normative expressions of affect, which they autonomously refuse, the emancipatory potential of using this framework is evidenced. In its potency, non-autonomous affect enables a move away from expressing affects of fear, or of even recognising fear as an affect that is inherently bad or safety as inherently desirable. It is in this way, in thinking about the instability of fear and safety that we can move away from thinking about these constructs in this limited, monolithic way. Furthermore, it is through the potentials afforded by refusing expression of 'bad' exclusionary affects that we can understand affective approaches as liberatory. They free the ready-to-be-affect feminine body from the inhibition of fearful, safety-seeking subjectivities and enable her to express an array of affects in response to fear, but also liberate the ready-to-be-affected body of the 'other' from the tyranny of being situated along classed 'raced' and gendered exclusionary discourses, as an endlessly loathable figure of fear. As such, the potentialities afforded by the findings of this study are that we might now better propel discussions of women's experiences of space into the many, many directions that are possible by imagining what happens when non-autonomous affect is expressed, beyond 'safety' or 'fear', as '(un)-at-home-ness'.

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Appendix A: Examples of Communications

Gendered Experiences of Space –Diaries

Hello,

Thank you for your interest in this research and for agreeing to participate in this diary aspect of it. All diaries will be anonymised and the content kept strictly confidential.

The format of the diary is entirely up to you. I have provided the materials you have requested for keeping the diary, but if part way through you change your mind and want to add bits to it or do things differently that is entirely fine. If you let me know I can keep you updated with a ready supply of materials.

When you are keeping the diary you can record anything in it associated with your experiences of going out and about in your home town.

You could record your thoughts, feelings and impressions of the town as well as any particularly interesting (or boring) experiences that you have in the town. Basically anything that you think enables you to reflect your town that way that you see it.

Feel free to be as creative (or not) as you like with the diary.

I will be in touch with you throughout the diary keeping process to help if you feel like you are going awry.

Additionally, please do not worry about being repetitive or boring- it is all interesting stuff to me.

I hope you enjoy participating! Please feel free to contact me on the details below at any stage during the research process.

Best Wishes,

Alex Fanghanel

Understanding Gender and Space in Geography Research Project

Thank you for participating in this research project exploring how women and girls interact with home town spaces. Your contribution is valued and will inform a key part of the work.

Everything you have spoken about will be treated confidentially and will be anonymised in the final work, so that neither you, nor the places you have spoken about can be identified.

If you have some free time over the summer holiday and you would like to continue your involvement in the research it would be great if you got in touch.

Just to remind you, the two other parts of the research are the walking interview around the area which you live. This takes about an hour depending on how much you have to say about it. The 4-6 week diary is the other one, where you keep a diary of your trips into town etc and record your thoughts and impressions as well as anything that happens of note. The length of time you keep this for will be up to you.

If you think you might be able to help me with either of these two projects, let me know by contacting me on the email below and we can set something up.

I look forward to potentially working with you further on this exciting project.

Best wishes,

Alex Fanghanel



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

22 June 2009

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Understanding Gender and Space in Geography Research Project

I am a PhD Researcher at the University of Leeds and am writing to you regarding your daughter's potential involvement in the above research project, funded by the University of Leeds. This is a comparative study which explores young women's experiences of living in their home towns in both an urban and a rural context.

The ethical considerations of this research have been approved by the University of Leeds. The anonymity of your daughter, of the school and the area in which she lives is assured, all data will be anonymised, and names of places changed so that no-one can identify them directly or indirectly.

This research is constructed in three parts. Your daughter has already participated in the preliminary part of the study and has expressed interest in continuing with further aspects of the project.

These are as follows:

Part One: 4 Week Multimedia Diary

This part of the research involves keeping a multimedia diary of trips out into your daughter's home town, using journals, cameras and audio equipment provided by the University of Leeds to record her thoughts, impressions and experiences as she goes about the town by day and by night. The diary is kept for 4 weeks and is followed by a brief interview to discuss the issues raised in the diary.

Part Two: Walking Interview

Similar in focus to the Diary, the walking interview involves an interview in the area that your daughter lives whilst walking around the area. She would be asked about areas she likes, any she does not and what her impressions of living in the town are. This part will take about an hour. You are welcome to accompany your daughter for this part of the research if you would like to.

I am writing to ask you permission for your daughter to be contacted by email by me, with a view to participating in one or other of these projects.

Previous participants have found that engaging in research of this kind to be a rewarding and interesting experience as it offers a unique insight into the academic research process, particularly, though not only, if she is interested in the social sciences. Additionally, the

experience of participating in this project will offer her the opportunity to express her views about where she lives and contribute to published work which will promote gendered spatial equality.

As you can see, the time commitment for each section of the research varies, and your daughter is invited to participate in as much or as little as her time commitments allow. If you are happy for your daughter to participate in this research I am sure she will find it a rewarding experience. If you feel that you require some more information to enable you to decide whether participating in this research will be appropriate for your daughter, you are very welcome to contact me or my supervisor on the details below.

I look forward to potentially working with your daughter on this exciting project.

Yours Faithfully,

Alex Fanghanel

School of Geography
University of Leeds

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0044xxxxxxx 202

Supervisor:
Dr David Bell,
Senior Lecturer,
School of Geography,
University of Leeds,
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LS2 9JT
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Reply Slip: Understanding Gender and Space in Geography Research Project

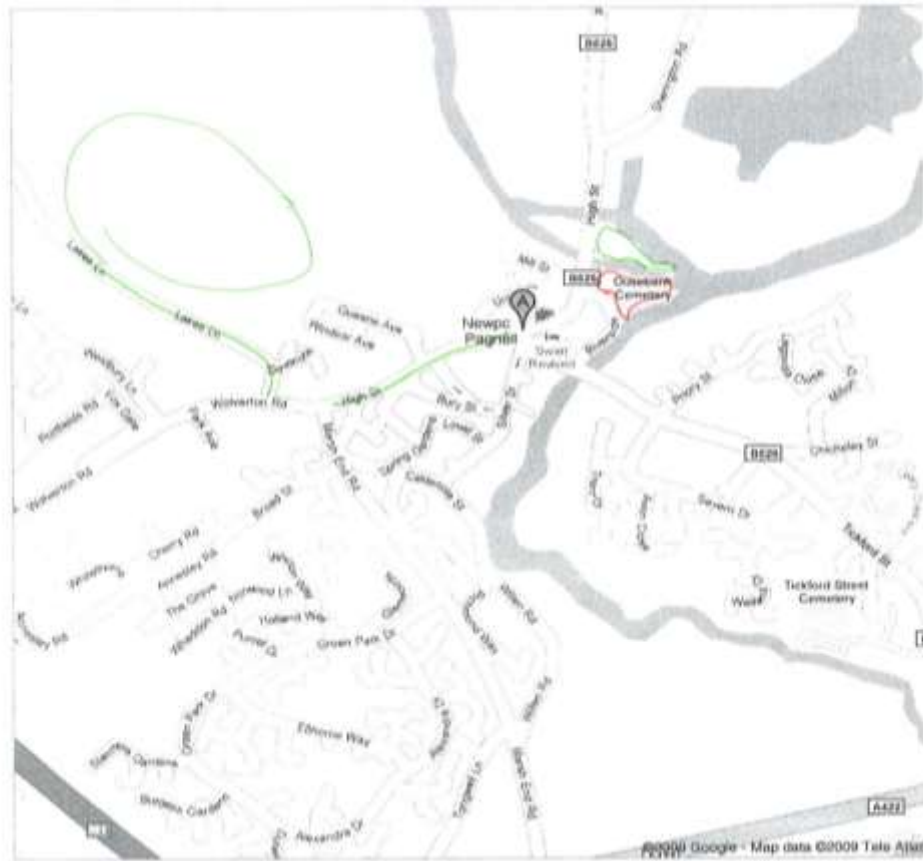
I do/do not give permission for my daughter to be contactable by email in relation to this research project.

Daughter's Name

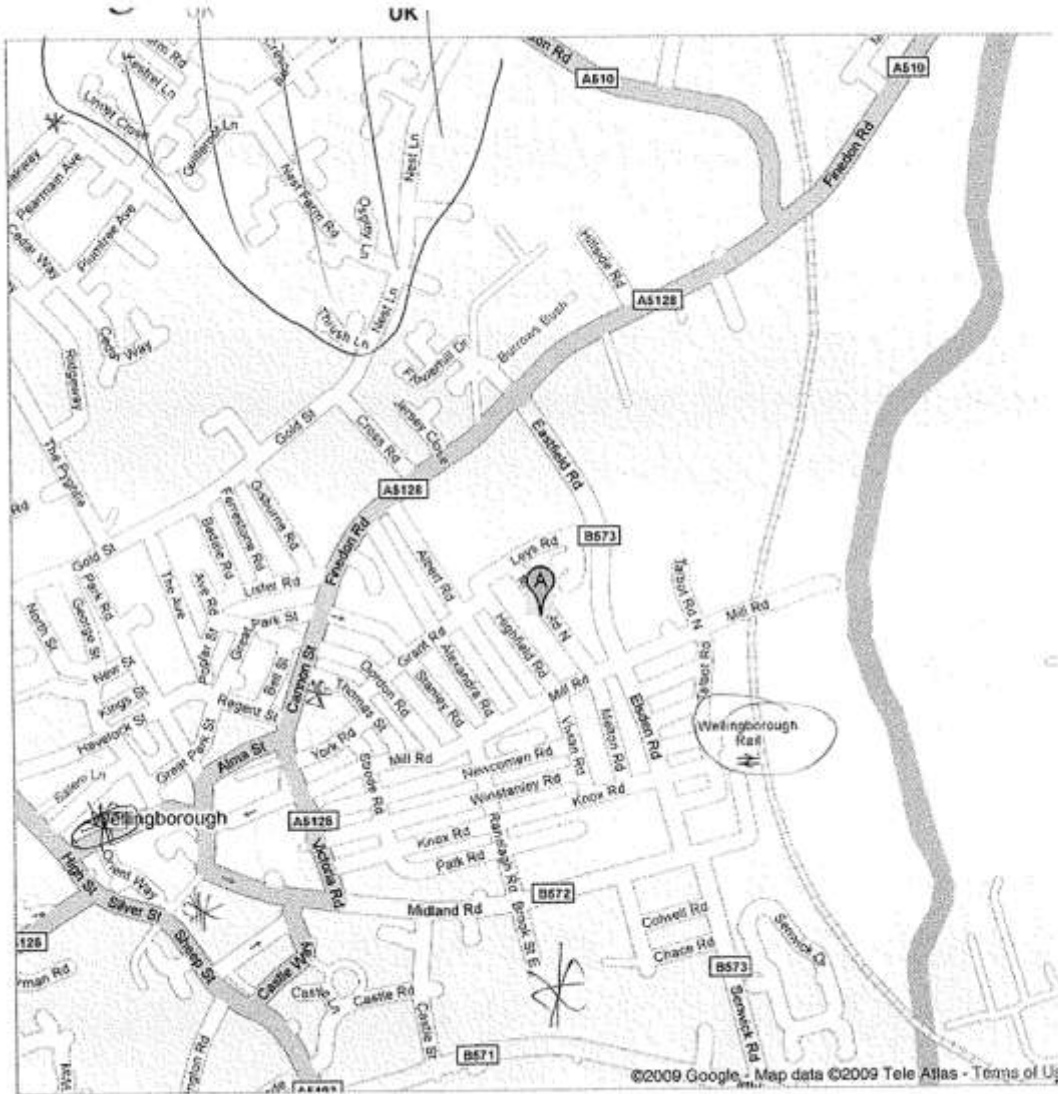
Daughter's Contact details Tel No:
Email address:

Appendix B: Map Interviews

Nora (Anchor) Green = places liked, Red = Places disliked



Hermione (Anchor) Star = place liked, Crossing out = places disliked, Circle = important place



Eve's second home (with coloured annotations):

Travel

- Railway Station
- Bus Station
- Wolverton Station
- Bus Station
- Courthouse/Park & Ride
- Out of town shopping
- Denbigh North (assumed)
- Denbigh East (MK, New Market)
- Wastcroft
- Kingston
- Roadsley
- Waterhill (assumed location)
- Golf Courses
- Route 37

Entertainment

- MK Bowl
- Scapse
- MK Theatre & Gallery
- Theatre District
- Main Shopping Area
- Cascade Cows
- State Park
- National Hockey Stadium
- Colliers Lodge
- Assesias
- General Hospital
- Police Station
- Open University
- Milton Keynes College
- New MKDax Stadium (2007)
- Bletchley Park
- Woodhill Prison

Milton Keynes in a Nutshell

Milton Keynes was designated as a new town on 23 January 1967. It encompasses the historical towns of Bleckley, Stary Stratford and Wolverton with 12 original villages lying within its borders. The current population is approximately 220,000. It is ideally located 50 miles from London, Oxford and Cambridge and 80 miles from Birmingham. There are excellent transport links to the main London Euston to Birmingham rail line and junctions 12 and 14 of the M1 motorway. Its unique grid road system enables cars to travel across the city with ease at any time of the day.

Milton Keynes is a green city with 22 million trees and 400 acres of lakes, giving it more shoreline than Jersey. The Shopping Centre is one of Europe's largest, attracting 37 million visitors each year. Milton Keynes Theatre delivers top West End shows, opens and hosts to an audience capacity of up to 1400 people. Milton Keynes contemporary art Gallery is conveniently located next door. The nearby Scapse complex offers skiing on real snow, sky diving at the Airkix indoor skydiving centre plus bars, shops and restaurants. For the outdoor types

Wilton lake offers a wide range of activities including the Aerial Xtreme high ropes course and WaterWOCs cable tow. The National Bowl, Milton Keynes has hosted concerts by Robbie Williams, Michael Jackson, David Bowie, Green Day, Bon Jovi plus many more. In 2007 the MKDax will have their own 30,000 seater stadium nearing completion in Denbigh North.

For a complete guide to Milton Keynes visit www.mkweb.co.uk

WORLD OF ITS OWN

INDIFFERENT RELEVANT

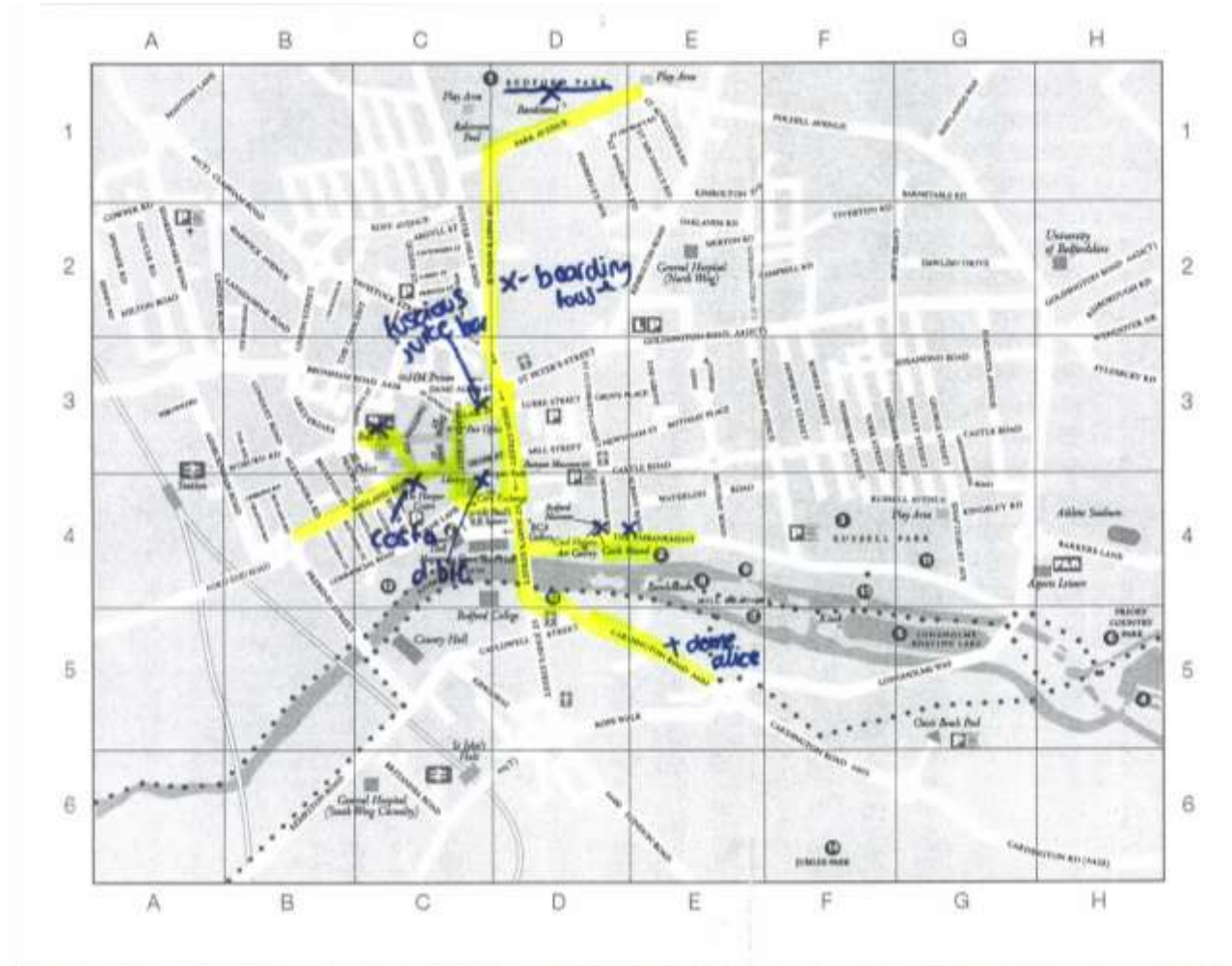
2008

Row Brickhill

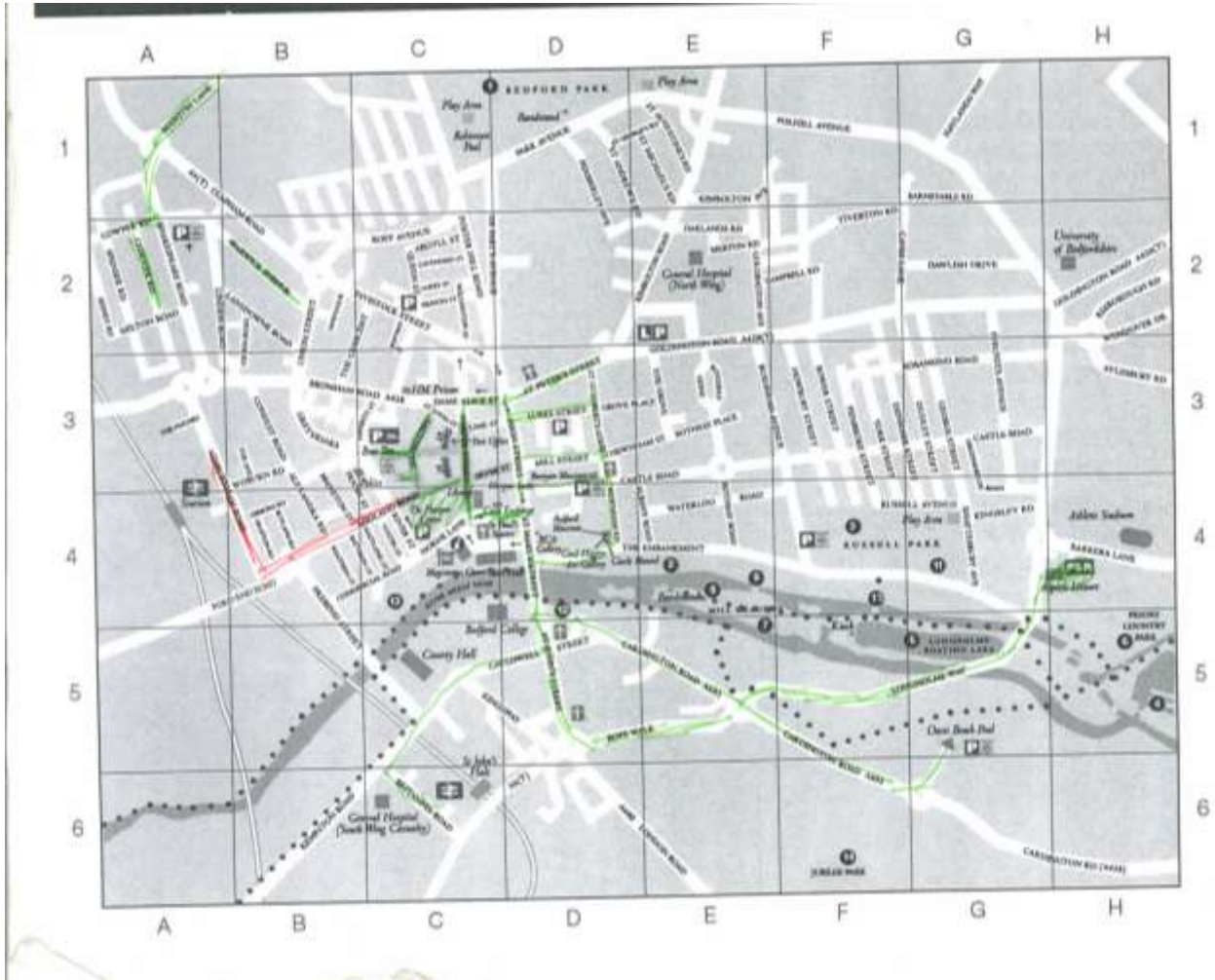
1 Kilometre
1 Mile

milton KEYNES
www.mkweb.co.uk

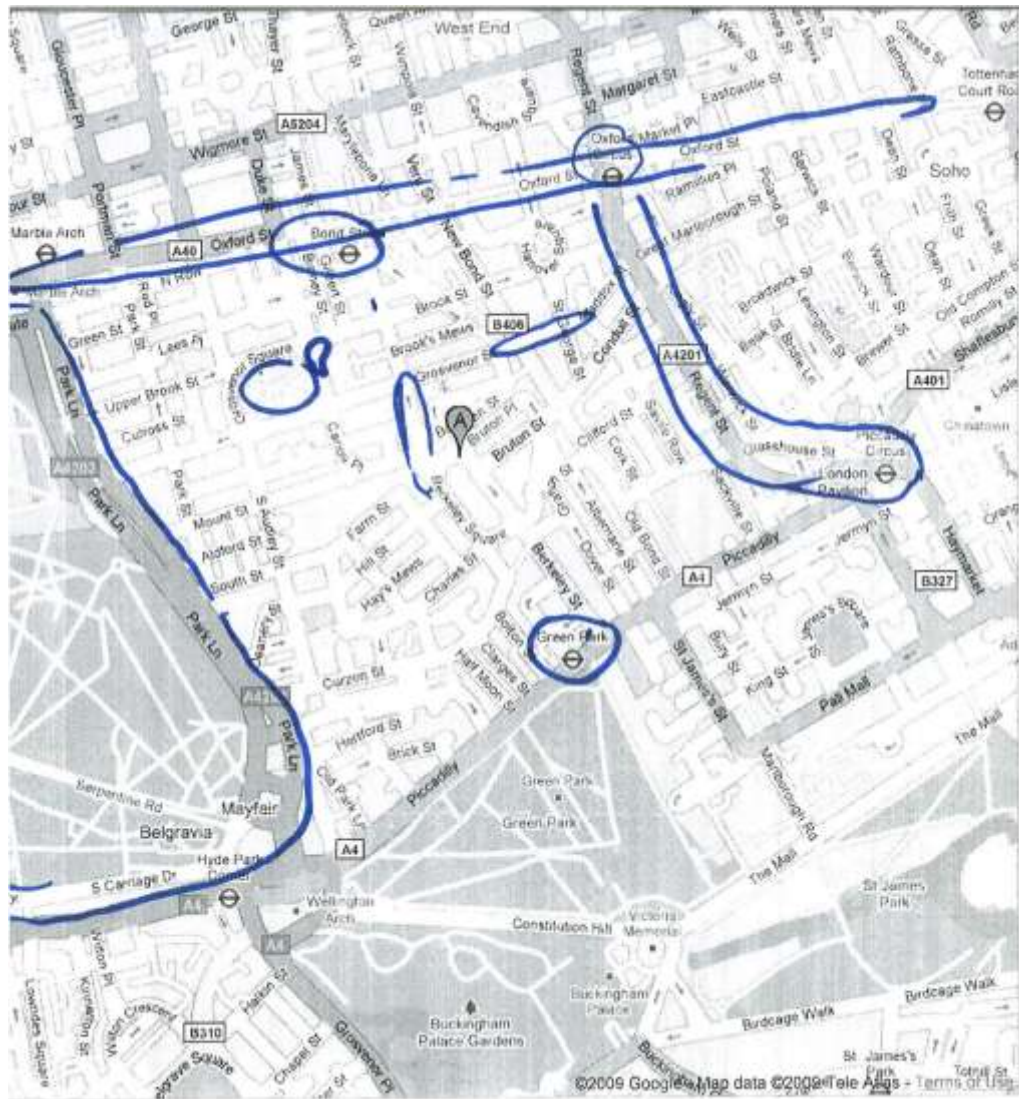
Koryn (Boatswain), 'X' marks important spaces:



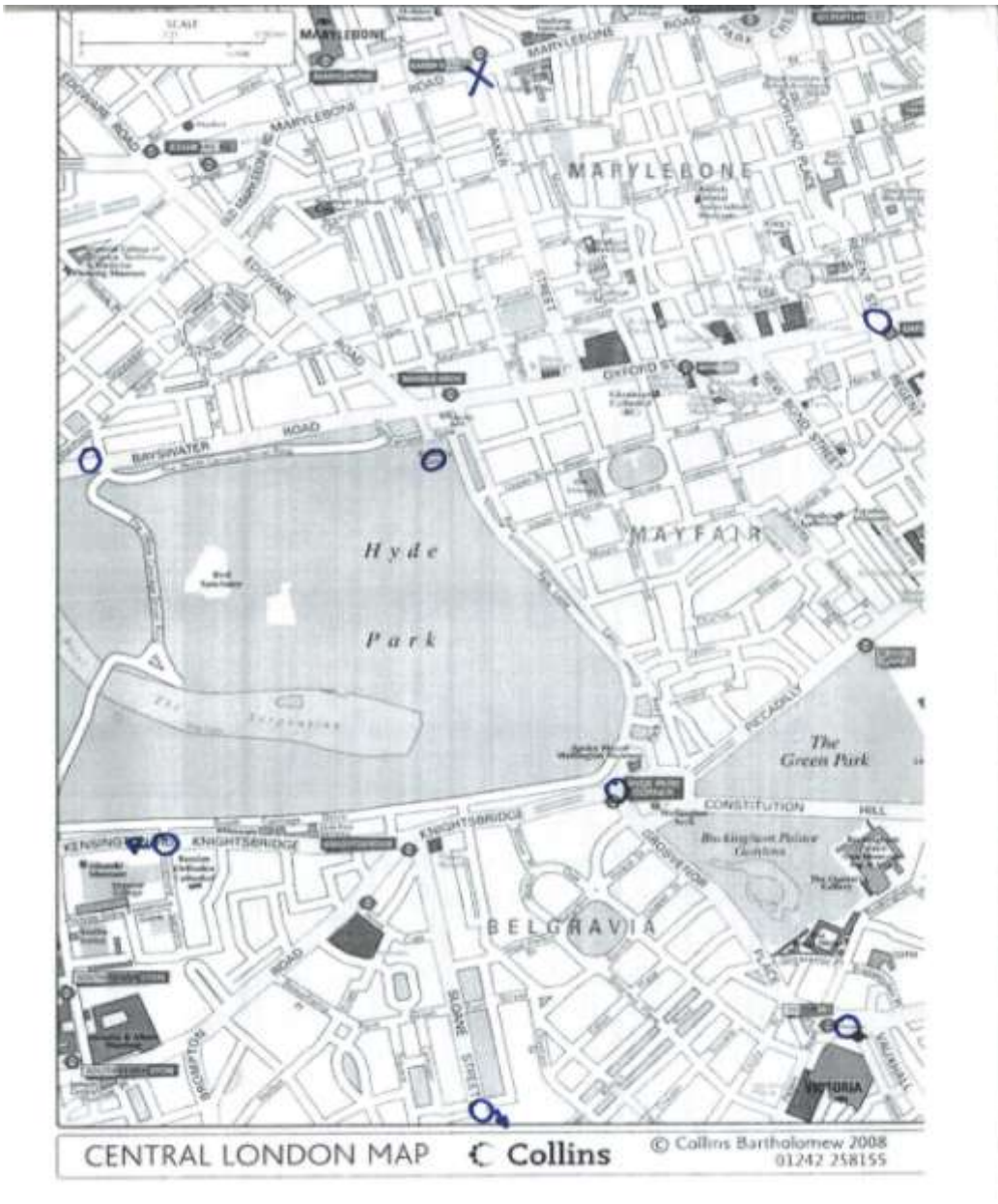
Ada, (Boatswain) Green = liked, Red = disliked



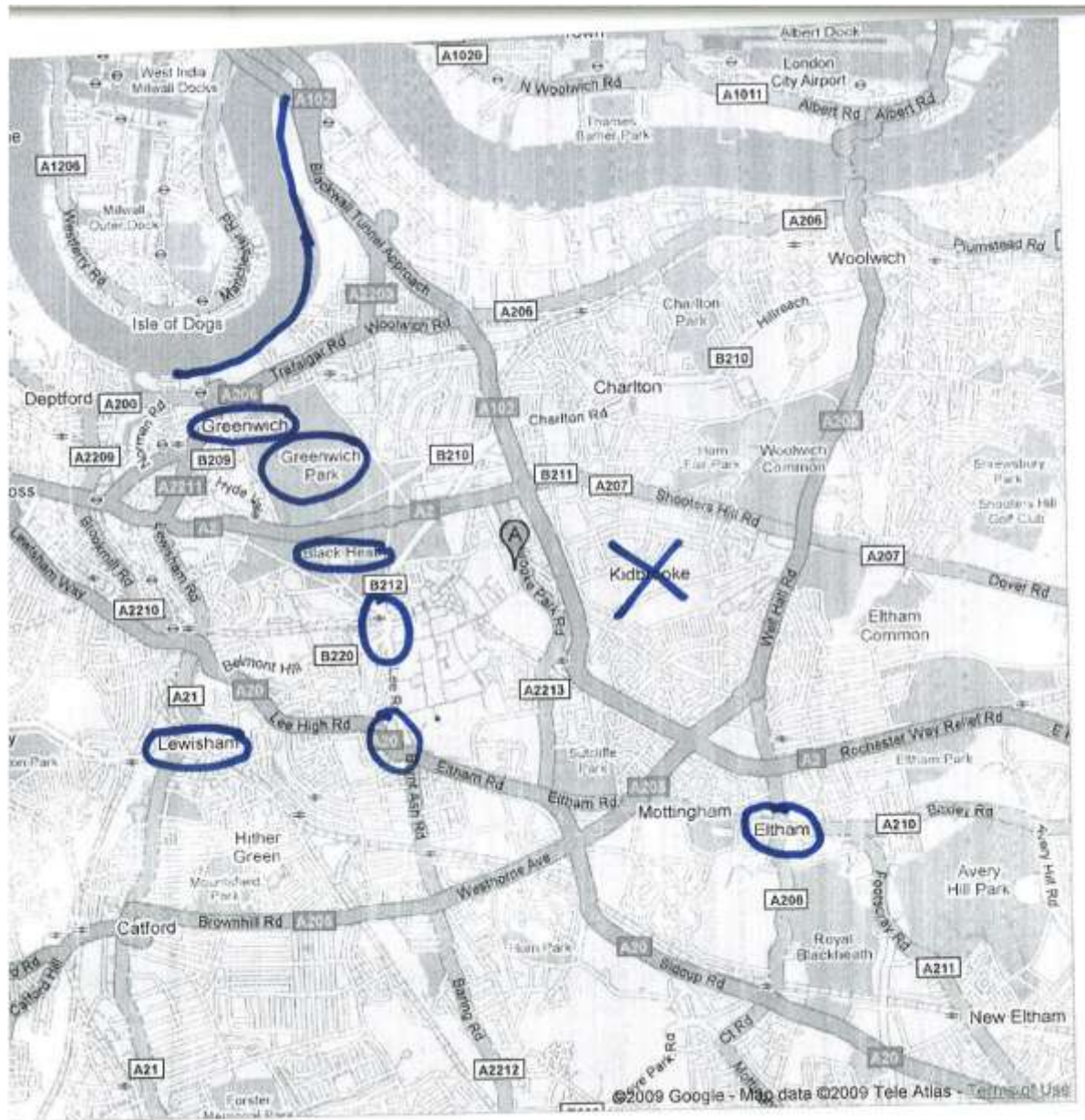
Sybil (Chord) places liked:



Sybil (Chord) Places disliked:

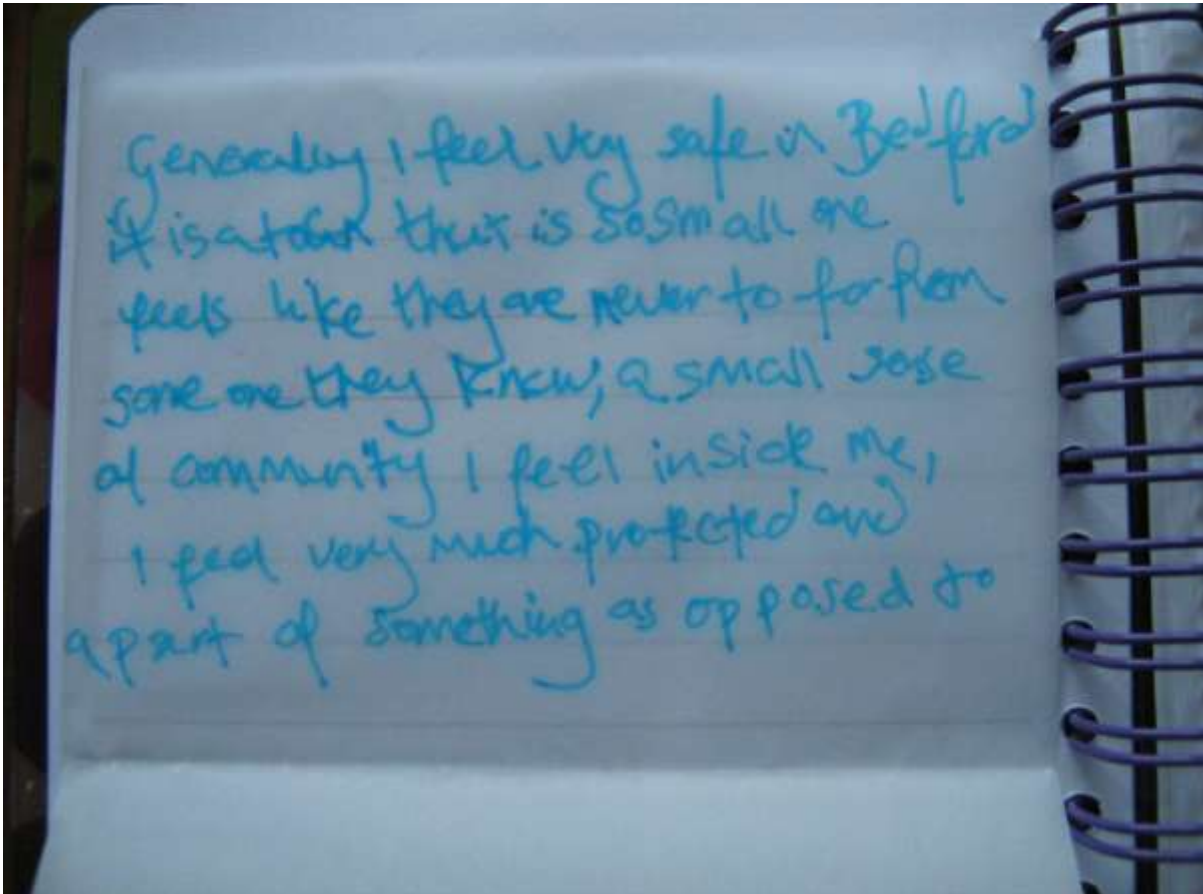


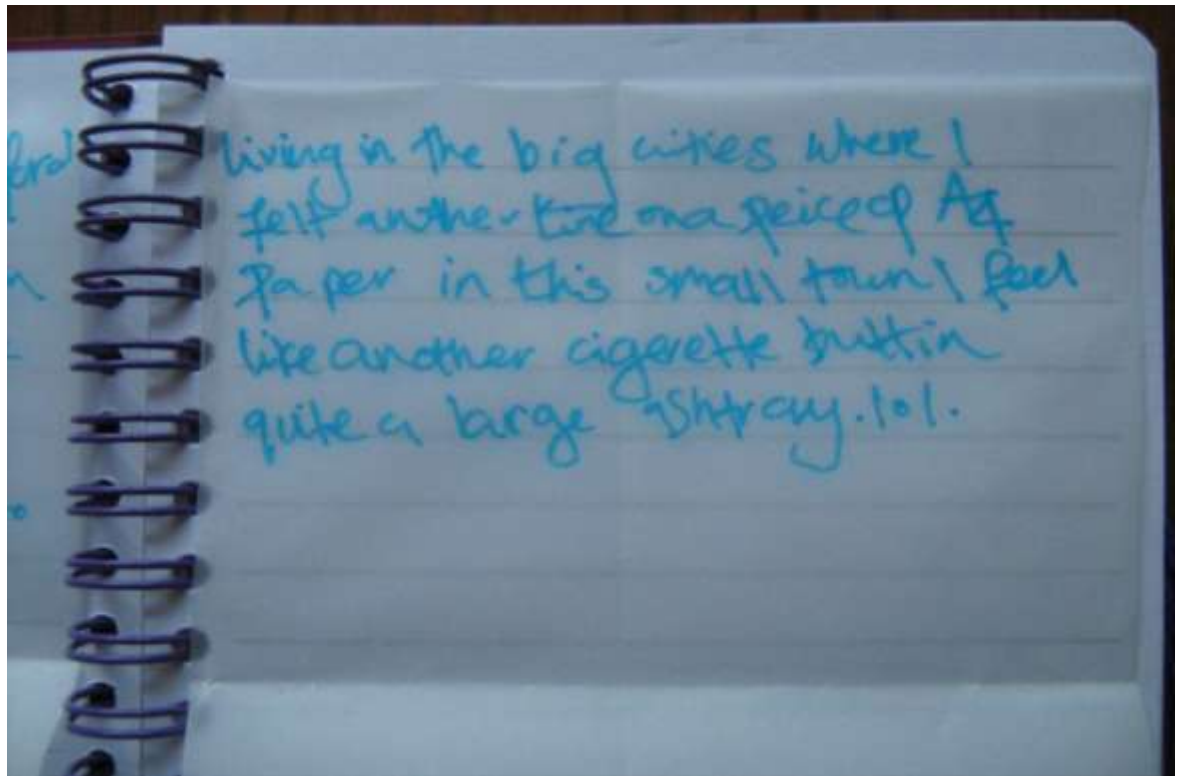
Holly (Chord) Places liked are circled, placed disliked are crossed out:



Appendix C: Diaries

Shulamith (Boatswain):



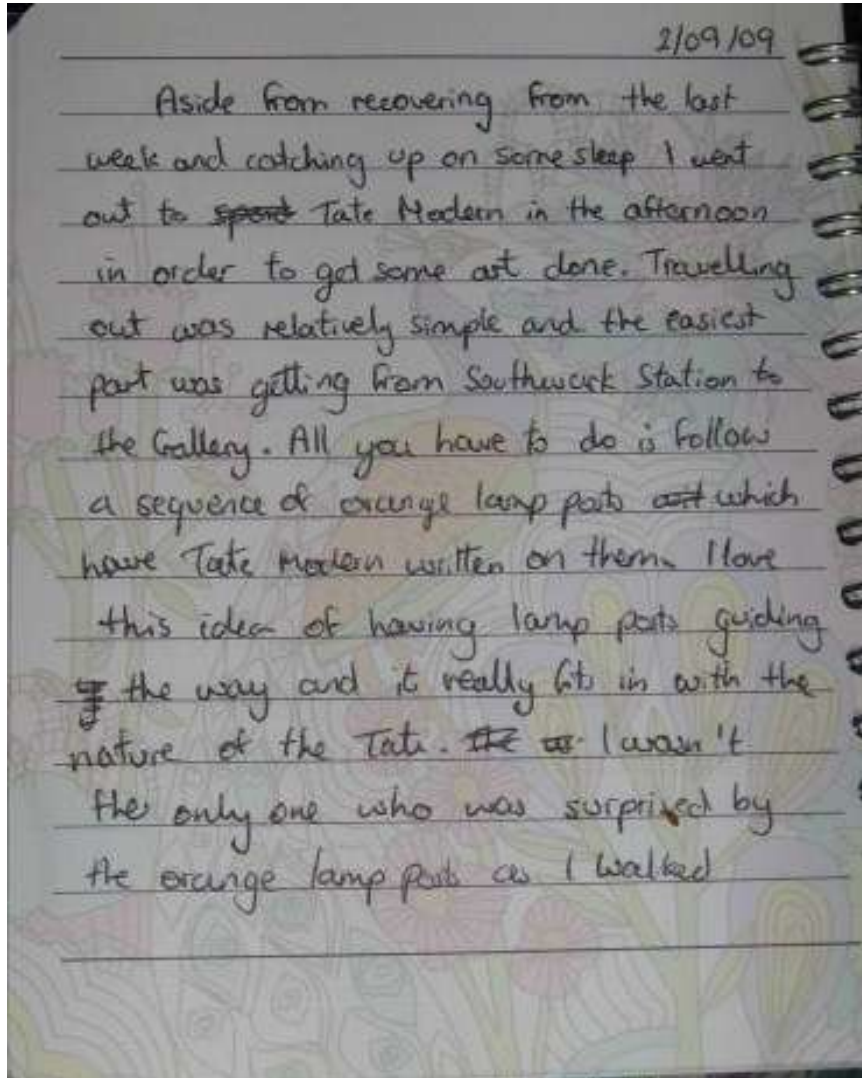


Leda (Boatswain):

8th July

Area	Feelings
home	fresh, clean, cosy, free, light, safe, romantic.
	↑ these feelings altered throughout the day as we passed different people. When we passed younger people they stared at me and I felt they were judging me so I felt uncomfortable. However, once they had passed us I felt how longingly I felt

Juno (Chord):



Enid (Chord):

Day 4 - Fri 20th August

Today was results day so I didn't have much planned except for seeing where the wind took me 😊

My friend Georgie and I went walked to school to get our results - it's really nice being able to walk it.

~~then~~ We then all went to Dulwich Park to meet with our friends ~~with~~ which was fun. Loads of us live in the area so it was easy to gather at the park to share results.

My friends Anna ~~and~~ and Georgie and I then went to my boyfriend James' house, to eat and watch some TV. He lives on Buroage road so it's really close.

Extracts of Cleo's (Boatswain) Diary, her images and annotation:

The Lake –quiet, pretty, nature, animals, secluded from town



Top: Tramp Island- Scary, dangerous, unclean

Bottom: Cinema- unattractive buildings but useful complex (Pizza Hut, McDonalds and cinema together) fun



Top: Bridge –elaborate, nice

Bottom: River and Boat House –pretty, near to school



Top: Near cinema and Lake –enclosed, secret, trees, secluded, good place to go for walk and think

Bottom: High Street –Busy, lots of cars, dirty, thin pavements

